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EARLY SCIENCE IN OXFORD

BY

R. T. GUNTHER

VOL. XIV

LIFE AND LETTERS OF
EDWARD LHWYD

SECOND KEEPER OF THE *MUSEUM ASHMOLEANUM*

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PREFACE

THE OLD ASHMOLEAN is the most beautiful building of its period in Oxford. But handsome is also as handsome does, and the old museum has often proved by deeds to be greater than its architecture.

Here the most British of all the great Natural Sciences—the science of British Geology—had its birth-place and cradle.

Within its walls Fossils—‘medals of creation’—were comprehensively collected, studied, classified, catalogued, and published for the first time in Britain. The architecture of the Earth’s crust, as described by William Smith, Buckland, and Lyell, was built on foundations laid in the Old Ashmolean Building.

The early letters of EDWARD LHWYD, now printed for the first time, indicate the stages by which step by step he gathered the materials for his historic *Catalogue*. The later letters show how national patriotism, for he was an ardent Welshman, provided the stepping-stones that led him from the Flood to the deeper waters of Celtic Philology. Once out of his depth he was no longer able to retrace his steps, but fortunately his book on Fossils had been printed.

EDWARD LHWYD was the second Keeper of the Old Ashmolean Museum. The printing of his correspondence is therefore a natural sequel to the printing of the Correspondence of Robert Plot, his Oxford tutor and, for seven years, his superior officer, to whose office he succeeded.

To Plot the credit is due for having efficiently organized in Oxford the first institution in Britain for the general study of Natural History and Chemistry—so efficiently that Lhwyd was able to specialize in two departments of learning with such success that he has come to be regarded as the father of each, namely of British Palaeontology, and of Comparative Celtic Etymology.

Even quite early in his career, while still a student, he achieved distinction in a third field, that of the Botany of the Mountains of North Wales.

Not gifted with an impressive personality, and with so slender an endowment of worldly goods that he must often have gone hungry, he won his successes by steady application and enthusiasm, and by maintaining correspondence with the most learned contemporary authorities. If he owed much to Plot, his pupils certainly owed much to his learning and the care with which he watched over them.

His Letters, presented in chronological sequence, throw new light upon the first materials upon which he founded his new Sciences, and the successive stages of their development.

Notwithstanding his high reputation among the most competent judges of his day, few men of science have been more neglected. The advantage of publication by the University Press of his epoch-making book on Fossils was denied him. His catalogues came to be divorced from his collections. His specimens, the evidences upon which he wrote the commentary, were lost or scattered by those whose duty it was to conserve them. Bombs could hardly have done him as much damage.

Stray notes suggest clues to the method. In 1760, and therefore in a Dodo-burning generation, 'Angerstein minerals were removed from the Lhwyd cabinet below stairs, and put in the windows'. By 1890 classical antiquities had invaded the Museum of Natural History, and both Lhwyd cabinet and Angerstein minerals were no longer recognizable as such. Even the catalogues of the Duncans, the hard-working Keepers of the Museum, failed to enumerate Lhwyd's type-specimens, and this may have been one reason why the great Oxford geologist, Sir Charles Lyell, failed to include the name of Lhwyd in his historical chapter in the *Principles of Geology*, 1830. Lhwyd's successor in the Keepership, Professor John Phillips, though acquainted with Lhwyd's catalogue of fossils, did not appear to consider it his duty to list those still extant or to inquire into the losses of the others.

When, early in the eighteenth century, a few patriotic Welshmen realized how much they were indebted to their countryman for his indefatigable labour in collecting and digesting the scattered remains of the ancient language, which

M. Pezron had determined to be Celtic, several of Lhwyd's writings were posthumously printed. Hearne, envisaging a work on a larger scale, on May 13, 1732, wrote to Dr. Richardson about Lhwyd's papers:

'It would be of service to the publick were they digested by some qualified person. But then it should be done by a person of Mr. Lhwyd's own country, one that is well acquainted with the Old British. I fear we must in vain wait for a man so qualified.'

In 1760 William Huddesford considered it a part of his official duty as Keeper of the Ashmolean to re-issue Lhwyd's epoch-making *Lithophylacium*. He certainly drew further attention to Lhwyd's services by having reprinted the great copperplates of the Lister Collection of Shells which Lhwyd had secured for the University.

The destruction of Lhwyd's own unprinted papers was again keenly felt in the following century:

'Suppressed by himself for want of encouragement to publish them, neglected for a century through ignorance or misconception of their value, and destroyed by accident, when they had just come into the possession of one sensible of their value and ready to give them to the world. In such a case it is scarcely possible not to bow the head as in submission to a decree of fate, and leave it so.'¹

Fortunately, many of his letters that were traceable were published in Welsh periodicals of the time. Yet much remained to be done, and about 1900 Mr. Richard Ellis of Jesus College conceived the idea of compiling a Life on a worthy scale of one whom Sir Hans Sloane called 'the best naturalist in Europe' and who 'by his comprehensive view of Celtic philology quickened the sense of kinship and racial unity in the minds of Celtic people'. He began by copying or abstracting every scrap of matter that he could discover in the libraries of Oxford and Wales, but with so intricate a system of cross references that the strength of the compiler failed before the work was completed. His manuscripts are now in the University Library of Aberystwyth.

But he aroused the interest of a number of distinguished Welshmen who subscribed for a mural brass tablet to the great

¹ *Cymmrodorion Transactions* i. 1822.

Welshman in the Chapel of Jesus College, in 1905. At the same time it was hoped that a second might be erected in the Welsh Aisle of St. Michael's Church, in the chancel of which he is buried.

The inscription that was prepared for the purpose runs as follows:

Near this spot reposes
All that was mortal of
Edward Lhwyd, M.A., F.R.S.
Of Jesus College in the University of Oxford;
Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum;
Born in Cardiganshire, 1660;
Died at Oxford, June 30, 1709.
In an uncritical Age
He founded the comparative study of the Celtic Language,
Advanced the borders of the Natural Sciences,
And recorded the Antiquities of his native country:
Travelling far and wide in search of Knowledge.
His Learning was adorned by modesty
Inspired by Patriotism,
And based on reverence for the work of God.
This tablet was erected by his Countrymen
In the year of our Lord 1905
As a Tribute, too long delayed, to his work and Greatness.

Mr. Ellis also prepared an account of *Some Incidents in the Life of Edward Lhwyd* which was read before the Society of Cymmrodorion in February 1907, and which by the kind permission of that Honourable Society, and in memory of Mr. Ellis's high ideal, has been reproduced in facsimile as an introductory chapter to this book.

I am also grateful for help received from busy officers of the British Museum and the Geological Survey who provided interpretations to many of Lhwyd's names and figures. For this service special thanks are due to Sir Arthur Smith Woodward, who delivered two Old Ashmolean lectures, to Mr. A. J. Willmott, Mr. W. N. Edwards, Mr. C. P. Chatwin, Dr. R. Crookall, and Dr. C. J. Stubblefield.

In Wales assistance has been received from Mr. Arthur ap Gwynn, Librarian of Aberystwyth College, who gave every

facility for consulting notes and transcripts, made by Mr. R. Ellis, whose method, however, overwhelmed me, and from Mr. A. Farr and his staff at the Public Library at Cardiff.

Professor Hawkins of Reading University, Dr. W. J. Arkell, and Mr. Bayzand have also assisted in identifying fossils.

The very number and prestige of experts who now carry on Lhwyd's work in every civilized country in the world prove the utility and development of his science. Lhwyd was single-handed. When he died it was stated that he had 'not a farthing salary from the Museum, but only made what he could by shewing'.

At this moment we read and hear much about the marvellous exploits of our Air Force: we hear little about the study of fossils that guides prospectors to the Oil without which those exploits would be impossible. Yet every great Power is showing, by its State-supported Museums and Surveys, that the intensive study of Geology is absolutely necessary if a nation is to continue to hold its place in modern civilization.

With these thoughts in mind we had intended to have dedicated this volume to the Members of the International Geological Congress that we had hoped to welcome to Oxford in July 1940. It is with profound regret that this great Congress has to be indefinitely postponed.

In varying the spelling of his name Lhwyd might be thought to emulate Shakespeare, even to the extent of becoming unrecognizable. There are two reasons. Firstly he desired not to take the name of his father and half-brothers who were Lloyds; and secondly he was almost a fanatic in his struggle to preserve old Welsh spellings. Hearne doubtless smiled up his sleeve while humorously writing Lluwyd. Between Lloyd and Lluwyd we have Floyd, Floid, floid, and Lhwyd, which becomes Luidus and Luidius in Latin, and Luid when literally retranslated. An English u for the Welsh w makes Lhuyd, Lhuid, and Hearne's Llhuyd. The practical result is that he appears under F and L as two distinct persons in one and the same index.

As he himself used but one signature to the greater number of his letters, his spelling—Lhwyd—is adopted in this volume.

NOTE

THE proofs of the *Life and Letters of Edward Lhwyd* had been completed, and the manuscript of the Preface sent to the press, shortly before the death of my father Dr. R. T. Gunther on March 9, 1940.

It is thanks to the kindness and help of Dr. John Johnson, the Printer to the University, that it has been possible to conclude the series *Early Science in Oxford* with this volume in accordance with my father's wishes.

A. E. GUNTHER

A list of Dr. Gunther's published works will be found at the end of this volume.

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SOME INCIDENTS IN THE LIFE OF EDWARD LHWYD

Reprinted from an article by Richard Ellis, B.A., in the Transactions of the
Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, 1908.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF LHWYD'S LETTERS

I. EARLY LIFE AT JESUS COLLEGE Page 55

Date		Date	
n.d.	1. [D. LLOYD]	1689 Nov. 12	14. [J. LLOYD]
n.d.	2. [D. LLOYD]	Feb. 25	15. RAY
1684 Dec. 20	3. PLOT (P.T.) ¹	1690 April 10	16. LISTER
1685 June 8	4. D. LLOYD	" 14	17. RAY
n.d.	5. D. LLOYD	[May]	18. LISTER
Jan. 9	6. D. LLOYD	" 20	19. PLOT from 'OWEN MEREDITH'
1686 Aug. 21	7. D. LLOYD		
1688 Sept. 23	From BOBART	July 1	20. RAY
1689 June 10	From PLOT	" 1	21. LISTER
July 19	8. LISTER	Aug. 3	22. LISTER
Aug. 9	9. LISTER	" 28	23. [LISTER]
" 15	10. LISTER	Nov. 2	24. LISTER
n.d.	11. LISTER	" 25	25. RAY
Oct. 1	12. LISTER	" 27	26. LISTER
" 14	13. LISTER	Dec. 9	27. LISTER
" 26 ²	LISTER	" 18	28. LISTER

II. WORK AS KEEPER OF THE OLD ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM Page 119

1690 Jan. 17	29. LISTER	1691 May 24	36. AUBREY
" 29	From PLOT	" 26	37. LISTER
Feb. 12	30. AUBREY	June 16	38. LISTER
" 16	From PLOT	Aug. 25	39. LISTER
Mar. 3	31. J. LLOYD	Sept. 25	40. CHARLTON
1691 n.d.	32. LISTER	Oct. 13	41. LISTER
April 28	33. LISTER	Nov. 15	42. LISTER
May 3	34. LISTER	Dec. 3	43. RICHARDSON
[" 10]	35. LISTER	" 27	44. LISTER

¹ P.T. signifies publication in the *Philosophical Transactions*. ² See No. 156.

<i>Date</i>		<i>Date</i>	
1691 Jan. 15	45. [J. LLOYD]	1692 Dec. 1	From PLOT
Feb. 7	46. LISTER	„ 20	58. RAY
„ 18	47. LISTER	„ 23	59. LISTER
„ 30	48. RAY	[„ 30]	60. LISTER
Mar. 3	49. [J. LLOYD]	Feb. 12	61. LISTER
April 3	50. AUBREY	„ 15	62. J. LLOYD
1692 Aug. 22	51. LISTER	Mar. 2	63. AUBREY
	[<i>List of</i>	1693 April 18	64. n.s. [LISTER]
	<i>Urticæ</i>]	„ 15	From GIBSON
Sept. 20	52. LISTER	„ 20	65. HEMMER P.T.
„ 25	53. LISTER	„ 24	66. AUBREY
Oct. 7	54. RAY	„ 27	67. LISTER
„ 23	55. WOODWARD	May 7	68. LISTER
n.d.	56. LISTER	„ 11	69. LISTER
[Dec.]	57. LISTER		
III. <i>WORK FOR CAMDEN'S 'BRITANNIA'</i> . . . Page 187			
1693 May 16	70. J. LLOYD	1693 n.d.	92. n.s.
„ 23	71. LISTER	Feb. 20	93. LISTER P.T.
July 6	72. J. LLOYD	„ 26	94. LISTER
„ 16	73. LISTER	„ 26	95. MOSTYN
Aug. 4	74. LISTER	„ 27	96. AUBREY
Oct. 10	75. J. LLOYD	Mar. 1	97. J. LLOYD
„ 16	76. LISTER	„ 4	98. AUBREY
„ 25	77. LISTER	n.d.	99. AUBREY
„ 27	78. LISTER	„ 8	100. MOSTYN
Nov. 5	79. LISTER	„ 13	101. LISTER
„ 16	80. AUBREY	1694 April 1	102. LISTER
„ 21	81. MOSTYN	„ 1	103. AUBREY
n.d.	82. LISTER	May 27	104. RAY
n.d.	83. LISTER	n.d.	105. LISTER
[Dec. 1]	84. LISTER	„ 29	106. AUBREY
„ 5	85. MOSTYN	July 3	107. LISTER
„ 12	86. RAY	„ 31	108. J. LLOYD
„ 21	87. LISTER	Aug. 23	109. LISTER P.T.
Jan. 1	88. LISTER	Sept. 8	110. J. LLOYD
„ 9	89. AUBREY	„ 13	111. GIBSON
„ 9	90. [J. LLOYD]	„ 24	112. GIBSON
Feb. 15	91. LISTER	Oct. 2	113. LISTER

<i>Date</i>		<i>Date</i>	
1694 Oct. 5	From SWALL	1694 [Dec.]	119. LISTER
„ 18	114. GIBSON	Jan. 1	120. LISTER
[Oct.]	115. LISTER	„ 8	121. MOSTYN
n.d.	116. LISTER	[„ 27	MOLYNEUX]
Nov. 13	117. LISTER	<i>Camden published</i>	
„ 29	118. MOSTYN	1695 Mar. 23	122. J. LLOYD

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1695 Mar. 28	123. LISTER	1696 April 2	149. MORTON
May 2	124. J. LLOYD	„ 6	150. FOULKS
n.d.	125. J. LLOYD	n.d.	151. FOULKS
n.d.	126. H. JONES	„ 23	152. LISTER
June 6	127. LISTER	Sept. 14	153. MILL
n.d.	128. LISTER	„ 14	154. ROBINSON P.T.
n.d.	129. LISTER	Oct. 25	155. [J. LLOYD]
July 16	130. J. LLOYD	„ 26	156. LISTER
Aug. 25	131. [? BOBART]	Nov. 4	157. VAUGHAN
Aug. 26	132. LISTER	„ 12	158. LISTER
„ 28	133. RAY	„ 24	159. RICHARDSON P.T.
Sept. n.d.	134. LISTER	Dec. 22	160. n.s. P.T.
„ 12	135. RAY	„ 26	161. J. LLOYD
„ 22	136. [J. LLOYD]	„ 27	162. [MOSTYN]
Oct. 15	137. LISTER	n.d.	163. LISTER
„ 30	From BYROM	[„ n.d.]	164. LISTER
Nov. 4	From COLE	Jan. 6	165. LISTER
[„ 10]	138. LISTER	„ 30	166. LISTER
„ 14	139. LISTER	[Feb.]	167. LISTER
„ 20	140. [J. LLOYD]	Mar. 16	168. LISTER
„ 26	141. MOSTYN	1697 „ 28	169. LISTER
Dec. 5	142. LISTER	„ 29	170. J. LLOYD
„ 31	143. LISTER	April 6	171. LISTER
n.d.	144. LISTER	„ 7	172. [MOSTYN]
Feb. 9	145. LISTER	„ 22	173. LISTER
„ 14	146. TANNER	[May?]	174. [J. LLOYD]
„ 24	147. LISTER		
Mar. 10	148. LISTER		

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<i>Date</i>		<i>Date</i>	
1697 May 13	175. RICHARDSON P.T.	1698 July 29	200. RAY (Lith.)
June 15	176. ROBINSON P.T.	Aug.	201. LISTER P.T.
July 22	177. HAWKINS	Sept. 19	202. RICHARD- SON P.T.
Summer	178. n.s.	Oct. 18	203. LISTER
n.d.	179. RIVINUS	Nov. 1	204. Preface to <i>Lithophyl.</i>
Sept. 22	180. W. WILLIAMS	Jan. 18	205. LISTER
„ 22	181. ROBINSON P.T.	„ 21	206. RAY
„ 25	182. TANNER	Feb. 12	207. LISTER <i>Lithophylacii published</i>
Oct. 20	183. TANNER	Mar. 17	208. MOSTYN
<i>Parochial Queries</i>		1699 April 18	209. RICHARDSON P.T.
Nov. 24	184. TOURNEFORT	May	210. ROBINSON P.T.
Dec. 20	185. LLOYD	„ 25	211. [?M. JONES]
Feb. 19	186. Vice-Chancellor	June 26	212. LISTER
„ 28	187. LLOYD	Dec. 15	213. LISTER
1698 Mar. 17	188. WILLIAMS	„ 15	214. ROBINSON P.T.
„ 26	189. RIVINUS (Lith.)	„ 17	215. RICHARDSON P.T.
„ 31	190. n.s. [gardener]	Mar. 12	216. LISTER
April 20	191. NICOLSON (Lith.)	„ 12	217. ROWLANDS
May 1	192. ARCHER (Lith.)	1700 Aug. 25	218. ROBINSON P.T.
n.d.	193. TANNER	Sept. 22	219. ROBINSON P.T.
„ 20	194. TANNER	Oct. 15	220. TONKIN
„ 21	195. LLOYD	Nov. 29	221. TONKIN
June 16	From RICHARDSON	Dec. 20	From RICHARDSON
„ 19	196. RICHARD- SON P.T.		222. CLOUSSEUX
July 6	197. LISTER	1700-1 Mar. 10	223. ROWLANDS
„ 15	198. ROBINSON (Lith.)	1701 April 26	224. MOSTYN
„ 25	199. MOSTYN		

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1701 June 8	225. RICHARDSON	1701 July 20	227. [?ROWLANDS]
„ 25	From RICHARDSON	Aug. 13	228. LLOYD
„ 26	226. SMITH	Sept. 19	229. DALE
		„ 22	230. DAVIS

<i>Date</i>		<i>Date</i>	
1701 Nov. 10	231. DALE	1704 Dec. 17	261. LLOYD
1702 May 24	MOLYNEUX	1705 July 28	262. FOULKES
July 17	232. RICHARDSON	Sept. 28	262A. [?TANNER]
Aug. 4	233. LISTER	Jan. 22	263. LANGIUS
Sept. 2	234. LISTER	Mar. 6	264. POWEL
Oct. 1	235. TONKIN	[1706? Aug.]	265. SMITH
„ 16	236. LISTER	<i>Archæologia published</i>	
Nov. 1	237. ROWLANDS	1707? May	266. [? FOULKES]
„ 17	238. LISTER		267. <i>Welsh Preface</i>
Dec. 20	239. ROWLANDS	June 22	268. MOSTYN
„ 20	240. FOULKES	„ 26	269. SMITH
Jan. 6	241. WANLEY	„ 27	270. RICHARDSON
[Feb.]	242. ROWLANDS	July 27	271. ROCHE
„ 8	243. TONKIN	„ 27	272. RICHARDSON
Mar. 16	244. TONKIN	„ 2	273. [? FOULKES]
1703 May 4	245. TONKIN	„ 8	274. LLOYD
July 26	246. TONKIN	„ 26	275. Lord —
Mich'lmas	247. LLOYD	Sept. 9	276. RICHARDSON
Oct. 14	248. BABINGTON	Nov. 2	277. MOSTYN
Nov. 8	249. MOSTYN	„ 23	278. LLOYD
„ 12	250. SMITH	Dec. 6	279. MOSTYN
„ 22	251. MORTON	„ 6	280. RICHARDSON
Dec. 8	252. TONKIN	Jan. 18	281. FOULKES
Feb. 8	253. WANLEY	1707-8 Mar. 7	282. TONKIN
Mar. 2	254. BABINGTON	Sept. 1	283. TONKIN
„ 3	255. TONKIN	„ 1	284. LLOYD
„ 5	256. SMITH	„ 7	285. BAXTER
1704 May 29	257. SMITH	Oct. 8	286. RICHARDSON
Aug. 2	258. SMITH	Dec. 22	287. TONKIN
Sept. 22	259. SLOANE P.T.	1708-9 Jan. 17	288. WOODWARD
Nov. 12	260. n.s.		

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SOME INCIDENTS IN THE LIFE OF EDWARD LHUYD.¹

By MR. RICHARD ELLIS, B.A.

EDWARD LHUYD was a scholar of brilliant and many-sided genius who attained a high place amongst the learned of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The fields of his research were numerous; in each of them he won distinction, in each he gleaned results of lasting value. He is eminent in botany, in geology, and in many branches of archæology. In philology, his position as one of the founders of the study is one of high distinction. In fact, Lhuyd was one of those scholars who in their manifold activities seem to epitomize the learning of their age.

Because I think it is for specialists to appraise Lhuyd's scholarship in its various departments, and because with the exception of one or two fragments no "Life" of him exists, I have refrained from criticism, and have written a paper which is purely biographical.

Edward Lhuyd was born in 1660, his father being

¹ Read before the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, at 20, Hanover Square, on 7th February 1907. Chairman, Professor Rhys, M.A., LL.D., Principal of Jesus College, Oxford.

Edward Lloyd, of Llanvorda, near Oswestry, and his mother Bridget Pryse, of Glanfraed, one of the many seats then occupied by members of the ancient house of Gogerddan. His father was an ardent loyalist. For church and king he fought and suffered. Contributions to the royal cause and the sequestration of his estates impoverished him. What remained of his property slipped through his fingers, for, though an able and versatile man, he was eccentric and dissolute. During the Protectorate he was forced to go into hiding, on one occasion seeking shelter at Gogerddan. Once he found refuge in a remote part of Carnarvonshire. While at Gogerddan he met Bridget Pryse. A marriage was arranged but did not take place.

Cardiganshire has always claimed the honour of being the birth-place of Edward Lhuyd. A MS. in the Llanstephan collection robs the county of this distinction. In this MS., a book used by Lhuyd and his assistants during their travels, occurs the following note:—

“Mr. Edward Lhwyd was born at Lappiton parish, his nurse is now living at Krew green (where he was nurs'd) 9 y^{re} of her at Mrs. Judith Cowfield at Lappiton his nurse says he is 41 years old 3 days before Michaelmas last according to Catherine Bowen, his nurse, to y^c best of her memory.”¹

In his ninth year Lhuyd probably entered Oswestry Grammar School, and it is not unlikely that he taught in it, as he was in his twenty-second year when he went up to Oxford. Many of his vacations, I have no doubt, he spent in North Cardiganshire, for a close connexion always existed between him and his maternal relatives. In the Bodleian collection of letters written to Lhuyd are several from the Pryses, one interesting little batch being those from Elizabeth Pryse, a sister of his mother's; their homely contents are a pleasant change from the sober and learned

¹ Llanstephan MS. 185, p. 120.

matter of most of the correspondence. With a few written by Sage Lloyd, another relative, they provide the only feminine element in the very numerous Lhuyd MSS.

Lhuyd entered Jesus in 1682. At no period has the College been more interesting or more national. It was highly esteemed in the University, Oxford was intensely loyalist, and the sacrifices of "the gallant little . . . Welsh College" during the Civil War and the Commonwealth were not forgotten. Its undergraduates were drawn from all classes of Welsh society. Many of its members occupied prominent positions in church and state.¹

"It is something remarkable", says Robert Wynne, Chancellor of St. Asaph, "that when Dr. Maurice began to flourish, upon his admission to his post at Lambeth, there were about the same time a considerable number of eminent men of the Principality of Wales preferred to fill the great offices in church and state, most of them bred up at Jesus College, insomuch, that I well remember it to be observed, it could be said then, that the last Archbishop, Dr. Dolben, of York; the last Bishop, Dr. Lloyd, of St. Asaph; the last Dean, Dr. Humphreys, of Bangor; the last Archbishop's Chaplain, Dr. Maurice; the last Lord Chancellor of England, Sir George Jeffreys; the last Secretary of State, Sir Leoline Jenkins; the last Lord Chief Justice, Sir Thomas Jones; the last Master of the Rolls, Sir John Trevor; and the last Speaker of the House of Commons, Sir Wm. Williams, that had been made, were Welshmen."²

For five years Lhuyd resided in Jesus. That his means were slender there can be little doubt, for within a

¹ *Register of the Visitors of the University of Oxford*, ed. by M. Burrows, Intro., p. cxvi.

² "Memoirs of the Life of Henry Maurice, D.D."; *Cambrian Register*, 1799, p. 268.

short time of his matriculation he became an assistant at the Ashmolean Museum, and "Register of the Chymicall courses of ye Laboratory", posts which an undergraduate would not occupy who enjoyed anything like a competent income. His tutor was Dr. Plot, the Professor of Chemistry and first Keeper of the Museum. Poverty, which so often benumbs and depresses the scholar, was an incentive to Lhuyd; he threw himself with eagerness into a bewildering number of studies—chemistry and botany, geology, anatomy and philology, to mention only a few. Endowed with unusual physical strength, and gifted with remarkable powers of application, before the close of the eighth year of his residence in Oxford, his industry and talents had brought him distinction in many of the subjects he studied, and had gained him the friendship of men whose names are still great in English learning.

But Lhuyd was no recluse, no mere book-worm. He had his set and enjoyed their company. Welshmen of Jesus they were mostly, but not exclusively—a healthy, happy lot, who often caught his enthusiasm for natural history and antiquities. Parsons, or schoolmasters, or doctors they became as a rule. Echoes of their jollity are heard in the old College nicknames which they gave each other, and which they loved to use in their letters years after they had left Oxford, "Cardo", "Pedro", "Veteran", "Chronic", "Welsh Shentleman", are some of them. "Honest Gabriel", they called Lhuyd. They proved faithful friends; they followed his career with admiration; they never failed him when he had need of their help in his researches. They were not brilliant. Some of them on leaving Oxford did good, unobtrusive work in local botany, geology, and archæology; others suffered for their non-juring principles. More interesting, from a literary point of view, are the undergraduates of later periods who

gathered round Lhuyd: Erasmus Saunders, Ellis Wynne, William Gambold, Edward Samuel, and Moses Williams being the best known.

Elias Ashmole inherited John Tradescant's Museum. This collection, much enriched with his own additions, he offered to the University of Oxford on condition that it would erect a suitable building. The University accepted the offer, and built "a large and stately Pile of squared stone", finding "such a Building necessary, in order to the promoting, and carrying on with greater ease and success, several parts of useful and curious Learning".¹ The Museum was opened on the 21st of May 1683. Lhuyd was one of its first assistants, and was connected with the institution until his death, which took place in one of its chambers in 1709. Chamberlayne thus describes the building:—

"It consists of ten Rooms, whereof the three principal and largest are publick, being each in length about 56 Feet, and in Breadth 25. The uppermost is properly the *Musæum Ashmoleanum*, where an Inferior Officer always attends, to shew the Rarities to Strangers. The middle Room is the School of Natural History, where the Professor of Chymistry . . . Reads 3 times a Week. . . . The lower Room . . . is the Laboratory, perchance one of the most beautiful and useful in the World, furnished with all sorts of Furnaces, and all other necessary Materials, in order to use and practise. . . . Near adjoining to the Laboratory are two fair Rooms, whereof one is designed for a Chynical Library. . . . the other is made use of as a Store-room for Chymical preparations, where such as stand in need of them, are furnished at easie rates: the design of this building being not only to advance the Studies of true and real Philosophy, but also to Conduce to the uses of Life, and the improvement of Medicine. Near the *Musæum* is a handsome Room fitted for a Library of Natural History and Philosophy.

"The other remaining Rooms, are the lodging Chamber,

¹ Edward Chamberlayne: *Present State of England*, pt. ii (1684), p. 325.

and Studies of the Keeper of the *Musæum*, whereof one, which is most convenient, is sometimes employed and made use of for private courses of Anatomy."¹

The opening of the Ashmolean Museum, and the enthusiasm which it infused into the study of what was then called the New Philosophy, had as one of its results the foundation of the Oxford Philosophical Society.

Chamberlayne writes as follows:—

“There is also in this famous University lately established a Society, by the name of the *Philosophical Society*, for the Improvement of real and experimental Philosophy. In order to the better carrying on this generous and useful design, they have settled a Correspondence with the Royal Society at *London*; of which several of them are Fellows, and with the Society at *Dublin in Ireland*, lately Established there for the same good purpose.”²

Among the members were Dr. John Wallis, Dr. Ralph Bathhurst, Dr. Edward Bernard, and Dr. Plot, who was director of the experiments.

The Society's book of minutes has been preserved, and its pages supply the earliest information with regard to Lhuyd's academic career. Many of the entries describe discoveries made by him and curiosities which he brought for the examination of the members. I am tempted to give the following minute, for, apart from its Welsh interest, it is the earliest record of his research. The account of the experiment, too, is the first of the many papers he contributed to the *Philosophical Transactions*.

“A sheet of paper was praesented y^e Society, made of y^e Asbestos-stone, by Mr. Lloyd, Register to the Chymicall courses of y^e Laboratory of Oxford. The Paper was made thus:—

“Mr. Lloyd received a Parcell of this stone from the Isle

¹ Edward Chamberlayne: *Present State of England*, part ii (1684), p. 327.

² *Ibid.*, p. 328.

of Anglessey, part of which he pounded (crude as it was) and carrying it to a Paper-mill, had it mixt with water in their troughs for y^t purpose, then taken up, like their other matter for paper, it ran together. But y^c lint being heavy, and quickly subsiding, they were forc't to stirr it often, and be very Quick in their operation. It was thought it might be made much finer and whiter, if it could be made stronger and tough, so as to be fit for any use."¹

Until 1691, the year of his appointment to the keepership, Lhuyd's position at the Museum was not a happy one. It was undignified and unremunerative, it gave him little liberty; and confinement to a man of his eager and active mind was irksome, even exasperating, for it was a period of great discoveries in botany, geology, and, indeed, in many branches of archæology. Even the man of untrained mind and inexpert hand might go forth and glean many treasures. Tethered to the Museum, Lhuyd often became restive and yearned to be rambling and searching. Scientists and scientific societies were accustomed at this time to send naturalists into foreign countries to collect specimens. Several times Lhuyd was on the point of being so employed, once by the Botanic Club in London, "to make discoveries of plants in the Canaries", on another occasion in the West Indies by Lord Portland, "that Honourable Mæcenas of vegetable improvement" so Leonard Plukenet calls him. Each time he was disappointed, wars and rumours of wars being the impediments. Checked again and again, Lhuyd's impatience breaks out at last: "I wish", he writes to Martin Lister, "you could send me packing somewhere."

But it was Lhuyd's lot to be satisfied with rambles in England and Wales, with travels in Scotland and Ireland, and, instead of being engaged, to employ others. For the Museum and the purposes of his own research specimens

¹ MS. Ashm. 1810, fol. 74.

were necessary. To find them he explored the country about Oxford. In a few years he had so searchingly examined the district within a radius of twenty miles, that in one letter he mentions his having visited a local quarry more than forty times. Lhuyd was often accompanied in his excursions by undergraduates whom he tutored, sometimes by English or foreign scholars visiting Oxford. He had interesting assistants; a personal survey being often impossible, he taught little village children to look for specimens, giving them pennies for their finds. A very skilful helper was Ned Cousins, a Jesus College cook. He trained labourers and artisans; "I have made", he writes, "two or three country fellows excellent Lithoscopists." Some of these rustics became pensioners, Bishop Nicolson, Dr. Lister, and other naturalists contributing, with Lhuyd, to a fund which provided salaries enabling these men to leave their work and take long journeys in search of specimens.

Lhuyd succeeded Plot in 1690-1. The keepership gave him greater freedom. It was now possible for him to leave the Museum for a week's or a fortnight's ramble. He was not slow to take advantage of the liberty the appointment gave him. In April of 1691 he went a journey of nine days with two Danish travellers, not a very profitable ramble, as progress was very slow, one of the Danes not having been on horseback before. In August of the same year he "tables" himself at Cirencester. In November he is in Gloucestershire again. These journeys were taken more particularly in search of fossils. It was in Wales that Lhuyd made most of his discoveries in botany, a study which he probably began under his father, before he went up to Oxford, while his acquaintance with fossils dated only from the time the task of arranging the specimens in the Museum was intrusted to him.

In 1693 two London booksellers, Swalle and Churchil, were induced to publish an edition of Camden's *Britannia*. Lhuyd's friend, Edmund Gibson, then of Queen's College, subsequently Bishop of London, accepted the editorship. To the counties as left by Camden it was decided to furnish notes. John Ray, John Evelyn, Samuel Pepys, Sir Jonathan Trelawney, and White Kennet, among others, promised additions. In May Swalle visited Oxford "to make choice of some persons as commentators".¹ On Gibson's suggestion, Lhuyd was asked to supply notes for the North Welsh Shires. He offered to "doe something for two or three counties", and selected Denbighshire, Merionethshire, and Montgomeryshire.¹ His choice is interesting, the counties being those with which he was best acquainted. Swalle found others to undertake the remaining counties. But these scholars "imagining some difficulty in it . . . altered their thoughts". In his disappointment Swalle turned to Lhuyd; Lhuyd distrusted the publishers, he had not too readily undertaken the three counties. However, after consideration, he sent Swalle a very modest proposal: "I have", he writes, "offer'd to doe all Wales; & to take a journey speedily quite through it, for ten pounds in hand; and twenty copies of y^e Book, when it shall be publish'd."² Lhuyd, in letters to friends, gives reasons for his decision. To John Lloyd, head master of Ruthin Grammar School, he writes: "If what we doe now, will prove worth acceptance; something more material may be attempted hereafter, especially if some of our more judicious and learned Gentm. shall be disposed to favour it."³ To Martin Lister: "Because upon this occasion I may pick up some materials from y^e Gentry and Clergy which may prove usefull an other time;"⁴ and

¹ MS. Lister 36, fol. 51.

² MS. Lister 36, fol. 59.

³ *Arch. Camb.* for 1848, p. 244.

⁴ MS. Lister 36, fol. 51.

again to Lister: "If I gain any credit by this: its not unlikely but our Gentry may be hereafter willing to encourage something more considerable."¹

Swalle was not generous. He offered five pounds and ten copies. Could he have done so with any decency, he would have excluded the Welsh counties from the edition. Lhuyd says, "They care not how little is done for that country." To the publishers, therefore, his offer to journey through Wales seemed ridiculous; that he should require information other than what could be found in the Bodleian and other Oxford libraries absurd. Indeed, Lhuyd writes, "Mr. Swall . . . and Mr. Churchill did not require I should put myself to y^e trouble & expences of a journey into Wales."² Lhuyd anticipated the methods of present-day research in many ways, but in none more than in his determination always to consult authorities at first-hand, whether they were written on vellum or cut in stone. Slipshod work such as the publishers required was to him impossible. Moreover, he was irritated by their meanness, and accordingly informed Swalle that if he could not accept his proposal "he would break off." The publishers must have agreed, for in the middle of August Lhuyd rode out of Oxford for Monmouthshire and South Wales. His tour being necessarily hurried, he was forced to narrow the scope of his enquiry; his observations were therefore mostly archæological. "I afforded", he tells Lister, "litle or no time to search after natural curiosities".³ From districts he could not visit, he received information in reply to queries.

Of the notes that were sent to them the publishers wished to print only a selection. The contributors were

¹ MS. Lister 36, fol. 98.

² *Arch. Camb.* for 1848, p. 309.

³ MS. Lister 36, fol. 68.

indignant. White Kennet recalled his, and Jonathan Edwards, the Principal of Jesus, advised Lhuyd to follow his example, and to make a book of his additions. He left the matter in the Editor's hands. Gibson pressed for their insertion, and they were printed in their entirety, to Nicolson's delight, who had written to Gibson urging him to include all Lhuyd's notes. But Lhuyd's troubles with the publishers were not over. In their proposals they had stated that each county of England would be preceded by a map. Lhuyd, with others, took England to include Wales. Swalle and Churchil thought the term was not so comprehensive, for two maps only, one for North and one for South Wales, were sent to Lhuyd for correction. His patriotism was wounded, and he refused¹ to have anything to do with them, with the result that readers found the Welsh maps as faulty as those of the English counties. Lhuyd sent Gibson the last of his notes and translations on September 13th, 1694. The new edition was published in the following year. When Gibson received the additions to Monmouthshire and the six South Welsh counties, he wrote to Lhuyd: "Your Counties came safe to hand, and, without flattery, are done like a Gentleman & a scholar."¹ Hearne, referring to the additions, remarks: "But excepting what y^e Learned Mr. Llhuyd of y^e Ashmolean Museum did there is nothing of any great moment appearing throughout the whole Book."² And in 1722, the year of Gibson's second edition: "And indeed I have often heard Mr. Edward Lhuyd say that, tho' he was often importuned & sollicitated to make Additions to, & Alterations in, w^t he had done abt Wales, yet he would not add or alter anything, but y^t, if w^t he

¹ MS. Ashm. 1815, fol. 84.

² Hearne's *Collections* (O. H. S.), vol. i, p. 217.

had done were reprinted, it should be done just as before. Upon which account I value the 1st Ed., looking upon Mr. Lhuyd's Account of Wales to be the very best Part of all the Additions."¹

Lhuyd hoped that his contributions to the *Britannia* would induce the Welsh gentry "to encourage something more considerable". He was not disappointed.² "I find", he writes in a letter to Lister, "I have got some credit by Camden in Wales"; and to John Lloyd, of Ruthin:—

"Some gentlemen in Glamorganshire have invited me to undertake a *Natural History of Wales*; with an offer of an annual pension from their County of about ten pounds for the space of seven years; to enable me to travail, &c., but I know not how the gentry of other countrey's [*sic*] stand affected. If the like encouragement would be allow'd from each county, I could very willingly spend the remainder of my days in that employment: and begin to travail next spring. Nor should I onely regard the Natural History of the countrey, but also the antiquities and anything else (as far as may be consistent with my capacity) which my Lord of Bangor and other competent judges shall think convenient to be undertaken."³

Stimulated by this invitation, Lhuyd, during the summer of 1695, drew up "a design", and laid it before John Ray, Martin Lister, the Bishop of Bangor, the Principal of Jesus, and other learned friends in England and Wales. All were encouraging, promised him support, and urged him to make it public. Accordingly, in September he writes: "I intend to print some short acct. of it on half a sheet; but must first advise with Dr. Edwards."⁴ The Principal of Jesus was at his parsonage in Hampshire. On his return the proposal was printed, it is entitled:—⁵

¹ MS. Hearne 94, fol. 153.

² MS. Lister 3, fol. 144.

³ *Arch. Camb.* for 1860, p. 179.

⁴ *Camb. Quart. Mag.*, 1833, p. 279.

⁵ MS. Ashm. 1820, fol. 228.

"A DESIGN

Of a British Dictionary, Historical & Geographical ;
With an Essay entitl'd, 'Archæologia Britannica' ;
And a Natural History of Wales.

By Edward Lhwyd, Keeper of the Ashmolean Repository in Oxford."

Lhwyd thus unfolds his scheme :--

"Being invited by some persons of Quality and Learning, to attempt something farther in the Antiquities and Natural History of Wales than hath been yet perform'd; and also finding my self more inclin'd and (as I presume) better qualified for an Employment of that kind than any other; I have here made bold to offer some proposals towards such a Design: to the end that if the Works above mention'd, may seem conduible to the advancement of Learning, and worthy of the Favour and Encouragement of those amongst the Nobility and Gentry whom it more immediatly concerns, I may forthwith resolve on the undertaking; or desist, in case they shall appear otherwise."

Having described his projected works, he continues :—

"Thus I have given a Scheme of what seems to me at present most likely to find acceptance amongst the Learned and Ingenious; but this I offer with submission to those of greater judgement and experience; and shall be very ready in case I undertake the performance, to admit of any Alteration or Amendment (agreeable with my capacity) which the majority of persons so qualified shall think requisit. Now in order to the performance of what is here propos'd, 'twill be necessary to travail Wales at least four or five summers: and likewise to make one journey into Cornwall, and an other into Irland or the Highlands of Scotland, for parallel observations, as to their Language, their names of Towns, Rivers, Mountains, &c., it being certain that the want of such actual surveying, hath been in all Ages the occasion of much error and ignorance, in writings of this Nature. Dureing these Travails I propose to myself the collecting materials for each work; but shall endeavour to prepare the Dictionary for the Presse within the Space of five years, and the Archæologia within two years after at farthest. As to the Natural History, I can set no time for its publication, as not being able to guesse how tedious it may prove; &

having some thought of writing it in Latin and publishing it in several sections apart.

“But before we engage in a Work so very tedious & expensive, it seems necessary to understand, what encouragement we are to depend upon; since nothing of this kind hath been undertaken (nor indeed could well succeed) in any Country, without such an assurance. It's well known, no kind of writing requires more expences and Fatigue, than that of Natural History and Antiquities; it being impossible to perform any thing accurately in those Studies, without much travailing, and diligent Searching, as well the most desert Rocks and Mountains, as the more frequented Valleys and Plains. The Caves, Mines, and Quarries must be pry'd into, as well as the outward Surface of the Earth; nor must we have less regard to the Creatures of the Sea, Lakes and Rivers, than those of the Air and Dry Land. But 'tis not the Expences of travailing we are only to regard; the charges of the Figures or Draughts of such new Discoveries as will occure, must needs be much more considerable; not to mention that a Correspondence as extensive as we can settle it, must be maintain'd with the Curious in these Studies, and such new Books purchas'd, as are pertinent to our Design; and that Labourers (especially in Mines and Quarries) are to be rewarded for preserving such things, as they shall be directed to take notice of.

“Upon these Considerations I hope it will not be thought profuse Liberality (provided those who are competent Judges approve of the Design) if an Annual Pension be allowd towards it, by such Gentlemen as are of their own free choice, inclin'd to promote it, for the space of five years the Money to be deliverd on the first of March or any time that month, into the hands of some Friends in each County, who are pleas'd to take upon them the trouble of returning it. And if this [Proposal] finds Acceptance, my Request is that those Gentlemen who are pleas'd to further the Undertaking, would subscribe their names to this Paper, adding how much they are dispos'd to contribute yearly And if what is subscrib'd seems to answer these considerations; my design is (with God's permission) to begin travailing next March.

“I am very sensible that such an Encouragement is much above my merit, neither can I promise my Patrons, a Performance (if it please God I may live to go thorow with it) any thing adequat to their Generosity. But whatever shall

be the succeſſe, I intend not to ſpare either Labour or Charges: and being engaged in no Profeſſion, nor oblig'd to conſtant attendance in my preſent Station, nor at all confin'd with the care of any Family, I ſhall have little elſe to mind, but to endeavour the performance of this Task to my own credit, and the Satisfaction of the Gentlemen who ſhall think fit to employ me."

Lhuyd published his Propoſals in November. Before the end of the year they had been widely diſperſed in London, and parcels of them had reached all parts of Wales. Martin Liſter took them to the Royal Society, to the Houſes of Parliament, and to Court. Dean Hickeſt diſtributed them among the more learned of the clergy. Through Thomas Manſel, Francis Gwyn, and "Peter Evans of the Old Bayly", they reached "the Parliament men of Wales and the citizens of that country" reſident in the metropolis. Lhuyd's friends in Wales were no leſs active. Refuſals were many—not a few objections were raiſed, the moſt frequent being the length of time that Lhuyd ſtated would be neceſſary for the travels and the publication of his books. But on the whole the appeal was ſucceſſful. Early in December he informs Liſter that he is aſſured of £30 annually. But it appears that his friends were often ſatisfied with mere promiſes, and did not preſent the papers for ſubſcription. Conſequentlly many contributions were loſt. In February Lhuyd decided to employ "a ſollicitor (one Thomas of Bernard's Inn) as his agent". Thomas was very ſucceſſful. In March Lhuyd writes: "I was ſurpriſed at y^e Catalogue he ſent me of two and forty Subſcribers being double y^e number I expected."

Pleas'd with the reſults of his appeal, Lhuyd decided to ſpend the coming ſummer travelling in Wales. The object of his journey he explained in a letter written on his return. "I think", he ſays, "I have taken the beſt

¹ MS. Liſter 36, fol. 150.

course the first year to ramble as far as conveniently I could, in order to inform myself what helpe I may expect from Manuscripts, &c., in general." Lhuyd left Oxford for North Wales at the end of April. On the 23rd he writes to Lister: "S^r. if you have any commands before I set out, be pleas'd to write within two or three days after this comes to hand: otherwise I know not how a letter will find me til y^e first of June at which time I have engaged to meet a Gentleman at Mr. Morgan's House, Scholemaster, at Bangor in Caernarvonshire."¹ His appointment was with Richard Richardson, of North Bierley, who had arranged to botanize with him in the Snowdon district. At Bangor, too, was Bishop Humphreys. "My L^d of Bangor", he writes on his return to Oxford, "was extraordinary obliging; and is incomparably the best skill'd in our Antiquities of any person in Wales. He gave me leave to take a catalogue of his MSS. which thô considerable enough are yet much inferior to the Collection at Hengwrt, which I take to be the most valuable in its kind anywhere extant."² From Bangor he went to Hengwrt. At this time Howel Vaughan had not taken up the unreasonable attitude towards his "study" which he assumed subsequently. Unfortunately Lhuyd's time was short on this journey, and he was able to take but a hurried view of the MSS. On September 14th he was at Swansea, whence he sent Dr. Mill, Principal of St. Edmund Hall, a copy of the Eliseg inscription:³ "I have here presum'd to trouble you with a copy of an inscription, which amongst several others I met with this summer in North Wales." From Swansea also he sent Dr. Tancred Robinson an account of his "successe," botanical and other specimens accompany-

¹ MS. Lister 36, fol. 1. 4.

² *Arch. Camb.* for 1859, p. 166.

³ *MSS. Relating to Wales in B. M.*, p. 410 (Cymm. Record Series).

ing the letter. In acknowledging the gift Dr. Robinson says: "I receiv'd your rich cargo from Swanzey, which is sufficient for a volume according to the measure and proportion of some late Writers."¹ It has not been easy to follow in Lhuyd's footsteps, there being few references to this journey, but its extent may be gathered from a passage taken out of the letter referred to above. The letter, which is dated "Oxf^d. Oct. 25, 96", begins, "It's high time to let you know I am as yet amongst y^e living: thô I have leasure to say little more at present. I am return'd to Oxford about a fortnight since having rambl'd (very much to my satisfaction) through 8 or 9 counties."²

The appeal for subscriptions was distasteful to Lhuyd—it hurt his pride. But without assistance the travels on which his research depended were impossible. Unwillingly, therefore, he asked for the aid that was indispensable. Lest, however, any help should be given grudgingly, he begged his friends to be careful that the Proposals should reach hands "that are proper", in other words, that only the patriotic, the learned, and "such as have good estates and will readily assent" should receive them.

But the issue of another set of papers gave him pleasure. These were the Queries which were published in December 1696. They are entitled:—

PAROCHIAL QUERIES

In Order to a

Geographical Dictionary, A Natural History, &c., of *Wales*.

By the Undertaker E. L.³

Lhuyd thus explains their purpose:—

"Having Publish'd some Proposals towards a Survey of

¹ MS. Eng. Hist. xi, fol. 80.

² *Arch. Camb.* for 1859, p. 166.

³ MS. Ashm. 1820, fol. 76.

Wales, and met with sufficient Encouragement from the Gentry of that Country, and several others, Lovers of such Studies; to enable me (with God's Permission) to Undertake it: I thought it necessary for the easier and more effectual Performance of so tedious a Task, to Print the following *Queries*; having good Grounds to hope the Gentry and Clergy (since they are pleas'd to afford me so Generous an Allowance towards it) will also readily contribute their Assistance, as to Information; and the Use of their Manuscripts, Coyns, and other Monuments of Antiquity: The Design being so extraordinary difficult without such Helps, and so easily improvable thereby. Nor would I have any imagine, that by Publishing these *Queries*, I design to spare my self the least Labour of Travelling the Country, but on the contrary be assured, I shall either come my self, or send one of my Assistants into each Parish throughout *Wales*, and all those in *Shropshire* and *Herefordshire*, where the Language and the Ancient Names of Places are still retain'd: And that with all the Speed, so particular a Survey will admit of. My Request therefore to such as are desirous of Promoting the Work, is, That after each *Query*, they would please to write on the blank Paper, (or elsewhere if room be wanting) their Reports; confining themselves, unless the Subject shall require otherwise, to that Parish only where they inhabit; and distinguishing always betwixt Matter of Fact, Conjecture, and Tradition. Nor will any, I hope, omit such Informations as shall occur to their Thoughts, upon Presumption, they can be of little use to the Undertaker, or the Publick, or because they have not leisure to write down their Observations so regularly as they desire: Seeing that what we sometimes judge insignificant, may afterwards upon some Application unthought of, appear very useful; and that a regular and compleat Account of Things is not here so much expected, as short Memorials, and some Directions in order to a further *Enquiry*."

Then follow the *Queries*; they are divided into two sections—in the first are "Queries in order to the Geography, and Antiquities of the Country," in the second, "Queries towards the Natural History." The first part contains sixteen, the second thirty-one questions. They are of a searching character, enquiry being pushed in all

directions. Following each query is a blank space to contain the reply. Lhuyd concludes:—

“Having thus propounded what *Queries* occur to my Thoughts; nothing remains, but that I own to the Publick, that in case this Paper meets with a kind Reception (as from this last Summer's Travels, I have great Hopes it may) if the Undertaking be ill perform'd, 'twill be wholly my own Fault; the Gentry of the Country having in all Respects done more than their Part, and afforded such an Encouragement towards it, as might sufficiently requite the Labours of a Person far better Qualified for such a *Design*: But of this, a particular Account (as is necessary) shall be given hereafter. So I shall only add here; that as to these *Queries*, besides *Wales*, I entreat the favourable Assistance of the Gentry and Clergy in those other Countries mention'd in the former Proposals: And that in all Places, they who are dispos'd to further the Design, would please to communicate this Paper where they think fit, amongst their Neighbours; interpreting some *Queries* to those of the Vulgar, whom they judge Men of Veracity, and capable of giving any the least Information towards it, that may be pertinent and instructive.”

Then follows this recommendation:—

“*We judge Mr. Lhwyd Qualified for this Undertaking; and that he cannot want proper Materials towards it, if (as an Addition to his own Industry) he receives such Answers to these Queries, as can be conveniently return'd from each Parish.*”

“JOHN WALLIS. MARTIN LISTER.
“EDWARD BERNARD. JOHN RAY.”

The name of Bishop Humphreys is absent. Lhuyd explains the omission, “My L^d of Bangor's name ought to have been subscribed amongst the approvers: but I could not conveniently send him the paper as not knowing whither to direct to him: and I was unwilling to print his name without his leave.”¹

Four thousand “*Queries*” were printed for dispersion in

¹ *Arch. Camb.* for 1859, p. 167.

Wales and Cornwall. To John Lloyd of Ruthin, Lhuyd writes: "I can afford three to a parish; or more or less as occasion requires; besides a sufficient number for Cornwall, &c."

Lhuyd did not at this time contemplate journeys in both Scotland and Ireland. The decision to visit Brittany was not arrived at until he was in Cornwall in the autumn of 1700. When he found it possible to include Ireland and Scotland in his travels he sent Queries for dispersion in the two countries. Before the end of February parcels had been sent to every district of Wales. The means of transit are interesting. Carriers took most of them. Sometimes when so conveyed they missed their destination or were rifled. Many packets were franked by the Bishop of Bangor and the Welsh members of Parliament; travellers passing through Oxford, and undergraduates leaving for the country took bundles. From "Oxf^d. St. Steven's d. 96," he writes to John Lloyd: "I had y^r L^r just now; and had observ'd the very same method you advise me to, about a week since. For I sent by Mr. K. Eaton a parcel of Queries to Mr. Price of Wrexham, with a great many more to your worship directed to be left wth y^r B^r, half a dozen to Chancellor Wyn (from his brother William) a dozen to Dick Jones, the like number betw. Ken. Eytyn and his Father; two to Mr. Humphreys of Maerdy, four to your brother David; and about 50 to the parson of Dolgelheu. His fellow traveller Mr. John Davies took with him a good parcel for Anglesey, and about a douzen to the Schoolmaster of Bangor."¹ Like the Proposals, the Queries were generally addressed to the clergy and schoolmasters. To the latter dispersion was easy, for their boys took them to their homes when leaving for their holidays. John Lloyd writes: "My scholars

¹ *Arch. Camb.* for 1859, p. 166.

were scatter'd all but 3 before y^e receipt of yr Last, those have taken each a Copie wth y^m." At the end of the next term every pupil must have carried a sheet, for their master in another letter writes: "I have dispersed yr Paper of Directions far and wide."

By 1691 Lhuyd's collection of fossils was so considerable that he decided to publish a catalogue of such as had been found in the neighbourhood of Oxford. He informed John Ray of his intention, in which the latter warmly encouraged him. "Your design", he replied, "of publishing a Catalogue of formed stones I doe very much like and approve of. . . I know no man so fit for such an undertaking as your self." At the same time he suggested that Lhuyd should not confine himself to an area so narrow, but should make the Catalogue wide enough to include fossils found throughout England, a suggestion which Lhuyd acted upon. To enlarge the list it was necessary to make excursions into districts hitherto unexplored, and "to establish a correspondence" with fossilists in different parts of the country. The publication of the Catalogue was accordingly long postponed.

In February 1695 Dr. Tancred Robinson, who was distributing Proposals through Ray, urged Lhuyd to print his Catalogue. "Another piece of Advice", he writes, "I wish you would be pleased to recommend to Mr. Lhuyd . . . is the immediate publishing of that usefull Synopsis of figured stones & Fossill[s] whole w^{ch} he hath by him for the Presse. This would be a reall specimen of his Abilities in natural History, and his intentions to gratifie the world with his Discoveries of Products of that kind." This "piece of Advice" was given because the malicious Dr. Woodward was going about London suggesting that

¹ MS. Ashm. 1829, fol. 174.

² MS. Eng. Hist. c. xi, fol. 47.

³ MS. Eng. Hist. c. xi, fol. 54.

the delay was due to incompetence. Lhuyd had not intended so long a postponement, but the Notes for Camden and the Cataloguing of important Collections bequeathed to the Museum and other duties had caused the delay. While the Queries were being distributed Lhuyd left Oxford for Marcham, a neighbouring village. On January 30th, 1697, he writes to Lister: "I have been retired hither ever since I writ last, in order to transcribe my Catalogue of Stones, which I now promise to send you by the beginning of March."¹ And again to Lister from Oxford on March 16th: "Next Monday I shall send you my *Lithophylacii Britannici Ichnographia*, for so I think to entitle the collection of my figured stones. I desire you would please to correct what you find amisse in the Phrase, and also communicat it to Dr. Robinson and Mr. Ray; from both of whom I would beg the same kindness."²

In a letter from Caldy Island in February 1698, Lhuyd petitioned the University to publish the Catalogue; he had been led to hope that they were disposed to print it. In the letter which contains his request he trusts that his application will be successful, "in Regard it contains the Grounds of a new Science in Natural History; and is the Result of many years' Searches & Observations."³ His appeal was not successful. The MS. was then offered to some of the London publishers—it was refused. "They will not medle with it," he writes. He thought of "venturing it at his own charges," but that proved impossible, Lhuyd being until his death a poor man. To invite subscriptions would be indiscreet. Even those promised towards his travels were but slowly coming in, while many had been withdrawn. It looked as if the publication of

¹ MS. Lister 36, fol. 170.

² MS. Lister 36, fol. 176.

³ MS. Ashm. 1816, fol. 62.

his fifteen years' research would be indefinitely postponed. How two distinguished Englishmen, Sir Hans Sloane and Samuel Pepys, delivered Lhuyd from the indifference of his University and the hostility of the publishers, one of them shall relate. Writing on July 4th, 1698, to Dr. Charlett, Master of University Colledge, Sloane says:—

“ . . . Mr. Pepys and I drank yr health this day after & before a great deale of serious discourse on the project about getting the mastery of those who would (and will if not speedily prevented) ruine most good books that are proposed to be printed. There is no question to be made that the thing is easy to be done. Wee have in $\frac{1}{4}$ of an hour order'd Mr. Floid's book of form'd stones to be printed here w^t many cuts. That is to say on the first proposall ten of us subscribed to take of each ten copies at the first cost, provided only 120 were printed 20 of which are designed for the author. So we shall make our books worth double the value & be obliged to or putt on by no body. Wee shall also have a thing we like & not lett a thing of that kind be lost . . . ”¹

Authors were receiving harsh treatment from the publishers at this time. Not satisfied with refusing learned works “they made it their business to damn them when privately put forth.” Readers of the *Glossography* will remember Lhuyd's references to the booksellers. Scholars were very sore at their treatment. Even vindictive feelings were harboured, and a desire to get the better of the publishers was not confined to Pepys, Sloane, and their friends.

Among the ten subscribers were the Lord Chancellor Somers, Lister, Robinson, Sloane and Sir Isaac Newton, then “Mr. Newton of Cambridge”. Lhuyd completed the preface at Montgomery in October 1698. The MS. was sent to Tancred Robinson, who saw it through the press. The *Lithology* appeared with many imperfections. Lhuyd

¹ MS. Ballard 24, fol. 66.

has been accused of carelessness, but the fault was neither his nor Dr. Robinson's; the blame lay with the printers, at whose hands Lhuyd suffered much. The publication of his works throws a strong light on the methods of the contemporary printing-house. The following is one of several complaints from Robinson: "Notwithstanding all possible care the Compositors will commit many gross Mistakes, and will not correct half the Errata made on the Sides. They are an ungovernable race of men; however it is as correct as most Books of the kind."

The distribution of the copies is worthy of remark; ten were sent to Paris, Sloane presented his to scholars in Italy and Germany; five of Lister's went to the Continent; Newton distributed his in Cambridge; Lhuyd gave his to subscribers—generally "to such as are scholars". The book brought him the reputation that Robinson anticipated. On May 14th, 1706, Hearne wrote in his diary:—

"Mr. Edw. Llhwyd being a person who was naturally addicted to ye Study of Plants, Stones, &c., as also Antiquities, he was made by Dr. Plot underkeeper of ye Ashmolean Museum, & upon his Death he became Head-keeper: sometime after w^{ch} his Name became famous, particularly upon Publication of a small Book in 8°. ab^t Fossiles: w^{ch} is writ in Latin, & has (together with other Things in the Philosophical Transactions) given occasion to Dr. Sloan to say that he thinks Mr. Llhwyd ye best Naturalist now in Europe."²

While engaged on the *Lithology*, Lhuyd was getting ready for his travels. Preparation was not an easy task, and no little foresight was required. The tours were to be taken into remote districts, and to extend over more than three years. Solitary research was impossible—it was necessary that he should have companions. Nothing

¹ MS. Eng. Hist. c. xi, fol. 89.

² Hearne's *Collections* (O. H. S.), vol. i, p. 244.

in Lhuyd's life is more interesting than his employment of youths to assist him in his many studies. The Museum always provided him with two workers—the librarian, and the under-keeper or deputy. For the library skill in palæography was essential, while a considerable knowledge of botany, geology, and antiquities was indispensable to the under-keeper. To qualify themselves for these posts the assistants received tuition from Lhuyd, and under his training often became so proficient as to be able to render him and other scholars valuable assistance in their research. As a rule they were Welsh undergraduates, youths of slender means, to whom the salaries, though small, were welcome.

Besides the assistants, Lhuyd employed “amanuenses” exclusively for his own research. These “scribes” were boys from the Grammar Schools of Wales. Many of the head-masters were friends of Lhuyd's, several of them old Oxford acquaintances who knew his requirements. When a boy of bright parts, but too poor to enter the University, was about to leave school, Lhuyd was informed. The letter describing the boy's character, abilities, and attainments, contained a passage from a Latin author as a specimen of his handwriting, a good hand being essential for the transcription of MSS., which formed an important portion of the boy's work. If Lhuyd had a vacancy, he entered into treaty with the parents or guardians. On their acceptance, the lad was sent up to Oxford, and, if he proved satisfactory, was taken into Lhuyd's employment, receiving for his services tuition and a salary. When of sufficient age he entered a college, being granted aid often on Lhuyd's recommendation. Of these boys and assistants who worked for and studied under Lhuyd several became able naturalists, linguists and antiquaries. The work of Moses Williams is well known ;

Hugh Jones died while making important discoveries in Maryland; to David Parry's knowledge of Celtic philology Lhuyd pays a tribute in his *Glossography*; while of William Jones, when introducing him to Dr. Thomas Smith, of the Cotton Library, Lhuyd writes:—

“Rev^d S^r

“Oxf^d, June 26,
1701.

“Finding there are some Welsh Manuscripts & Collections in other Languages relateing to Wales, in the Cotton Library; some of which may be pertinent to an Undertaking I am engag'd in: I humbly request your Favour (if it be not unseasonable) of granting Mr. Jones y^e Bearer Access^e therunto. He is very well skill'd in the British be the Manuscripts never so ancient; and if there be any old ones in that Language that you have not a full Account of, he may possibly inform you of their contents. Be pleas'd to excuse this Boldnesse & Trouble: & what Favour you shew us herein, shall be always gratefully acknowledg^[d] by

“R^d S^r

“Y^r most obliged humble

“serv^t Edw. Lhwyd.”¹

Lhuyd foresaw that his possible death before the publication of his books would be frequently raised as an objection by persons asked to subscribe to his Proposal. With the view of removing this difficulty, he informed more than one correspondent that he intended to take into his employment a colleague, who would be so trained that in the event of his death he could complete the works he had undertaken. To Richard Mostyn, of Penbedw, he wrote on November 26th, 1695:—

“There is one very obvious objection, which I have not taken notice of in the paper, because indeed I could not well answer it; and this is, that if it should please God I should dye before either of these books be fitted for the presse, all the encouragement given me would be so much thrown away. In order to provide for such an accident as

¹ MS. Smith 51, fol. 13.

well as I can, I shall endeavour to make choice of a young man of some extraordinary parts and industry for an amanuensis, and shall instruct him (as far as I am capable) in the studies of Natural History and Antiquities, that so he may be qualified not onely to assist me in this undertaking, if it please God I should live to goe throw with it, but perhaps to finish it as well or better than myself. If it should happen otherwise. I have already an eye on one whom I think fit for the purpose, and also very desirous for such an employment. But I could wish the college would be so favourable as to choose him into the Foundation, that so he may have some being to depend upon in regard to these singular studies will never come in his way to preferment, but rather hazard him the reputation of being ignorant in everything else, as we find it too often happens to men that signalize themselves in any one study. I intend to mention it to Dr. Edwards, who is pleas'd to be very active in promoting this design . . ."¹

The young man "of some extraordinary parts and industry" whom Lhuyd had in view was William Rowland, who had migrated from Jesus to Oriel, the college of his cousin and contemporary, Edward Samuel.

In the Autumn of 1695 Rowland left Oxford to take a temporary post in Cambridgeshire while awaiting ordination. When at this place Lhuyd invited him to become an amanuensis and to accompany him on his projected journeys, an invitation which Rowland gladly accepted. He was already a skilful "lithoscopist", and his letters, written in Welsh, English, and Latin, testify to his interest in philology and antiquities. Lhuyd submitted to him a scheme of study, that he might further qualify himself for the travels. Map-drawing and mathematics are amongst the subjects mentioned. Rowland readily consented, and entered upon his work with enthusiasm. "Duw a wnêl ir gwaith ffynnu, ac yno y bydd Gwilym fyw wrth fodd ei galon", he writes in one letter. But keen disappointment

¹ *Cambrian Quarterly Magazine* for 1833, p. 280.

was in store for master and pupil. It was not to be Rowland's lot to participate in Lhuyd's work. Probably his parents were not favourable, and he withdrew in deference to their wishes. There is no record that the college responded to Lhuyd's request that they should "choose him into the Foundation", and his people may have thought that without a scholarship "these singular studies" would "never come in his way to preferment". Whatever the cause, Rowland had to abandon the much cherished project, and he drops out of notice until 1701, when he writes to Lhuyd from Conway, of which parish he had become vicar in that year.

William Rowland's retirement embarrassed Lhuyd, but only temporarily. From Cardigan, on William Gambold's recommendation, came David Parry. In the Museum Lhuyd found two other "followers"—Robert Wynne and William Jones. Wynne was a native of Carnarvonshire, Jones of Merioneth.

Towards the end of April the carrier took into Monmouthshire what Thomas Tanner called Lhuyd's "moving library". Among its contents were magnifying glasses and other instruments, books of reference, and MSS. for collation. In a few days Lhuyd and his scholars left Oxford. He would certainly have preferred to visit Cornwall, and then proceed to Wales, as we may read in a letter to Lister dated Nov. 12th, 1696: "It would be most to my interest to goe to Cornwall next Summer; but having promis'd y^e Gentry of Glamorganshire and Carmarthenshire (where I have the greatest number of subscribers) to survey those countreys with all convenient speed, I find myself obliged to make that my first businesse."¹

Except in the letters written to and by Lhuyd, there are few records of his journeys, and, as there are many gaps in

¹ MS. Lister 36, fol. 162.

the correspondence, it is not always easy to follow him. Lhuyd left Oxford in the beginning of May. In August he was at Cowbridge. In the meantime he had visited the Forest of Dean, Newport, Cardiff, Abergavenny, Pontypool, and Llanelly (Breconshire). At Cowbridge he was detained two months. Writing on September 22nd he states that he had intended to be in Carmarthen in the middle of August, but that he had been delayed. The cause of his detention will be explained below. At the end of October he was in Swansea. From "Lhan Deilo vawr Carmarthensh.", on Dec. 20, 1697, he wrote: ". . . We have survey'd this summer (as particularly as we could) the counties of Monmouth, Glamorgan, Caermardhin, and Cardigan, and are in hopes of finishing Pembrokeshire before next spring . . ." A letter written on February 12th refers to his having passed through Carmarthen — Tenby he reached probably in January. There he remained until May. On May 21st he was at Haverfordwest, on June 19th at Narberth, on July 6th at Cardigan, on July 25th at Lampeter. From Cardigan he had written to Lister: "I shall be out of all Road of Correspondence 'til the 1st of August when I shall be at Dr. Brewsters of Hereford." From Hay he wrote on September 19th to Dr. Robinson, from Newtown to Dr. Lister on October 18th. His preface to the Lithology was finished at Montgomery on November 1st. Christmas he probably spent at Dolgelley, as he was there in January and February. On June 25th he was in Flint. A letter written on July 1st is addressed to him at Mr. Samuel, Schoolmaster, Carnarvonshire.

Lhuyd crossed over to Ireland at the end of August or the beginning of September. At Dublin he was welcomed by members of the Philosophical Society. There he remained but three days. Having received recommendations

¹ *Arch. Camb.* for 1858, p. 345.

² MS. Lister 36, fol. 203.

and directions, he left for the Giants' Causeway; Drogheda, Larne, and Coleraine being among the halting-places on the route. After his visit to the Causeway, Lhuyd and David Parry "stepped over" into Scotland, William Jones being sent into Connaught.¹ "In this kingdom", Lhuyd, writing from Linlithgow, says, "our Travels in the Highlands were through Cantire, Argyle, and Lorn, beside the Isles of Mac y Chormic, Mul, and y Columb Kil, and in the Low-lands through Glasgow, Sterling, and Edenbrough." On December 15th he was at Bathgate, where he wrote as follows to Lister: "We came yesterday from Edenbrough; where I was so kindly entertained by Sr Rob^t Sibbald & Mr. Sutherland; with y^e perusal of their Museums, Coyns & MSS. yt I would affoord no time to write to my best Friends."² Lhuyd was back in Ireland at the end of February. His return was delayed, contrary winds having detained him at the Mull of Kintyre for five weeks. He now went westward; his route can be but imperfectly traced, but from the addresses of his letters and references in them I find he was in Leitrim, Sligo, Galway, in the Islands of Aran, in Killarney, and "on the mountains of Keri".

Lhuyd returned to Wales in April. It was his intention to be in Cornwall at the beginning of June, but his stay in Wales was prolonged, for it was the end of August before he reached Penzance. In Cornwall he remained almost four months, and during that time he, or his companions, visited almost all its parishes. In the middle of November William Jones and Robert Wynne left for Oxford. On November 29th Lhuyd was at Falmouth waiting for a passage to Brittany, "having failed getting one at Looe and Foy". The difficulty must have been great, or else there

¹ *Philosophical Transactions*, vol. xxviii, p. 97.

² MS. Lister 36, fol. 243.

was some other obstacle, as he and Parry did not land at St. Malo until the second week in January.

While engaged in his survey Lhuyd settled in certain centres; in Wales these were generally towns which had grammar schools. From these centres he and his companions explored the surrounding districts, appointments being made with the clergy and others interested in their work. While investigating the party divided into two groups, Lhuyd, generally accompanied by David Parry, going in one direction, Robert Wynne and William Jones in another. This passage from a letter in which Lhuyd apologizes for neglecting a correspondent, gives an idea of the vigour with which he carried on his enquiries. Writing from "Llanbedr, Pont Ystevan", on July 25, 1698, he says: "I hartily beg your pardon for such long silence, and have no excuse to offer but my being daily hurried from Karn to Kaer, from Kaer to Klogwyn." A description of their methods when in Cornwall, given by Thomas Tonkin, will serve equally well for their procedure when in Wales. In a note in William Pryce's *Archæologia Cornu-Britannica*, he refers to "Mr. Lhuyd . . . travelling with his three companions (with knapsacks on their shoulders), on foot, for the better searching for simples, viewing, and taking draughts of everything remarkable, and for that reason prying into every hole and corner . . ." The extent of their investigation may be gathered from this list of "observables", taken out of a pocket book which Lhuyd used when in Wales.² The things to be noted are:—

Name.	Limits.	Rect. or vic.
How far from ye next	Extent.	Villages.
market towns.	Houses in number.	Townships.
— Corp, or vill.	Chappels of Ease.	Castles.
Hundred.	Saint.	Abbies.

¹ *Arch. Camb.* for 1858, p. 343.

² Llanstephan MS. 185, p. 123.

Free schooles.	Urns.	Age.
Hospitals.	Coins.	Land gained by ye
Bridges & founders.	Amulets.	sea.
Sanctuaries.	MSS.	Diving Rivers.
Seats of ye Gentry.	Rocks.	Medic. Springs.
Names of houses.	Parks.	Cave.
Krig. Kaer.	Woods.	Mines, &c.
Karn.	Commons.	Minerals.
Roman ways.	Warrens.	Quarries.
Cheqd. pavements.	Rivers.	Brit. Names.
Crosses.	Brooks.	What fuel.
Beacons.	Cataracts.	Any odd thing, as toads,
Meini Gwyr.	Lakes.	&c., in stone.
Kromlech.	Springs.	Any old thing in Turf
Inscriptions.	Mount, or champ.	pits.
Arms.	ground.	

Lhuyd's tours were not without their adventures. Each country he visited, with the exception of Scotland, furnished some exciting episode. In South Wales he was frequently molested. From Tenby, on February 28, 1698, he writes to John Lloyd:—

“I writ to you several times since I left Oxford which is now almost a twelvemonth: but I suppose my Letters either miscarried or that I forgot to give directions where yours might meet me. I find many of my Letters this last year have miscarried, intercepted I suppose by the Country people who were very jéalous of us & suspected us to be employed by the Parliament in order to some further Taxes, & in some places for Jacobit spies.”¹

And to Thomas Tanner, from Pembroke, on May 20 in the same year, he says:—

“Yours of ye 2^d came to hand w^{ch} is more than many of my Letters doe; for y^e Country people are very curious to know whom the Spies and Conjurers correspond with, & what their Intregues, which has been y^e only Discouragement I met with, since I left Oxford: but y^t will now soon be over; for in y^e Counties that remain I & my companions are pretty well known. . . .”²

¹ *Arch. Camb.* for 1851, p. 52.

² MS. Tanner xxii, fol. 38.

But in spite of their acquaintance with the remaining counties, an experience more unpleasant than any they had hitherto met with, was not impossible in North Wales—nothing less than capture by banditti. Humphrey Foulkes, then a tutor at Eton, subsequently rector of St. George, Denbighshire, in a letter incompletely dated, but which must have been written in the later nineties, says: “The latest news I received from ou[r] parts is that the Rapperies, about 24 in number, who came out of the woods & mountains to infest those parts all this last summ . . . and stole abundance of oatbread, salt butter, & some money, are now (Nov. 5th) happily retired to their winter quarters.”¹

The capture which the rapperees of North Wales possibly might have made the Tories in Ireland almost effected. To Richard Richardson, from Oxford, June 8, 1701, Lhuyd writes: “I hope you have received ere this, dried samples of the Irish Plants I formerly mentioned. The carrier told me, you had the few Seeds, though not in due time; I wish they had been more, and better; but we came out of Ireland too soon, and the Tories of Kil-Arni in Kerry obliged us to quit those mountains much sooner than we intended.”²

In Scotland alone Lhuyd escaped molestation, the only country in which he had anticipated serious trouble. Reports of the troubled state of the Highlands, and warnings that personal violence was probable, almost induced him more than once to leave Scotland out of his tours. On January 30, 1697, he wrote to Lister: “I must beg your further trouble of enquiring of Dr. Grey or Dr. Wallace whether they have heard of any Gentleman or Clergyman amongst y^e Highlands anything studious

¹ MS. Ashm. 1815, fol. 58.

² Nichols's *Illustrations of Literature*, vol. i, p. 317.

of their own Language and the Antiquities of their country; as also whether we may travail there with safety, provided we can be well recommended. As for course fare and hard lodging we are proof, being but an other sort of Highlanders our selves: but if it be the manner of the Countrey (as some tel me) to knock men in y^e head even for a threadbare suit of cloaths, I shall easily bridle my Curiosity.”¹ But in no part of the country was he interfered with, his investigations were nowhere disturbed. From Linlithgow, on December 17, 1699, he wrote: “. . . In the Highlands we found the People everywhere civil enough; and had doubtless sped better as to our Enquiries, had we had the Language more perfect.”²

In Cornwall Lhuyd experienced the annoyance which had disturbed his work in South Wales, but in a more acute form. In a letter dated St. Ives, October 15, 1700, which William Jones carried to Thomas Tonkin, Lhuyd writes: “You will receive by the bearer, (Mr. Jones), Mr. Carew’s *Survey of Cornwall*, together with what else I borrow’d, with my most humble thanks. I once designed to have waited on you myself long ere this; but now it so happens, that I take the South coast, and leave the North to the bearer, to copy such old inscriptions as shall occur, and to take what account he can of the geography of the parishes. I know you will be pleased to favour and assist him in your neighbourhood; but where we have no acquaintance, we find the people more suspicious and jealous (notwithstanding we have my Lord Bishop’s³ approbation of the undertaking) than in any country we have travelled. And upon that account I beg the trouble of you, when he leaves your neighbourhood, to give him two or three letters to any of your acquaintance more eastward. Mr. Pennick

¹ MS. Lister 36, fol. 170.

² *Phil. Trans.*, vol. xxviii, p. 97.

³ Sir Jonathan Trelawny.

not being at home, we have been strictly examined in several places ; and I am told the people, notwithstanding our long continuance here, have not yet removed their jealousy. I was forced, for their satisfaction, to open your letter to Mr. Pennick, and that proving to be just an account of me, as I had given, we were immediately dismissed.”¹ Tonkin, in the note from which I have already quoted, writes in defence of his countrymen : “Mr. Lhuyd came into the country at a time, when all the people were under a sort of panick, and in terrible apprehension of thieves and house-breakers, and . . . raised a strange jealousy in people already so much alarmed : though this alarm (as it appeared afterwards) was without the least foundation, and at last discovered to be the contrivance of some designing neighbours, to get money for their assistance in this pretended danger. He was with me at Lambrigan, August the 27th, 1700. And Sir Richard Vyvyan being then out of the country . . . I gave him a Letter to the late Mr. Chancellor Pennick, then residing at St. Hillary, whereof he was Vicar, and a very worthy, learned Gentleman. At Helston, as Mr. Lhuyd was poring up and down, and making many enquiries about Gentlemen’s seats, &c., he (with his companions) was taken up for a thief, and carried before a Justice of the Peace ; who, on opening my Letter, was very much ashamed at it, and treated him very handsomely. This the bearer, Mr. Jones, gave me a full account of, though I had heard it before from others.”

Hearing on his arrival in Brittany that several English merchants had been seized as spies near Brest, Lhuyd decided to avoid that town, and to keep near Morlaix. But here, as in Cornwall and Wales, his methods excited suspicion, and reports were sent to the “Entendent des

¹ *Archæologia Cornu-Britannica*, Letter I.

marines" at Brest that there were spies in the district. This official sent "a Provô" and two officers to arrest Lhuyd and Parry, then at St. Pol de León. "The Messenger", writes Lhuyd, "found me busy in adding the Armoric words to Mr. Ray's *Dictionariolum Trilingue*, with a great many Letters and small Manuscripts about the Table, which he immediately secured, and then proceeded to search our Pockets for more."¹ Lhuyd produced letters of recommendation to merchants and clergy of the district. One of the clergy undertook to bail them. Seeing the "Provô" unwilling to accept his offer, Lhuyd says: "I return'd my Thanks to y^e Gentleman and told him I w^d not have his name call'd in the least Question on my account, but was very ready to make my appearance and glad of the opportunity of seeing Brest."² The officers considerably allowed Lhuyd and Parry to travel alone. On arrival at Brest they appeared before the Intendant, who without examination ordered them to the Castle, where they were informed that they would not receive the allowance of one and eight pence a day usually given the King's prisoners, but that they must support themselves. They refused to purchase food, "which we did", says Lhuyd, "because we found we did not lie much under Mercy, having a ground Room and the Conveniency of receiving through a Window anything that was necessary, which some Irish Soldiers in the Castle would bring us for our Money."³ The Intendant relaxed, and they were granted fifteen pence daily. After eighteen days' imprisonment they were released, their papers, which had been examined and found to contain "nothing of treason", returned, but they were refused a pass to Paris, and were ordered to leave the kingdom, being informed

¹ *Mona Antiqua*, p. 340.

² *Arch. Camb.* for 1857, p. 388.

³ *Mona Antiqua*, p. 340.

“that war was already declar’d against the Emperor, the Dutch and the English”.

In spite of many interruptions Lhuyd’s investigations were so successful that it is impossible to enumerate their results in the present paper. The account of his survey of Wales must be especially partial, and devoted almost exclusively to the fruits of his searches for ancient MSS. in Glamorganshire.

In a letter written to Thomas Tanner, from Cowbridge, on September 25, 1697, occurs this passage: “This Summers Progresse has prov’d (in y^c maign) well enough to my satisfaction; especially as to Welsh MSS. and materials towards y^c Natural History.”¹ In a letter to John Lloyd, in December of the same year, he says: “I met with several Welsh MSS. but not above 2 or 3 of any considerable Antiquity: and they not written above 300 years since. One of them was a fair large folio on velom, containing copies of such old MSS. as y^c writer could meet with. This, least we should not meet with y^c like elsewhere, we transcrib’d, tho it cost us 2 months.”² The “fair large folio in velom” was *Llyfr Coch Hergest*, then the property of Thomas Wilkins of Llanblethian. Prebendary Wilkins was very jealous of his MSS. It was with great reluctance that he had allowed them to go out of his keeping, and his anxiety was great until they were returned. “Mr. Wilkins”, writes one of Lhuyd’s correspondents, “desires you to be carefull of his Antiquities especially the old British Vellum Manuscript wch. he values at a great Rate.”³ Thomas Wilkins’s solicitude with regard to the *Red Book* was not a little galling. The MS. was not his property, and had he been willing to restore it to its rightful owner Lhuyd could have bought it

¹ MS. Tanner xxiii, fol. 152.

² *Arch. Camb.* for 1858, p. 346.

³ MS. Ashm. 1817b, fol. 203.

for twenty shillings, and thus the two months consumed in its transcription at Cowbridge might have been employed otherwise. In one of his letters to Tanner, Lhuyd gives the reason why he had not met with more Welsh MSS. "of any considerable Antiquity." "Great part", he says, "of our writings have without doubt been long since burnd and destroyd; and many of them of later years, for one Mr. Roberts, a clergyman in this countrey, tels me he saw heaps of parchment Books & Rolls, burnt at St. David's during ye late Civil Warrs; and did himself being then a school boy, carry several out of ye library for the sake of ye Guilt Letters, &c."¹

Two passages taken out of letters written by Edmund Gibson and Archdeacon Nicolson, give some idea of the success which attended Lhuyd's researches as a Naturalist. Writing in January 1698 to Dr. Charlett, Gibson says: "Mr. Llwyd sent me out of Wales, about a week agoe, 5 Incriptions that he had met with on his Travels. It is a prodigious treasure of antique & Natural Rarities, that he will pick up, to furnish materials for his new undertaking."² The date of Nicolson's letter is October 24, 1698: "'Tis now high time", he tells Lhuyd, "to be looking towards Montgomery. I wish I had met with anything in my last Summer's Simpling Voyage that might be answerable to the agreeable Entertainment which your Welsh Mercuries alwaies bring with them."³

Scientists had been paying great attention to Ireland during recent years: Botanists had been particularly active there. It was anticipated that Lhuyd would make few discoveries in Natural History, but that his archæological finds would be considerable. The results, however, were entirely the reverse. "Mr. Lhuyd", wrote Tancred Robin-

¹ MS. Tanner xxii, fol. 64.

² MS. Ballard 5, fol. 119.

³ MS. Ashm. 1816, fol. 506.

son to Lister on August 30, 1700, "has found more of Nature than Antiquities in Ireland"; and to Lister again on September 3,¹ ". . . He has met with very few Antiquities in Ireland, but nature hath made amends by her wonderfull Luxuriancy."² Writing soon after his arrival in Cornwall, Lhuyd says: "For Antiquities, Ireland affords no great variety; at least it was not our fortune to be much diverted that way. I have in divers Parts of the Kingdom picked up about 20 or 30 Irish MSS. on Parchment."³

References to his travels in Scotland are not numerous. He tells us, however, in a letter to Henry Rowlands:⁴ "We collected a considerable Number of Inscriptions in Scotland"; and in a letter to Lister: "We sped well enough in ye High Lands as to some Materials for ye *Archæologia Britannica*."⁵

Writing to Thomas Tonkin, Lhuyd thus describes his gleanings in Cornwall: "Those few things that occurred to me in Cornwall, which are chiefly Inscriptions, and a Vocabulary as copious as I can make it, I design to insert (God willing) in my *Archæologia Britannica* . . ."⁶ He informed Richard Mostyn of Penbedw, that "the onely four Cornish Books remaining were communicated to me, besides many other Favours by y^c Bishop of Excester, and I have copies of each of them. That countrey affoarded some ancient Inscriptions like those added to Camden in Wales. . . ."⁷

The unfortunate imprisonment in Brittany entirely frustrated Lhuyd's plans, and his research in that country

¹ MS. Lister 37, fol. 27.

² MS. Lister 37, fol. 29.

³ *Philosophical Transactions*, vol. xxvii, p. 524.

⁴ *Mona Antiqua*, p. 337.

⁵ MS. Lister 36, fol. 243.

⁶ *Archæologia Cornu-Britannica*, Letter iv.

⁷ *Arch. Camb.* for 1857, p. 389.

yielded but a meagre harvest. Referring to his sudden departure—the passage is from a letter to Henry Rowlands—he says: “So much for our coarse Welcome in France, which prevented almost all the Enquiries I design’d, into the Language, Customs and Monuments of that Province. For all we could do was but to pick up about twenty small printed Books in their Language, which are all, as well as ours, Books of Devotion, with two Folios publish’d in French; the one containing the History of Bretagne, the other the Lives of the Armoric Saints . . . I had taken directions about ancient British Manuscripts in some of their Convents, and some Persons noted for their Skill in the Language and Antiquities of their Country, but was not allowed Time to consult either Men or Books, or to view any of their old Monuments, so that I shall be able to say little of that Country, besides what relates to their Language.”¹

Lhuyd and Parry sailed for Poole, and within a week of their release they were in Oxford. To Richard Mostyn, Lhuyd wrote on April 21, 1701: “Being after a tedious ramble of four years at length return’d to the place from whence I set out; and for what I can foresee settl’d (if it please God) for the remainder of my time; ’tis my Duty to return most humble Thanks to my best Friends and greatest Patrons, who have enabled me to perform such expensive Travails; and necessary I should entreat their farther assistance as to correspondence and Information, in case anything may occur remarkable, during the time I shall be culling out the pertinent part of my collection and digesting it for the Presse, w^{ch} (make what Hast I can) must needs be the work of some years.”²

Very soon after his return Lhuyd despatched William Jones and an assistant to transcribe documents in the

¹ *Mona Antiqua*, p. 342.

² *Arch. Camb.* for 1857, p. 387.

Tower and in other London Collections. To private libraries in Wales and elsewhere he sent requests for the loan of MSS. and records.

The first part of the *Archaeologia Britannica*, entitled *Glossography*, and published in 1707, embodies but a small portion of Lhuyd's research. The remaining results of his survey were to appear in other volumes; they are thus described in the Proposals:—

“In the Historical & Geographical Dictionary, a brief Account is designed: First, of all Persons memorable in the British History; whether mention'd by the Romans or Writers of our own Nation: and of all such Authors as have written in British, whether Welsh, Cornish, or Armorican.

“Secondly, of all Places in Britain mention'd by the Greeks and Romans; and of all Hundreds, Comots, Towns, Castles, Villages, and Seats of the Nobility and Gentry of chiefest note, now in Wales: as also of the most notable Mountains, Rivers, Lakes, Camps, Forts, Barrows; and all such as either retain any monuments of Antiquity at present, or seem from their name to have had such here tofore. Throughout this whole work, an interpretation of all such proper names as are now intelligible is intended; with conjectures concerning some of those which are more obscure

“The essay entitl'd *Archaeologia Britannica* is design'd to be divided into four Parts.

“The First to contain a comparison of the modern Welsh with other European Languages: more especially with the Greek, Latin, Irish, Cornish, & Armorican.

“The Second, A Comparison of the Customes and Traditions of the Britans with those of other nations.

“The Third, an Account of all such monuments now remaining in Wales as are presum'd to be British; and either older or not much later than the Roman Conquest, viz., their camps and Buryal places, the monuments call'd Cronlecheu and Meineu gŵyr; their Coyns, Arms, Amulets, &c.

“The Fourth, An Account: of the Roman Antiquities there, and some others of later date, dureing the Government of the British Princes; together wth copies of all the

Inscriptions of any considerable Antiquity, as yet remaining in that country.

“The Natural History may be divided into five sections. The first whereof may contain a General Description of the Country in respect of its Situation and Quality of the Soil: An Account of Meteors with comparative Tables of the weather in general places. Also of the Sea, Rivers, Lakes, Springs, and Mineral Waters.

“Sect. 2. An Enumeration & Description of all the various Sorts of Earths, Stones, and all Mineral Bodies.

“Sect. 3. Of Form'd Stones, or such as have a constant & regular Figure, whereby they are distinguishable from each others [*sic*] no lesse than Plants or Animals.

“Sect. 4. Of Plants, wherein we shall onely take notice of such as grow spontaneously in Wales, and have been rarely or not at all observed elsewhere in this Island, adding a Catalogue of such as are found in England or Scotland, and have not been observ'd in Wales.

“Sect. 5. Of Animals; in the same Method.”¹

Lhuyd resolved to publish the *Archæologia Britannica* before the Dictionary and Natural History, because he thought “it would meet with more buyers”, and because he had “a tolerable apparatus for it”. In November 1703, the *Glossography* was finished, and placed in the printer's hands; it was not published until 1707. Lhuyd was not responsible for the delay—“the Press”, he wrote, “has never stayed an hour”—it was caused by lack of type; founts, especially such as were required for Lhuyd's Orthography, being so scarce that it was impossible for more than one compositor to proceed with the work.

The *Glossography* had a mixed reception. The Welsh gentry were disappointed, not unreasonably. To most of them it was a sealed book—even the Welsh preface was printed in letters that greatly puzzled; they would have found the Dictionary, the Natural History, or one of the other parts of the *Archæologia* more interesting. “Yr

¹ MS. Ashm. 1820, fol. 228.

Learned & curious booke", wrote one of Lhuyd's Welsh Correspondents, "had not ye reception in these parts as it deserved, not one in twenty that I conversed with giving it any tolerable character." The learned of Paris were dissatisfied because it was not written in Latin. By English and Celtic scholars it was received with admiration. From London, on August 8, Lhuyd wrote: "The Linguists and Antiquaries in these parts are so well satisfied with this volume that it sels much beyond what could be expected of a book so forreign."¹ Dean Hicke had his copy on June 2. His letter is typical of the numerous appreciations that Lhuyd received. "Sir", he writes,

"This day I received the copy of your *Archæologia Britannica*. The moment I received it, I sat down to peruse it for 4 houres together, and had sit longer at it, if other affaires had not called me of [*sic*]. Your performance throughout, as it is worth all your labour, and paines: so I doubt not but it will be very satisfactory to all men, who have a genius for antiquity, and the more learned and judicious they are, the more they will approve it, and be pleased with it. For my own part, I professe unfeignedly to you, that I am an admirer of it, and wish for my own sake, and the sake of my late undertaking² it had been printed 20 years ago, so usefull would it have been unto me. It hath cost you a great deal of thought, and by consequence required a great deal of time, and now I consider the Harmony, and accuracy of the severall parts of it, I wonder we had it so soon. When it is bound, I will carefully peruse the whole, and then you shall hear more from me of it. In the mean time, sir, I give you my share of the public thanks, w^{ch} are due to you, and had I the honour to be known to Sir Th. Mansell³ your patron, I would give him thanks for encouraging such a

¹ *Arch. Camb.* for 1860, p. 15.

² *Ling. Vett. Septentr. Thes.*, Oxon., 1705-03.

³ The *Glossography* is dedicated to Sir Thomas Mansell, created Baron Mansell of Margam January 1712.

noble, and truly usefull a work. Would all other Gentlemen, who are able, follow his Mecaenas-like example. The commonwealth of Learning would soon enlarge its territories, and in particular the darknesse of Antiquities would in few yeares be brought to light. I pray God continue your health unto you, and that you may live to finish your other designes; and that you may also find patrons to encourage you, is the hearty wish of

“Your faithfull freind,
and serv^t GEO. HICKES.”¹

Subsequently to his travels Lhuyd's life was uneventful. Except to reside for long periods in some neighbouring village, where he might find the quietness that was impossible at the Museum, he rarely left Oxford. Still, he made one important excursion which should be recorded. In the summer of 1702 he visited Cambridge to consult a MS., which, according to the recently published catalogue of the University Library, “. . . promised . . . a map of Britain and Ireland by Giraldus Cambrensis . . .” The map was disappointing, being but a crude draught. This journey, however, was not in vain, for while searching in the various libraries Lhuyd discovered the glosses and Englynion of the Juvencus MS.

On his return from Brittany, his University, in appreciation of his prolonged and laborious researches, conferred on Lhuyd the honorary degree of M.A. In 1708, the year following the publication of the *Glossography*, he was made a Fellow of the Royal Society. In the spring of 1709 he was elected Superior Beadel of Divinity, but unfortunately he was to hold the office for a few months only. His election took place on March 11, and he died on June 30.

Lhuyd had been endowed with a fine physique, and his powers of endurance were great; had it been otherwise he

¹ MS. Ashm. 1815, fol. 188.

could not have carried on his numerous studies so enthusiastically and so successfully. There are references to his strength and sturdiness when a youth, and he himself, in a letter that is without date, but which must have been written after his thirtieth year, tells a correspondent that he could not remember to have taken physic more than three times in his life. This excellent health he enjoyed until 1698. When at Haverfordwest, in 1697, being then thirty-seven, he writes: "For my part I have not been one day very sick these ten years; nor have I ever enjoy'd my health (God be thanked) better than in my Travails."¹ This good fortune soon deserted him. When in North Wales in the following year, he began to suffer from a severe headache, which became periodic, and from a cough, which developed into chronic asthma. Towards the end of June 1709, Lhuyd, through sleeping in a damp room at the Museum, caught a chill. On Sunday, June 26, pleurisy set in, which became complicated with asthma. He died late on Wednesday night or early on Thursday morning, and was buried on Friday night, at nine o'clock, in the Welsh Aisle of St. Michael's Church, his body being accompanied from the Museum by the Beadels and members of Jesus College Common Room.

Lhuyd died in debt. His income as keeper of the Ashmolean Museum had never exceeded £50. His travels proved more expensive than he anticipated; he was often "pocket bound" on his journeys, for his supporters failed him miserably. In 1696, the year of the first tour, the subscriptions amounted to £110 0s. 0d. In 1700, they had dwindled to £11 15s. 0d. Financially, the *Glossography* was not a success. Moreover, Lhuyd was of a very generous nature. His gifts to friends and others who helped him in his work were many. Undergraduates always found in him a friend,

¹ *Arch. Camb.* for 1857, p. 385.

he frequently lent them money, and the indebtedness was not seldom forgotten. The beadelship would have freed him from difficulties—it was “something better than £100 per annum”—but it came too late.

Lhuyd's MSS. and books were seized by the University. There is a tradition that the authorities of Jesus College wished to purchase them, but were dissuaded by William Wynne, one of the Fellows who had quarrelled with Lhuyd. It was hoped that, if they might not go to Lhuyd's College, the Bodleian would acquire them. Indeed, John Anstis, who had given Lhuyd several MSS., and who desired to buy the collection, did not press his offer lest he might make their purchase more difficult to the University library. But Bodley's librarian does not appear to have made any effort to procure them. Besides Anstis, other intending purchasers were Bishop Nicolson, Lord Mansell, Sir Thomas Sebright, and Humphrey Wanley, the last on behalf of Lord Harley. Anstis, the bishop, and Lord Mansell, withdrew, and left Sir Thomas, who was an old Jesus man, and Wanley keenly to compete. To Wanley the chief attraction was *Llyfr Coch yr Hergest*. Lhuyd had borrowed the MS., and it was in his possession when he died. Thomas Wilkins's letter, stating that he had given the *Red Book* to the College and not to Lhuyd, is affixed to its cover. At Wanley's request, Moses Williams examined the collection. He reported that the *Llyfr Coch* had been removed to Jesus College library, and that the other MSS. might be purchased for £80, the amount of Lhuyd's debts. In spite of the loss of the great MS., Wanley was as eager as ever, but his attempts were in vain. The collection was ultimately sold to Sir Thomas Sebright, on which Wanley remarks: “After we have been beating the bush another is about to run away with the Hare.” It will always be regretted that

the MSS. did not pass into Jesus College library, or into the Bodleian, as then they would have escaped the calamity that has dogged them from the time they left Oxford.

How far Lhuyd had proceeded with his other works it is impossible to say. A few months after the publication of the *Glossography*, he wrote to John Lloyd of Ruthin: "Pray learn, as much as you can, in whose hands the Grants or Charters of the Religious houses in Denbighshire and Flintshire may be. Sr Thomas Mansel has sent me lately all these (*sic*) of his Abbey of Margan (*sic*), which are 205; & they give me much more instruction than I was aware of. I suppose no Gentleman that's anything a scholar would scruple to lend them; but for those that are in other hands we are not to expect them."¹ Tancred Robinson, writing within a week of Lhuyd's death: "I remember Mr. Lhuyd told me he had perfected for the press an *Onomasticon Populorum, Urbium et oppidorum Antiq. Britan.*, and had prepared a second edition of his *Litholog. Britan.*, very much augmented."² In January 1714, Richard Richardson of North Bierley, wrote: "I am sorry that I could have no better account of Mr. Lhuyd's Collections from him than I had, not many months before he dyed he sent me an account that he designd to print his Nat. Hist. of Wales in latine for the advantage of foraigners, in two octavos, in a fine Elziver character which induces me to believe that he had that worke in a great measure ready for the press."³

To Richardson Lhuyd had written on Nov. 8, 1708: "The first thing I design to publish will be only an 8vo in Latin, containing an account of the method observed by

¹ *Arch. Camb.* for 1860, p. 17.

² MS. Lister 37, fol. 157.

³ MS. Ballard 17, fol. 138.

the ancient Gauls and Britans in the naming of persons and places. Perhaps you may supply me with some names of Mountains and Rivers of Yorkshire, not to be found in the maps; some of which might illustrate or confirm other observations. Are there no Irish or British Manuscripts to be heard of in all your country, or any barbarous Iss.”¹

Hearne and others who examined Lhuyd’s collection found his materials “undigested”. But after his death they were confused, and it is to be feared tampered with. The much loved David Parry alone could have brought the work to completion, but, unfortunately, he in no way concerned himself with the MSS. Already in Lhuyd’s life time he had entered upon the path which led to his ruin. Once his master’s care and restraining influence were removed his fall was rapid. He survived Lhuyd but five years, dying on December 8, 1714, “a perfect sot”.

I conclude with three tributes to Lhuyd:—On May 14, 1706, Hearne wrote in his diary: “. . . I tell you, y^t he is a person of singular Modesty, good Nature, & uncommon Industry. He lives a retir’d life, generally three or four miles from Oxford, is not at all ambitious of Preferment or Honour, & w^t he does is purely out of Love to y^e Good of Learning and his Country . . .”²

“Rhag bod ymma”, says John Morgan, at the end of his *Myfyrdodau Bucheddol*.³ “Ddalenneu segur, mi argrephais yr Englynon isod, ar Farwolaeth Mr. Edward Llwyd, Ceidwad y Musaeum yn Rhydychen.”⁴

¹ Nichols’s *Illustrations of Literature*, vol. i, p. 321.

² *Hearne’s Collections* (O.H.S.), vol. i, p. 244.

³ *Myfyrdodau Bucheddol ar y Pedwar Beth [sic] Diweddaf* . . . Lundain . . . 1745.

⁴ The Englynon are printed *verbatim et literatim*.

Carmen Englynicum in Obitum Celeberrimi & Linguis Peritissimi
Antiquarii Dom. Edvardi Luidii, M.A.R.S.S. Ashmoleani Musaei
apud Oxonienses Custodis; qui hâc vitâ decessit 29 die Junii, Ann.
Dom. 1709, Ætatis suae 49.

Mae aml gawodydd ymma, a Gorfif
Garw llafar fel Gaua';
Mae iâs oer yn y Mis Ha',
Oes oerach nag iâ Eira.

Gan in hôff Haul gynneu ffo, a'i Gannaid
Oedd gynnes fachludo ;
Gan i Brif atteg ein Bro,
Ai gwiw Geidwad ei gado.

Ymmaith fyth Weniaith i anwyl Feinir,
Oedd fynych yngorchwyl ;
Ymmaith bêr Lais om hemyl ;
Syn yw'r Glust gan Sw'n oer Glul.

Clul Gwr cu' *Gymru* i gyd, an Browdwr
Mewn Brwydreu Celfyddyd :
Arweddwr Cyfarwyddyd,
A doeth Ben Dysceidiaeth Byd.

Hwyliaist or Llwybreu halaeth, gan hoffi
Anhyffordd Wybodaeth
Allan on Dysc, lle nid aeth
Un Dyn i Derfyn d' Arfaeth.

Meini nâdd a Mynyddoedd, a Gwalieu
Ac olion Dinasoedd,
A Dail dy Fyfyrdod oedd,
A Hanesion Hên Oesoedd.

Ni fu gwn, soniwn am sydd, un Heniaith
Anhynod na newydd ;
Na ddo, ith dyn Go' dan gudd,
Cywreinwaith, nai Carennydd.

Chwiliaist, ti gefaist yn gyfan Addysc
Y Derwyddon allan ;
A Bri y Cowri, a'i Can,
Ai Hiroes gynt, ai Harian.

Cyhoeddodd, rhanodd oth Rhinwedd Llyfreu
 Llafurus beth rhyfedd :
 Eithr or Byd mwy aeth ir Bêdd,
 Anial Dir, yn ol d'orwedd :

Nid oes un Einioes yn unig mewn Bedd,
 Mae'n Byd yn gladdedig.
 Mil draw yn d'ymmyl a drig,
 O Wladwyr canmoledig.

Garw yw huno Gwr hynod heb orphen
 Ei berffaith Fyfyrdod,
 Rhoddem a feddem dy fod
 O law Angeu, Lew yngod.

Od a'r un i Dir¹ Annwn, Nidn Callef
Nid Cenlifoedd fyrddiwn,
O oer Alar a wylwn,
A feddalkâ Feddul hwn.

Ond er ir Cnawd, Brawd llwch brau, ymollwng
 I'wyllys yr Angau ;
 Mae'r Enw pêr mawr yn parhâu
 Mewn Parch, er mwyn ai piau.

Ym mhob Tre' a Lle bydd *Llwyd*,
 Er ei Glul yn Aur ei Glôd,
 Yn Dwr, yn Glydwr ein Gwlâd,
 Unig Crair Awduron Crêd.

Pob Craig wen oi phen iw phant, ddiwidswydd
 A ddadsain dy Haeddiant.
 Pibau bronnydd, pôb ryw Nant,
 Filoedd a gân dy Foliant.

A Duddyfnion Afonydd a gludant
 Dy Glôd yn gyfarwydd,
 Diball Drêth i bell Dreithydd,
 Yn oes eu Dwr, Nos a Dydd.

A thra bo Athro bywiawl, na cherrig,
 Na Chaerau Dieithrawl,
 Nag un Llyseuyn llesawl,
 Na hen Iaith, bydd faith dy Fawl.

¹ Nid eir i *Annwn* ond unwaith.

Lest the phrase "a brilliant and many-sided genius" applied to Lhuyd at the beginning of this paper should be considered extravagant, especially when it has been followed by so incomplete a record of his life and work, I will close with a recent appreciation of one side only of Lhuyd's learning—his philology. At the conclusion of an address delivered at Oswestry in June 1896, Professor Rhys said:—

"I was yesterday shown a most picturesque old house . . . , and as I heard it called the Llwyd Mansion, my curiosity was at once roused, and I found that it belonged in ages gone by to the Lloyds of Llanvorda. Of that family came a great man, a very great man, to wit, Edward Llwyd,—who was born in the year 1660, and died in 1709, when he was buried in the Welsh aisle of St. Michael's at Oxford; that is to say in the burial place then reserved for Jesus College. For Llwyd was undoubtedly one of the greatest men educated at the Welsh College. I feel an interest in the memory of Edward Llwyd, not only on account of his connection with the Welsh College, but because he was in many respects the greatest Celtic philologist the world has ever seen. It is not too much to say that had Celtic philology walked in the ways of Edward Llwyd, and not of such men as Dr. Pughe and Col. Vallancy, it would by this time have reached a far higher ground than it has, and native scholars would have left no room for the meteoric appearance of Zeuss or of the other Germans who have succeeded him in the same field of study."¹

¹ *Bye-Gones*, vol. xiii, p. 363.



EDWARDUS

LHUYD

*Cambræ-britannicus
eruditus: Coll:*

JESU apud

*Oxon: A. M. in eadem Aca
demiâ. S. Theologiæ Bedel
lus Superior; pleriq; ut in
hoc Museo Successor; ita be
nerolentiâ et eruditione non
impar. Vir enim hic pererru
ditus, postquam per pluri
anos Cimbriarum provinci
am summâ cura et fidelitate*

PORTRAIT OF EDWARD LHUYD.

From the Donation Book of the Ashmolean Museum.

THE LETTERS OF
EDWARD LHWYD

I

1682-1690

LHWYD'S EARLY LIFE AT JESUS COLLEGE

EDWARD LHWYD was a born naturalist. He had the advantage of being bred in a country famed for natural beauty and mineral wealth, and it is thought that he may have inherited a love of botany from his father, who was greatly interested in this subject, and seems to have been on intimate terms with a famous horticulturist, EDWARD MORGAN of Bodyscallan,¹ with whom the son also had dealings. The earliest evidence of these interests is a dated list of plants (1)² that he collected on Cader Idris and Snowdon in the spring and summer of 1682 just before coming into residence at Oxford. A copy of the list in the handwriting of John Lloyd was written out for the guidance of his kinsman David Lloyd, with instructions for further collecting. Nine species are marked as being unrecorded by the greatest contemporary authority on English botany, John Ray.

At Oxford Edward's love of plants ensured his gaining the friendship of JACOB BOBART junior, then Danby Professor of Botany, and special instructions for collecting on Cader Idris (2) were obviously drawn

¹ Cf. Gunther, *Early British Botanists*, p. 308.

² Numerals in the text refer to the numbered letters.

up after he had visited the Physick Garden in Oxford and had been informed of its needs.

Edward Lhwyd came up to Jesus College in Oxford at the age of 22 on the last day of October 1682, and it so happened that it was during the summer term of his freshman's year that the Old Ashmolean Building, or Museum as it was then called, was first opened to the public. There Dr. PLOT, the first Professor of Chemistry in Oxford, employed young Lhwyd as Register of the Chymicall courses in the University Laboratory, thereby forging the first link that tied him to the Building that became his only real home.

On December 9, 1684, while still an undergraduate, Lhwyd made a first public appearance in scientific circles in the Old Ashmolean on the occasion of the meeting of the Philosophical Society in the School of Natural History. He presented the Society with a piece of incombustible paper made from specimens of mineral Asbestos that he had received from Llanfair yng Hornwy in northern Anglesey. Possibly he may have collected them there himself. These he ground up in a mortar, and took the powder to a paper-mill, where, after being mixed with water, it was found to run together like paper pulp. The paper thus made excited much interest at the time because fire would not burn it. A full account was printed in the *Philosophical Transactions* (3), and an abstract was entered in the *Minutes of the Oxford Philosophical Society*, *see* p. 6. The invention has since proved of great value and of the most diverse applicability. A similar linen of Chinese manufacture had been shown to the Royal Society in London a month previously.

His next communications to the Society were geological. Some small stones on a bank by the wayside to the south of Islip church, that had attracted his attention, proved to be similar to some described by Dr. Lister,¹ but differed in having no side indented. Dr. Plot considered them worthy of exhibition at a meeting; and they were named *Echinites laticlavii vitium*.

Other discoveries followed. On December 15, 1685, Lhwyd communicated stones like *Lapides Judaici*, and others like shell-fish, that he had gathered in Oxfordshire. On January 12, 1685-6, he presented the Society with a new *Catalogue of the Shells in ye Museum Ashmoleanum* that he had recently compiled. It was entitled *Cochlearum omnium tam terrestrium quam marinarum quae in hoc Musaeo continentur, Distributio classica juxta figurarum vicinitatem concinnata*. It is something of a tragedy that copies of Lhwyd's Catalogue of Shells are still being piously kept with the classical antiquities in the Oxford Museum of Archaeology, while owing to lack of such a catalogue, his shells have been thrown out of the Oxford Science Museum as of no value. But the policy of alienating catalogues from collections has proved of doubtful benefit, for it has undoubtedly led to the loss of many type specimens from the Ashmolean museum, including the Cornish collections of Borlase, the local collections of Plot, and other historical specimens.

On January 26, 1685-6, Lhwyd gave an account of the plants that he had found growing in North Wales, but which John Ray had omitted from his Catalogue. On March 9, 1685-6, he exhibited a new land snail that

¹ *Phil. Trans.* No. 100, fig. 31, and §4 of the Discourse on pentagonous plates.

he had found in Cumnor Woods, to which he gave the long name of *Turbo exiguus sylvaticus, obtusè mucronatus, quinis spiris a sinistrâ in dextram convolutis*.

The appreciation by a learned Society of these early efforts of the young man undoubtedly proved most helpful and suggested the right course for future work. The earliest letters that deal with this period are those that were preserved by Watkin Williams, M.P., and were printed in part in the *Cambrian Quarterly Magazine* for 1830 and in *Archaeologia Cambrensis* twenty years later. They are now preserved in the National Library of Wales.¹ The first four (4-7), addressed to his kinsman, DAVID LLOYD, show the enthusiasm with which Lhwyd had entered upon the study of Natural History and the missionary zeal with which he tried to arouse a kindred interest in others. There is, I think, no doubt but that it was his tutor, Dr. Plot, to whom he owed his initiation into the best methods of study, the delight of bringing new facts to light, and the incentive of interpreting the hidden workings of Nature.

Letters such as No. 6 could hardly fail to stimulate those living in the country, who were privileged to receive them, and it is certain that Lhwyd took the greatest pains to enlarge the circle of any persons who might be willing to add to his collections.

As a result he was able to exhibit to the meeting of the Philosophical Society on February 22, 1686-7, the following *naturalia* from Anglesey.

1. Egg-cases of Skate, called Cist y Môr (= *Cista marina*).
2. Eggs of Dogfish.

¹ MS. *Peniarth* 427.

3. *Favus marinus Sibbaldi*.
4. Fronds of seaweed, with 'a facing of fine silk', small filaments about $\frac{1}{8}$ inch long, which were easily scraped off.
5. Husks of a sort of Sea Insect, Chwaun y Môr.—'placed one in another so that it appeared geniculated like *Equisetum nudum*, or like the stem of a tobacco-pipe.'

Among his helpers Nicholas Roberts of Llandewy Velfrey in a letter of August 12, 1687, promised to start a correspondence with him, and on March 27, 1688, Lhwyd was able to show the Philosophical Society

1. Roman coins from Craig Lhan y Mynych, Denbighshire.
2. Pearls from R. Teivi, Cardiganshire.
3. Large crystals from Creigiau'r Eryrw, Carnarvonshire, with both ends entire.
4. Small crystals from Cardigan, but much clearer than the last.

The longest series of letters addressed to Lhwyd is contained in five or six folio volumes known as *Reliquiae Luidianae*, but there are comparatively few early letters among them, the majority being between 1690 and 1707. The earliest in this collection is one from his cousin, THOMAS PRICE of Llanvilling, dated March 15, 1685, which is an answer to one of February 17. Price was in London on his way to Italy by invitation of Lord Castlemaine, when legal business intervened and stopped his journey. We merely mention this letter to emphasize the paucity of Lhwyd's letters dating from before the time when he was appointed to office in the Old Ashmolean, and thereby had a study in which to store a few personal notes with his official correspondence.

Evidence relating to Lhwyd's activities in 1687 and 1688 is very scanty. The one certain fact is that in the summer of the latter year he was collecting plants round about Snowdon. He delighted the heart of JACOB BOBART with a consignment of plants for the Oxford Physick Garden. Bobart's letter of thanks, dated September 23, 1688, and addressed to Kapel Kirig, refers to Lhwyd's return from across the water, which, I think, can only mean that he had been to Anglesey, for the Menai Strait is the only water that he would have been likely to cross in the Snowdon district. Sorrow is expressed 'that yr crossing the water proved soe unsuccessfull and therefore I can easily thinke that journey to be sufficiently unpleasant and perhaps that may be the only example of sterilitie where industrious Bees are not able to pick Honey. But it hath certainly been very well recompted on our British Coast, of which I doubt not but yr care hath been to send up and endeavour the satisfaction of our Lord P., who having lost you for a while, wrote a somewhat severe letter to me with some expressions of his dissatisfaction.'

But though Lord P. may have been dissatisfied, Science has benefited by Lhwyd's early recognition of the fact that the mountains of Britain have a distinct Alpine flora and fauna of their own.¹

Plot and other friends in the Philosophical Society introduced young Lhwyd to the chief authorities on the subjects in which he was interested; and he evidently lost no time in starting a lasting correspondence with Dr. Martin Lister and John Ray.

¹ Lhwyd in Camden's *Britannia*, 1795, p. 795.

JOHN RAY, the elder of these eminent Cambridge naturalists, was born in 1627, and was therefore well over sixty years of age, and living at Black Notley in Essex, when Dr. Tancred Robinson sent him a list of Welsh plants from Snowdon which turned out to have been compiled, and in part collected, by young Lhwyd for the use of tourists staying at Llanberis. Ray added these notes to his book, *Synopsis Methodica Stirpium Britannicorum*, 1689-90, esteeming them as its 'greatest ornament'. There were forty new varieties among them (14). Lhwyd was not altogether pleased with the form in which the Welsh names were written (8), but they led to a life-long correspondence between the two naturalists, a part of which it has been the privilege of the present writer to publish.¹

New and local living plants formed the chief topic upon which they exchanged news in their earlier letters, but later on, the absorbing interest of stones found in coal-mines with impressions of leaves of ferns and of other vegetation led them on to discuss possible origins of these 'mock-plants', as they called them, and later of the Earth as a whole.

Another point of contact was of a different kind. Ray had already engaged in dictionary work. In 1674 he published a *Collection of English Words not generally used*, distinguishing such as were used in northern counties from those which were used in the south. To the second edition of this work (1691), Lhwyd

¹ Gunther, *Further Correspondence of John Ray*, 1928. Ray's first letter to Lhwyd, dated 21 June 1689, is addressed to 'Edward Lloyd at Mr. Haughtons at the Black Boy in Chancery Lane, London'. There are 43 letters in all. It may be noted that No. 214 should have been dated 1696 instead of 1699.

supplied two lists, one drawn up by himself; the other communicated to him by Tomlinson of St. Edmund Hall (25 and 26). Lhwyd's patriotism for his own country led him to similar studies in the westernmost parts of Britain. But of these, more particular mention will be made in the last chapter.

Dr. MARTIN LISTER was 22 years older than Lhwyd and already a fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, when Lhwyd was born. His reputation as a man of science was enhanced by his *Historia animalium Angliae* which had been published under the auspices of the Royal Society in 1678, and was the latest book on Spiders and Shells, including Formed Stones which were then believed to have been modelled underground to resemble Shells, but which are now known to be real shells fossilized. About the time of the foundation of the Old Ashmolean Museum, Lister moved from York to a house in Old Palace Yard, Westminster; he took the degree of M.D. at Oxford, and became a benefactor to the Museum on a scale that, scientifically speaking, far outshone the beneficence of Ashmole.

During the first years of correspondence he was completing his magnum opus, the *Historia sive Synopsis methodica Conchyliorum*, afterwards issued as a great and sumptuous folio illustrated with more than a thousand copper-plate engravings made from drawings by his devoted wife and daughter, Susannah and Anna Lister. This work appeared in 1685, 1687, and 1691. It was the first English monograph in which shells were properly classified 'secundum genera et species'. Lister desiring information about the shells in the collection in the Old Ashmolean, and later desiring living speci-

mens of certain Oxfordshire species of land and water molluscs applied to Lhwyd (76-9). Several fossils of Lhwyd's early collecting were engraved for the great book to illustrate an Appendix to the section *De Conchitis*, the title-page of which is dated 1688.

The friendly correspondence with Ray and Lister was only ended by the death of the former and the death of Lhwyd. The opening circumstances are described in a letter from Dr. Plot on June 10, 1689.

The first three letters (8-10) to Lister show that Lhwyd had learnt how to make friendships by presents, and we here find him giving Welsh shells to Lister and Welsh plants to Ray. As Lhwyd was not as yet Keeper of the Museum, one wonders whether he had permission from Dr. Plot or the Curators to send Bivalves out of the Museum to Lister. But relying on the value of gifts, he pleaded for Lister's support in his candidature for the post of keeper of the Museum as successor to Dr. Plot, pointing out that 'divines and others that despise all studies of Nature, can never instruct any other therein'. How true this is has been proved by appointments in the following centuries. Letter No. 9 deals with the varieties of formed stones, chiefly fossil shells and Echinoids, that Lhwyd collected within three miles of Oxford during the summer. The reference to sizes is connected with his belief that formed stones grow underground. He alludes to Lister's intention that all his collection should eventually come to the Ashmolean Repository.

No. 11 requests the return of the Museum copy of the *Catalogue of Shells*, and expresses a hope of a salary

of £20 a year. Obadiah Higgins used to show the Repository to visitors, and perform such menial services for Dr. Plot as the buying of candles, bread, milk, small beer, mending his gloves, and sweeping his chimneys. For this he received about £20, being a half share of the visitors' fees—comparative wealth which Lhwyd had long coveted.

By August 1689 Ray had been able to work out Lhwyd's collection of Welsh plants, which proved so good that he considered it a pity that the previously unknown ones were not engraved and published in Lhwyd's own name. He was so greatly impressed that when in the next month Dr. Mullen invited him to visit Ireland to study the flora, Ray suggested that Lhwyd was the man for that task.

The next two letters contain the first intimation of Dr. Plot's invitation to Lhwyd to visit him in Kent to co-operate in the Coastal Survey that he was proposing to begin there. They afford distinct evidence of his goodwill.

Although Lhwyd does not inform us that he did accompany Dr. Plot in his investigations of the sea-shore of Kent, it is highly probable that he did do so, in any case judging from his next letter it could not have been a pecuniarily profitable trip. It is an extraordinary letter. In the opening part he gives the reader to understand that Plot was his best friend, who recommended him strongly to the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Edwards, Principal of his College, but then he abuses him as 'a man of as bad morals as ever took a doctor's degree', a characterization which I believe to be entirely without foundation. In the case of a fiery

little Welshman, it may be attributed to current talk with his cronies in College, to the fact that the University had for years permitted him to go underpaid for hard service, and to the frosty weather having made him querulous.

According to him, while he acted as Underkeeper, he collected £34, which he handed over to Plot. Plot gave him £6. 7s. and two copies of his four-year-old book on Staffordshire, which then could not have been worth more than a pound apiece (29).

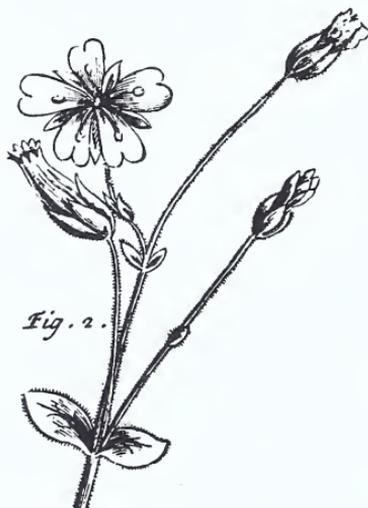
Lhwyd had always a strong longing to travel, to get away to foreign parts, to advance scientific knowledge by inquiries after natural productions. At one time he even tried to learn Spanish by way of preparation for a possible voyage to the Canary Islands to collect plants under the auspices of Sherard's 'Botanic Club'. The plan fell through, but thoughts of foreign travel remained in Lhwyd's mind for years (21, 22, 53).

When Read, a quaker, returned from the West Indies with plants for Hampton Court, Lhwyd hoped to succeed him. Yet Ashmole required 'constant attendance at the Museum' (24), a virtue that he himself had never shown. 'When any one shall hereafter endow it with a travailing fellowship, it may lose ye title Ashmoleanum' wrote Lhwyd to Lister, but Lister straightway warned him that even the least hint of this to Ashmole 'must needs give distast', i.e. the rejection of poor Lhwyd, whose thoughts then turned to an elusive fossiliferous hill in Huntingdonshire, determining to go there 'as soon as the Doctor [Plot] has resigned and left Oxford'.

Meantime Plot was away and Lhwyd was in charge.

The geological collections in the Old Ashmolean received many accessions, and made the good progress reported in letters 25-8. He developed the curious argument that because jointed chambers of Ammonites are often found singly, like star-stones or the joints of Encrinite stems, they must therefore have been *formed* singly, as beads of a necklace. The finding of *Dentales scissiles* was a puzzle.

Plot had often spoken of his intention to retire; to cease 'doing nothing for nothing'. Lhwyd very naturally tried to make all the interest he could to succeed Plot in the Keepership. Letters (10 to Lister and 14) make this very clear and also show that he was much afraid of another possible candidate, a relation of Ashmole's, George Smalridge. He need not however have troubled himself, for Smalridge had no taste for Chemistry, and taking Orders, became a Bishop.



LHWYD'S MOUSE-EAR CHICKWEED after Ray.
[*Cerastium alpinum* L.]

See p. 68.

Our knowledge of Lhwyd's early activities begins with a List of Plants observed in North Wales in 1682. The Linnean names are derived from Smith's *Flora*.

I. EDD. LHWYDS *Directions to DAVID LLOYD on Travailing our Hills. MS Peniarth 427*

Plants observed at Aran Benllyn April ye 17, 1682. By ye rivulets that run through ye rocks above Llyn Llymbran.

Cotyledon hirsuta Phyt. Br. [*Saxifraga stellaris* L.
Sedum Alp. trifido folio. [*Saxifraga hypnoides* L.
Sedum minus a rupe Sti Vincentij. [*Sedum rupestre* L.
Muscus erectus abietiformis. [*Lycopodium Selago* L.
Vitis Idæa Sempervirens fructu rubro J.B.
[*Vaccinium Vitis-idæa* L.

In a field close by Llanewllin (*sic*) call'd Bryn y ffenigl.

Oxiococcus sive Vaccinia palustris J.B. [*Vaccinium Oxycoccus* L.
Men vulgare sive radix ursina; [*Meum athamanticum* Jacq.

On Craig Verwin

+ *Chamaerb fol. Vitis Idæa unguulosæ.*
Sedū Alp. 3 fido folio.
Muscus cupressiformis et abietiformis. [*Lycopodium alpinum* L.

At Cader Idris, May ye 20th. On a rock they call Craig dhû, above Llyn y Càu.

Cotyledon hirsuta.
Sedum Alpinum trifido folio.
Rhodia radix. [*Rhodiola rosea* L.
+ *Thalictrum minus foliis latioribus.*

[*Thalictrum minus* L. s.l.
Thalictrū minus Ger. [*Thalictrum minus* L. s.l.
+ *Acetosa Cambro Britannica mont.* Park.

[*Oxyria digyna* (L.) Hill (*O. reniformis* in Smith)

Muscus abietiformis. [*Lycopodium Selago* L.

Muscus polyspermos. [*Selaginella Selaginoides* L.

Muscus clavatus fol. cupressi. [*Lycopodium alpinum* L.

Vitis Idæa sempervirens fructu rubro.

ffelix an Saxatilis quarta sive Alpina crispa C.B.?

[*Cystopteris fragilis* Bernh.

Erica baccifera procumbens nigra ejusd. [*Empetrum nigrum* L.]

[On a] mountain calld *cefn llwyd*, ye back side of Craig yr aderin.
Gnaphalium montanum album sive Pes Cati; these are in
 flower, plentifully. [*Antennaria dioica* (L.) Gaertn.]

August ye 24th 1682. At Snowdon

Juniperus Alpina; J.B. wch they call Euthinfu. [*J. nana* Willd.]

Cotyledon hirsuta Phyt. Br.

Rhodia radix J.B. C.B.

Sedum Alp. trifido folio.

Auricula muris pulchro flore folio tenuissimo J.B.

[*Cerastium arvense* L.]

Sedum Alp. ericoides purp. vel cæruleum.

[*Saxifraga oppositifolia* L.]

Caryophyllus marinus minimus G. et ni fallor C.B.

(*Statice Armeria*)

[*Armeria maritima* Willd.]

+ *Caryoph. mar. maj. s. mediterraneus* ibidem provenit.

+ *Caryophyllus pumilio Alp. Clusii.* [*Silene acaulis* L.]

+ *Alsines myosotis facie Lychnis Alp. flore amplo niveo.*

[*Cerastium alpinum* L.]

Lychnis maritima repens C.B.

[*Silene maritima* L.]

Cochlearia major rotundifolia seu *Batavorum* P. [*C. officinalis* L.]

Cochlearia, an Danicae minor erecta C.B.? [i.e. *C. danica*? L.]

+ *Acetosa cochleariæ folio montana nostras, seu Cambro
 Britannica mont. P. Acetosa folijs ad extremitatem deli-
 quium patientibus* Moris, *Hist. Plant. Oxon.*

[*Oxyria digyna* (L.) Hill (*O. reniformis* in Smith)]

Cirsium Britannicum Clusij repens J.B.

[*Carduus heterophyllus* L.]

Argemone Cambro Britannica lutea radice perenni.

[*Meconopsis cambrica* (L.) Vig.]

Muscus clavatus sive Lycopodium G. P. [*Lyc. clavatum* L.]

Muscus clavatus fol. cupressi C.B. Ger. emac. [*L. alpinum* L.]

Muscus erectus abietiformis.

Muscus Polyspermos.

Muscus terrestr. repens clavis singularibus foliosis erectis Pluk¹

[*Lycopodium annotinum* L. (Smith p. 321, cf. p. 319)]

¹ MS has Raij not Pluk.

Muscus denticulatus G. *Pulcher parvus repens* C.B.

+ *Thalictrum montanum perpusillum repens*. [*T. minus* L.

Thalictrum minus G. P. [*Thalictrum minus* L.

+ *ffilicula Alpina folio crispido tenuissimo*; *An Adiantum album floridum* Raij. [*Allosorus crispus* L.

Caryophyllata montana purpurea P. *seu aquatica nutante flore* C.B. [*Geum rivale* L.

At Snowdon I observed several other plants, wch because they were not then in flower, I knew not whither to reduce. The way I went up was directly through the rocks from Llanberrys.

It's observable yt on most of these high hills, ye rarest plants & greatest variety are to be met with, by the rivulets of water that descend through the rocks from ye tops of 'm. In going up to most of 'm you must make use of a Guide; who must not direct you the easiest way of going up; but must bring you to all the steep & craggie cliffs, yt are, (tho but difficultly) accessible.

You must have a pretty large simpling Book with a stif cover; & be sure of half a dozen patterns of each plant you meet with on these high Hills, in what posture soever you finde 'm.

I judge it better worth a mans while going to Snowdon alone; than if he search'd all other Hills in North Wales.

Such plants as are thus marked + have not been observ'd by Mr. Ray to be Natives of England.

I must desire you to gather seeds of all plants you meet with, yt have any; excepting onely such as you know are common in this country.

Put up all Sorts of Snayl Shells you meet with; all Sorts of River Muscles, or any other Sweet Water Shell.

Be sure you send some of yr lead oar, & any other fossil yt you can meet with, wch is not every where common; as Chrystals, marcasites, cochlites &c. I must desire you to carry a note Book wth you in yr travels, & if you hear of any place remarkable upon any account; [] for its [produceing] variety of plants haveing [] medicinal waters []

[It is convenient to note here that nearly all the 37 plants in these lists were subsequently included in a list of 54 'more rare Plants growing in Wales' that was appended to Lhwyd's chapters on the Welsh Counties in Camden's *Britannia* published in 1695. Ray also fully acknowledged Lhwyd's later discoveries in the second edition of his *Synopsis* in 1696. For the third edition figures were engraved of the Great Broad-leaved spiked Speedwell, *Veronica spicata Cambro-Britannica* (*V. hybrida* L.), from Montgomeryshire; a Mountain Campion with a large white flower resembling Mouse-ear Chickweed, *Alsines Myosotis facie, Lychnis Alpina flore amplo niveo repens* D. Llwyd (*Cerastium alpinum* L.), from rifts and chinks in the rocks of Snowdon; and the Indented Mountain Sengreen with unspotted flowers, *Sedum serratum flosculis compactis non maculatis* (*Saxifraga nivalis* L.), from the mountains above Llanberis. Many plants collected by him were grown in the gardens of Dr. Richardson of North Brierley, Edward Morgan of Bodyscallan, and others.

In addition to those already mentioned, Lhwyd's Ferns, collected at later dates, included the following:

Filix alpina pedicularis rubrae foliis subtus villosis (= *Wood-sia ilvensis* R.Br.). Snowdon: very rare.

Filix montana ramosa minor argutè denticulata (= *Cystopteris fragilis* (L.) Bernh.). Glyders.

Filix saxatilis Tragi (= *Asplenium septentrionale* (L.) Hull). Carnedh Lhewelyn.

Lonchitis aspera major. Rough Spleenwort. (= *Aspidium lonchitis*, Sw.). Clogwyn.

Capillus Veneris verus. Barry and Porth Kirig.

Ceterach officinarum from Pembrokeshire.

2. MS *Ashmole* 1820, f. 182

LHWYDS *Instructions for Collecting on Cader Idris.*

To employ some trusty fellow yt shall undertake to traverse Cader Idris for a whole day in search of plants, observing punctually these following directions

Takeing a handbasket with him, he must go up as far as Llyn



Veronica spicata Cambro Britannica.

Found by Lhwyd on Craig Wreidhin, Montgomeryshire.
Ray *Synopsis* 3rd edit., 1724. Pl. xi.

y Cau ere he takes notice of any thing: but then he must trace some rivulet of water, as high as he can with safety, putting into his basket ten or a dozen roots of each sort of herb he can discover; but of such as are very small, 15 or 20. He must sometimes stray from the rivulets to the rocks & gather anything he meets with there; wch he found not near the rivulets. He must not omit any sort of plant yt he sees; excepting ye common sort of ffern, Heath & grasse.

Of all ye shrubs he meets with; I mean such as Llûs duon,¹ Llûs Cochion, Gruglys, Mwyar y Mynudh; Crâch-helig &c; let him take up onely 3 or 4 roots & those the least. Let him not neglect any sort of Mosse; such as Troed y blaudh, Corn y Carw, Mwsogl y ffynodwydh; Mwsogl y Cypreswydh (wch creeps abundantly on ye grasse towards the Top of the Hill) &c. He must be cautious in picking up the very least thing his eyes can discover; for by ye rills of water there are some plants soe small as scarce to be seen, which neverthesse are as rare as any.

Wee don't confine him to the rivulets all day; for when he has search'd several of them, he may wander amongst the rocks, pastures &c. on all sides of the Hill; but let him gather nothing that grows lower than a quarter of a mile of ye Top; & let him be sure that he'l finde the greatest variety by ye rivulets of water & other wet place; espec. in Craig dhu above Llyn y Cau; where he must not fayl to climb as high as he can with safety. ffor his farther encouragement when we shall receive these plants, we shall send him by ye carrier a farthing for every different kind he has gather'd; wch if he proves any thing diligent, can not amount to less than 2 shillings.

If there be noe possibility of sending to Cader Idris let these directions be observed at Rennogl Fawr.

As for Sea plants; let some one be directed to a baich or sandy place where Môr-gelyn grows; & let him take up 3 or 4 roots of every thing he meets with there abouts; neither Morgelyn nor any thing be at all excepted. He must likewise goe to some sea cliff where Sampier grows & there observe ye same rule. We should be glad to receive a root or two of each plant that grows upon Hârlech Castle; because it's a place

¹ For translations of these names, see the Index under *Plants*.

much talked of upon that account. If any ffenyl Helen Lusdhog grows there abouts; half a douzen roots of it would be as acceptable as any plant we can receive.

When these men have brought home the plants they are to be packd up thus:—

You must get a box of an indifferent size; such as you might guesse would scarce contain them; then lay in some mosse at ye bottom of it lightly besprinkled with water; soe lay in the shrubs & greater plants first pressing them down with yr hands pretty close; then a little mosse lightly wetted; & soe ye rest of the plants, putting here & there alike mosse upon them as you lay 'm in. When all are put in fill up ye box with mosse, that they may have noe room to be disturbed on ye carriage & besprinkle it lightly with water soe nayl it up securely, borring some small holes in several parts of ye cover, wherein ye carrier must besprinkle a handfull or two of water every night; & see ye box layd in a Seller or some cool place.

They should be gatherd one or two or at farthest 3 days before ye carrier sets out.

If in ye packing of 'm up; any plants be combersome, you may with a knife cut off their tops or some stragling branches.

If these directions be but pretty well observd; we doubt not of receiving as choise a collection as ever our physick Gardener¹ has, from ffrance, Italy or Germany, whence he receivs several boxes of plants every summer.

3. To [DR. PLOT] *Publisher of the 'Philosophical Transactions'*.
Philosophical Transactions, No. 166, p. 823. Dec. 20, 1684.
An Account of a sort of Paper made of Linum Asbestinum found in Wales. [See page 6.]

[Money was often a source of anxiety. On May 7, 1685, he sent a complaint, to which Mr. Dattus replied that the Salop carrier 'designed noe Chete, if hee had [hee] would have kept yor letter . . . I have his Receipt for ye monys with his promise to pay it you in Oxford.' MS *Ashmole* 1814, f. 346.]

¹ JACOB BOBART, the younger, of the Oxford Physick Garden.

4. *Cambrian Quarterly Mag.* ii, 1830. MS *Peniarth* 427

To DAVID LLOYD.

Jesus Coll. Oxon. June ye 8th, 1685.

Dear Friend,

Yr letter came too late to my hands, to returne you an answer against ye time you have engaged to go to Bôdyscallan; neverthelesse, thought it not amisse to write as soon as I could, least it should give you an occasion of accusing my negligence, but if you stay till Mr. Francis Lloyd goes along with you, I doubt not but this letter will reach you time enough; for unlesse I have either forgotten him, or he have some extraordinary businesse in those parts besides visiting old Morgan's, 'twill be long enough 'ere he accompanies you soe far. As for Mr. Morgan I question much whether he be dead or alive, and would, therefore, have you satisfie yourself as far as you can, in that point, 'ere you proceed. I have writ to him several letters, as earnestly as I could, but never had any reply. 'Twould be to me a great satisfaction to receive some account of him from you. He is one that has lived in great esteem, and one that, in his way, has deserved as well as any in England: a man equally commendable for his good life, and indefatigable industry.

He has a studie of books with abt 10 li. wch he has told me several times he would leave me; if you can bring it in, handsomely, you may with a safe conscience assure him that he cannot bestow em on one that wishes him better, nor perhaps on any friend yt will make better use of ym. Yr brother's very well, and desires to be remember'd to you, wch is all at present fm yr real freind and servant,

EDW. LLOYD.

If you could find a way of sending us some Llûs Llygaid Aevon, and Mwyar Berwin,¹ I mean ye fruits when ripe, you'd much oblige us, for they are things that never were known in Oxford.

Seal Morgan's letter, and write ye superscription, *For Mr. Edw. Morgan at Bôd-y-scallan in Carnarvonshire.* I have writ to

¹ The Red Whortleberry.

him to deliver you anything he bestows on me, but that is provided any carrier goes from Conwy to Denbigh or elsewhere where you have acquaintance, whilst you are there. [*Remainder of note torn.*]

5. *Arch. Camb.* 1850, 143.

n.d.

ffor Mr DAVID LLOYD at Blaen y Dhól in Meirionydsh. to be left with a box; at Mrs. Katharin Lloyds in Ruthin.

Dear ffreind,

I have sent you some small requitance of your kindenesses; being a parcel of young trees and shrubs, some very choice, others pretty ordinary; wth a few flower seeds wch you may sow in borders, about your garden in such order as you shall judge fittest for Ornament. Those Books you have, can furnish you wth directions how to manage them. The Virginia Cedar is a plant lately come from yt Country; & I am confident was never in Wales before. I must desire yr usual trouble of furnishing us with your Mountain Plants; it will be the best time in ye year, at ye next return of the Carrier; You need not take ye trouble of gathering soe much Mwyar Berwin, as you usually doe; a douzen or 15 roots will suffice; but pray trace ye roots as far as you can; for soe much ye likelier they'l be to grow. I would desire not onely all the plants you sent last time; but also a root or two of any thing you meet with in traicing some ril of water yt comes through ye rocks, pretty nigh ye top of the highest mountain that's near you; especially such plants as you suspect not to grow in the plain.

Two or three small roots of Gwrddhling¹ (if it grow near you) & some Corn y carw would be very welcome.

Pray give my kind respects to Will. Jones; I suppose if he be at home; he'l goe up along wth you, if you tell him it is the request of his, &

Yr unfeigned ffreind,

EDW. LLOYD

I need not tell you how to pack up yr plants; for the last were done as well as could be.

I have yet an other request to make to you, wch will perhaps at first seem ridiculous. I must therefore to procure yr good

¹ Sweet Gale (*Myrica Gale L*) according to Mr. H. A. Hyde.

opinion of it, explain my meaning in't. In ye Royal Society at London they have a collection of abt 600 Eggs; being all they could procure frô most parts of the world to the end, that haveing such a collection before them, they might draw some usefull observations concerning ye shape, size, colour &c. of eggs in general, for ye improvement of real Knowledge.

A sumptuous new Buylding wch we have here at Oxford calld the Chymistry, is exactly for such an other use as the Royal Society; but it being but lately founded, we are collecting all natural things we can from all parts to furnish it. By this time I suppose, you may guesse, that I desire you'd get some boys to bring you in all eggs yt y meet with when they are at work. I would desire but 2 eggs of a kinde. When you have 'm you must prick 'm at each end with a pin; and blow out ye matter. When you send 'm, it should be in some pitifull litle basket with hay* or fine mosse betwixt each Shell. And you must write in yr letter how ye birds are called in Welch; ex. gr. the pale blew one is ye egge of Aderyn y Dinflam; ye large one wth blew spots, ye egg of a Magpie &c. I would have except noe wild fowl; but ye Rook, ye Crow & Sparrow.

Our Physic Gardener being from home, I could send you noe seeds; but I have sent you 2 or 3 flowers. Pray be pleased to water all these plants evening and morning constantly for ye first ensuing fortnight; and defend 'm from ye heat and ye sunne with slates, peices of broken pots, boards or any thing.

* Perhaps a little wool, feathers or plû'r Gweunidd would doe better.

6. *Arch. Camb.* 1858, 229.

ffor Mr. DAVID LLOYD at Blaen y Dhol in Meirionethshyre. To be left with Mrs KATHERIN LLOYD in Clwyd Street Ruthin. West Chester post Northop bag. [Endorsed by John Lloyd]. E. LHWYD to my eldest brother Jan. 5t 85 (sic).

Jesus Coll. Oxon. Jan. ye 9th 85.

Dear ffriend

Being well assured by yr Brother's discourses yt you have noe small inclinations to spend some leasure hours in ye studie

of Natural History: I thought myself oblig'd for ye many favours I receiv'd from you, to contribute what I could towards yr encouragement therein. In order to wch you will receive by ye Carrier, a small collection of shells and form'd stones. The Shells you'l finde pack'd up in 4 several parcels, viz. English Sea Shells, fforreign Sea-shells, river shells such as are common about Oxford, & land shells found hereabouts likewise. And as for ye Form'd Stones, they were all found in quarrys and old Stonepits within 3 miles of ye Cytie, excepting some few whose native places are mention'd in ye papers they are inclosed in. I know these and all such like things are generally look'd upon as trivial and unworthy our considerations, but if we consider upon what motives they are thus undervalued we shall finde but small reasons to be discourag'd from our inclinations, ffor all ye only arguments yt ever I could hear from such as despise this sort of knowledge are

1st yt they are in themselves mean and simple saying wt signifies it to know ye grasses of ye feild; ye common stones and snayls; understanding it as if these very names did import things of contempt and not worth our regarding.

2ndly That such studies bring us noe profit, & yt wise men ought to employ their time in such ways as might prove beneficial to them and their posterity.

3dly That there is not one man amongst ten hundred men of Learning that heed any thing of this nature.

To the first objection we may answer yt ye common Plants, Stones, Shells &c are scarce lesse valuable in themselves, than wheat or rie, rich geñs, and pearls; since 'tis not ye intrinsic worth of things, but ye use men put them to, that makes 'm valuable. Hence we finde ye very same things, wch are much esteem'd by some nations, to be nothing worth amongst others. Wheat and Rie are but weeds amongst ye Savages of Brasil, who make their bread of roots. What we call Gemms scarce serve children to play with in ye Indies: and the Spanyards at their Discovery of America found their Houses til'd with Gold, wch they prised (it seems) but as we doe our blew slat: their money being shells wch are this day currant

with several nations not onely there but in Africk alsoe. And amongst ye ffrench and Italians, ffrogs and snayls are delicious meats.

To ye 2d objection, viz yt by these studies noe man can ever enrich himself, it may be reply'd that we acknowledge men of mean abilities (*sic*) are to make it their diversion, not their primary & cheif employment: but that Gentlemen & others who have sufficient estates, may if they please make these their main studies, since 'tis noe point either of Religion, Moraltie, or humane reason to propose ye getting of money to be ye end of all our endeavours.

As to ye 3d obj. that seems to deserve our attention least of any, ffor if men had been always content to know onely such things as were allready discover'd to their hands, learning could have made noe progresse, and ye world must have been as blinde now as it was two thousand years since.

Soe yt all things examin'd we shall finde noe reason why men should carpe at these sort of Enquiries, unlesse it be yt common error wch few men avoid, especially ye more illiterate; of enveying against and condemning most such things as they understand least.

But I might have answer'd to ye last objection yt tho it may be granted very few are conversant in these sort of studies yet there are several and in most ages there were in this kingdome, but more especially amongst our neighbour nations yt much cultivated this sort of learning, who for their fame and merit might vie with any of their times.

I need not trouble you with any farther discourse of this kind, since I suppose you may allready have soe good an apprehension of it that it would be but needlesse to tell you that ye studie of Nature affords infinite pleasure to them yt minde it; that it satisfies mens reason and curiositie above all others: that it heals all disturbances of ye minde, and renders men thinking and active; that it furnishes such as are well seen in it with a treasure of real knowledge: that it takes away many vices yt men might be guilty of, in thought or action if not diverted by this or some such innocent employment: and yt it dayly manifests ye incomprehensible power of our Creator.

All which may I suppose seem playn after a short consideration to any unprejudiced person. But supposing this to be at least sufficient to win yr affection, if not superfluous, I shall take leave now to discourse somewhat concerning those things I have sent you. Of wch you may please to observe 1st yt all those I have call'd English Sea Shells (the large Sheath fish excepted) were sent me by some friends of our Coll. out of Wales, e. g. from Cardiganshyre, Caermardhinsh. and Meirionethshyre about Harlech. 2ly that in givinge them names I perused Dr Lister's Book entituled *Historiæ Animalium Angliæ tres tractatus*: the contents of wch is a History of the Spiders of England, of all English Shells viz. Marine, fluviatile, and terrestrial, and of all form'd stones he knew of, but more especially Shell stones. But altho he undertakes to write ye History of all our English shells; yet I dare affirme he never saw ye 5th part of ye kinds of shells yt may be found in England & Wales; whence you'l finde several amoungst those I sent you yt have neither his name to 'm nor any one else his, because I could meet with them in noe authors, and ye names given them are my own. 3. You may perhaps wish they were English names, but there are none such: because no author has hitherto treated of 'm in English; and if there were, 'twere ten to one more beneficial for you to learn the latine than the English; because all naturalists know them onely by their Latine names. If you find any difficultie of understanding them, acquaint us of it in your next Letter, and we'll interpret all ye words to you alphabetically. Those things wch I suppose will seem strangest to you of any, will be ye Form'd Stones, because I doubt there are few or none such in your parts; tho here soe common; yt we can hardly find any quarry but has some sort or other of 'm. Naturalists contend much about ye original of these stones; ffor most of them affirme they were once shells, and therefore call them petrified shells, not cochlites or Shellstones. Several arguments on both hands may be seen in Mr Ray's *Travails* about ye beginninge of his Book. ffor my part I am soe farre of the contrary opinion yt I think it all most an absurdity to beleive they ever were shells, not doubting but that they are lapides sui generis yt

owe their forms to certain salts whose property 'tis to shoot into such figures as these shell-stones represent: nay I have often entertain'd this opinion of them: to wit that when these stones came to a certain period of growth they split; and then that chrySTALL, fluor, or salt yt is essential to its figure, shoots into other small ones of ye same kinde; and soe nature propagates (*sic*) her kinde in these, as well as in plants and animals. But if it should be question'd how it comes to passe that nature imitates shells in these form'd stones above all other natural bodys I must confesse my ignorance; unlesse I may say yt of all natural bodys, none seem to partake of ye nature of stones than shells, insomuch yt I have been inform'd yt in some countreys they make lime with them. But alltho these Form'd Stones doe generally imitate shells with us in England; yet it must be granted we have a great many form'd stones yt resemble noe shells at all; such are v: g: *Cornu Hammonis, Belemnitis, Asteriscus, Entrochus, Dentes Lamiarum, Centronites, Chrystal* &c. And as for forreign countreys we have not onely ye Testimony of many writers yt nature carves ye images of men, of beasts, fruits &c in stone: but I have been credibly inform'd by a serious and learned German, who travail'd for his curiosity (as 'tis customary with that nation to doe, allmost above all others) yt when he studied at Lipsick (wch is one of their Universitys) he and many others observ'd in a rock near that city, the perfect images of most of ye fish yt breed in a certain lake near it: He added that there was a publike disputation in ye Schoole concerning ye origin of them viz whether they were realy petrified fish, or whether 'twas only *Lusus Naturæ*, and concluded on the latter. Supposeing this to be true (and I must confesse I can scarce think otherwise) 'tis perhaps one of ye most surprising and unaccountable things in all ye Mysteries of Nature.

If this letter comes soon enough to yr hands; we should be glad to hear from you by the Carrier, who stays a week this time longer than usual: & when ever you may make any discoveries of this nature be pleas'd to communicate them to

Yr ffaythfull ffr. & Servant

EDW. LLOYD (*sic*)

7. MS Peniarth 427 (*Ellis transcript*)

For Mr. DAVID LLOYD of *Blaen-y-ddol near Ruge in Merionethshire, North Wales. To be left at Mrs. Katherin Lloyds in Ruthin.*

Jesus Coll. Oxon. August ye 21th, 1686.

Sr,

I returne you many thanks for yr great kindnesse and trouble in procureing ye plants you sent me; wch had they come according to yr design the last returne of ye Carrier, would doubtlesse have been in very good order to be planted. Never the lesse, although they sufferd much injurie in the Carriage, we have yet some hopes of recovering them; for ye roots still seem to be somewhat fresh: and (wherein our greatest hope lies) wee found amongst them one ripe berry with seeds in; wch wee *buryed* with them, in hopes of their Resurrection the next Spring. I cannot tell how to requite this great kindnesse of yrs but shall allways wish for an opportunitie of serving you, and assure yr self that you shal finde me as willing, as you were readie in obligeing me thereunto. As for ye plants you design'd to send by ye Carrier this last time, pray doe'nt trouble yr self about them. But your Brother and I, have now another request to you, wch (it may be) you'l wonder at till you are acquainted with the meaning of it. He has bought himself a large handsome paper book of abt 5 quires; in wch wee are gumming of Patterns of plants, commonly such as we meet with in flower, either in ye feilds hereabouts, or in the physick garden; under each plant, is its name writ in latin and English and as many as we know in Welsh. That you might more playnly understand our meaning wee have sent you a small pocket book, with a plant or 2 gum'd in; but you'l suppose this Book doubtlesse to be quite another thing from what that seems to be. Now your Brother telling me, that you live somewhat near Cader Dhimael and Cader Ferwin, I am fully perswaded that you may procure several rare patterns of plants wch may further our design in order of compleating the Book; wherein if you are pleas'd to divert yourself for 2 or 3 fayr days, you must proceed thus. Take this book that w[e ha]ve

sent you in yr pocket, and rideing to one of these hils, or any other of such a heigh; find out some rill of water that comes down from the Top; and goe up along that as high as you can safely, and when you have gon up a qrter of a mile or thereabouts, gather 2 or 3 patterns of every Sort of plant that you see; when you have done along the water, you may wander about the rock or other part of the hill where you please; but by the rills of water and among the rocks [a]re found doubtlesse the greatest varietie. There will be some sorts of plants soe small [by] these rills, that unlesse you are very curious you will scarce find them out. The manner of laying them in yr Book is thus: crop as much of ye plant as you can easilie put in the Book (the flower to be sure of those that are in flower) and the leaf besides, in the next page. Spread it upon the left page of yr Book, letting as few leaves as you can, lye upon one another; then turn over the right hand leaf, and lay another on the left page, and soe proceed, placing but one pattern between 2 pages. Think it not ridiculouse to put in 2 or 3 patterns of all sorts of shrubs that you meet with, as heath or grûg whereof you may observe 3 or 4 Sorts, all sorts of Mosses especially Corn y Carw or any other thats like it; Gwrðhling, Llys, whereof you may observe 2 or 3 sorts, or any thing else of what nature soever, that the foresayd Mountains produce. Aran Benllyn I hear is too far from you, else I am sure you might finde there twice as many plants as on either of the forementioned hills. Divers Gentlemen have gon from London, Oxford, and Cambridge to Snowdon, Cader Idris and Plinlimmon in search of Plants; but I finde there were never any at Aran Benllyn: the reason I suppose may be, because it is not soe fameous for height as the forementioned hills, but to my knowledg it produces as many rarities as Cader Idris and more than Plinlimmon; although it was but a very untimely season that I was at it, being last April was twelvmonth. But to conclude this tedious discourse and to assure you that this will be of noe frivolous importance, I shall take leave to tell you that to my knowledge, there are plants sent hither, not onely from the utmost corners of this Kingdome, but likewise from France, Italy Germany &c. wch are scarce so considerable for their raritie, as several

whch grow very common upon our Mountains. Pray Sr excuse the tediousnesse of this discourse; and accept of the respects and Service of

Yr Faythfull Kinsman & Servant

EDW: LLOYD

I must confesse this is a litle with the latest in the year, and it may be an unfit Season with you likewise. The Carrier stays now a week longer than ordinary. What ever you plesse to gather for us, we would be very glad to receive by the next returne, otherwise it will be too late in ye year, for you to finde any. For ye first 3 days after you have gatherd yr plants, you would doe very well to carry your Book in yr pocket, and after lay it on a window.

[He was fortunate in finding willing helpers. Already on September 27, 1685, ERASMUS LEWES reported that Galfrid 'takes two young men up with him, one your namesake'.¹ A letter from Lhwyd reached WILLIAM ANWYLL, at *Dolefriog*, in July 1686, when Anwyl and John Lloyd were discussing 'ye perfidious Doctor', evidently meaning Plot, and saying that the entertainment the King gave him was not so warm as to give him sufficient heat and vigour for .o enable him to endure ye cold and piercing climate of Snowdon;² whose higher parts were inaccessible for the time ye Veteran (= John Lloyd, elsewhere alluded to as 'ye decrepid gentleman' and 'ye old corpus') was staying with Anwyl.

Under date May 26, 1687, ROBERT HUMPHREYS of Lhandhowin wrote an excellent letter on the Natural Curiosities to be observed in Anglesey.³

In or before the year 1688 Lhwyd supplied Dr. MARTIN LISTER with the fossil shells (figured on pages 84, 85, 101, 115) which, being thought to be new or undescribed, were drawn by his ladies, engraved and included in that part of the *Appendix* to his *Historia Conchyl. de Conchitis* that appeared in that year.]

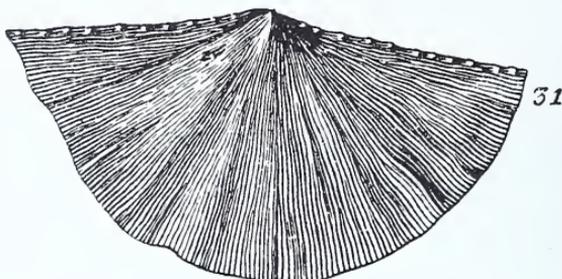
¹ E. Lewis was a kinsman of Lhwyd. MS *Ashmole* 1816, 41.

² John Lloyd was David Lloyd's brother.

³ *Early Science in Oxford*, xii. 323

31. *pectinides flabelli-formis, tuberculosa commissura, seu pectinides semi-circularis compressior, minute admodum striatus.*
Ed. Floid.

Lham didno, in aruonia
Istallia.



473

L. 596. [*Chonetes papilionacea*, Phillips.]



L. 873. [*Digonella digona* Sow.]
Witney.

*Conchites Bulgam referens, sive Sacculus
lapideus* Ed: Floid.

466



a.d. Ed. Floid.

57 *conchites rugosus, major, rugis vel fascijs
rarioribus et bullatis cinctus* Ed Floid.

57. [*Trochus* sp.]

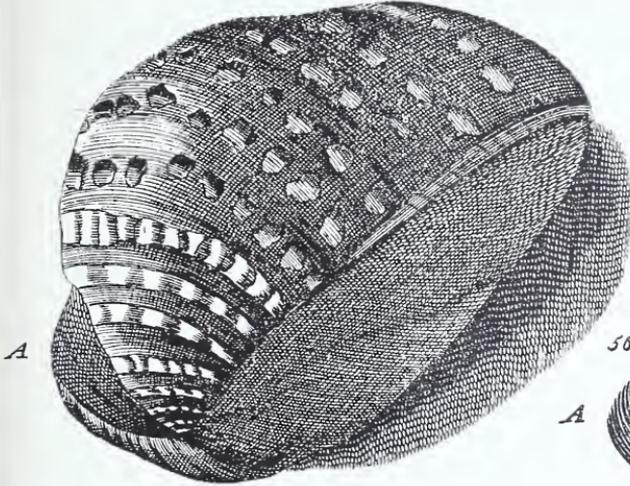
58. [*Nucula bivirgata* Sow.]



[*Rhynchonella concinna* Sow.]

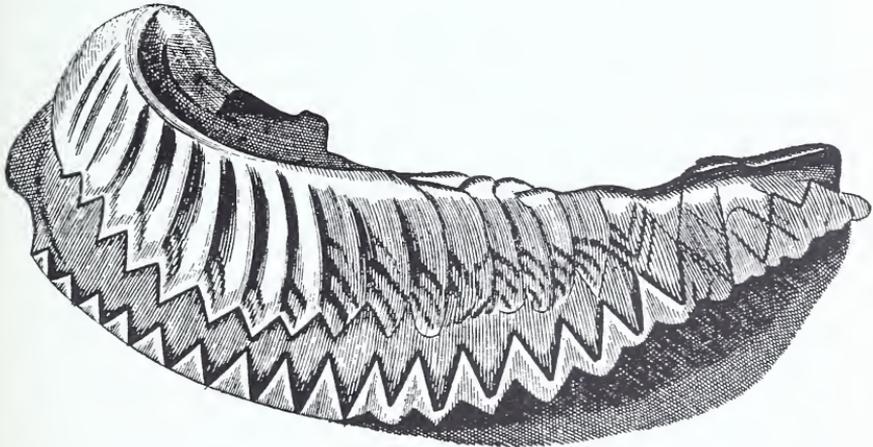
4 *Pectunculites nitidus, triquetrus, alius
striatus, rostro acuto ultra cardines
producto.* Ed: Floid.

L. 700. *Curvirostra rugosa*
clavellata Garsington
[*Trigonia clavellata*]



Conchites majusculus, bullatus
rugis insignitus Ed: Floid.

18 *conchites triquetrus, rosiro columbino; an tellu-*
ris lapideis numerand? Ed: Floid.



Rastellum lapis Ed: Floid.

[*Ostrea diluviana* L.]

J. BOBART to LHWYD. (MS *Ashmole* 1814, f. 274)

Amicable Sr

Oxon. Sept. 23. 1688.

After some expectation our hopes are as well answered as I hope yr curiositie to yr satisfaction is, in the invention of soe

many rarities as you have been liberall in the communication of to yr Friends, but am heartily sorry that yr crossing the water proved soe unsuccessful and therefore I can easily thinke that journey to be sufficiently unpleasant, and perhaps that may be the only example of sterilitie where industrious Bees are not able to pick Honey; but it hath certainly been very well recompted on our British coast, of wch I hope and doubt not but yr care hath been to send up and endeavour the satisfaction of our Ld P. who haueing lost you for a while, wrot a somewhat severe letter to me wth some expressions of his dissatisfaction, but I hope all is well before now, to whom I returned as healing answer as I could invent assuring him that the length of yr absence or silence was my great comfort, and that the farther (as we say in English) you fetcht yr feeze it was to returne wth the greater force, as it hath I thinke sufficiently proved.

Yr 2 boxes I received freight wth treasure. The plants I have interred wth all care I can imagine and to my great hope of diverse, thô be the too moist packing and too close stowing some have I feare suffered corruption, but yr excellent Patternes will give us cause to remember you if we live these many yeares there being diverse that we never saw and perhaps never may againe, but one thing I must express some part of my passion in wch you must excuse, that is that I am not soe fortunate as to find that bulb¹ wch in yr letter you direct me to at the top of the biggest box, wch I search'd and research'd grass by grass and can by noe means find; I feare it was not put in. Some of the Capillaryes and adiantums seem very fine and curious the best that have been seen. The *Gramen spica foliacea* soe plentifull seems to be a reall sort, thô it hath been objected as an accident among the heads of *Gr. foliolis junceis brevibus rad. nigra*. We find an Asphodel like matter a foot or more whose gramineous leaves are about 2 inches long and about 4 or 5 flowers and buds towards the top, it puzzles us all; the root fibrous: allsoe a very narrow grass growing in small bunches as a *Gr. sparteum* but being

¹ Perhaps *Bulbosa alpina juncifolia* [= *Lloydia alpina* Salisb.] from high rocks on Snowdon.

without heads we can make no conjecture of a most Curious upright Moss pellucide as the *muscus trichomanoides* but soe large I never saw. Wheither yr *Eruca alba procumbens* be the *Monensis laciniata*? yr narrow *Virga aurea* seems not unpleasant, and among the plants we find some branches of an Amygdaline business wch perhaps may be Mackinboy, very gratefull. Yr *Cirsium capitulis compactis* is rarely good. I would goe 40 mile for a fresh root, for I feare the heads are immaturrely gathered.

Whither you think you have found the *Juncus Alpinus capit. lanuginoso*. B. prod. or whither the young growth of our *Gr. tomentosum*? *Auric. muris facie Lychnis Alp. grandiflora* is very rare and the other seeds most acceptable; but I hope you doe not suppose yr *Phaseolus Jud. fruct. coccineo* to be naturall, but some accidentall shattering at Hells mouth, wch among some Indians I have recd by the name of Mandathya. I could have a great deale more to say but the Carrier will not give me leave only to let you know that all yr Friends here kindly salute you, and that all things have been distributed according to yr order. Vale Vale et amare perge.

T.T. addict.

JA. BOBERT.

Nothing in the world is more gratefull then heareing from you, I hope you will omitt noe opportunity. I wish you may be able to read this. Let me know whither I may be serviceable to you or yr Friend wth any seeds or any thing else.

[Address] This to my Honored Friend Mr. Edw. Lhwyd at Kapel-Kirig in Carnarvonshire. Or it is desired that it be sent after him if he is gone from thence.

MS *Ashmole* 1817a

DR. PLOT to E. LHWYD.

The Musaeum June 10, 1689.

Mr. Lloyd

I have recd yors of the 8th instant, with another to you here inclosed the same post, together with another from Mr.

Ray, who tells me in these very words, *that what you shall communicate will be so acceptable to him, that he shall look upon it as the greatest ornament of his book*: but withall that this Spring he recd from Dr. Robinson a catalogue of Plants¹ observed by an unnamed Welsh gentleman, growing about Snowdon and elsewhere in North Wales, wherein are many new species by him discovered. It is dated from Lhan Berrys Aug. 24 1688, and inscribed *A Catalogue of some Plants and observd then at Creigiau'r Eryran*, which have been scarcely or not at all observed elsewhere in Britain. The Author, he says, is no trivial Herbarist, but a man of good skill in plants. He supposes this catalogue to be yours, or if not, that you must needs know whose it is, which he would willingly learn from you. Pray write to him as speedily as you can, for his book he says is in ye Press already. If your Catalogue may be comprehended in a single sheet, the best way (he says) will be to send them by the post directed to him at Black Notley in Essex; otherwise by the carrier who inns at the Pewter Pot in Leadenhall street, London, and goes out of towne on Fryday morning weekly. I am heartily glad to hear Dr. Lister has been so kind to you, for which I will thank him according as you desire. The very next day after you went hence I was taken ill of a fever, of which I am scarce recover'd yet, otherwise I would certainly [have] been with you in a few days, as I yet hope to be: otherwise I will not faile to write to Dr Lister or yourself again within a post or two. If I do not write you may certainly conclude I am comeing. And that in the mean time I am Sr,

Yor most faithfull Friend

8. MS *Lister* 35, No. 54

ROB. PLOT

To DR. MARTIN LISTER at his house in the Old Palace Yard
*Westminster.*²

Oxon July ye 19th 89.

Hond Sr,

I intended to have sent you herewith a small collection of shells & cochlites out of Wales: but ye Shrewsbury carrier by whom I expected ym having quitted his employmt, its

¹ Perhaps a later edition of the lists on pp. 67-69.

² All later letters to *Lister* are thus addressed.

now very uncertain when I shall receive ym. In ye mean time I have sent you a copy of my *Catalogue of ye Shells* kept in ye Musæum, yt being the compleatest collection of any natural bodys preservd there. The shells are all disposd in two cabinets in ye same order & method they are nam'd in ye catalogue; but I intend some small alterations in ye order of ye sections & chapters. I must confesse yt when I began this catalogue, I was altogether ignorant in ye history & method of shells; but having a good collection at hand I first disposd them in such method as seemd to me most agreeable to their nature makeing all shells congenerous, wch I thought to agree in figure; & then consulted all authors yt had treated on yt subject for every species wch are about 800. But I finde yt none besides yr self & (perhaps Fab. Columna) have hitherto distinguishd shells secundum genera et species, much lesse reduced ym under method, as plants & ye other animals are done. If I receive not my carriage from Shrewsbury next week; I shall send you what I judge to be rarest amoungst those Welsh shells & Oxfordshire cochlites I have now by me.

You will receive together wth ye catalogue some drie'd plants for Mr Ray, wch I have made bold to direct to you as well because I suspected you might happily desire to see them yr self; as in regard I knew not how to convey ym soe safely to his hands by any other means. I could not send him patterns of all ye plants mentiond in my catalogue; because ye carrier fayld us. I could wish Dr Robinson would expunge out of Mr Rays MS. whatever is therein inserted out of his Welsh catalogue. For yt I sent Mr Ray, comprehends all that, & much more. Moreover Dr Robinson's was never intended for ye presse; but onely to remain at Lhan Berys a village in Snowdon; for the use of such as came thither a-simpling, & therefore much of it was writ in Welsh, wch is soe changed by often transcribing yt I scarce knew it to be that language when Mr Mod¹ shewd me Mr Rays MS. One word being sometimes divided into 2 or 3, & elsewhere two or three words united; & so in ye 1st printed sheet I met wth

¹ BENJAMIN MOTTE, printer and publisher.

a Greek word for Welsh. Be pleas'd to send ye plants by ye 1st opportunity to Mr Ray, & if you happen to write to him, to assure him yt few men can be more desireous of frequent opportunities of serving him, yn is (according to his capacity)

Honrd Sr

Yr most obliged & very humble servant

EDWARD LHWYD

9. MS *Lister* 35, No. 55

Oxford, Aug. 9. 89.

Hond Sr,

You will receive by ye bearer, a small collection of shells from the Welsh shoars; & some form'd stones wch I discover'd at leasure hours, in ye stone pits & qarries¹ near Oxford. They are not soe considerable either for variety or rarity as I could wish; however possibly you may finde some you have not seen elsewhere. The stones were all gatherd within three miles of Oxford; I doubt not, (were diligent search made) but much more species might be discoverd in ye same stonepits than I have yet met with; tho I have several wch at present I have not sent you. I made noe scruple to send you some, whereof I had but single patterns, not qestioning but yt you intend all yr collection of natural bodys in due time for ye Ashmolean repository. I must confesse yt in collecting these stones, I was not sufficiently curious in any observations about them; however I have noted,

1. That some stonepits near Oxford afford at least 30 sorts of form'd stones; whereof most are *Cochlites*.
2. That ye same species are to be found at ye same time & place in several degrees of magnitude: thus I have seen 15 several sizes of ye *Echinites rotelis*² I have sent you; & soe of some other stones, exactly as in shells.
3. Of such qarries as I have hitherto seen; those that consist of a sandie stone,³ afford ye greatest variety of *Cochlites*.
4. I have seen some stones of yt kinde I call *Echinites*

¹ Plot often rebuked him for his fad of spelling *q* s without *u* s.

² *Echinites rotularis*. *Lith.* 942.

³ The Calcareous Grit.

laticlavus [degener.] *abortivus* (as I suspected) *in fieri*;¹ whence I conjecture that they never were entire Echinites's & casually broken; but form'd as we finde them; wch is in ye figure. I have sent them to you; & tho I found hundreds of them; yet I never met with any otherwise.

I receivd last post a letter from Mr Ray; whereby I finde he has receivd the dried plants I sent, & desires some farther account of some Snowdon plants wch I shall not fayl to send him by ye next post.

I shall trouble you no longer at present, but onely desire to be directed how I may farther shew my self to be

Hd Sr Yr very humble & most obliged servant
EDW. LHWYD

10. MS *Lister* 35, No. 56

Oxford, Aug. ye 15th 89.

Hond Sr,

I had long since sent you some of ye bivalves of ye Musæum; but yt I suspect there are none amongst them, but such as you either have, or may at least see elsewhere, every day. But amongst ye turbinated shells there may be some you have not yet observd, & [so] if you think fit I shall send you some of ym, [which are] most scarce; as soon as you please; & with them [others] if I meet wth any yt I shall judge rare. I hope you have receivd a box of form'd stones together wth some shells of ye Welsh shoars, wch I sent you last Saturday. I find by a letter from Mr Ray, he has receivd some dried plants I sent him & therefore may conclude you have likewise receivd ye catalogue of shells sent with it.

I would gladly at yr first leasure understand what Mr Ashmole resolv's upon, as to ye custody of ye Musæum: & I would desire you (if you think it not amisse) to make your request to him plainly on my behalf, when you next meet wth him in any tolerable humour. Mr Bobert of ye Physic garden happend to drinke a glasse of wine with him lately at London; where he told him yt all of ye university who were lovers of

¹ *Echonobrissus*, with a pronounced posterior valley. Cf. *Lith.* 910.

natural history, hoped yt in case ye Dr left ye Musæum, he would recommend none to succeed him but me. But he told him Dr Plot was more famous & better known for his insight in Nature than I might be; & yet he does noe good in his station, but totally neglects it, wandring abroad where he pleases; & yt therefore he has noe reason to expect I should doe better; & continued railing at ye Dr directly contrary I think to his merits. I did not desire Mr Bobert to speak any thing in this matter; nor know of his going to London. But I fear me that (unlesse I flatter my self) I must conclude from Mr Ashmoles reply, yt he's resolved maugr all arguments to ye contrary to save his fees 20 li. a year; by preferring his kinsman, for I think there can be nothing else in it, Mr Smallridge having as great aversion to that sort of study, as I may have inclination to it; & as ignorant yt way, as he's otherwise ingenious.

When you happen to discourse with him; you may acquaint him yt if he qestions my behaviour in ye place; he may prescribe me what rules he thinks fit; wch if I observe not, I may be dismysd at ye 1st, 2d or 3d year. If he supposes you & Dr Plot may be byassd in yr character of me; I'm willing to be examin'd by Mr Ray or any other naturalist; if he qestions my morrals; I'll send him ye Coll. Testimonium where I lived 5 years. If he says plainly he's under no obligation to præfer strangers before his own relations; you may (if we dare venture to speak truth) tell him yt I say he promis'd me his interest therein, above two years since & added yt therefore he would not have me travail beyond seas least he could not find me when he wanted me; & yt Dr Plot is sensible yt ye pains I took in making ye *Catalogue* of all ye natural bodys in ye Musæum (besides [my] attendance & losse of time as to other studies) was [insufficiently] countervaild with 12 li. a year; & yt I had long since [employed] my self some other way, had it not been in confidence of his promise; & in prospect of this place long before his promise, there being none else in Oxford yt regarded such studies. But ye main argument wch I think, (unlesse he suppresses his own reason) must move him, is yt his great & most laudable design of promoteing ye

knowledge of Nature, will be utterly over thrown if he prefers one to this place, who being ignorant in such studies, can never instruct any others therein; & consequently must have but such a successor as himself be, towit divines or others that despise all studies of yt kind. Hd Sr I have been sufficiently tedious, but have now ended all I have to say in this matter; wch I desire you at ye 1st opportunity you can to impart to Mr Ashmole at yr own discretion; for I long to be rid of this lingring expectation, especially since I have dayly lesse reason to hope it will succeed well, on ye behalf of

Yr most obliged humble servt
EDW. LHWYD

One Mr Charlet fellow of Trinity Coll. acquainted me lately yt one Dr Harrington, (who I understand you are very well acquainted with) informd him yt Sr Tho. Willughby¹ had a design to finde me some employment: but I suspect yt gentleman onely told him you were pleasd to give me a good character; & yt you would if possible procure me ye custody of ye Musæum. But this Mr Charlet is for Mr Smallridge² as I have reason to suppose, & therefore has been tampering with me with golden promises, to send me upon honorary errands perhaps onely to get me out of ye way. Be pleasd to ask Dr Harrington³ when you see him, whether he had any discourse with Mr Charlet about me, & what it was. I writ to Mr Ray last Sunday.

II. MS *Lister* 3, f. 165

[Autumn 1689]

Hond Sr,

I have made but small discoveries in our stonepits about Oxford since I receivd yr most obliging letters; partly because ye Dr has found me employment ever since he came down, & partly because those which are near ye town being pretty well searchd allready, affoord very litle yt's new to us. But I shall be very mindefull of all yr directions; and shall goe

¹ Sir T. WILLUGHBY, afterwards Lord Middleton, was the second son of Francis Willughby. He was educated by Ray.

² GEORGE SMALRIDGE, Ch. Ch., M.A. 1689; Ashmole's nephew. Bishop of Bristol 1714-†1719. *D.N.B.*

³ JAMES HARRINGTON of Christ Church.

farther off, as I have opportunities. Mr Higgins, ye Drs deputy in ye Musæum, intends to qit his employment at Michaelmasse; And then I hope ye Dr will let me have ye one half of ye money receivd (for as to ye whole wch he promisd us at London, I know him better than to expect any such matter.) The one half may amount to 20ll. per annum; wch is noe great matter considering ye meannesse & trouble of ye employment. & yt ye Dr needs not trouble himself much farther than to keep ye name & receive his 20ll. If he consent not to allow me ye one half, I hope he'l keep his promise to you at London, wch will be much about ye same matter; but both I must never expect. Sr if you can spare ye catalogue of shells be pleasd to send it down; for ye Dr wants it or pretends to have occasion for it; & ye other copy is as it happens unluckily now in Wales. If you desire a copy of it, or any other part of the catalogue of ye Musæum, I shall send you a transcript. You may direct it to ye Dr for I told him I had lent it you.

I have some patterns of our choisest Snowdon plants yt I can spare; & if you please to accept of ym either for yr own use, or to oblige any freind, I shall send ym to you: perhaps Dr Sloane or Dr Plucknet¹ may have some choice plants to spare in exchange. I am Sr

Yr most obliged & humble servt
EDWARD LHWYD

12. MS *Lister* 35, No. 57

Oxford, Octob. 1.—89.

Hond Sr,

The Doctor having several letters to write this morning has desired me to ease him of one of them, by presenting his humble service to you & acquainting you yt he receivd your letter last post, & the *Catalogue* about a week before. He desires you'd put in your bargain with Mr Read that he must

¹ LEONARD PLUKENET, 1642–1706, had been a fellow student of William Courten or Charleton, probably at Westminster under Busby. As tenant of a small botanic garden by Old Palace Yard, he was a near neighbour of Martin Lister. After 1689 Queen Mary appointed him Superintendent of her garden at Hampton Court and Queen's Botanist.

send you 3 or 4 shells of each species. Yr news of ye garden at Hamptoncourt was very acceptable; but ye latter part of it towit of 1500 more undescribd plants expected, seems wonderfull.¹ I am now in ye same station you supposd me to be in, when I was at London, ye Doctors deputy haveing resignd yesterday. I sent an other parcel of Welsh plants to Mr Ray about 6 weeks agoe & directed them to be left with Mr Mot, his printer; but Mr Ray receivd them not in any due time, nor am I sure whether he has yet receivd them. I writ to Mr Mot yt I had sent 'm by Bartlets coach wch lies at ye Oxford Armes in Warwiclane. When you hapen to write, I would gladly know what education this Read is of & whether he understands plants anything well; for I never heard before, of ye name. The Doctor designes I shall goe with him to Kent this winter; yt we may try what discoveries we can make there in natural history. I have noe more to adde but to subscribe my self

Yr most obliged & very humble servt
EDW. LHWYD

13. MS *Lister* 35, No. 58

Oxford October ye 14.—89.

Hond Sr

Since I receivd yr last, I have searchd some stone pits of this cuntry for some Figur'd Stones; & I have sent you herewith, whatever occur'd yt was new. Burghers, ye graver,² says if you please to send him one table of draughts, he'l tell us how cheap he can doe them. He says copper is bought cheaper here than at London, besides ye carriage savd. I have receivd a civil letter from Mr Mot, assureing me he neglected noe time of sending ye plants to Mr Ray, with an other from Mr Ray giveing account he receivd them, &c. I thought it Mr Mots more immediate concern than any others, for I apprehended that he prints it for himself & not for any bookseller. Mr Ray says he will endeavour to have one or

¹ The great accession of plants at Hampton Court was an 'incredible' stock of curious plants received from Holland by the King and the Earl of Portland.

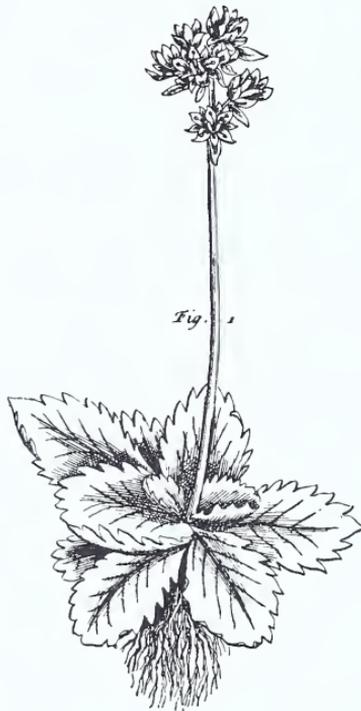
² MICHAEL BURGHERS was the most accomplished engraver of objects of natural history of his day. He was appointed Calcographer to the University of Oxford in succession to Loggan who died in 1692.

two of my plants engravd for ye ornament of his *Synopsis methodica*.¹ The Dr continues his resolution of searching some of ye maritim parts of Kent this winter; & has writ for one to supply our absence; I hope we may make some discoveries amoungst formd stones, shells, & ye other exanguia aqatica. I shall adde no more but yt I am

Sr,

Yr obliged & humble servt

EDWARD LHWYD



Sedum serratum flosculis compactis immaculatis
[*Saxifraga nivalis* L.]

Ray *Synopsis*, third edition, 1724. Pl. xvi.

MS. *Lister* 35, No. 59 of 'October 26, 1689' is obviously wrongly dated, for it refers to the time when Lister's son was up at Oxford in 1695 and 1696. See p. 312.

¹ *Subularia lacustris* (*Isoetes lacustris* L.) was engraved for Ray's *Synopsis*, 1st edition. See p. 117. Many others of Lhwyd's plants appear in the 3rd edition.

14. *Cambrian Quarterly Mag.* ii, 1830. MS Peniarth 427
To the [Rev. JOHN LLOYD of Llangar]

Oxon, Nov. ye 12th, 1689.

Dear Friend,

I have wanted directions to write to you ever since Mr. Powel died, which has been ye only occasion of interrupting our usual correspondence. Yr brother Robert, whom I saw at London, advised me to direct my letter to be left with him, but I have noe desire any letters of myne should come to his master's shop; one directed to me from Jack Lloyd, of Wrexham, having miscarried there, because (I suppose) I had sent a few days before to demand some books yt had been lent Mr. Lloyd, when my father died. Pray be soe kinde as to let me have a letter ye 1st post after this comes to yr hands, and let me know if it be true what ye Cronic tells me, viz. yt you succeed Mr. Jones at Lhangar.¹ Dr. Plot offer'd Mr. Ashmole to surrender his place in ye museum, if he accepted of me to succeed him: at first he seem'd to consent, but afterwards alter'd his thoughts, and told ye Dr. another time, yt he had promised it his kinsman, one Mr. Smallridge of Christchurch, soe ye Dr. keeps it still, and allows me ye one half. He talks much (I mean Dr. Plot) of encompassing Britain, along ye Sea coast, and of writing a natural history in Latin, under the title of *Zodiacus Britanniaë*, but this he'l not meddle with, unlesse he finds encouragement amongs ye Parliam. men, and tomorrow he goes to London with a design of proposing it.

I am lately enter'd in correspondence with Mr. Ray, who leads ye solitary life he always affected, at a place called Black Notley, in Essex. I judge he's a man of ye most agreeable temper (as to his letters and other writings) imaginable; he has a book in the presse, entitled *Synopsis methodica stirpium Britannicarum*, wch may be published about Christmasse; there are in it all my discoveries at Snowdon ye summer 88, wch are above forty new plants. I refer you to the bearer for news

¹ JOHN LLOYD, matr. Jesus College 1682, became rector of Llangar 1689-91, where HUGH JONES had previously officiated.

relateing to the University, and have noe more to say, but to desire a letter by ye first post, to

Yr most affectionate frd and humble servant,

ED. LLWYD

Direct yr letters to ye Musæum.

15. To JOHN RAY. (*Ray Correspondence* 1848, p. 212)

Honoured Sir,

Oxford, Feb. 25, 16⁸⁹/₉₀.

The same varieties of *Entrochi*, with those you sent me, are found in Staffordshire, but I had none exactly like them; for, though I picked up some variety of them in Wales, yet they all differ from these in texture, consistence, and colour. About Oxford we have considerable variety of Formed Stones, more than Dr. Plot has mentioned in his history; but no *Entrochi* were ever found in this county that I have heard of. If any one of these formed stones may be acceptable to you, I can send you a parcel whenever you please to command it.

Dr. MORISON's first tome, which, with the second already printed, contains all the herbaceous kind, is ready for the press. Pray excuse this hasty scribble, and repute me, &c.

[EDW. LHWYD]

16. MS *Lister* 36, No. ii

Oxford April 10. 1690.

Hond Sr

The very same week I receivd the shells; I sent you a collection of some Form'd Stones by ye same carrier that brought the shells. But in regard I have not heard from you since, I begin to suspect they met with noe better successe than the box I sent before, wch came not to your hands tho you had the letter wch was sent with it. I should be very sorry if this has miscarried; because there were some stones yt I met with, in a qarry in Caernarvonshire, where I have no thoughts of ever going again. Pray be pleasd to write two or 3 lines at yr first leasure, to ease me of this doubt. I have found at a stonepit near Gazington, about 3 miles from Oxford a *Glossopetra* since I sent you yt box; but Dr Plot has borrowd it to engrave; for he designes a 2d edition of his *History of Oxfordshire*. I would gladly know

how forward Mr Ray's book may be, & when we may expect Dr Plucknets *catalogue*,¹ & whether Dr Sloan intends a *History of Jamaica*.

I finde Mr Ray has been lately very ill, of a feaver & a violent cough, but I hope he's now fully recoverd. I forgot whether I ever sent you, a kinde of small *Cornu Ammonis*² all over studded or clavellated, & of a shining black couler; if not I shall send you one when you please, for its one of the most elegant stones, we meet with hereabouts. Pray Sr be pleasd to excuse this trouble, & return two or 3 lines at yr first leasure to him yt will allways own himself,

Yr most obliged servant,
EDW. LHWYD

17. To JOHN RAY. *Ray Correspondence*, p. 212

Honoured Sir,

Oxford, April 14, 1690.

Dr. Lister acquaints me that Mr. CHARLTON³ has lately received a land-snail from Surinam, not bigger than a hen's egg, which yet lays eggs as big as those of a sparrow; and the snails that are hatched of them are, he says, twice as large as the eggs.⁴

Sir, I thank you for your pattern of the *Muscus denticulatus major*. One Mr. RICHARDSON, a gentleman of Yorkshire (a person very curious about plants, and the other parts of natural history, and that has spent about six or seven years with Dr. Herman⁵ in that study), told me he was somewhat secure that plant grew in Yorkshire, under the heaths, and promised to send me patterns of it this summer.

¹ *Phytographia* 1691-2.

² *Cosmoceras ornatum* from the Oxford Clay: abundant in St. Giles' Brick pits, Summertown, which was probably Lhwyd's locality. *Lith.* 291, pl. 6.

³ WILLIAM CHARLETON was the owner of collections that were said to have cost him £7,000 or £8,000 sterling, which he kept in his chambers in the Temple. These collections were acquired by Dr. Sloane and should now be among the historic treasures of the British Museum. Charleton, whose real name was Courten, died in 1714.

⁴ *Bulimus haemastomus*. See p. 102.

⁵ Dr. Paul Hermann was then settled in Leyden where he taught botany and curated the Garden. Previously he had practised medicine in Ceylon and at the Cape of Good Hope.

I only expect your commands for some figured stones. Those that this country affords are chiefly in imitation of shells. We have none that resemble fish, or any other animals besides, nor that have the resemblance of any plants. *Cornu Hammonis*, *Asteriscus*, *Asteria s. Astroites*, and *Belemnites* of divers sorts, we have plentifully, as also some others that I cannot compare to any natural bodies that I have any notion of. One quarry within two miles of Oxford¹ I have searched at least forty times, and sometimes had five or six with me; yet last Saturday I discovered there three varieties of *Glossopetra*, though none had ever been observed in this part of England before, for what I can learn. One of them is a *Tricuspis*, such as Dr. Lister's in one of the *Phil. Transact.*

[EDW. LHWYD]

18. MS *Lister* 3, f. 146

n.d. [May 1690].

Hond Sr

I had yr letter of April 4. & had answer'd it sooner had I made any discoveries yt might deserve yr attention. My place requiring constant attendance, I have onely school-master's leasure to goe abroad; soe that not being able to reach any new qarries, it's but very seldō I meet with any new stones. However I have lately found 1. *Glossopetra fossilis striata*. 2. *Glossopetra fossilis tricuspis*: such as yours in ye *Phil. Trans.* 3 Toadstones of 2 kindes. 4 *Lapis lupini siliqam qodammo referens, versicolor, superficie arenariâ politissimâ*. 5. *Conchites lævissimus Oxyrrhynchos bulgam referens: seu Sacculus lapideus* (L. 873). But of these ye most valuable with me is ye Lupin husk, wch I should not covet to exchange for any form'd stone I have seen, nor for any Guyny in the land, tho I doe'nt abound with such houshold stuff. But perhaps future discoverys may make them common: at least wise I shall strive hard to finde you one of them. Dr Pl. who is now at London talks I must goe with him to Kent about ye beginning of July; if so, I shall be sure to bring you what I have; & I hope, to discover somewhat more before



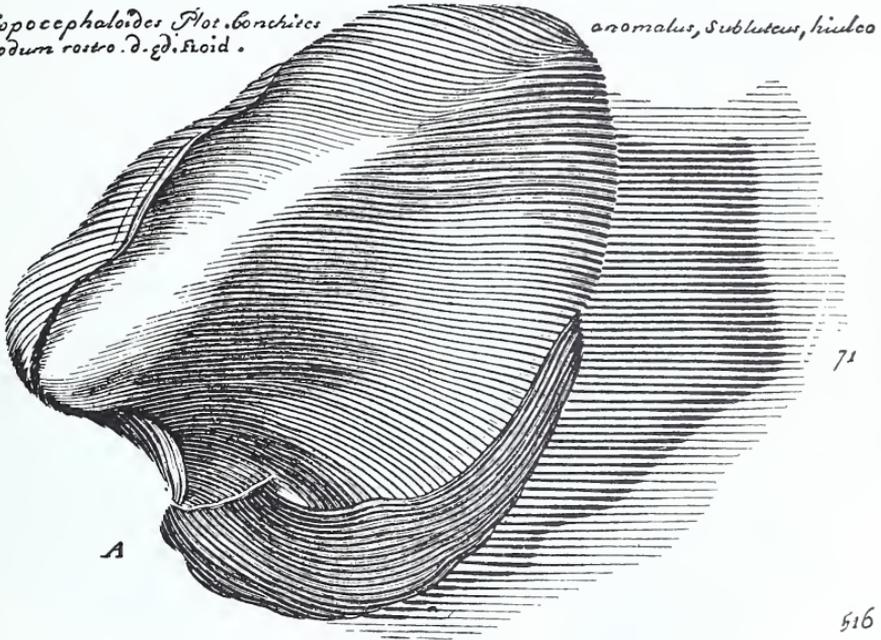
873

¹ Perhaps at Cowley where *Lith.* 1282 was found. *Lith.* 1283.

that time. The Dr's *Auricularia* is ye Operculum of an odde sort of Conchites:¹ his *Lapis Judaicus* an overgrown spine of an *Echinites laticlavus*:² his *Hippocephaloides* a very elegant sort of *Conchites rugosus*,³ having lost its outer shell. Sr if

71 *hippocephaloides* Plot. *Conchites*
admodum rostro. d. gd. fluid.

anomalus, subtilatus, hiulco



Natural cast of a *Trigonia*.

you can spare a sort of shell I have calld *Nerita longus purpurens*, figurd 27A,⁴ be pleasd to send it down against ye Visitation; if you have any others they need not be sent. The Visitation is ye 15 of June, at which time if you finde Mr Ashmole designs to be here I would gladly have a fortnights warning if possible. Sr I shall adde no more, but that none is, & shall allways continue more sensible of his obligations to you than

Yr very humble servant
EDW. LHWYD

¹ *Lith.* 517.

³ *Curvirostra rugosa.* *Lith.* 709.

² *Cidaris* spine.

⁴ *Nerita.*

I had 3 weeks agoe a letter from Mr Charleton, yt tells me he had not then receiv'd ye Mosses I sent him at ye top of ye box. I hear Mr Rays *Synopsis [methodica stirpium Britannicarum 1690]* is publish'd, but as yet I have not seen it. I thank you for yr account of ye Shell from Suranam. Its strange if ye young snayls be hard, & twice as big as ye shell immediatly upon exclusion.

21 *Buccinum admodum crassum, ingens, quinq, orbium, laucet Tab. 6.*
purpurascens à Surinam. Oviparum.

21

Остие чере' Тестасурум. и. е.
 putaninae duro fragiliq, contextum.



pullus recentor exclusus

23

The Surinam Land-snail (*Bulimus haematostomus*), with egg and young. After Lister.

19. *E.S.O.* xii, p. 329

OWEN MEREDITH'S letter to Dr. PLOT from Nant-Phranken, May 20, 1690, has been stated by LHWYD to have been written by himself.

20. To JOHN RAY. *Ray Correspondence*, p. 224

Oxford, July 1, 1690.

Honoured Sir,

The formed stones were very acceptable. The *Oculi serpentum* are, indeed, of the same kind with those they call Toad-stones. The Cats-heads seem to me to be arches or joints of some *Cornu Hammonis*. *Baculi S. Pauli* are of the same substance with those stones that resemble the bristles of some American Echini, which, as I mentioned in my last, Dr. Plot has called *Lapides judaici*; nor is the Doctor much mistaken therein, for the real *Lapides judaici* seem to be nothing else but overgrown stones of this kind, as your large *Glossopetra* is amongst the rest of that sort; whereof I have seen one found in Sheppy¹ much larger than that elegant one you sent me. When I say overgrown, I mean a large sort, or variety, much exceeding those of its family; which puts me in mind of a current report, how that in the county of Antrim, in Ireland, there are divers large pillars of star-stones able to support a church. How your bastions of St. Paul differ from our bristle-stones, you will best judge from some I shall send you. The vertebræ seem to be so indeed, and to have undergone but a small alteration. Those inscribed *Dentes serpentum* and *Ova*, I can say nothing to.

A *Synopsis Method. of the Animals and Fossils of England* would, doubtless, prove very instrumental to the advancement of natural history; and though a complete enumeration of those things would require much time, labour, expense, and travail, yet I doubt not but such a catalogue as you could give us would be very grateful to the public, and prove a direction to several others to make farther observations of that kind, as well as your *Catalogue of Plants* has done. I question not but you may give us a great deal of information in the *Catalogue of Insects*, as well as you have done already in the *Histories of Birds and Fish*. I shall be very forward to give in my contribution, which will be some observations on Formed Stones and of the *Exanguia marina*. Dr. Plot will be likewise as ready.

¹ *Glossopetra maxima*. *Lith.* 1259, pl. 15.

We have performed our visit to Mr. COLE, and received abundant satisfaction in our journey. He received us, though all unknown to him, very friendly, and spent six hours in showing us his collection, without any interruption, or the least sign of being weary. It consists altogether of natural things, and seemed to us a very extraordinary collection for one person (and who, perhaps, had not the advantage of a liberal education to invite him to such studies) to be able to amass together.

We observed a Virginia animal of the cat-kind, seven foot and a half long, and another of the colour and bigness of our wild cats, which he told us was the common House-cat of Virginia; also a Skunk, which he rendered *Putorius virginianus*. This he told us would stink several miles, and sometimes so infect the air as to cause a pestilence. He showed us the horn of a Narhual, curiously wreathed, and about five feet long. A Danish gentleman told me he had seen a Narhual that had been taken by some Hamburgers at Greneland, an. 1684, having two very long horns, and that he suspected they generally have so, and that the Unicorns of them are but monsters. We also observed some of the *Corneæ laminæ* of a whale, about three feet long and one broad, of a black colour. We have some at our Museum of a whitish colour, and about nine inches long; also the blade of a Sword-fish [*Xiphias gladius*], caught about Swansea, in Glamorganshire. He has several curious figured stones and shells, found in the west of England and in South Wales; very elegant trees of the *Abrotanoides Planta Saxea Clusi*, with considerable variety of other Pori, Corals, Horny Sea Plants, &c. I admired a sort of *Cornu Ammonis*, found somewhere in Somersetshire, resembling a nautilus, but having two prominences each side of the aperture, about as thick and taper as the end of a walking-staff to be screwed in and out. Another *Cornu*, of a rainbow colour, about six inches diameter, and as thin as a shilling, composed of a sort of Selenitis or Talc. The resemblance of several exotic plants (as it should seem to me) in a kind of Cole-slat, found somewhere near Bristow; they seemed to be of several Capillaries, and one particularly like the *Capillus Ven. verus*;

the signatures of the leaves as curiously veined as the real plants have. I have room to add no more at present.

21. MS *Lister* 36, No. iii

Oxford July 1.—90.

Hond Sr,

The *Hortus Malabaricus*, & ye books of shells came safe, whereof I ought to have given you account sooner. Of ye *Hortus Malabaricus*, 4 volumes containing 5 parts (yr letter mentiond six) & ten coppys of ye *Booke of Shells*. We have added ye former to your name in the Book of Donations, together with those books you had sent down by me, before. As yet I have sold but one copy of ye *Conchyliæ*, & I fear it will be very long e're ye rest goe off, in regard they have noe *Titles* annext; but I hope you intend an other edition with specific names & descriptions; in ye mean time I hope by degrees to get these off, especially if any curious forreigners shall visit our Musæum. I can hear nothing of Cælius Aurelianus but in ye publique library; at leastwise none of our Oxford booksellers as much as know him. I have sought diligently at Whitney for some more of ye *Siliquæ lapideæ* I mentiond in my last, & have found 2 more congenerous with that; but in noe wise soe large or elegant. However this gives me some hopes I may hereafter finde better. I have alsoe found a very elegant kinde of stone,¹ in shape like a button mold, most minutely striated from ye center, (a small dimple where the hole is in a button mould) to ye center on ye opposite side. Dr Plot has figured it by ye name of *Porpites* Nat. Hist. Ox. p. 142. It resembles ye *Scutulæ* yt grow on ye backs of the sea starres ye nearest of any thing I have seen. Whether there are any *Echinus spatagus*² like it I know not. I have half a score of them, all found in a gravel pit³ near Oxford. In ye same gravel pit I have observ'd a sort of pebles very smooth, & of a cinereous or whitish colour, mark'd here & there, with some faint resemblances of some mosse or coralline,⁴ but they

¹ *Anabacia* from the Cora¹ Flag and Oxford Clay. The reference to Plot *Nat. Hist. Oxon* should be p. 139 and plate 8, fig. 9.

² Flint cast of *Micraster* in gravel.

³ Summertown gravel pits.

⁴ Dendritic markings produced by manganese.

are very small; & doe not imitate any particular species of mosse yt I know off. I have elsewhere seen a flint found somewhere in Sommersetshire as elegantly delineated as ye *Pietra imboschata* of Imperatus; the same I have observ'd in ye stones of ye lead mines at Lhan y Mynych in Denbighshire & near Caerwys in Phlyntshire; but in noe part of Northwales is found any flint or chalk; nor beech trees, nor several other trees & plants that grow in ye south of England. One Mr WYN of Bodysgalhen¹ a gentleman of Caernarvonshire shew'd me a kind of thin friable slat out of ye cole-mines of Denbighshire, which had more elegant draughts of the branches of some plants,² yn any artist can give us; tho I must confesse the plants they resembled (if there be any such in nature) are unknown to me. Onely one³ seemd to agree pretty well with ye draught of *Adiantum foliis Coriandri* Casp. Bauh. or *Capillus Veneris verus* of Lobel; whereof he gave me a small fragment. He also shew'd me a stool Pearl found in ye river Conwy in his neighbourhood, as big as ye kernel of a fieldbeard.¹ One Mr WOODWARD⁴ a young gentleman that lives with Dr Barwick can give you ample satisfaction about the resemblance of plants in cole mines in ye Mendip hills [but perhaps it may be noe news to you.] That gentleman gave Dr Plot, some patterns of cole-slat haveing ye draughts of the common female fern.⁵ He seems to have made a wonderfull progresse (considering his age) in several sorts of knowledge. He has lately made a collection of form'd stones in Summersetshire & Glowcestershire; & told me he does not much gestion but he has found out ye causes of those productions; & added that they seem soe plain yt he wonders no body thought of it sooner. What notions he has therein I know not; but it

¹ ROBERT WYN, a curious and accomplished gentleman, whose untimely death, says Mr. Lhwyd, 'I have reason among many others to lament, shewed me a valuable collection of pearls from the river, among which I noted a stool pearl of the size and shape of a small button mould, weighing 17 grains'.

² Coal measure plants.

³ *Pecopteris*.

⁴ Dr. Peter Barwick's pupil was JOHN WOODWARD, 1665-1728, of St. John's College, Cambridge, and afterwards Professor of Physic at Gresham College, 1692.

⁵ See page 241.

seems questionable whether he be sufficiently experienced in such *observations*, as to be able to satisfie mens curiosities in soe nice a phenomenon. However at leastwise his endeavours are laudable & *in magnis voluisse sat[is] est*.

I have lately seen Mr COLE's musæum, & receivd abundant satisfaction by my journey. He told us that had the Oxford Society, proceeded vigorously in their designe & onely favourd his studies with a freindly & constant correspondence, his designe was to leave us all his musæum. Be pleasd to say nothing of this journey, to our ffr. Dr P[lot] least he finde fault with my absence so longe from ye musæum. We expect Mr Ashmole, a week or a fortnight hence. I am

Sr, Yr most affect. & obliged servt
EDW. LHWYD

Mr Sherard tells me yt ye Botanic Club in London have entertain'd some thoughts of sending me to the Canarie Ilands to make what discoveries I can in plants. If they continue their resolution; I should be very forward to undertake ye voyage. But if you learn from Dr Robinson there is such a thing design'd; I shall beg yr instructions, in all that matter. I understand Mr Ray has some thoughts of writeing a *Synopsis methodica of ye animals & minerals of England*.

22. MS *Lister* 36, No. iv

Oxford Aug. 3d 90.

Dear Sr

I humbly thank you for yr obligeing letter. The account you give of my intended voyage to ye Canary's is but agreeable to what I expected & to what I must expect till times are better setl'd. However I still conceiv hopes I shall sometimes be employd thither, or elsewhere, & therefore I am at present endeavouring to learn som Spanish, which I finde goes down very easy with me; & I understand books writen in French & Italian tolerably well. Sr I sent you yesterday by one Mr Lhwyd of Jesus Coll., a kinsman of myne, a small box with such stones as I mention'd in my last letters to you, & one I found since, viz. Teeth (or at leastwise what are soe

call'd) of ye *Echinus orbiculatus*.¹ The *Siliquastrum*² I sent you, is one I found since my last letter, tho not altogether so elegant as that I found ye 1st time. However its of ye same figure largeness & superficies or texture on both sides; differing onely in ye black colour whereas myne is waved of green & black. I have sent you these now in regard I find I am not likely to come to London. I should be glad to hear from you at yr leasure when you have receivd ym, wch is all I have time to say at present but yt I am

Hond Sr Yr most obliged & affectionate servant
EDW. LHWYD

23. [To LISTER] MS *Ashmole* 1816, f. 64

Oxford, Aug. 28. [forsan 90.]

Hond Sr

I hope you receiv'd ye small box I mention'd in my last. I have since that time found two or three new things, wch shall be sent you e're long. One Mr Charlet Fellow of Trin. Coll. a great freind of Dr Plot's, tells me yt if I can contrive any way of succeeding ye Dr he'l resigne at Michaelmasse. I suppose what ye Dr intends may be better known to you, however Mr Charlet advised me to write to you about it.

If ye Doctors occasions require him to resigne, perhaps he may easily work with Mr Ashmole to let me have all ye Incomes of the place (wch seldome exceeds forty pounds a year) the Dr reserving ye title & promiseing still to have an eye to it, & sometimes to visit us at Oxford: wch I suppose he'l doe however. That would be no very extraordinary reward to one that has serv'd seven years apprenticeship here & labour'd pretty much in drawing ye *Catalogue*. If this could be done, it would secure me from all oppositions for ye future; & I immagin if ye Dr be soe inclin'd he may easily effect it. I would gladly hear from you whether there be anything in it, wch is all at present from

Hond Sr Yr most obliged and affectionate Servt
E. LH.

¹ *Nuceolites orbiculatus*, formerly *Echinobrissus scutatus*. By 'teeth' spines which occur abundantly are probably meant. *Lith.* 1084.

² Nut of *Carpolithus* from the Corallian of Cumnor.

I am not sure whether ye Dr will allow me the one half of what I receivd this year. The Dividend will be at Michaelmasse; I wish you could secure it for me but I can hardly hope it.

24. MS *Lister* 36, No. v

Oxf. Nov. 2. 90.

Sr

Since my return to Oxford, I have endeavourd to inform myself about Muscle Hill, but as yet I can not learn where it lies. Mr Camden does not mention it, unlesse he uses some other name. We have onely one gentleman of Huntingdonshire at Oxford, & he can give me no account of it. I must therefore beg your farther directions to finde out either this hill or some other noted place yt may affoord me some employment when I come to it, & as soon as the Doctor has resign'd & left Oxford I shall begin ye journey: as yet he's not come down, but we have expected him every day this last week, & he told me he'd stay at Oxford but a fortnight. I have writ to Mr ASHMOLE & have receiv'd ye inclos'd from him; wch I have sent you, because I thought it probable you may direct me, what sort of letters will be most agreeable to his humour; for altho I may præsume so far on my own judgement, yt I shall not disoblige him in what I write, yet perhaps you may direct me how I shall please him. I finde he reqires constant attendance at the Musæum, but constant enqiries after natural productions would be farre more usefull towards the advancement of knowledge; & we may reasonably suspect: yt when any one shall hereafter endow it with a travailing fellowship, it may lose ye title *Ashmoleanum*. I have discoverd nothing new since I came down, but some small stones resembling pease at first view, but of a peculiar figure; which I know not whither to refer. I have also met with another of ye bones I shewd you; & an other kind of stones whereof I can not in few words give you any notion. I am

Sr Yr most obliged & very humble servt
EDW. LHWYD

25. To JOHN RAY. *Ray Correspondence*, p. 226

Oxford, Nov. 25, —90.

Honoured Sir,

Considering your local words since I read your letter, I find some amongst the north-country words to bear affinity with the Welsh, both in sound and signification, which possibly may be some remains of the British tongue continued still in the mountainous parts of the north. Of these, if you please, I shall hereafter send you a catalogue; but in the mean time I must confess, that although they may agree in sound and sense, it will yet be difficult to distinguish whether they have been formerly borrowed from the Britons, or whether they are only an argument that the ancient British language had much affinity with those of Germany, Denmark, &c. I omit the supposition of the Welsh borrowing them from the English, in regard I find them not (at least but very few of them) used by the borderers of both nations; and the Britons might leave them in Westmoreland, Cumberland, &c., having heretofore lived there; but the English of those parts could communicate nothing of their language to the Welsh; in regard they have never lived in Wales nor have bordered on them. Moreover, some of these words are in the *Armorican Lexicon*, and the Britons that went to Armorica left this country before the Saxons came in.

The *Pectinites Amphiotis latiusculè sulcatus*, and the *Echinites rotularis minor angusticlavius*, with some others, are commonly found in beds of sand, which lie under the vein of stone at the bottom of the pits, though sometimes I have found the former in the stones by breaking them; but those usually of a different colour from the sand-shells. Whether they were ever the tegumenta of animals or are only primary productions of nature in imitation of them, I am constrained to leave in medio, and to confess I find in myself no sufficient ability or confidence to maintain either opinion, though I incline much to the latter. However it be, it seems an extraordinary delightful subject, and worthy the inquiry of the most judicious philosophers. On the one hand, it seems strange if these things

are not shells petrified, whence it proceeds that we find such great variety of them so very like shells in shape and magnitude, and some of them in colour, weight, and consistence; and not only resemblances of sea shells should be found, but also of the bones and teeth of divers sea fish, and that we only find the resemblances of such bodies as are in their own nature of a stone-like substance. On the other hand, it seems as remarkable that we seldom or never find any resemblance of horns, teeth, or bones of land animals, or of birds, which might be apt to petrify, if we respect their consistence; inso-much that I suspect few formed stones are found (at leastwise in England), except in some extraordinary petrifying earth, but what a skillful naturalist may, and that perhaps deservedly, assimilate to some marine bodies; but yet when we confer them with those bodies they seem most to resemble, they appear generally but as mock-shells and counterfeit teeth, differing from them little less than the works of art do from those of nature, which we endeavour to imitate, as if the earth in these productions (to speak vulgarly) should only ape the sea. To find out the truth of this question, nothing would conduce more than a very copious collection of shells, of the skeletons of fish, of corals, pori, &c., and of these supposed petrifications.

The figures of plants in the Cole-slat I have formerly mentioned to you, is clearly a different thing from the *Pietra Imboschata* of Imperatus. Indeed I have hitherto seen imperfect pieces of it; but whereas the *Pietra Imboschata* (of which kind of figures we have also some variety in England and Wales) represents only rude branches imitating rather some coralline or sea-moss than trees; the Cole-slat exhibits whole branches with leaves, and distinction of the veins and texture of them. I have a small piece which seems to resemble a branch of the *Filix fœm.* very much, but the specimen is very imperfect.

Mr. Bobart tells me the *Gymnocrithon* is the very same with the London *Triticum Spica hordei*. The *Alsine myos. lan.* *Alpina grandiflora* [*Cerastium alpinum* L.] I do not question at present to be a distinct plant from the *Aur. muris pulchro fl. albo*, J. B. [*C. arvense* L.], which is very common

in these parts, but nowhere in North Wales (supposing this no mistake) that ever I could find. The plant I mean I never saw but at the highest part of all Snowdon: it is very woolly, but more especially before it comes to flower, which is extraordinary membranaceous, or thin; the calyx very long, crooked, and transparent, and divided at the top with many notches; the whole plant every way bigger than the *Auricula muris*. Since I sent you the collection of stones, I have discovered several new ones, whereof you may hereafter expect some farther account from, &c.

[EDW. LHWYD]

26. MS *Lister* 36, No. vi

Oxford Nov. 27. 90.

Hond Sr,

I ought to have acquainted you before this time, yt I've receiv'd yr obligeing letter of ye last of October. Your directions therein I shall not fayl to observe; & as for a travailing stipend, I was my self very sensible that the least hint thereof, must needs give distast to Mr Ashmole, and therefore entertain'd not ye least thought of intimateing any such thing.

I shall take your advice as to ye hill near Huntingdon, & deferre my going thither till next spring, & in ye mean time make what excursions I can about Oxford.

Since my last, I have found, 1. *Strombites* s. *turbinites maximus crenatis spiris* (= *Pseudomelania heddingtonensis*).

2. *Turbinulus lapideus subluteus crenatis spiris*.

3. Some new shapes of ye *Ichthyodontites*; and amongst ye rest a toadstone *Lepidotus* from Coral rag of Cumnor somewhat of a pearl couler, wch a Danish gentleman that was with me, being much pleas'd with, I gave it him in hopes of finding more hereafter. Pray Sr, be pleas'd to acquaint me whether these toadstones be of any vallue amongst ye lapidaries; if so I can pick up a douzen, any day when I please, about 3 miles out of town, of a liver couler; & some of an incomparable shineing black, but these are rare.

4. *Neritæ lapideæ* plentifully.

5. Spondylites, vertebra lapidea, seu Ichthyospondylos lapis. They are almost as big as ye Raiarum vertebræ wch Mr Ray mentions to be found at Malta, but of a different figure; I had found some very small vertebræ before, whereof I shewd you one at London: these have 2 holes in ye side, on one part; & two more on ye opposite (*Lith.* 1605 = *Ichthyosaurus* vertebrae from Cumnor).

6. Buccinites of two or three sorts; whereof some are very perfect (= *Natica*).

7. Echinitis majusculi laticlavij dens gemellus [seu conjugus] minùs altè furcatus. I had found several before but all single.

8. Ossiculi quod in dentibus echini marini pro ligamento est, æmulatio lapidea (= *Aristotle's Lantern*).

9. An Sepiæ ossis simulachrum lapideum (? = *Belemnites*).

10. Pectinites a[mphi]otis mytiloides, s. Mytilopectunculus admodum leviter striatus (= *Pecten articulatum*).

11. Trichites D. Plot, qi et forte Polythrix Plinij est (= 'Quarry beef', *Trichites Ploti*).

12ly & lastly a stone alltogether as new, but not so elegant as ye leechstone. An Gammaropodium, seu articuli brachialis cujusd. cancri exotici, icon lapidea?¹ I have found as yet onely two of ym wch have extremely puzle'd me with their novelty; one of the edges is adorn'd with small studs, wch are lesse, & sharper than ye heads of small pins; they are of a cinereous colr, of a somewhat skaly surface, about ye bignesse of a garden bean, & seem to be broke off at both ends from something heretofore contiguous wth them; or at leastwise we may suspect that ye body they resemble is but a piece of some creature. I shall send you one of them by ye first opportunity, & any of, or all ye rest as you please to command,

Sr, Yr most affectionate friend & very humble servant

EDW. LHWYD

I forgot a stone in imitation of Boccone's *Astroites undulatus*, wch is congenerous wth Clusius his *Fungus lapideus in Nilo natus*.²

¹ Claw of *Eryma* from Coral Rag or Clay pit below Cumnor.

² A coral. *Lith.* 122. *Collumellus fungum niloticum Clusii* from Cowley.

I have heard nothing from Dr Plot since I saw you. Mr Ray writes to me that he's preparing his *book of Local Words* for a 2d edition. I suppose you have frequent conversation with Dr Plucknet; if so, be pleas'd to give him my humble respects, & acquaint him that I doubt not (at present) but ye *Alsine myosotis lanuginosa Alpina grandiflora*¹ of Mr Ray *Synops.* is different from ye *Auricula muris pulchro flore albo*, wch (supposing this no error) I never found in Wales. The *Alsine* &c. is a much larger plant, very woolly, produces very membranaceous flowers in Aug., a long transpar. seed ves[sel] somewh. crooked, & I never found it but on ye top of ye highest mountain (at least so reputed) of the whole Island.

27. MS *Lister* 36, No. vii

Oxford. Decemb. 9. 1690.

Hond Sr

I receivd your letter, & am not unmindefull of yr orders; but as yet I have no Bivalve stones to send you, & I presume there's no haste for the turbinated. I understand the Qaker you employd to gather shells in ye W. Indies is returnd, & I should be glad to be informd at your leisure, what he has done therein; for I finde that in plants for ye K.s garden, & seeds &c. for Dr Plucknet, Mr Charleton & Mr Bobart, he has acquitted himself very well. Since my last I have been out but once, & then I met with onely two things remarkable viz. some elegant single joynts, resembling those we finde some sorts of Cornu Amm. to be compos'd of.² However I suspect these have been form'd singly, & I begin to doubt whether ye stones we call *cornua Ammonis* may allways deserve ye name of Cornu; being often found in single joynts as well as Cuthbert's Beads,³ & ye starre stones, & then noe more like a ram's horn than a ramme it self: however denominatio summitur a fortiori. Its composd of spar,⁴ & is semiopaqe. The other is onely an illustration of a thing I found long since, viz. a stone wch I presume I sent you in the first parcel by

¹ See page 111.

² Casts of gas-chambers of Ammonites.

³ The perforated stem-joints of Encrinites.

⁴ Calcite.

ye name of *Dentalis scissilis cuneiformis*, seu *Lapidi judaico* (qoad materiam) congener, *Dentalis scissilis cuniculatus*.¹ But wheras those hitherto observd were allways single, I have now found several as regularly joynd as teeth in a jaw, & not of ye one jaw but of both shut or joynd together, one order somewhat higher than ye other; of ye same position as teeth appear in some animals when the mouth is close shut. But what they should be I can't imagin; there's nothing yt we may fancy of a jaw; onely ye teeth (if soe we may call them) placed in concreted or petrified sand in ye order mention'd. I shall adde no more at present, but that I am

Hond Sr Yr most obliged, humble servt
EDW. LHWYD

28. MS *Lister* 36, No. viii

Dear Sr,

Oxf. Decemb. 18.—90.

I thank you for yr acct of Reads performance. The stones you desired, I sent last Moonday by one Mr Lhwyd a student of Christchurch, who has I hope, taken care to send them to you. I also sent an other bivalve or two which I had by me; towit a muscle & a *Pholas*.² I must beg ye favour of a letter



Pholas mytilopdes marmoratus.

Published by Lister in 1688.



that may informe me whether you have receivd them or not; yt I may take farther care of them, if as yet they are not come to your hands. This morning was the first news I heard of Dr Plot since I saw you: he tells me in his letter, yt he believes

¹ Fractured spines of *Cidaris*.

² Cf. Lister *de Conchitis* and *Lith.* 877, 878.

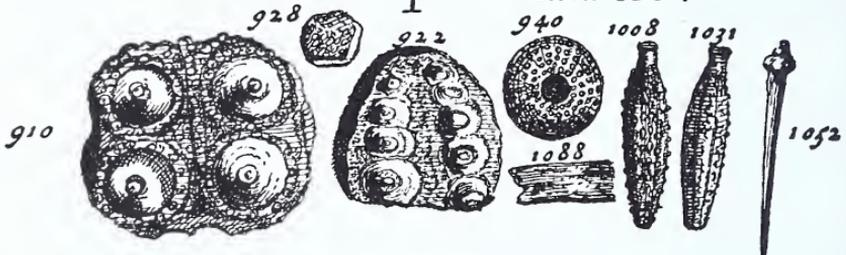
he shall be at Oxford before Christmase & yt he has sent us a most noble Monument for ye Museum, wch is all the contents of his letter. Since my last I have not been abroad, but in Christmase holydays I'l see what may be done, & remain in ye mean time,

Sr

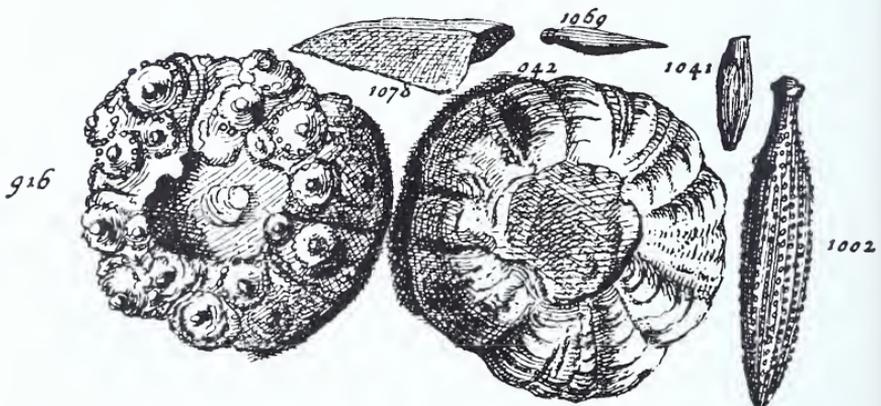
Yr most obliged & affectionate servt
EDW. LHWYD

CL. VI. Crustacea punctulata &c .

Tab. 12



910. Echinites laticlavus from Bullingdon [= *Paracidaris florigemma* Phillips].



942. Echinites rotularis from Henley [= Flint cast of *Phymosoma*].

The other figures are identified on p. 404.



Subularia lacustris
seu Calamistrum
herba aquatico alpina.

pag: 210

ISOETES LACUSTRIS L. From Ray *Synopsis Methodica Stirpium* 1690.

[From the point of view of the science of Botany the year 1690 is important because it saw the appearance of the first edition of the oft-quoted *Synopsis methodica Stirpium Britannicarum* to which Ray contributed an engraving of the *Subularia lacustris* discovered by Lhwyd in the small mountain-lake known as *Phynnon-vrech* on Snowdon. Under its modern name of *Isoetes* this aquatic plant has for long presented problems to systematists, who first ranked it among the Club-mosses, but are now inclined to include it among the Ferns. For some reason the illustration here reprinted is not included with most of Lhwyd's other discoveries in the more profusely illustrated third edition of the *Synopsis* published in 1724. *Subularia* is referred to in letter No. 125.]

II

1691-1693

WORK AS KEEPER OF THE OLD ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM

IN the first few letters in this section Lhwyd tells his own story of his election to the Keepership of the Old Ashmolean Museum. No. 29 is remarkable for the character that it gives of his teacher and benefactor, Dr. Plot, a character that I believe to be wholly unjustified, either by his general reputation or by his relations to Lhwyd as revealed in his letters (pp. 132-6), which show that he was doing his utmost to help his pupil in his candidature.

On succeeding to the responsibilities of Keepership Lhwyd's interest in Formed Stones rapidly superseded his interest in Plants. Fossils could be collected and classified all through the winter. Botanical excursions were only possible in the warmer seasons. The change-over is reflected in letters not only to Lister, also a student of fossil shells, but to Ray whose mind could less easily be diverted from botany. 'I have made noe collections of Rock-plants, Cochlites or other Formed Stones', he wrote in November 1689. Yet Lhwyd's continued informations about oft-repeated fossil forms, such as *Glossopetrae* (sharks' teeth), *Cornua*

Ammonis (Ammonites), Toadstones (skates' teeth), Conchites (shells), *Lapides Judaici* (spines of sea-urchins), and the few fossils he had himself found, gradually turned his thoughts to their explanation, whether they were shells of animals petrified, or whether they were Nature's freakish imitations of parts of animals. A year later Ray found himself drawn into the battle of the Origin of Fossils and into discourses on the past history of the Earth.

Lhwyd's letters 15 to 18 are all on Fossils, and in letter 21, written to Lister, he sets forth his views in full.

He had lost no opportunity of exploring the local quarries and of collecting the Formed Stones that they yielded: some of these he used to sell to other collectors. But chronic financial stringency put longer expeditions out of the question. However, in the spring of 1691 he had a windfall. Two Danish gentlemen, Messrs. Seerup and Hemmer, purchased from him two entire collections of local stones at a guinea apiece, and engaged him as a guide for a collecting trip to Salisbury, Bath, and Bristol, all expenses paid. He thus had an opportunity of visiting the famous Mendip Hills (32). The tour took nine days (33), in which Lhwyd paid his first visit to the museum of Dr. Plot's old correspondent, Mr. WILLIAM COLE, an officer of the Customs, who was then living at the Butts in Bristol. The details of the excursion are given in 33. Of special importance were their observations of a number of impressions of exotic plants in the Bristol coal-measures. As Lhwyd communicates similar news to Lister in a letter (21) dated on the same day, but quoting Coal-mines of

Denbighshire and Mr. John Williams, archdeacon of Cardigan, as the sources of information concerning such fern-like stones in coal, we are left in some uncertainty as to whom we should regard as their original discoverer.

While credit must be given, as I think, to Messrs. Williams and Wynn as earlier tillers of the rocky fields of Fossil Botany, it was Lhwyd who will always have the honour of reaping the first harvest, for it was he who first publicly exhibited the specimens in the Old Ashmolean and considered drawings of them to be worthy of publication.

A somewhat disappointing excursion to Huntingdon followed (37). But the experience gained taught him that the chief desiderata were (i) a hand-book or methodical enumeration of fossils that could be consulted in the field and (ii) money. The second desideratum he proposed to obtain by forming a 'Geological Club' of well-disposed gentlemen who in return for a subscription of £5 a head would receive a hundred fossils, some so rare that 'perhaps no men in Europe can shew' (38).

An unexpected sidelight shows the means by which he was sometimes enabled to travel cost free. Henry Mordaunt, 1624-97, the second Earl of Peterborough, had been recently released from the Tower to which he had been committed for high treason, and having an innate interest in natural history, made use of Lhwyd as a collector, even before Plot had relinquished the Keepership. Three short undated notes explain the position. I include them here because several of the objects, including Welsh Pearls, in which Lord

Peterborough was interested, are mentioned by Lhwyd in a letter to Lister, and his West Indian voyage was under consideration.

MS Ashmole 1816. 378

Windsor third of July.

Mr. Floyd

I have by this bearer sent you a horse which you may use this journey, and returne him to me when you come home; and besides six pounds in mony which according to the account will serve you two monthes, as much time as in the remainder of the year it will be convenient to travaille.

Upon your journey I doe not desire you should carry up and downe with you what you collect,—that would be too troublesome,—but from every place I would have you send me what you find by the next carrier either of Plants that are very curious, or Shells, or Marbles, or Agates, or Mines or Minerall, and peticularly a Welch Pearle found in some of those rivers wheare are bredd in muscles very curious ones. And besides I would have you see wheare is the Black and White Marble I had from Dr. Plott, and to settle a correspondence soe as at desire I may have some scantlings of it to make a table or Chimney-peice. These are the most materiall matters wheareon your care and dilligence can oblige Sir

Your loveing freind

PETERBOROW

Sir,

London the 31 of iober.

I received from Wellborne a box of very curious Stones, which were very welcome for me, and I lay open my account concerning you. He did likewise give me the exceeding welcome newes of your intentions to the West Indies, in which I intend to be very much concern'd, if you doe not omit to let me see you afore you embarke for so long a journey; and I pray send me word when you intend to be at London.

In the meanetime as you have the custody of the Museum, and the thinges Mr. Ashmole transmitted to it, that were of

John Tradescants, I would know if there be an Indian Nut called Cocco de Maldivae, found usually upon the cost of Brazil, and if it be there whether for mony or any more considerable truck I may have it by your meanes, and it would much oblige

Your assured freind

PETERBOROW

Sir,

I am told of a plant that growes in Ireland which is called Mackambooy in that Country, and in latine *Tithimalus hibernicus* (= *Euphorbia Hyberna* L.). I desire the favor of you to know if it be at Mr. Beaubert or whether you have heard of such a thing or noe. I shall request your paines and the trouble you shall give yourself for

Your loveing freind

PETERBOROW

Lhwyd appears to have owed this acquaintance-ship to TILLEMAN BOBART who, writing from London on June 19, 1691, communicated news of his sick family and loss of his only child. 'I was lately with ye noble Peer. He and I are very great, *sed deest argentum*.'—The paper on which the first of the three letters is written is watermarked with the royal arms.

But in whichever year he fulfilled the commission, the letters illustrate his methods, and the entire absence of any mention of Lord Peterborough's offer to other correspondents illustrates Lhwyd's discretion.

The famous Greensand deposits at Faringdon yielded many Tooth-stones and Toadstones, as he termed the detached teeth of Reptiles, Sharks, and Rays. Their bright enamelling attracted his attention

far more than the numerous sponges for which this locality is famed, and which no one can help noticing (39).

Another excursion at the beginning of the October term was to a rich bed of Oyster shells at Rangewell Hill, Hedley, three miles south of Epsom (41), a trip that he appears to have combined with a visit to TILLEMAN BOBART, the newly appointed Queen's gardener at Hampton Court (78).

It is curious that although he implicitly believed that Fossils grow in rocks, he firmly refused to believe that the waters of the River Mole could breed crabs and cockles, as an Epsom publican averred (41).

The frequent absences of the Keeper on geological forays away from the Old Ashmolean led to the Museum being less well invigilated than was desirable, with the result that in September 1691 there was a serious robbery by a foreign visitor, who has been suspected, as I think unjustly, to have been no less a personage than Joachim Murat. Lhwyd was naturally greatly perturbed, doubtless fearing the wrath of Ashmole and possible dismissal. Then thinking it likely that some of the stolen property might be offered to that well-known collector William Charleton, he wrote on September 25 giving full particulars of the 'outlandish' man and mentioning receivers of stolen goods in London.¹

Finally, ascertaining that the nationality of the robber was Dutch and finding that there was an inn kept by a Dutch-woman near fossiliferous country between Gloucester and Bristol, he determined to

¹ *E.S.O.* iii. 322.

follow a clue so likely to lead him direct to the thief in the arms of his compatriot. The detective work proved at fault, but there was consolation in finding by the Severn shore at Pyrton Passage 'ye best place I have hitherto seen for variety of Formed Stones' (42).

Ample amends were soon made to the Museum for its losses by the cultivation of correspondences with persons interested in geology: with John Woodward, a man of very similar tastes but of a peculiar and difficult temper, and Lhwyd's junior by 14 years; with William Nicolson, afterwards bishop of Carlisle, a fossils collector, and a great admirer of Lhwyd; and with Richard Richardson of North Bierley near Bradford, a physician of great culture, and a link between all students of natural history.

WILLIAM NICOLSON, in the first of many letters, on June 21, 1691 found the results of the Wiltshire expedition 'very entertaining', and later on he subscribed liberally to all of Lhwyd's collecting and publishing efforts. Fifty-six of his letters are preserved in MS. *Ashmole* 1816. He also introduced his nephew JOHN ARCHER who under Lhwyd's guidance became a skilled lithoscopist and a bachelor of medicine of Cambridge. Ralph Wilbraham was another devoted correspondent.

WOODWARD'S first letter, dated October 27, 1691, contains interesting and valuable hints as to geological excursions in Gloucestershire, adding 'I do not forget your civility to me at and about Oxford Nov. 28, '91'. Nineteen of his letters of 1691-4 are in MS. *Ashmole* 1817 b. He mentioned that he had cut a fossil Nautilus and had discovered *septa* and *siphunculus* (May 12, 1692). He discussed his own character (Oct. 20,

1692); and in reply to No. 55 wrote that Beverland 'is neither worth your notice nor mine' (Dec. 31).

Lhwyd had hardly completed the first year of his Keepership when he determined that he must extend the scope of his Catalogue of the Formed Stones of Oxfordshire to include those of all Britain (38). It was not to be too large a tome, for it was for 'lithoscopists to carry with them into stone-pits, gravel-pits etc.' (44). His work at the Old Ashmolean was much hampered by lack of the necessary reference books on the spot. Richardson and others were able to help with loans, and LISTER, realizing its poverty, endowed the young institution with a library for continuing the important researches that Plot and Lhwyd had initiated there.

It is characteristic of Oxford that Lister's books, that were intended for the Museum of Natural History, were at a later date coveted by the Bodleian Library, where they largely duplicate others and increase congestion. So they were removed from the Old Ashmolean where they are still much needed, while triplicate copies, which might have been given to the Old Ashmolean to replace the Lister books, are being sold because Lister's own copies are in cold storage in the Bodleian. It is in effect the sterilizing of the advance of learning by those who have no time for historical research.

Travel Schemes

Like every born naturalist Lhwyd felt strong urges to see nature in some tropical country, should an opportunity offer. News of rare and valuable plants

and fruits, perhaps even that of the Surinam snail, all inflamed his desire. He heard that a collector of plants, one READ a Quaker, had returned from his task in Barbadoes and the Canaries: Lhwyd hoped to succeed him. Such a holiday would come as a welcome change after the drudgery of cataloguing old Ashmole's books and pamphlets (70), sedentary work that had reacted seriously upon his health (56). It was, as he wrote, 'a task that's to me neither pleasant nor profitable'. As a remedy he had to take a medicinal purge, a great occasion, that led to the confession that he could not remember having taken more than three doses of physic in his life!

His friends were in two minds about the project of adventure abroad. Lister (Nov. 19, '92) wrote that the idea of Lhwyd's going to the West Indies had been favourably entertained by Lord Portland, who being the King's right-hand man could, if he so wished, easily find an opportunity for Lhwyd to go overseas. He however considered that wars and the unsettled state of the Plantations were causes for great anxiety. Maurice Jones (Dec. 30, '92), while wishing him a successful voyage and safe return, tried to dissuade him on the score of dangers. Woodward represented that the salary would be inconsiderable. Plukenet tried to help on the plan by mentioning it to Lord Portland as late as March 1692/3, but was advised to postpone it until the war was over. Ray was dead against the scheme, and quoted with telling effect the losses of Dr. Moulins and poor Tom Willisel, which he could not remember 'without some trouble'. By February 1692/3 Lhwyd himself thought his chances

over. On May 16, 1693, he wrote 'my intended voyage quite laid aside. Poor Robin went as a Minister to Barbadoes and died the third day after he landed.' No further argument was necessary: he returned to cataloguing the old manuscripts and pamphlets, and would have gratefully accepted Cornwall in lieu of the West Indies (46).

Cornwall too could not only supply new plants for his friends and new minerals for the Museum, but was a veritable quarry for remains of the language, customs, and place-names of the ancient Britons (49, 50), a subject of research that was very dear to his heart, but which he was not destined to pursue until eight years later.

In the meantime he continued literary labours in the Museum Library, and made out useful synopses of the various genera of Jellyfish and Cuttlefish (*Polypi*) for Lister (51).

To increase the collections of Formed Stones he trained a few 'countrey fellows' to examine outlying quarries and collect. An intelligent shoemaker was enrolled to visit the nearer counties of the Midlands. In this way many new fossils were obtained for the first time from localities in Wiltshire (61). But some, like Smith of Witney, got to know as much as their masters, and became dishonest.

His personal and official incomes combined were so small that he could not afford to pay more than eighteen pence weekly for such assistance. So to meet the travelling and living expenses of their helpers Lhwyd, Archer, and three other persons joined to form a little Geological Club, to divide expenses and

receive a proportionate share of the fossils that were collected. These details though not perhaps in themselves worthy of being printed, yet recall to us in a most graphic manner the humble origin of a great science, the slow and often painful process by which the main facts have been discovered upon which the huge structure of British Palaeontology has been erected.

At the same time it will be noticed that on occasion our author heard and repeated stories that bordered upon the supernatural. They concerned the type of miranda in which the credulous Aubrey revelled: and was not Aubrey a Fellow of the Royal Society, and an inheritor of estates in Wales?

Dr. William Brewster of Hereford vouches for a brick bearing the name of Jesus, that was blasted out of a solid rock by gunpowder. Other letters mention toads that were found living in solid rock, an ear of rye that was taken out of the side of an infant, swarms of locusts that settled upon Wales and set the farmers' hay-ricks afire.

This last was subject of special research, and the correspondence filled several pages of the *Philosophical Transactions*.

We close this chapter with his last letter written before he turned his attention to the Natural History and Archaeology of Wales.

[1]

A
D E S I G N
 O F A
British Dictionary,
 HISTORICAL and GEOGRAPHICAL;
 With an ESSAY, Entitled,
ARCHÆOLOGIA BRITANNICA:
 AND A
 Natural History of *WALE S.*

By EDWARD LHWYD, Keeper of the *Ashmolean Repository*, Oxon.

B EING invited by some Persons of Quality and Learning, to attempt something further in the *Antiquities*, and *Natural History of Wales*, than hath been yet performed; and also finding my self more Inclind, and (as I presume) better Qualified for an Employment of that kind, than for any other: I have here made bold to offer some Proposals towards such a Design, to the end that if the Works above mention'd may seem conducive to the Advancement of Learning, and worthy of the Favour and

whole Work, an Interpretation of all such proper Names, as are now intelligible, is intended; with Conjectures concerning some of those which are more obscure. And in this Part, 'tis presum'd, we may proceed with greater Security here, than might be expected in most other Countries. For, whereas in other Parts, the Names of Places have been so corrupted by Foreign Languages introduc'd by Conquest, that few of them are now intelligible to the best Critics; *Wales* has not been subject to such Changes, the Modern *British* being probably one surviving Dialect of the Language spoken by the first Inhabitants of

LHWYD'S DESIGN: A FIRST PROPOSAL FOR HIS ARCHÆOLOGIA BRITANNICA.

*From an original in the Record Collection of the Oxford University Press
 by the courtesy of Dr. J. Johnson.*

See page 263.

29. MS *Lister* 36, i

To Dr. MARTIN LISTER in the Old Palace Yard, Westminster.

Oxon. Jan. 17. 1690[-91].

Dear Sr,

I thank you for yr kinde letter, & wish this may finde you in perfect health. The books I have allready deliverd, & you will receiv them on Wednesday at farthest. When I had yr letter the Doctor¹ had not resign'd; & ye very same post calling him hastily into Kent, I was fearfull he would not doe it. But at last he resolv'd tho (as it seem'd to me) much against ye grain, to go with me to the Vicechancellor,² & deliver him the keys of the Museum, who gave them to my charge at ye same time. I am of opinion that ye Dr when he talkd first of resigning, had no thoughts of doeing so realy; for he has talkd the same thing very much these 4 last years; & marrying did not incapacitate him from keeping this place, unlesse Mr Ashmole pleased to make it soe. I suppose he did not think yt I could obtain it thro any other person but himself; & therefore he told ye Vicechancellor that I was the fittest man he knew for it, but yt Mr Ashmole had conceivd some prejudice against me, & yt he feard ye matter would be very difficult, but yt he would use all ye interest he could. Hence I conclude yt I am wholly indepted to yr goodnesse for this happy deliverance out of his clutches; for (to give him his due) I think he's a man of as bad morals as ever took a doctors degree. I wish his wife a good bargain of him; & to my self yt I may never meet with ye like again. In requitall of my attendance at ye Musæum this last year, he allowd me six pounds seven shillins & two *Historys of Staffordshire*, out of 34 pounds I recd, & payd him, all except three pound ten shillings whereof he made me give him a note. He has sold & sent to London all his houshold stuffe, even to an old brasse candlestick, tongues, tinderbox & firefork. Lately at London he bought an Arabick monument, & told

¹ Dr. PLOT had been Keeper of the Old Ashmolean from 1683 to 1690.

² Dr. JONATHAN EDWARDS, Principal of Jesus College.

Mr Ashmole he had purchasd it to bestow on ye Musæum; which indeed he has sent down, & told me I must enter it in ye Book of Donations as his gift; but when I was with him at ye Vicechancellor's I saw ye Vicechancellor pay him the money he layd out for it, & rendr him thanks for his care therein. But enough of Dr Plot at present & for ye future; & I must now beg yr pardon for troubling you with this querulous paper, which yet is done onely for ye truthes sake by

Hond Sr Yr most affectionate & obliged servt
ED. LHWYD

I have not been abroad this frost; but I hope my next letter may tell you of some discovery.

MS *Ashmole* 1817a

DR. PLOT to MR. EDWARD LLOYD at the *Musæum in Oxford.*

London Jan 29, 1690-1.

Mr. Lloyd,

Since I left Oxon. I have been in Kent, and am now return'd to London againe, and intend within few days to goe [to] Mr. Ashmole to acquaint him with my surrendry of the Museum intirely into yor care, which (if you have not done already) I think you also ought to doe, and that you have received all things well and in good order from me, fully agreeing in number as set downe in the Catalogues, which you must tell him you must preserve and increase to the utmost of your power. Pray acquaint my cousin Sherwood of Ball. Coll. that I have recd my trunk and bundles of books very safe, but my bed etc sent by water are not yet come. I am very sorry I forgot the Globes that stand in the middle roome, pray get them somewhere safe for me, and paper up the guilt flamboes that stood upon the screene, each in a distinct paper and put them in the same box they now lye in, and let them lye till I send for them. I think I also left one of my towells behind me, which pray keep for me, or anything else of value that you shall meet with of mine unthought of.

When Mr. Hanns and you have finisht the memorial of my Benefaction pray send me a copy of it, that I may see it

before it be entred in the Books. Pray send me also word whether they suffer you to enjoy my Chamber in the Laboratory quietly; for if they doe not I intend to be paid for ye presses and everything else I have done there. Now I remember I have forgot also my books of plants, and perhaps severall other things, pray as you meet with them laye them together, and forget not to send me a copy of Mr. Merideth's letter of Nanfr. Pray let me hear from you sometimes how the Musaeum and Natural History thrives, as you shall from me, for tho' the London and Oxford Societies sleep, yet let *us* be awake. The smith of Borden has not forgot you, having gotten several *Echinites's* for you. The next time I go into Kent I will bring them away with me and send them to you to Oxon. If you have any more curious plants that you can spare, that will vindicate you here in what Mr. Ray has publish't, or otherwise serve you, pray insert them in my Herball. No more at present but my service to Mr. Charlet, and that

I am dear Ned

Thy most faithfull Friend
ROB. PLOT

30. MS *Aubrey* 12, 240

For Mr. AUBREY at the Tobacco-roll & Sugar loafe, at the upper end of Maydenhead lane.

Oxf. Febr. 12 [1690-1].

Hond. Sr

I receiv'd yr obligeing letter, & also the present you have been pleas'd to send us; whereof I had acquainted you sooner had I known how to direct my letter. 'Twas well you writ to me of it, for the generality of the people at Oxford doe not yet know, what ye Musaeum is; for they call ye whole buylding ye Labradary or Knaccatory & distinguish no farther. That nothing miscarried soe directed to Dr Plot was because ye person was known better yn ye place, but things directed to me or Mr Higgins commonly stay'd at the carriers till we fetch'd them. I have disposed of the hands according to your directions, & doe assure you that as I am sensible of your continual favours to your museum, & of the respects due to you from all men yt value learning & have the happinesse of

knowing you; soe you should allways find me very ready & forward & to doe you any small service yt lies in my power. I remember when we talkd last together at Mr Wyldes,¹ you were pleasd to tell me you had some queries to propose to me wherein perchance I might be able to give some satisfaction in regard I understand Welsh. If you have any such questions at present & are disposed to take ye trouble of sending them to me, you will soon receive such answers as may be given by

Sr, Yr very humble Servt
EDW. LHWYD

Pray be pleasd to give my humble service to Mr Wyld & gratefull acknowledgment of his favours, I would gladly know farther of a French author he formerly mention'd to me, yt treats of the origin of the Galles;² I have perused *Boxhornius*³ upon his recommendation, & to me his arguments (tho ye author seems sui plenus) were very plausible. When you see Dr Plot, be pleasd to tell him Mr Wood desires an account of some Oxf. writer which he has promis'd him.

MS *Ashmole* 1817a

DR. PLOT to MR. EDWARD LLOYD, *Keeper of the Musaeum in Oxford.*

London Feb. 16, 1690-1.

Mr. Lloyd

I have recd yours with a copy of the memorial of my Benefaction to the Musaeum, which I have here return'd you with some few emendations; the first only intimating the reason of my resignation; the second being an exchange of the word *conatibus* for *humeris* which last I thought so great an Anglicisme; and in the third adding my promise of augmenting my benefaction; which you will find added at the bottom of the inclosed copy, with marks of reference where they must come in. In short I like the memorial well enough, only I fear I do not deserve what you have there said of me, nor doe I like your writing the Q's without U's after them, for though it be sure that the Lister U is always included in Q, yet it

¹ EDMUND WYLDE.

² PEZRON. See Nos. 201, 247.

³ M. Z. Boxhornius, *Originum Gallicarum*, 1654.

being a singularity and savouring of affectedness (if I might advise) I would not have you use it at all, lest you incur censure; however let it alone in this of myne and doe what you please for the future: to conclude pray write it over againe with the emendations I have inserted, and then show it to Mr. Charlet, and if he like it, let it forthwith be enter'd.

As to the Chamber I always apprehended it to be annexed to ye Musaeum in lieu of the Professor's liberty of reading in the Natural History School as it is called in the superscription over the doore, which if the said Professor doe not continue to doe, I know not what use that Roome will now be of, or what they can call it; beside I thought I had the graunt upon account of the want of a chimney in the upper part of the Building, which is absolutely necessary for the Keeper of the Musaeum, and ever will be so, to all future ages, not only upon account of sickness, but of security to the Musaeum in case of robbery in the night season, all which arguments you may advance in my name, and get Mr. Charlet to back them, which I dare say he will not deny to doe, they being so very reasonable.

There is one thing more that I left behind me that is of some value to me, vizt. a short MS *History of the University of Oxon*, with a sheet of my own notes out of it at the end: I left it I think in one of the drawers of the little table I left in the Musaeum, pray look about for it, and reserve it for me, which is all at present, but that I am

Yor most faithfull Friend
ROB. PLOT

31. *Cambrian Quarterly Mag.* ii, 1830

For the Revd Mr. JO. LLOYD, at Lhangar, Merionydshire; to be left wth Mr. Robt Lloyd, at Mr. Frances Lloyds; in Oswalstree. Salop post.

Oxford, March 3, $\frac{80}{81}$.

Dear Frd,

I ought to have answered yr obligeing and most acceptable letters long since, but I am very sorry yt now at last I can give you no satisfactory answer to your last. The Italian that teaches Anatomy, at Oxford, has two guineas from each person he admits to a classe. He's very much commended by all such

as have been with him, particularly Mr. Joh. Wyn,¹ who goes through a course at present. Each classe continues about six weeks; and his way is to cut up dogs, cats, pullets, fishes, &c. and to inform his auditory of the names and use of all the parts.² It is necessary for a man yt will make any benefit of it to have read some systeme of Anatomy before hand; and to have some little insights in chymistry and natural phylosophy; but, perhaps, a good natural capacitie will supply that defect pretty well. He says that when he has finished this course (to wit, a fortnight hence,) he thinks he shall go to London, but we take that for a mountebank story; and beleive he will stay another course or two e'r he leaves us. I design to go thro' ye next myself, and if yr brother be desirous to see a classe, you may be assured I shall be very ready and willing to collate what observations I can make with his; and to shew him all ye kindnesse that may lye in ye power of

Dear friend,

Yr most affectionate kinsman, and humble servant,

EDW. LLWYD

If he fayls of him here, he may go after him to London, and doe better, for there he'l see human carcasses, and corpus crin, and corpus gwydyn, dissected.³

They say ye times are bad enough with ye London apothecaries, and here in Oxford they want noe journeymen, nor have they businesse enough to employ themselves and their apprentices, but he understandes his own trade and his businesse best; wherefore consider what he says, and if you finde it reasonable, stretch your hand accordingly. My humble service to Davd.

32. MS *Lister* 3, f. 148

Oxford, Sunday morning. [c. March–April 1691]

Dear Sr,

I fear I have been too long negligent; but the reason I have

¹ JOHN WYNNE, fellow of Jesus Coll. 1687; Principal 1712–20. A naturalist.

² The Italian taught at Cambridge in June 1692: he was possibly Dr. HENRY MORELLI, lic. Coll. Phys. 1684. In 1710 M. Lavater of Zurich was lecturing on Anatomy in the basement of the Old Ashmolean.

³ Crin = dried up: gwydyn = viscid, clammy.

not writ in so long a time was because I could not perform my promise to you in my last; for tho I have been out several times since, I have found out but two new stones since that letter; & some confirmations of what I had observd before. The new ones are 1. *Ichthyodontites lucidus phaseoliformis ex anthracino viridescens*.¹ Its of the bignesse of a kidney bean, & has much of the shape of some Indian ones. On ye one side it has a Scaphoid cavity, such as the toadstones have, whereof it seems a species: the convex side is of a most elegant shineing black with a tincture of green; the superficies is ye very same with that I have call'd *Siliqastrum*, & 'twas found in ye same pit, by a fellow employd by a Danish gentleman I have formerly mentiond, who esteems it very much, as indeed it deservs; this augments a conjecture I had yt that stone I compared to a Siliqa & you to a leech; must yet, perhaps be congenerous with those I have call'd *Ichthyodontites*: & yet this black beanstone resembles perhaps a leech more than ye *Siliqastra*, but ye cavity makes me think it a toadstone. The 2d is *Ichthyodontites minimus splendens minutis punctulis conspersus*.² This has nothing of ye figure of toadstones, nor those we call sharks teeth; but shines as they doe, is composed of ye same matter, & found in ye same pits.

There are two Danish gentlemen³ at Oxford yt are great lovers of these sort of enquiries; & I have supplyd them with collections of stones for which they have each of them payd me a Guiny. But I afforded them a very good bargain to encourage them; since when they have been often abroad, & have now such a relish of that sort of diversion yt I suppose they'l never qit it. They intend a journey next week to Salsbury, to Bath & Bristow; & offer to bear my charges if I goe with them; wch offers I think to comply with & therefore would beg your directions how we may best spend our time, besides looking at houses for I am sure theyl be content to spend two or three days any where yt may affoarde us any prospect of discoveries in minerals. We design to set out next Thursday; therefore be pleasd to write two or three words by

¹ L. No. 1440.

² L. No. 1502.

³ Messrs. SEERUP and HEMMER.

the next post; which will come to my hands Wednesday night.
I am Sr

Yr most affectionate & obliged servt
E. LHWYD

I think Mr Hook in his *Micrographia* mentions some noted place in Summersetshire for figured stones: They have a great desire to see Ochie hole & the Mendip Hills. Dr Plot has formerly told me yt Mr Beaumont has made a considerable collection at Mendip. Be pleasd to inform us whether he or his collection may be met with in those parts. I should be glad to hear of Mr Rays goeing on with insects; & of any other progresse in Natural History, yt you have leasure to inform me of. I doe not forget Oyster hill.

33. MS *Lister* 36, ix

Oxford. Apr. 28.—91.

Hond Sr

We have returnd to Oxford since last Wednesday; having spent in our journey 9 days; but I hope to spend so many days when I go to Huntingdon more profitably. Its true this journey has not been altogether fruitlesse; but had I spent so many days alone, I doubt not but I had discoverd ten times as much as we all did, now. One of the Danish gentlemen had never been on horseback before, & proved so bad a horseman, yt we could advance but 20 miles aday, & have no time to spare when we came to our lodging; & yet the places they had proposd themselves to see, were so many, yt almost all our time was taken up in riding. However we observ'd yt most, (if not all ye qarrys in Gloucestershire & Sommersetshire) have formd stones in them. During ye first day's rideing we found some *Pectunculus conchites anomæus rostro pertuso*; *Musculites vulgator*;¹ several toadstones, some sharks teeth; & peices of ye leechstone. The 2d day we purchased some Roman coynes at Cyrencester & saw a curious pavementum tessellatum at a parish church call'd Wychester.² The 3d day we found some colepits at a place calld Acton, about 6 miles before we came to Bristow. Here we enqird for fern branches

¹ Both *Pholadomya* and *Myacites* occur in the Cornbrash at Burford, where they probably slept.

² Woodchester.

in ye cole slat & found plenty of ym, to our great satisfaction; yt had been dug at least 24 yards deep: we observd also harts tongue,¹ a kinde of cinquefoyl,² some other capillarys & some other impressions yt at present I know not what to compare to. The 4th day we visited Mr COLE in ye morning, but after he had spent abt 2 hours in reading to us part of a MS. he has writen of equivocal generation; he dismisd us till 6 six a clock in ye evening; & then he shewd us his collection; but I could observe no shells therein but what you & Mr Charleton must needs have. I shall give you some general acct of his collection if you please hereafter. The 5. day we saw ye Bath, & the 6 we waited on Mr BEAUMONT; & found some Cutberts beads & some fluors on ye Mendip. Mr Beaumonts coll. (yt he shewd us) did not seem very considerable, we took particular notice of some flints taken up on ye coasts of Dorsetshire, markd with elegant starrs running quite thro ye flint.³ He shewd us a MS. of his own, agst Dr Burnets *Theory of ye Earth*; wch he designs for ye presse. He doubts not but all shellstones, teethstones &c. have proceeded from animal molds; & he shewd us some flints with roots of plants in ym (as he seemd fully persuaded) petrified.⁴ The 7 day we went into Woki hole by Wells. The 8 day we saw Stonehenge Monument; & ye 9 return'd home haveing seen nothing yt day observable, but great numbers of Roman tumuli; & some fluors in flint. Accept of this hasty account of our journey at present; but if any thing herein may deserve any further query, be pleasd to commd

Yr most obligd sert

E. L.H.

I could hear nothing of ye great black Muscle where we travell'd; ye people telling me their rivers afforded no muscles at all; I have somewhat to say to you in my next abt a *Lithologia Oxon.* or a small tract of such figured stones as may be found within 20 miles of Oxf. whether Oxf.shire or Berkshire & Buckinghamshire.

¹ *Neuropteris.*

² *Asterophyllites.*

³ *Astraea* silicified, from Wiltshire.

⁴ Radiciform processes of *Ventriculites* from the chalk.

34. MS *Lister* 36, x

Oxford May. 3d. 1691.

Hond Sr

Since my last I have (together with a friend of myne) spent almost two whole days, in search of Formd Stones, very much to my satisfaction. For besides variety of teeth & toadstones & two or three bivalves; we discoverd ye following particulars.

1. Ichthyodontites punctulatus gibbosus minor. Of this we found 3 or 4 elegant stones. They are congenerous with the leechstone but 5 times lesse. & whereas ye leechstone has an uneven superficies; this (to ye sight) is very even & polite; but spotted on the smooth side with innumerable minute points. Perhaps I may finde it necessary to change its name hereafter; but at present I suspect it may imitate an *areola* yt may supply ye use of teeth in ye mouth of some fish.
2. Ichthyodontites punctulatus gibbosus minimus coloris anthracini. This is most elegantly speckld.
3. Ichthyodontites punctulatus ad qadrangulum¹ accedens.
4. Ichthyodontites punctulatus scutellaris; unicolor. Ye rest have a distinct col. to each side.
5. Ichthyodontites siliqam nonnihil referens; excavatus, transversarum lineolarum (in cavitate) qatuor ordinibus, insignis.
6. Ichthyodontites punctulatus majusculus &c. Thrice the bignesse of ye rest, & of an other shape.
7. Ichthyodontites punctulato congener immaculatus, anthracinus, ad Bufonitem longum accedens.
8. Ichthyo-spondylus majusculus qatuor foraminum.
9. Lenticularia. I have half a douzen of ym & they are like flat oblong seeds.
10. Clavellarius triqetr. s. Ichthyo-steon triqetrum clavellatum. Longitudine unciam nonnihil superat; qâ latissimus, semunciâ angustior est. Figurâ est triqetrâ oblongâ; uno tamen extremo, altero latiore. Superficies lucida, incomposito qodam ordine striata. E tribus lateribus

¹ This letter exhibits Lhwyd's fad of omitting u after q. See Dr. Plot's protest on p. 130.

CL. IX. Ichthyodontes Cuspidati. CL. X. Ichth: Scutellati.



Fossils in the Old Ashmolean Museum, by which Lhwyd first proved the existence of numerous species of Fossil Marine Fishes in England. For interpretation of the figures see page 411.

duo tuberculis lævibus, milij seminum mole, insigniter clavellata sunt: tertium excavatum est et tuberculis destitutum. In latiori latere clavellarum qinqe ordines numeravimus. 1^o 2^{do} et 3^o ordine scil. clavellas 8. qarto vero qinqe; et quinto tres, qæ omnes striatim linea recta disponuntur. altero latere tres ordines; qorum unusquisqe octo tuberculis constat. Colorem obtinet fuscum.

Pray excuse this hasty description of a very curious stone; for I finde I can but just save ye post, when I have told you yt I am

D. S.

Yr most obliged frd & humble servt
EDW. LHWYD

35. MS *Lister* 3, f. 147

n.d. [c. May 10, 1691].

Hond Sr

I have receivd yr very acceptable letter & the three bookes you have been pleasd to bestow on the Museum. At the next Visitation¹ (which will be very speedily) I shall take care to make ye University sensible of your continual favours. These gentlemen (my fellow travaillers lately in ye west) have assured me they would not willing leave England till they have waited on you; & therefore I have made bold to give you & yr ye trouble of this paper. They would be very glad of seeing any natural curiositys you please to shew them. Mr SEERUP the tall gentleman is a person very well read, & the other (Mr HEMMER) no lesse curious. I have at present no Bivalves yt are worthy ye sending you; but I hope my Huntingdon journey (which I shall not deferre very long) may supply us with some. At my return home I'l see if I have any others, & shall send you all together; in ye mean time you'l receiv three sorts but I doubt no novelty from Mr Seerup; wch is all at present but that I am (Hond Sr)

Yr most obliged & humble servt
EDW. LHWYD

¹ On Monday before June 16.

36. MS *Aubrey* 12, 247

Oxf. May 24. [1691]

Worthy Sr.

I ought to have replied something to your querys in my last, but being then in some hast, I must beg yr acceptance now of all I can say therunto.

1. Yr conjecture of ye etymon of Crickhowel seems to me very probable: but whether ye place be stone or not I can not say, having never been there, or any other place in South Wales except Cardigāshire. If it be a heathy place, Grÿg Howel signifies Howels Heath. We have several places call'd Criccieth in N. Wales & they are stony.

2. Pentrech if Pentreych will signifie as much as Oxendon, if an abbreviation of Pentrelhech we may interpret it Stanley: or stony village.

3. To find out ye signification of Wydhva, we must (according to ye pr—ety of our language) consider ye word Gwydhva; for thats the word in ye nominat. case, Gwydhva may bear ye signification of *locus perspicuus*. But to me the most natural signification of this word is a wyld place or desart, wch it directly imports without the change of one letter. It does also signifie a woody place & probably has so formerly been. It is ye name of the highest peak in the Forrest of Snowdon, & certainly ye most desert place that may be in a country inhabited; no place in the three kingdoms being so high; or more steep & rockie. Young foxes and wolves are sometimes call'd Gwydhgwn i.e. *canes sylvestres*. That of *locus sagarum* I can not accept; because that signification seems very singular, & if it were so; it must have been corrupted from Gwydhonva.

4. Tame being ye name of a river seems an undesirable word as perhaps ye names of most of our rivers are. One river I know in Montgomery is call'd Twymyn & yt signifies *tepidus*, but I suppose (tho I can not say I have try'd it) yt ye water is no warmer than other common brooks. However it might have its name thence tho improperly; the ancients being never accurate.¹

¹ Aubrey repeated his question in 1692, cf. No. 46.

5. If by Nanlle you mean Kanlle I take it to be the same place we call now Nanne. If so it signifies as much as a dingle or brook enclosed in a very narrow vale, I can not learn yt there is any such place as Nanlle in Merionydshire.

This is all I can say at present to yr queries; I may perhaps hereafter give you some better account of the two South Wales places when I have discoursed with somebody yt knows ym. My humble respects to Mr Wyld & please to accept of ye same yr self from Sr.

yr very humble servt
EDW. LHWYD

37. MS *Lister* 36, xi

Oxf. May. 26. 91.

Hond Sr

I have at last perform'd ye journey to Huntingdon wch I have so long promis'd, & made diligent enquiry there, & in that neighbourhood, for a place that might be call'd Oyster-Muscle- or Cochle-hill; but could not learn that there is any such place in that countrey. Some indeed told me they had heard of such a place, as Muscle-hills, but none could informe me where they were. That countrey has no hills in it, yt I could learn, being a low clayie countrey. Nor are there any stonepits near Huntingdon, they fetching their stones out of N. Hamptonshire abt 7 or 8 miles thence. However my journey has not been amisse; for I have found perhaps as many Figured Stones, as that hill wherever it be, may afford. The Leechstones I finde (tho a new discovery) are yet not extraordinary scarce; for I can say that I have seen of ym in Glocestsh., Berkshire, Oxsh., Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire & Northamptonshire. This last county, thro which I return'd from Huntingdon, affords considerable variety of figured stones. I have several bivalves from thence & other places, of this journeys collecting, which shall be sent you e're long. In all this journey I have not seen any *Glossopetrae*, but some toadstones I have met with, but not in that plenty yt we find them in this neighbourhood. At a place call'd Stoke about 12 miles hence, I observ'd in a quarry-rock about 3 yards depth a large cavity compos'd of triangular fluors, wch

had small concretions somewhat of the nature of bastard coral adhering to their extremitys. The crust that cover'd these fluors was one of Dr Plots *Astroites*¹ much about the thicke-
nesse of a crown peice. This that remain'd in the rock might
contein a gallon, & a considerabl part of it had been broken
off by ye diggers. 'Twas somewhat of ye figure of a blown
bladder, but on the upper side as it lay in ye rock 'twas flat,
& this flat side continued at each end so as to make convenient
appendices to lift it up by. I know not if any thing of this
kind has been found in the sea. This at present from

Hon. Sr Yr very humble servt
EDW. LHWYD

One Mr EDW. LLOYD,² a very intimate frd of myne is de-
sireous to study physic. He's a young man about 7 years
standing in ye University, for his time a very general scholer,
but more especially in history & criticks. It's my humble
repest you'd please to direct what books he shall begin with,
in order to become a physician; & what course of study to
follow. He may perhaps hereafter goe a great way.

38. MS *Lister* 3, f. 138

Oxford June 16. [1691]

Hond Sr

I return you my humble thanks for yr last. I have been
somewhat buysie in setting things in readinesse for ye visita-
tion of ye Museum; which was last Munday; otherwise I had
sent you ye Bivalves sooner: you will have them by the next
carrier that goes hence.

My friend Mr Lloyd (as well as my self) is much obliged
to you for your directions in his studies, & ye favour you are
pleasd to graunt him of visiting you sometimes when he comes
to London. If he can but take payns & be constant I doubt
not but he may doe very well; & in all appearance make an
excellent scholer.

I formerly told you I had some thoughts of attempting a
Lithologia Oxoniensis whereby I meant a methodical enumera-
tion & description of such stones as I could discover within

¹ Probably *Isastraea complanata* from the Coral Rag.

² EDW. LLOYD of Llanynys, co. Denbigh, matric. Jesus College in March
1684-5.

20 or 30 miles of Oxford, without any respect had to countys. considering first their matter *ex. gr.* Free stone, Flint, Peble, Selenite, Fluor, Siderites &c. & then their figures. Mr Ray approves of the design very well, but would not have me confine my self to so narrow a compasse, but take in all of my knowlege yt may be found in England. I answear that a *Lithologia Britannica* might indeed be a book of very good use both in regard of ye discoverys yt would be made; & for that it would be a means of setting curious men at work abt these sort of enquiries in several parts of the kingdome: but this can not be done tolerably well under two summers travailling at least; which (had I a purse to bear it) I should willingly undertake leaving a deputy at ye Musæum, & allowing him twice as much as ever Dr Plot allowd me, to wit half ye perquisites. I know not a likelier method of setting this on foot, than to find out 10 or a douzen gentlemen who for a hundred species of form'd stones, may be willing to contribute five pounds a peice. They may have two or more of most spec. & some stones so rare as perhaps no men in Europe can shew them besides: fifty sorts they may have next Febr. or March upon the receipt of 50 shillins & the rest on the Michaelmasse following upon the receipt of ye remaing part of the money. I would gladly know yr thoughts in yr next about this matter, in ye mean time I am Hond Sr

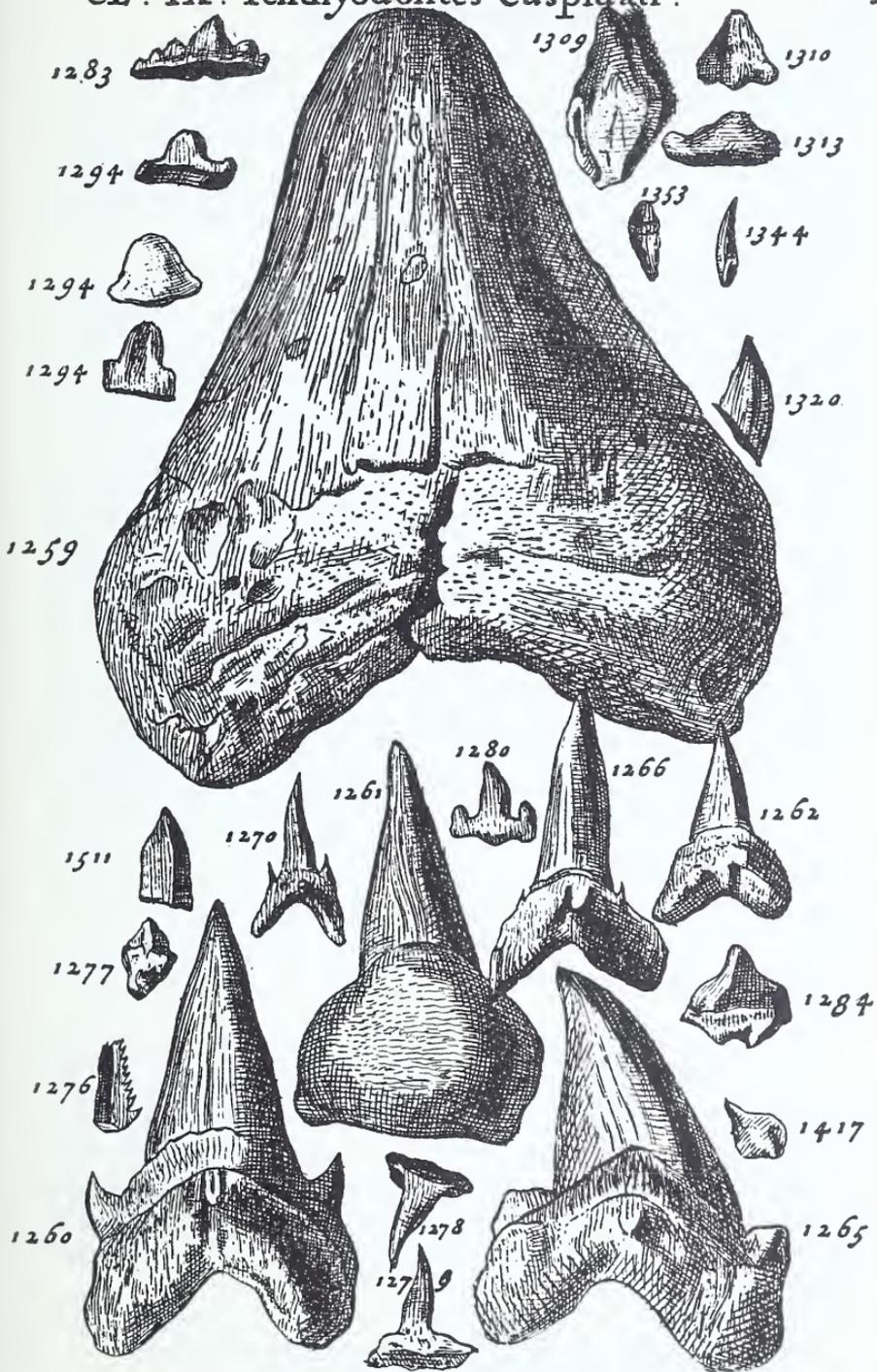
Yr most affectionat. & obliged servt
EDW. LHWYD

[Although the plates of Fish teeth on pages 141 and 147 were not published until 1699, they serve to illustrate the period when Lhwyd was forming the first general collection of the fossilized remains of marine Vertebrates in central England, and thus provided the material for a whole new chapter in Palaeontology.

As a rule his *Glossopetrae* were the teeth of sharks, his *Siliquastra* the teeth of *Stroppodus*, and *Bufo* or Toadstones were the teeth of *Lepidodus*. Naturally enough he was not able to distinguish the teeth of Reptiles from those of Fishes.]

CL. IX. Ichthyodontes Cuspidati.

Tab. 15.



Figures of Fish Teeth in the Lhwyd Collection.
For interpretation of the figures see page 410.

39. MS *Lister* 36, xii

Oxford Aug. 25.—91.

Hond Sr

Since I receivd yr last obligeing letter, it has been the busiest time of ye year at the Museum; wherefore I had no time to go abroad to persue my enquiry's & have consequently wanted matter to write to you.

I shall observe yr advise in your last, as farr as my time will permit. I shall shortly have leasure enough to be absent from the Museum; & then I designe to table my self one week at Cirencester, & an other at Gloucester; leaving a ffrd in ye mean while at ye Museum. I think I mention'd in my last a curious Tooth-stone somewhat of the bignesse & shape of a ravens beak;¹ very elegantly streaked lengthways with eminent striae: & of a bright shineing atrorubent colour, wch I had found in a gravelpit at Faringdon a market town of Berkshire. I have lately gone to the same pit in hopes to finde such an other; but tho I search'd there a day & a half, I could not finde any such. However I did not wholly lose my labour; for I found a Toadstone² there exactly of ye shape but somewhat larger than ye capsula of an acorn, of ye same col. with the tooth describ'd; also two other toadstones, differing from all I had ever seen, in that they are hollow on each side. & of smaller toadstones & Glossopetrae at least three score. One glossopetra found in a sandy stonepit fast by this gravelpit, differs nothing from ye small Glossopetrae of Maltha,³ being exactly of ye same col. & shape whereas all of that kinde that I had met with before; were either black or mixt of black & other colours.

If you please to inform me of any experiments to be tried with any kinde of stones I shall spare no labour therein. & I must beg yt you'd favour me in yr next with a catalogue of such authors (especially such as you may suppose unknown to me) as have treated of stones.⁴ It matters not in what language; for I have some skill in high & low Dutch, French, Sp. & Ital. As for collectors & illiterat writers I would not trouble you.

¹ L. 1318.² L. 1362.³ L. 1275.⁴ For a part of such a catalogue see MS Ashmole 1810a, f. 36.

You may perhaps remember yt when I came first to London about ye keeping of the Museum, I requested of you, yt in case I had it you'd favour me with some directions for my future studies; I must now repeat the same request, for I know no fitter person nor better friend. Pray excuse the liberty I take, & esteem me

Yr most gratefull & obed. servt
EDW. LHWYD

Mr Rays diligence & ingenuity is beyond comparison: he has lately discoverd 40 new Mosses in his own neighbourhood; wch (considering ye age we live in,) must needs argue a wonderfull sagacity.

40. To WM. CHARLTON. *Printed in E.S.O.* iii, p. 322

[In this letter dated Oxford, Sept. 25 Lhwyd tells the news of the Robbery at the Museum and desires Charlton to communicate the fact to persons in London.]

41. MS *Lister* 36, xiii

Hampton Court October 13—91.

Dear Sr,

The place you desired me to go to is call'd Rundgewell hill¹ at a village call'd Hedley, about three miles south of Epsom. We had a very pleasant walk & were well satisfied with our journey: for the shells found there differ very litle (if at all) from mere oystershells² & ye distance from ye sea is at least 25 miles. You will receive a small basket of them next fryday & when you have taken out what you like, I must desire you'd take ye trouble at your leisure of sending the rest to Oxford. I am not forward of beliveing what one Mitchell that keeps ye old Kings head at Epsom told me of ye river Mole by Boxhill; viz. that fast by that hill ye river breeds crabs, cochles & other sea shells. I shall add no more at present but that I should be very glad to hear of your perfect recovery; & yt I am Sr

Yr most affectionat & obliged servant
EDW. LHWYD

¹ See No. 47.

² *Ostreum vulgare majus Listeri* figured *L.* pl. 24, no. 438.

42. MS Lister 36, xv

Oxf. Nov. 15. 91.

Hond Sr

When your letter came I was gone into Glōc-shire, partly to enquire after ye Dutchman I suspected (for I understood at London he pretended courtship to a Dutch innekeeper between Gloucester & Bristow) & partly to finish ye collection which I design for ye subject of ye *Lithol. Oxon.* My successe in ye former was onely a full information that ye Dutchman is rogue enough to doe what I suspect he has done. And as to the latter I find that ye best place I have hitherto seen for variety of Formd Stones is the Severn shore about Frethern & Purton Passage & doubtlesse many other stonie places on both sides ye river betw. Gloucester & Bristol. Ye large *Conchites rostro adunco* are as common upon that shoare as most shells that contain animals are upon other shoars. Some without their opercula, others haveing ym slipt on one side; but most have them firmly on; & these are of a substance like blew-marble within.

Many of their Starre stones wch are very common & ye fairest I have seen have those round lamellæ at ye ends of them which you have observd, & I have also seen elsewhere; but I wonder what they should mean.

Vertebræ of fishes petrified are calld by ye children wheels; whereof I have one bigger than a tableman. A mason describd me on a plank a stone which he compared to the flower of ye sun; & truly in my opinion it resembled very much a *Stella marina* 13 *radiatorum*; unlesse it might prove (which ye man would by no means assent to) some sort of *Cornu Ham.* split.

I suppose Mr [Richard] Roberts has waited on you ere this: that he did not doe it sooner was because I told him there was no hast requisite; & that I should first write to you.

Yr last letter was very communicative, for which I humbly thank you. I have orderd one Tomkies of ye Golden Trumpet in Long Acre to call for ye oisters & mapps. I am Sr

Yr most obliged servant, EDW. LHWYD

One Mr Niclas¹ of Trin. Coll. presents his service to you.

¹ DENTON NICHOLAS, M.B. 1691; F.R.C.P. 1696.

43. To Dr. RICHARDSON. *Richardson Correspondence*

Oxford, December 3rd, 91.

Worthy Sir,

I return you many thanks for your obliging letter, and for the books you were pleased to send me. Your discoveries are very considerable; and nothing can be more acceptable than patterns of some of them, whereof (since you are pleas'd to invite me to it) I shall make bold to give you a catalogue.

1. *Apium palustre minus cauliculis procumbentibus ad alas floridum*, Hort. Lugd. Bat.
2. *Assarinae Matthioli planta persimilis si non eadem*.
3. *Caryophyllata montana lutea, nutante flore*, Hort. Reg. Par.
4. *Conyza Panonica lanuginosa*, C.B. Pin.
5. *Ribes Alp. dulcis*, J.B.
6. *Sedum palustre subhirsutum coeruleum*, C.B.
7. *Thlaspi folio globulariae*, J.B.
8. *Vicia minor hirsuta flore minimo rubente*, Sutherlandii.
9. *Chamaecistus montanus foliis Pilosellae minoris Fuchsii*, J.B.
10. *Leucoium lunatum vasculo sublongo intorto*, R. Syn. Meth.
11. *Calceolus Mariae*, Park.

Mr Ray has lately discovered about forty new Mosses in his own neighbourhood; and he tells me Mr Dale has found out an *Alga graminea seminifera*,¹ bearing seeds in the middle of the two leaves, which open when they are ripe. These seeds are shining, solid seeds, like those of land plants. He has in the presse a very curious discourse about the dissolution of the world.² If your neighbourhood affords any Form'd Stones, I beg that you would please to communicate some of them; for I have been persuaded by Dr Lister and Mr Ray to put into some order what observations I have made in that kinde.

Mr Giles of University [College], drowned himself last

¹ *Zostera marina*. Ray (in his *Synopsis*, p. 52,) gives a long account of this plant, and much praise to Dale for the discovery of it.

² The work here alluded to was his *Three Physico-Theological Discourses, concerning the Primitive Chaos and Creation of the World; the General Deluge, its Causes and Effects; and the Dissolution of the World and Future Conflagration*, 8vo., 1692.

Tuesday, and was buried yesterday. He was observed to be melancholy long before.

Your letter was brought to me last Saturday; but the bearer sayd it should have come a month sooner: the second part of it being not dated, I know not what time it spent by the way.

Being in some hast to save the post, I can say little more at present than to assure you that, if you can give me any directions how I may be serviceable to you, in any part of Natural History, you shall find none of your correspondents more ready than,

Your most humble and obliged serv.
EDW. LHWYD

44. MS *Lister* 3, f. 133

Oxford. Dec. 27. [1691]

Hond Sr

I ought long since to have acquainted you with my receiving the six mapps you were pleas'd to present to ye Museum; & also ye fossil oisters [from Hedley].

I have not yet receivd any news of ye things lost out of ye Museum: Dr Irish of All Soulls coll. (the Dort gentleman that writ home about them) having hitherto recd no answer. I long to know whether Mr ASHMOLE has been made acquainted with our mischance & if so, what he says to it. 'Tis discoursed here yt Dr Plot has told him of it, how truly I know not.

Haveing disposed my collection of Formd Stones in some order; I find it to be somewhat considerable. And if you think it advisable, I am inclined to take in all ye formd stones hitherto discoverd in Engld, giveing my intended book some such title as *Prodromus Lithologiæ Britannicæ*. I design a methodical enumeration & description of all manner of figured stones, which I suppose will make some such bulk as Mr Rays *Synopsis*; & may be of use for lithoscopists to carry with them into stonepits, gravelpits &c. Mr WOODWARD promises all ye assistance he can affoord: and perhaps Dr Plot will communicate something of his Kentish collection, wch (should he refuse) is not very considerable. I want

extremely *Buonanni*¹ or some good B. of shells; for here are none at Oxford; except *Rond. Aldrov. Gesn.* & most of ye *Museums*. But I have none of these at ye Museum; & I can afford to spend but litle time at ye librarys.

I hope Mr Roberts has deliverd ye small Toadstones I mentiond; I find I have onely time left, to wish you & all yr family a happy new year, & to tell you yt a letter at yr leisure is much desired by (Hond Sr)

Yr most obliged servt
EDW. LHWYD

An ear of rye (but without any grains) was taken out of ye left side of an infant; & sent me by ye minister yt christend ye child; in Meiryonydh Shire. The child did not thrive but cast up all ye sustenance it took till he became abt six weeks old: then a kind of a mole on his side breaking, ye father tooke ye ear out of it with his nailes: the mother applying a plantain leaf; 'twas heald in 24 hours, & ye child has thriven ever since. I belive it to be all true; & therefore would know yr opinion how it happen'd.

A toad has been found in a solid stone by Dr Richardson, Yorkshire; it crawld about in ye sun shine; & died in ye evening.

45. *Cambrian Quarterly Mag.* ii, 1830

[Probably to JOHN LLOYD]

Oxford, Jan. 15, 9½.

Kind Sr,

It is soe long since I writ to you, and my dear frd Ned Humphreys, that I'm afrayd you begin to number me amongst your obsolete or frigid acquaintance, but these are onely words of course; I cannot seriously think so: I rather think it impossible, (as oft as I have any thoughts of you,) that either of us shall ever be able to forget the rest.

This by way of preface: Diwedh y bregeth yw'r Geiniog. Mr. Ælius Anovillus (formerly Mr. Elis Anwyl²) understanding yt his Veteran frd has two or three gentlemen to enter in Jesus

¹ FILIPPO BUONANNI, *Observationes . . . animalium testaceorum icones*. Roma 1691. ² Matric. Jesus 1685. Rector of Llaniestyn, Carmarthen.

Coll. this term, has orderd me to acquaint you, that he is your humble oratour for the tuition of them, if you think fit, and if the matter lies at yr disposal. His ability is in some measure known to you; and since your conversation with him, is as much improved as may be expected. He will be elected fellow this term (as ye Principal tells him) infallibly; and, upon his successefull beginning with pupils now, depends in a great measure his reputation and profit, not to say fortune.

I doubt not but he will be very diligent; and indeed it seems impossible for a man of his emulating temper, to neglect that which will contribute so much to his profit and reputation. Pray let me know what may be done at your first leasure; and also how it fares with you, how you like your *Provincia Pædagogica*, &c. without reserve.

Inform me of Ned Humphreys, and all other friends, and how I may write to the Cronic, and whether he be married or not, &c. All your friends here are very well: Ken Eyton¹ and Will Jones are your humble servants, as is also and will ever be

Dear Sr, yr most affectionat frd and kinsman,

ED. LHWYD

I design for ye Presse a small tract in Latin, under the title of *Prodromus Lithologiæ Britannicæ*. T will be, perhaps, when I finish it, about ye bignesse of Mr. Ray's *Catalogue*, and twill contain a methodical enumeration and description of such form'd stones as I have hitherto met with. If you hear accidentally of any things of this nature, they would be of use to me if they can be procured; it may be yr brother and you have formerly collected something.

46. MS *Lister* 36, No. xvi

Oxf. Febr. 7—9 $\frac{1}{2}$

Dear Sr,

I ought long since to have thank'd you for the trouble you have been at, in makeing my excuse with Mr Ashmole, &c. I am very sensible of my happynesse in haveing so good a friend. One Mr CHARLET a friend of Dr Plot's shewd me a letter from the Dr about a fortnight agoe, wherein he says

¹ KENRICK EYTON, fellow of Jesus Coll. 1696-1703.

that he was not ye man that acquainted Mr ASHMOLE with our mischance.¹ But that Mr Ashmole haveing heard of it by some other means did enquire of him about it; & that he told him it was a thing he had been afraid of these many years; & had spoken with all the V. Chancellors that had been, while he was Keeper about locks for preventing it. Adding that he has a greater kindnesse for me, than to possesse Mr Ashmole with a mistrust of my fidelity or care, &c.

I am very glad to understand yr work is in that forwardnesse. I hope to see in due time ye testaceous animals as well illustrated by you, as plants &c. have been by other hands. I make no discoverys this season; as the spring comes on I doubt not of finding something. I wish heartily I could be able to advance as far as Cornwall this next summer. I can add no more at present but that I am

Sr Yr most affectionate & obliged servant
EDW. LHWYD

47. MS *Lister* 3, f. 154

Oxford Febr. 18. [1691-2]

D. Sr

I hope you have recd the book you desired: We have a clause amoungst Mr Ashmoles statutes yt any thing once given to the Musæum & enterd in the catalogue shall not upon any pretence, be carried out. I sent it last fryday by one Bartlet an Oxf. carrier yt inns at ye Swan in Holbourn Bridge. I'll see what may be done on Trent bank. Yr news from Virginia & ye Streights of Magellan is very acceptable. I doe not wonder your workw. begin to be tired;² you have held them so long to it. Mr Bobert tells me he belives Read ye Qr.'s lost.³ I forgot to answer a qery you formerly proposed viz. in what order ye fossil Oisters at Rangewell Hill were lodge'd. I dug out some my self with a mattok, & others were dug out by a man I employ'd; they were log'd sometimes thick, & sometimes thinly: & because of the sandy clay

¹ The robbery. See Nos. 40 and 42. ² ANNA and SUSANNA LISTER.

³ The Quaker gardener who had been collecting plants in Barbadoes. Lister on Dec. 12, 1690 mentioned his inexperience.

they were buried in, I can make noe comparative estimation of their position.

They talk much here of Mr Rays Dedication of his N. Book to the ABp.¹ & say he has a minde of some ecclesiastic p̄ferm. One reason amoungst others yt makes me desireous of seeing Cornwall, is yt I would know what remains of the British language, customes & names of places may be found there. Mr Ray has orderd me a copy of his N. Book, but Mr Smith has sent none. I can adde no more but that I am Hond Sr

Yr very affectionate & obliged servt
EDW. LHWYD

48. To JOHN RAY. *Ray Correspondence*, p. 240

Honoured Sir,

Oxford, Feb. 30, 1691[-2].

The Holywell Moss seemed to me a variety (though perhaps it may be a distinct species) of the *Muscus Trichomanis facie*, &c., *Jungermannii*.² The common people will not have it called *Mwswgl* [moss], but *Gwiribh*; which word is nowhere else used in any other signification than for a virgin. And here perhaps it may allude to the virgin St. Winifrid, and might have been formerly called *Gwâlht Gwiribh*, i.e. *Capillus virginis*. Georg. Agricola³ says that the stones smelling of violets acquire that smell from a moss adhering to them; but Wormius, in his *Museum*, p. 38, says, a piece of one of those stones kept in his museum many years, having no moss adhering to it, did still retain that scent. I design to send for some of the moss and stone, when I have an opportunity, and then we may hope to be able to judge better of this phenomenon. I have sent to my correspondent to inquire farther about the truth of the relation of the ear of rye. Mr. John Aubrey writes to me,⁴ that he could give a guess how the ear might come in, but that it

¹ Archbishop SANCROFT had been retired, and Ray's friend TILLOTSON had been recently appointed to succeed him. The new book was Ray's *Miscellaneous Discourses concerning the Dissolution and Changes of the World*. London 1692.

² *Mnium affine* Bland. In the Morison Herbarium the type from St. Winifred has been identified as *Chiloscyphus polyanthus* L.

³ *De Nat. Foss.*, l. i. c. 5.

⁴ Letter dated 27 Feb. 1691-2.

would not be fit to be inserted in a letter. In the same letter he acquaints me that a young Cornish gentleman assures him that he has lately observed in Catalonia, and amongst the Pyrenean Hills, many British words amongst the natives. I did not think that any young Cornish gentlemen had understood British; however, this wants a confirmation, and 'tis possible this gentleman having picked out five or six parallel words (which is easily done out of any language in these parts of Europe) took it for granted, from their guttural pronunciation, that there might be many more. "He¹ informs me that he was present when a stone was broken by workmen, which lay upon the top of the ground, wherein was contained a toad, in form and colour altogether resembling the common one, though something less, which, being laid upon the ground, crawled about as long as the sun shone warm upon it, but towards night died. I examined the stone (says he), and supposed it at first to be of an extraordinary open texture, or else the hole wherein the toad lay to have some private communication with the air; but upon a more strict inquiry I found the stone of a close grit, but that place especially where she lodged to be of a much harder texture, much of the nature of the iron stone which the workmen call an iron band."

Upon the reading your discourse of the rains continually washing away and carrying down earth from the mountains,² it puts me in mind of something pertinent thereto, which I have observed in the mountains of Caernarvonshire, viz.:

1. First, that generally the higher the hills are, the more steep are their precipices and declivities (I except the sea rocks), thus *Moel y Wydhfa, y Grîb gôch*, and twenty others that might be named, reputed the highest hills in Wales, have the steepest rocks of any mountains I have seen; and that not only in their highest cliffs, but also in most of their other crags, till you descend to the lower valleys. This I can ascribe to nothing else but the rains and snow which fall on those great mountains, I think, in ten times the quantity they do on the lower hills and valleys.

¹ Dr. RICHARD RICHARDSON, of North Bierley, in Yorkshire.

² *Dissol. of the World*, p. 44.

2. I have observed a considerable quantity of the chips or parings (if I may so call them) of these cliffs to lie in vast heaps at the roots of them; and these are of several sorts and materials, being in some places covered with grass, and in others as bare as the sea shore; and those bare places do consist sometimes of gravel, and an innumerable number of rock fragments, from a pound weight to twenty, &c., and are sometimes composed of huge stones, from an hundred pound weight to several tons.

3. In the valleys of Lhanberys and Nant-Phrancon the people find it necessary to rid their grounds often of the stones which the mountain floods bring down; and yet notwithstanding this care they often lose considerable parcels of land.

4. I affirm, that by this means not only such mountains as consist of much earth and small stones, or of softer rocks, and such as are more easily dissoluble, are thus wasted, but also the hardest rocks in Wales; and they seem to be as weighty, and of as firm and close a texture as marble itself. It happened in the valley of Nant-Phrancon, anno 1685, that part of a rock of one of the impendent cliffs, called yr Hysvaë, became so undermined (doubtless by the continual rains and subterraneous veins of water occasioned by them) that, losing its hold, it fell down in several pieces, and, in its passage down a steep and craggy cliff, dislodged thousands of other stones, whereof many were intercepted ere they came down to the valley, but as much came down as ruined a small piece of ground, and several stones were scattered at least 200 yards asunder. In this accident, one great stone, the biggest remaining piece of the broken rock, made such a trench in its descent as the small mountain rills commonly run in; and when it came down to the plain ground, it continued its passage through a small meadow and a considerable brook, and lodged itself on the other side it. From hence I gather, that all the other vast stones that lie in our mountainous valleys, have, by such accidents as this, fallen down; unless perhaps we may do better to refer the greatest part of them to the universal deluge. For, considering there are some thousands of them in these two valleys [of Lhanberys and Nant-Phrancon], whereof (for what I can

learn) there are but two or three that have fallen in the memory of any man now living, in the ordinary course of nature we shall be compelled to allow the rest many thousands of years more than the age of the world. But I have been too tedious in things that are no information to you, for which I must beg your pardon, though I cannot forbear to add two other particulars which seemed very singular. First, at the highest parts of the Glyder, (a mountain about the height of Cader Idris), there are *prodigious heaps of stones*, many of them of the largeness of those of Stonehenge, but of all the irregular shapes imaginable, and they all lie in as much confusion as the ruins of a building can be supposed to do. Now I must confess I cannot well imagine how this has happened; for that ever they should be indeed the ruins of some edifice, I can by no means allow, in regard that most of them are as irregular as those stones are that have fallen to the valleys; we must, then, allow them to be the skeleton of the hill exposed to open view by rains, snow, &c.; but then how came they to lie across each other in this confusion? some of them being of an oblong flat form, having their two ends e.g. E. and W., others laid athwart these, some of them laid flat, but many of them inclining, being supported by other stones at the one end, &c. I must confess I have seen nothing that appeared to me so strange as this in all those mountains. Had they been in a valley I had presently concluded they had fallen from the neighbouring rocks, but being on the very summit of the hill, they seem to me unaccountable. I know it might serve to confirm Dr Burnet's hypothesis, but for my part, though I admire his learning and ingenuity, yet I must confess I cannot (as yet) reconcile his opinions either to Scripture or reason, though I have not seen either of those books that are written against him. The other observation is not so unaccountable as it is singular, and in some respects opposite to the former, viz. on the N.W. side of the same hill there is, amongst many others, one *naked precipice*, as steep as any I have seen; but so adorned with *numerous equidistant pillars*, and these again slightly crossed at certain joints, that should Dr Burnet see it, I believe he would say it is one small pattern of the frame of

the antediluvian earth. I must confess I admired it almost as much as he does (lib. i, c. 9) his precipice by the Mediterranean Sea, to which, after a long encomium, he says, *Vale Augusta sedes rege digna*, &c., though I must grant that the shepherd, who was my guide, was far from wishing himself a mansion at this palace.

[EDW. LHWYD]

49. *Cambr. Mag.* iii, 211

[Probably to JOHN LLOYD]

Oxf. March 3 [16] 9½.

Dear Frd,

I recd yr obligeing Letter of Jan. 23, for wch Mr. Anwyl & my self return you our hearty thanks. He is much obliged to you for ye kind offer you make as to ye Schole, but he is not inclin'd to medle with it at all, and if he liked it, I presume he would never own it, as long as you can keep it.

Yr condition must be very uneasie; since you are (as you say) in constant expectation of being dismissd. Nothing can be more miserable, than to be exposed to ye mercy of ye vulgar. In this case ye onely remedy that there is, you are (God be praysd) well provided of. I mean a sense of ye mutability of all humane affairs; & therefore neither to doat upon worldly preferments, nor yet to despise them. I see not many reasons why men in low conditions, may not live as happily, as they who are better provided for as to advantages of honour & profit: especially if instructed in learning & piety. I understand by happynesse a serenity of minde & disposition to doe good. The greatest obstacle yt I find herein is yt we are too much pitied by our friends and acquaintance. Nil habet infelix paupertas durius in se, Quā quod ridiculos homines facit.

Mr. Anwyl will be elected into Mr. Rosendals¹ fellowship abt a fortnight or three weeks hence; and I suppose W. Wyn² ye Chancr of St. Asaph's brother, will also come in this Term.

Yr account of ye marble found at Coed Marchau, was acceptable. Pray let's have what account you can conveniently of

¹ MICHAEL ROSENDAL, matr. Jesus College 1678, M.A. 1685.

² WILLIAM WYNN, brother of Robert, matr. Jesus College 1688, B.D. 1702.

that and any other sort of fossils, &c. I have a strong fancy that I may (if it please God I may live 7 years longer) meet wth some encouragement towards ye writeing some part of the *History of Wales*, and therefore I must desire my friends to make such observations, as will occurre in ye interim. I have found, in several places variety of stone yt have ye perfect grain of wood. But it is not yet agreed amoungst naturalists whether such stones are wood petrified, or whether they have of their own nature that kind of texture. For my part I incline at present, very much to ye former, but will not yet conclude but that there may be both in rerum naturâ. Are here any of those pillars now to be seen at Y Voelass, wch Mr. Camden mentions to have strange Characters on ym? He has also a kind of an unaccountable inscription upon a stone at Clocaing,

AMILLIN
TOVISATOC

Pray give my hearty love & service to my old friend Mr. R. Jones,¹ & the rest, as you meet with them.

I am (D. G.), Yr most affectionate & obliged frd,
E. LHWYD

50. MS *Aubrey* 12, 243

For Mr JOHN AUBREY at the Tobacco roll & Sugar loaf; at the upper end of Maydenhead lane, near great Russel street in the parish of St Giles in ye feilds London.

Hond. Sr.

Oxf. April ye 3d.

I ought to have answeard your former letter² sooner, but delayd it thus long, expecting you about this time at Oxford. Mr Sherwood did not receive Sr Wm Petty's *tryal of medicated waters*.³ Yr news of ye British words observd in ye Pyreneans was very curious & acceptable: but I could wish ye gentleman had taken a catalogue of those he observd. I am heartily glad to find there are some MSS. in being, in ye Cornish tongue. I find the Irish use ye very same characters

¹ Possibly RICHARD JONES of Anglesea.

² Of 22 Feb. 1691-2.

³ PETTY'S *Queries for the Tryall of Minerall Waters* are preserved in MS *Ashmole* 1820a.

with ye Saxons, wch probably they (I mean ye Irish) might receive from ye Britains. Tho. Carve in his *Lyra Hibernica* (I think that's ye title of his book) says yt some Irish taught writeing to ye Saxons in Germany, before they came into Britain. If I could bear ye charges of it, I would take a journey into Cornwall, as well to see Mr Keygwyn [Anglice Whitfield]¹ as for searching ye natural curiosities of that country wch they say are very numerous. I am obliged to Mr Wyld for his information of those two authors & his many other favours.

I come now to yr last letter; but am sorry I can not give you some satisfaction about ye Etymon of Thamisis. You proposed this question to me once before² & I told you then as much as I can now: viz. yt Twym or Twymn signifies *tepidus*; & yt we have a river near Machynltheth in Mon-gomeryshire call'd Twymyn. Tom is *Lutum* whence Tomus, wch you must read Tommys, would be *lutosus*: but for my part I am not satisfied yt ye name comes from either of them. I am very glad you are takeing care to leave ye writeings in good order; tis pittty but some of them were publish'd by your self, seeing we find dayly yt posthumous works run in great hazard. If your *hypothesis of ye Terraqueous Globe*³ be communicable; perhaps it would be very serviceable to me in my intended treatise of Formd Stones.

As slender as my fortune is, I shall not think it much to pay for your letters; but shall take it as an honour (besides ye benefit I receive thereby) when ever you please to write to

(Sr) Yr affectionat Frd & very humble Servt
EDW: LHWYD

I should take it as a great favour, if you please to send me a catalogue of ye tracts you have written; as well ye printed as MSS. Pray excuse haste. I can say nothing to the signification of Ouse, Wysc in Wales & perhaps W̄y is ye same.

Does yr hypoth. of ye Globe differ much from Dr Burnet's?

¹ Aubrey described KEYGWIN of Moushall as 'master of the Cornish tongue' (1 Dec. 1692).

² Of 29 March 1692. MS *Ashmole* 1814.

³ '*Hypothesis of the Terraqueous Globe*' was the title of a chapter in Aubrey's *Natural History of Wilts*. It reflected some of Hooke's views rather than those of Burnet, and Ray did not approve of it.

What is Mr Hooks opinion of ye origin of Form'd Stones? Did they come by ye flood, by ye motion of ye earth, or some other means? Is Mr Boyl's collection wch he left ye R.S. very considerable? Hills is no British word.

51. MS *Lister* 36, xviii

Oxford, Aug. 22d. 92.

Hond Sr

I receivd from Mr Gibs ye *Buccina* you were pleasd to send us;¹ & I have placed ym in ye Museum above one of ye shell cabinets. But yt ye charges of frameing would be too much, I could wish we had all your plates in ye same order; for to observe ye method of ym at a general & short view, must needs be satisfactory & delightfull to ye curious. The onely inconveniency would be, yt they would be apt to gather dust.

There is such a number of MSS. & pamphlets amoungst Mr Ashmoles legacy,² yt twill take up at least six or 8 mounths, to dispose of them in good order & to draw a catalogue of ym.

I have sent you ye summe of what I find in authors of ye *Polypi*: which was far lesse yn I expected. I doe not know of any author, but what I have turn'd over, except Marcgravius, wt I did not think of.

A gentleman in town³ has four hundred silver coyns to sell; amoungst which seems to be few or none counterfeit: they are mostly Roman, a few Greek, & some few old English. I would gladly know what price they bear with your London goldsmiths; & whether one might not venture to buy ym at twelpepence a piece & be no loser, provided they be true. He has also 2 or 3 hundred Roman brasse coyns: & I should gladly learn what value they usually bear. I am

Hond Sr, Yr most obligd servt
EDW. LHWYD

¹ Perhaps artists' proofs of engravings of *Buccina* like those in MS *Lister* 39, ff. 279-284.

² ELIAS ASHMOLE died aged 76 on May 18, 1692, and his Will was proved on June 11.

³ This inquiry may have been made on behalf of Lord PETERBOROUGH (see page 294).

I. Prima et secunda Polyporum species Rondeletij Gesn. p. 869. Polypus, vulgo Polpo Salviani p. 160. Gesn. ex Rondeletio. Polypum hic depinximus q̄i omnium maximus est et notissimus, cujus differentias duas esse diximus: alter enim litoralis est, alter pelagicus, vita solum, specie nullo modo dissidentes.

Uterque igitur ore, oculis, partibus internis sepia ac soligini similis, brachia vero longiora habet, promuscidibus caret: alvo est rotundiore, sepia latiore, loligo vero longiore. Acetabulorum in brachijs continuus est et duplex ordo: quæ initio majora, deinceps minora fiunt. Sunt etiam 4 pedum acetabula omnium maxima. Polypi dura sunt carne, quæque mollescere et facile concoqui non possit, nisi diu fervata, multumque furte contusa, ad dirimendos, frangendosque fibros, quibus caro contextitur.

II. Tertia Polyporum spec. Rondeletij, Gesn. p. 871. Rond. a reliq̄is polypis differt quod corpore sit magis rotundo: longioribus brachijs, unico in eis acetabuloribus ordine. Præterea odore est Moschi, non solum vivus, sed etiam mortuus atque extinctus. Qam ob causam magis quam cæteri ad venerem stimulat: etenim eam veluti sopitam, odorata exuscitant, quemadmodum Ambra et Moschus.

III. Eledona altera Polypi spec. Bellonio. Gesn. 872 quem tamen Rondeletius ab Osmylo non distinguit. Bell. Eledona a Polypo terreno cirrorum prolixitate distinguitur. Crura habet longa et unus ex mollium numero simplicem tantum in brachijs acetabulorum ordinem ostendit. Cætera nanque omnia duplici (ut inquit Aristoteles) insigniuntur.

IV. Sepia Gesn. p. 1024. Sepia Salviani p. 165. Rond. Σηπία a Græcis vocata, latinum nomen non invenit. Ab Italis Sepi, a nostris sepio, a Gallis Seche dicitur. Piscis est marinus litoralis, aliquando ad duorum cubitorum magnitudinem accedens, tenui sed satis firma cute contactus, foris carnoso corpore, intus quid solidum quod σήπιον vocat Aristoteles, continente capiti affixos habet pedes octo, cæterorum mollium modo rotundos: crassiores initio, deinde paulatim gracilissimas: omnes interiore in parte δικοτύλους, i.e. duplici acetabulorum ordine: quib. cedentia comprehendat & comprehensa firmiter premat, retineatque instar medicarum cucurbitularum ijsd. pedibus sive brachijs natat cibosque ori juxta quod sita sunt admovet. Præter hæc duas promuscides (quas Aristoteles προβοσκίδας vocat) longiores pedibus, tenuiores, rotundas; ubique læves præterquam in extremo utroque, binis acetabulis. aspera: quib. Sepæi capiunt orique et longinquo cibos admovent ijs etiam quoties

tempestates urgent, ad saxa aliqua adhærentes se veluti anchoris stabiliunt. In pedum promuscidumque medio veluti in centro, rostrum et os sepiaë situm est, duabus cartilaginibus dura altera superiore, altera inferiore constans, colore et figura avium carnivorarum, vel psittaci rostro plane simile.

V. Sepiola Rondeletij Gesn. 1028.

Rond. Sæpia nascenti similis est, pollicis crassi magnitudinem non superat, octo pediculis constat, duas proboscides habet, nec sepium in dorso nec gladiolum habet. Utrique lateri pinnula veluti ala parva affixa est, rotunda: nec figura nec situ pinnis sepiarum & loliginum similis, neque enim angusta, longaque totam alvum ambit, ut in sepijs: neque lata et in acutum angulum terminatur ut in loliginibus, sed rotunda, parva, utrinque veluti adnata, modicam alvi partem occupant, neque ad extremum usque corporis protensa. Colore est vario, parvulis enim punctis in dorso notatur. Ore, oculis, fistula, partibus internis a sepijs non differt. Carne molliore et delicatiore est quam Polypus vel Sepia. Vere maxima copia capitur cum reliquis piscibus, et ob parvitatem negligitur, cum tamen ut dixi suavissimus sit.

VI. Loligo vulgo Callamaro Salviani p. 265. Loligo magna Rond. Gesn. p. 580.

Rond. piscis est pelagius, gregalis ex mollium genere, pedibus, promuscidibus, capite, oculis, ore, lingua, fistula, partibus internis quibusdam, coeundi modo, Sepiaë similis. His vero dissidet. Corpore est longiore, rotundiore, in acutum definente. Sepia brevior est et latior duriorque carne. Sepiaë os internum in prona parte situm, quod Sepium vocatur, robustum, latum, media natura inter os et spinam, friabile et fungosum continens. Loliginis gladius tenuis est, angustus, cartilagineus, pellucidus. Promuscis dextra crassior. Atramentum nigrum non infra ut in Sepia, sed prope mutin. Pinnulæ latiores sunt quam in Sepia, non totam alvum ambientes, et in angulum acutum in lateribus desinentes. Loligo mas a fæmina differt, quod intus meatus duos habeat, quibus mas caret, sic uti in Sepijs evenit. Parit ova connexa Sepiarum modo, non in litore ut Sepiaë, sed in alto: quam ob causam rarius ova Loliginum quam Sepiarum inveniuntur. Neque huic neque Sepiaë bimatu vita longior.

VII. Loligo parva Rond. Gesn. p. 581.

Rond. Loligo parva ea est quæ a Gallis, præsertim Santonibus Casseron dicitur: a nostris Glaugio, corrupta voce, opinor ex

gladiolo. quanquam Monspelienses nostri Calamar et Glaugio sæpe confundant. Alij magnitudine distinguunt. Pinna lata inferiore loco oritur quam in Loligine magna. præterea extremum acutius est, gladiolus etiam ipse acutior. Alioqui pediculorum numero, promuscidibus, oculis, capite, corporis forma, gladioli substantia, atramento, denique partibus omnibus tum internis cum externis persimiles sunt.

52. MS *Lister* 36, xx

Oxford. 7ber 20. 1692.

Dear Sr

I receiv'd both yr letters; & your present to ye Museum came very safe; for which & yr other continual favours to ye University, Mr Vicechancellor¹ order'd me to return you their most humble thanks.

I have lately discoverd some petrified bones at Witney in this county, which are to me, as yet so unaccountable yt I know not what bones to compare them to, or of what animals. One is flat & square somewhat of ye shape & bignesse of a Swedish copper doller. An other was about a foot long & something of ye shape & color of a rhinoceros horn, but broken in several pieces. I know not if this may be what naturalists call *Unicornu fossile*. I have no more to adde Sr but yt I am

Yr most obliged & humble servt

EDW. LHWYD

53. MS *Lister* 36, xix

Oxf. Sept. 25. 92.

Dear Sr

The occasion of this paper is to acquaint you yt an intimate friend of myne is goinge to Barbados, where he is to continue some years as minister.² If you can give directions how he may be serviceable to us, I know he will not neglect them; tho at present he has no skill in natural things. I think my best means of rendring him serviceable to us, will be to bring him to ye fields & woods, & shew him what variety this neighbourhood affoards of ye landshells, & also to some quarrys & claypits. He designs for London in order to prepare for his voyage about five days hence; & therefore if you

¹ HENRY ALDRICH.

² ROBIN PARRY. See No 70.

have any queries for him or instructions, be pleas'd to write next post, to

Yr most obliged & humble servt

EDW. LHWYD

If any one must be had to supply Read, ye Quakers place: I would willingly accept of it, if it be anything considerable; & if ye Visitors give me leave to travail & keep my place at my return, wch seems no extraordinary favour. I wish you could send me packing somewhere or other.

54. To JOHN RAY. *Ray Correspondence*, p. 253

Oxford, October 7, —92.

Honoured Sir,

When your last letter came I was at London about a legacy of books, medals, and pictures, bequeathed by Mr Ashmole to the University, since which time I have been so continually employed in taking a catalogue of them, that I have had but small leisure to go abroad to make any discoveries.

My discoveries in Formed Stones of late are but few. I have a stone almost a foot long (but broken in several pieces), something of the colour, shape, and politeness of a rhinoceros's horn, which, perhaps, is congenerous with that they call *Unicornu fossile*; and have also found at Witney and Charlton, in Oxfordshire, and Faringdon in Berkshire, several very odd petrified bones, to me at present unaccountable, and like to continue so, at leastwise a long time. At present I only suspect them to be the bones of some marine creatures. It is certain they differ totally from the bones of any land animals at present in the island; and we have no reason to imagine that this country was possessed anciently of any other land animals than what it is at present, unless we should give way to Dr Burnet's hypothesis, or some such other invention. I have also two fossils, which seem to be fragments of fish-jaws petrified, each of them having their teeth (to wit, toad-stones, or the *Occhiedi serpi* of the Maltese) placed in their natural order, as they are in the *Lupus*, and probably in some other fish. I have likewise discovered very elegant stones of those kinds which I have called *Siliquastrum* and *Punctularia*. As for the *Cornua Hammonis*, I am now satisfied they are all of the

nautilus kind, and of such like shells; but, as you say, what is become of all these species, if they are petrified shells? I say they are all of the nautilus kind, not that any of them scarce resemble the known species of *Nautili* (for such as do have been called by Calceolarius and Moscardo *Nautili*, &c., and not *Cornua Hammonis*), but because they consist of several articulations, which is a structure agrees with no other shells but the *Nautili*. The sutures upon them, which Boccone and others compare to oak-leaves, are nothing else but the commissures of the joints, and these joints nothing else but the spar, or other stone, filling the cavities of the cells in the Nautilus; and this I conclude from one or two specimens I have found, which have the shell still remaining in the interstices of the joints. That figure of the joints which I compared to vertebræ is acquired from the shape of the septum, or partition in the shell. I think Olaus Wormius was the first that compared any *Cornua Hammonis* to a Nautilus.

[EDW. LHWYD]

55. MS *Ashmole* 1816, f. 77. A Copy of ye Answ. to Mr. Woodward's letter of ye 20. of October 1692.

For Mr JOHN WOODWARD at ye Bp of Lincoln's Library, nere St. Martin's church London.

Worthy Sr

Oxford Oct. 23. 92.

I receivd your very angry & expostulatory Letter, but shall not trouble you with any tedious answer to it. The character I gave of you to Mr Beverlandt, was such as in my Opinion you deservd, & ye same I have given of you to several other strangers when they enquired after persons so qualified as you are. Viz. that there was one Mr Woodward, a young Gentleman at London, whom I thought a person extraordinary ingenious & to have made ye best use of his time, of any that ever I was acquainted with, who had ye most considerable collection of English fossils that I had any where seen, & all of his own gathering in their native places. This if Mr Beverlandt denyes, I here give it under my hand (& that's the onely satisfaction I can give, or you desire) that he either mistakes or tells a malicious untruth. The time & place was at ye

Museum when he came to me & told me he had seen some formd stones I had given Mr Oostrum, a Dutch minister; and was desireous to see more of my Collection. To this character I added that you seemd a litle fond of your own thoughts, but that was a slender fault & would quickly wear of; which I told him not maliciously, or out of Envy to your excellent parts, but that he might ye readier excuse this fault in case he perceivd it in you, when he should come to be acquainted with you. This I own was an imprudent slip, (& perhaps a mistake) but not worth his telling you, or your expostulateing with me so severely about it. Thus I have told you the Opinion I have hitherto had of you, & the character I have given you (the last clause excepted) to at least twenty persons: and I have no reason as yet to alter my thoughts of you, nor doe I suspect yt ever I shall have any. However in regard you are of a very hot & passionat temper, & of a conversation to me somewhat disagreeable: & yt I also have a greater share than does me good, of that Haste ye common Proverb bestows on my Countrey men; I think our best course will be to let fall our Correspondence,¹ wch is all I have to say, who am Sr

Yr humble Servt
EDW. LHWYD

I humbly thank you for your Civility to Mr King, & your many other favours to my self & Friends.

56. MS *Lister* 3

Dr. Sr

Oxf. Thursday morning

I am so afflicted with a pain in one of the kidneys (as I take it) and an excessive swelling and hardnesse of the Testicles, yt I must humbly beg your advice and Directions the next post, having no such Interest with the Oxford physicians, as to expect their advice gratis. . . .

EDW LHWYD

57. MS *Lister* 3, f. 167

Dear Sr,

n.d. [December 1692]

I recd yr very kind letter; but since my last ye case is

¹ They were corresponding again in 1695.

strangely alter'd with me. For whereas I was then in very great pain & disorder; I am now (for ye matter) as well as ever I was in my life. I had purged thrice before, & that I belive has carried it off. The swelling's not quite gone, but decreases dayly. The purge I took last did not work with me; & that I suppose was ye occasion I was so very sick: for in four or five days I could neither eat nor drink. I have not been accustom'd to take purges or any other physick; this being but ye third time, that I can remember ever to have taken any. What ever I take in that kind I am apt to return by vomit in half an hour's time.

I shall write to Dr Plucknet next post. Is ye ABp intimate with my Ld Portld?¹ And would Mr Rays recommendation there avail any thing? If you suppose it any way convenient; I must desire you'd please to look a litle on yt side the hedge. I doubt things of this kind are early lookd into, & perhaps I may come too late to market. I am Sr,

Yrs as usual,

E. LH.

MS *Ashmole* 1817a

DR. PLOT to MR. EDWARD LLOYD.

Mr. Lloyd

London, Dec. 1, 1692.

Yesterday being St. Andrews Day I was again chosen Secretary of the Royal Society, which puts me in a capacity of printing anything for you without charge to yourself in case the University will not. I know you have many things by you which will furnish many ingenious discourses, which if you please to afford me, will be a great assistance now the correspondence is lost, almost all the world over, but I hope to retrieve it again in great measure before the year is out. I have written to Dr Charlet to speak to the rest of the quondam Oxford Society, so let me have the use of the Letter Books and Registers of that Society for this year, where I hope to find a great deal of matter worthy of the press. Pray wait on the Dr and receive his orders upon this matter, and then send me the books, which shall be faithfully return'd again to

¹ The writer is still longing to go abroad. Lord PORTLAND was the King's right hand man, and RAY was known to have the ear of Archbishop TILLOTSON.

ye Musaeum when I have done with them. Pray let me have the favour of your assistance with what speed you can; a paper now at first being of double value to what one will be a year hence; and let me hear from you concerning these affairs sometime next week, and you will very much oblige Sr,

Yor most faithfull Friend & humble Servt
ROB. PLOT

58. To JOHN RAY. *Ray Correspondence*, p. 257

Oxford, Dec. 20, —92.

Sir,

The account you have been pleased to give me of your Tract concerning the *Dissolution of the World*, makes me think it very long till I see it. Your discourse of Formed Stones comes in very opportunely, and indeed must necessarily affect the reader with its novelty and clearness of argument.

As to the fossil Oysters, and my other observations of late in this kind, they do, I must confess, confirm me in my apostacy; for I have been inclined to a misbelief of their being mineral forms, ever since I found the first *Ichthyospondylus*, viz. above a year since. If I had abilities of travelling one or two summers, I believe I could make this matter clear enough, and beyond dispute.

I have also an ear of Rye out of Dolgelhe parish, Meiryonydshire, that was taken out of the side of an infant. The truth whereof is so well attested, that as yet I fully believe it. When the child was born, he had a protuberance on the left side under the ribs, about the bigness of a small nut; all the sustenance given him for six weeks he vomited, and did not thrive at all: about which time the knob broke; and the mother surprised at some odd thing she saw therein, called to her husband, who observing the straw end to peep in and out, as the child cried, or was quiet, he held it between his nails, and plucked out this ear. The mother applied a plaintain leaf to the sore, and it was well in twenty-four hours. Your opinion how it came there would be acceptable.

My Lord of Bangor has sent to me to desire your opinion of the Holywell moss, as to its sweet scent. It is very true

that it smells sweet (as I myself experienced anno -88) at the very place. Whence it acquires its scent is the question: my lord thinks it sweetened by art; but then he knows not perhaps that it has that smell in its native place.

[EDW. LHWYD]

59. MS *Lister* 36, xxi

Oxford. Dec. 23. 92.

Sr

The mistake shall be rectified ye next post. The last paper was mute, because I had nothing material to say, & was indifferent whether I scrib'd any thing on that paper because of the figures.

The first post after I recd yr former letter, I gave you account that I was on a suddain, perfectly recover'd. And I have ever since continued, in as good health as ever. I was a little feavourish before I wrote to you, but 'twas but of short continuance.

I would beg ye favour and trouble of you, if you think fit; to thank Dr Plukenet,¹ for his obliging letter, & kind promise of furthering (as occasion shall be offer'd) my emplt in ye W. Ind. For I address'd my self to him, as you advised; & receivd a very civil letter, and answered it next post.

I have made two or three countrey fellows here excellent lithoscopists; but I doubt their skill & curiosity will soon be starv'd. They are labourers in stonepits & are fit to make any discoveries in this kind; tho they can not as much as give their new found stones, any English nick names. One of them who is a shoemaker, would migrate from one town to an other in this countrey, & sometimes work at his trade & as ye weather servs, search quarrys, gravelpits &c. if we could make him a contribution of seven shillings a week. But we can make up but three shillings at Oxford, betw. two of us. viz. Mr Archer of Queens Coll. and my self.

Our old frd² since he has been chosen Secretary; tells me he has now an opportunity of printing any thing of myne without any charges (he should have added, *or profit*) to my

¹ LEONARD PLUKENET was Superintendent of the Royal Gardens at Hampton Court.

² Dr. PLOT had been elected Secretary of the Royal Society on Nov. 30.

self. I answered that I have nothing at present to communicate. But have sent him a letter of myne, about 2 years since read before ye Oxford Society, against Dr Bernard's censure of ye Welsh language.¹ Its not in my name, but of one Mredydh Owen; for Dr Bernard being an eminent critic, I thought it not convenient to subscribe my own. Whether he'll print it or not I am indifferent; but he's not like to have any thing else in hast, from

Yr most obliged & humble servt
E. LHWYD

The inclosed is for ye House of conveniency.

60. MS *Lister* 3, f. 137

n.d. [c. Dec. 30, 1692]

Hond Sr

I have now sent you ye stone at large, & yt it was not sent sooner, was Burghers fault who disappointed me.

Mr Archer & I finde it necessary to allow our pensioner fifteen pence each p week, for ye time he is abroad. But 12 pence aday is enough when he is within three or four miles of his own home. He promises to goe into Wiltshire abt ye end of Febr. or ye beginning of March. I shall direct him to a place in yt countrey, whence Mr Cole of Bristol shew'd me some very elegant *Nautili lapidei*, which had as 'twere a radius or peg of stone on each side ye aperture.

An other assistant or two will doe very well: but they should be candid men & free from mistrust. When this man has been at Wiltshire for three weeks or a month; I think to send him to ye Severn in Glowcestershire, where I found the large Vertebræ, whereof I shew'd you one when I was last in Town. I am troubl'd we can doe nothing on ye bank of ye Trent, which you formerly mention'd. How forward is Mr Woodward's book? How many cuts has he, & what hypothesis does he goe upon? When you hear any thing of ye W. Indian voyage, let's know it; I could wish 'twere rather to ye Canaries, but beggars must not be choosers. I have no

¹ Lhwyd's anonymous letter is printed in *E.S.O.* xii, p. 329.

more to adde but a happy new year to all yr family. I am Sr,
 Yr most obliged & affectionat. servt
 EDW. LHWYD

Mr Ray has sent me a cobby of his new book;¹ & tells me he has safely recd a collection of insects I lately sent him. Is his *Synopsis animalium Brit. Sanguineorum* in ye presse?

The draught² is exactly according to ye original; for tis but an imperfect sample, ye rostrum & sides being broken. I thought once to direct ye graver to suppose it. But that being contrary to your instructions, & haveing heard you formerly declare against such amendments, I let it alone.

61. MS *Lister* 36, xvii

Oxford Febr. 12. 92.

Hond Sr

'Tis now some time since I recd yr last; & therefore (tho I have litle to say that's material) I must reply something, least I might seem too negligent of my duty.

I have sent our pensioner since last Monday into Wiltshire to a place I formerly mention'd to you, from whence Mr Cole had some elegant *Nautili*. Each person is to allow him this journey 18 pence a week; and I have now compleated the number of our contributioners; whereof one is in Wales, one in Cumberland & an other in Yorkshire. So we need no Londoner; & I am not at all desireous of any more partners. At his return he shall be sent to ye borders of Lincolnshire & Yorkshire as you direct: allowing him yt journey two shillings a week. I have not acquainted any of my friends at London of this our new lithoscopist, nor doe I design at all to mention it.

Sr, I am very sensible of yr affectionat & prudent advice, as to my notes about Form'd Stones. But I am at present, (and shall be for some monthes longer,) wholly taken up in drawing a catalogue of Mr Ashmole's MSS. pamphlets, &c. which are

¹ The 2nd edition of *Discourses*, mentioned by Ray in his letters to Lhwyd of Nov. 7 and Dec. 28, 1692.

Burghers' drawing of the large stone, which Lister paid for.

exceeding numerous. A task yt's to me neither pleasant nor profitable. But it's fit I should doe something for my livelyhood, yt may be for ye benefit of others. When I have done yt, I shall not fayl, in case I stay in Engld to pursue yr directions as fast as I can.

I hear nothing more of ye W. Indian voyage; and begin to suspect that designe is fallen. I leave it wholly to yr management with Dr Plukenet: & am equally prepared to goe or stay, as you like ye terms, & shall think fit.

Were I able to travail one or two summers in Germany, I think I should capacitate my self to be a lecturer in minerals, (& perhaps coyns & antiquities) in ye Museum, at my return. I find several young students in physic & other gentlemen, are desireous of information yt way. I find several Germans & Danes travail into England, who I fansie are as poor as my self in their own cuntry. But I doubt they have better fortune in patrons, yn I am ever like to meet with. I shall adde nothing more at present but yt I am Sr,

Yr much obliged & humble servt
E. LHWYD

62. To JOHN LLOYD. *Cambr. Mag.* iii, 213

Dear Sr,

Oxford Febr. 15, 9 $\frac{2}{3}$.

I have recd yr kinde letter, & am very sensible of that friendly confidence you put in me: from yr so ready acceptance of the person I recommend. Perhaps Mr Wyn means ye same man: but should he mean any other; I am fully satisfied he cannot find (of that quality) a fitter man for your purpose. I have shewd him what he must depend upon as mention'd in yr letter; and he's not onely very willing, but even very desireous of ye place. He's a great lover of classic authors & nothing sutes more with his genius than such an employment. I know no faults he has that are very material: I never saw him fudled; but I am told sometimes he will take a small strüt: *At quid tum; fecere alij, item boni.*

Pray be mindfull of yr promise of writeing to us about a fortnight hence; & then let's know to a day when you would

have him come down, in case it will so fall out. Mr Wyn has forgotten yt ever he told me, what I communicated to you in my last: but (I thank God) I am not troubl'd with the fault of inventing things of that kind; & if I were, in this case, 'twould be but imprudence, & I could propose to myself no end in it.

I know not yet whether I shall travail, or continue at Oxford: but for yr part I know no travailing yt might suite with your conveniency (should you resign yr place), but into Germany & Italy as Governour to some Gentleman or Nobleman. This is the course (tho' in these times it seems hazardous) which some Gentlemen in yr circumstances have made choice of. But that's a conveniency a man may long wait for. I shall adde no more at present but that I am, (Dear Veteran),

Yr most affectionat & cordial Friend,

EDW. LHWYD

Jack Davies desires time, if you can affoord it, to answer under-Batchler & to rigge himself. Service to my old Friend Lepid Cardo Jonesio &c.

63. MS *Aubrey* 12, 241

For Mr JOHN AUBREY, at Dr Gales Scholemaster of St Pauls London.

Oxf. March 2 [16]92-3.

Sr.

I return you my humble thanks for yt obligeing letter of the 4. of Febr.¹ I long to have yt book in the presse whether by subscription or otherwise. I have not heard any more of my intended voyage to America, and I begin to suppose that design will fail. I have got all yr pamphlets in ye museum bound: and in case you are disposed to dedicate yr collection of letters to the Museum, I'll take care to have them bound out of hand; unlesse you have been at that charge allready yr self. I have been long enquiring after a book, Mr Wyld was formerly pleas'd to recommend to my perusal: *Antiquitas Gaulois &c.*² But I could no where yet see it; and am much concerned that I can neither purchase nor borrow it anywhere.

¹ Extant in MS. *Ashmole* 1814.

² See No. 30.

If Mr Wyld could doe me the favour of lending me his, I would be very carefull both in ye perusal & return of it. I am in some hast and can say iittle more at present but that I am (worthy Sr)

Yr most affectionat Frd & humble Servt
EDW. LHWYD

Mr Anwyl & Mr Wyn give you their hearty respects.

The bearer is one Mr Thomas, a countryman of ours; who is employd at Oxford by the Society of Stationers as overseer of ye Oxford Bible presse. He'll bring me very safely a letter or any such parcel you please to give me.

64. *Probably to* DR. M. LISTER. MS *Llanstephan*

Oxford, April 18, 1693.

Hond Sr,

I have been all this while, expecting the return of our Lithoscopist; but have not yet heard anything of him. My onely hopes are yt being a Shoemaker he has met with some employment in his trade, which has thus long detain'd him. Should he be lost in ye late great snow, or otherwise, his wife & children must (I doubt) go a begging.

I have just now receiv'd yr present to ye Museum: had we but a dozen such benefactors, we should in a few years have a choice collection of books. You take care to send us nothing but what is valuable & pertinent. *But I could heartily wish Mr Ashmole had also done the same in his Legacy of Books; & instead of many MS volumes of Mr Napeir's Astrological Practice in Physic, & above five hundred other Astrological books, I wish he had given us 50 of his best books relateing to coyns and other antiquities, & to Natural Philosophy. Tho his donation be in its kind, also very usefull & considerable: especially his MSS. relateing to Heraldry & his collection of pamphlets & English poems.*

I have not been so communicative of my discoveries in Form'd Stones as I guesse you imagin; for tho I have kept acquaintance & correspondence with some that are criticks in that kind; I have notwithstanding, reserv'd the greatest part of

my observations to myself. Tis true some notions & hints they have had: but indeed they are not much obliged to me for them; for *John Fitz-Roberts*, to whom (relying too much on his ignorance that way) I had given some petrified bones, such as ye *Siliquastrum* &c., brought them to Woodward. To whom afterwards, (makeing a vertue of necessity) I presented some better patterns; and also recd some good returns from him. As to what I communicated to Mr Ray, I reckon it very well disposed of. But as to ye *Siliquastrum* or Leechstone, &c. I shall abt a fortnight hence, send you an acct of them with specimens to be engraved, for Mr Waller.¹ I am Sr,

Yr most obliged & humble servt,

EDW. LHWYD

For Mr. FLOYD Keeper of the *Musaeum*.

April 15. '93

Mr. Swalle, the undertaker of the English *Camden*, is now in town to procure persons that may carry on that work. I have given him some encouragement that you will not be wanting in your assistance towards the revising Wales.

[Appointment for one o'clock this afternoon]

EDM. GIBSON.²

65. *Phil. Trans.* xvii. No. 200. (May 1693)

EDVARDI LUIDII apud Oxonienses Cimeliarchae Ashmoleani ad Clariss. V. D. CHRISTOPHORUM HEMMER³ *Epistola; in qua agit de Lapidibus donatis, quos nuperis annis in Oxoniensi et Vicinis agris adinvenit.*

Oxonii, 20 Aprilis, 1693.

Lubenter accepi (Vir ornatissime) quas ad nos per Clariss. Lodbergium dedisti literas; jam antea eisdem responsurus, si vel id res postulasset, vel per otium facillè licuisset.

¹ RICHARD WALLER was acting as artist for Lhwyd.

² EDMUND GIBSON, 1669–1748, Bishop of Lincoln 1716–23, and of London 1723–48, the author of many theological and historical works. As editor of *Camden's Britannia* he invited Lhwyd to contribute additional matter on the Welsh Counties and Monmouthshire.

³ One of HEMMER's letters is preserved in MS *Ashmole* 1829, f. 71.

[The full descriptions of the various fish-fossils printed in the *Philosophical Transactions* in Lhwyd's letter to Hemmer are here abbreviated by the omission of all but the descriptive titles and localities of the items. Most have been listed and figured again in Lhwyd's *Lithophylacii Britannici Ichnographia*, published in 1699, to which the numbers in brackets refer. For the interpretations of the figures in square brackets I am indebted to Sir Arthur Smith Woodward.]

Philosophical Transactions. N^o. 200

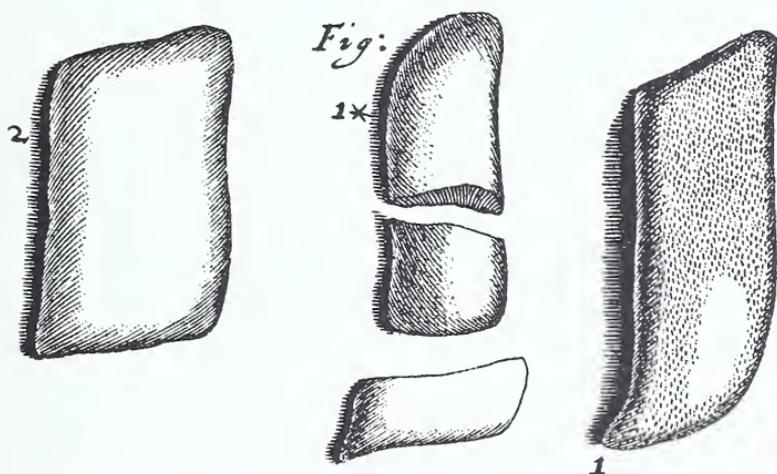


Fig. 1. Siliquastrum ad Phaseoli valvulum quodammodo accedens; seu *Siliquastrum Phaseolatum*. (L. 1440).

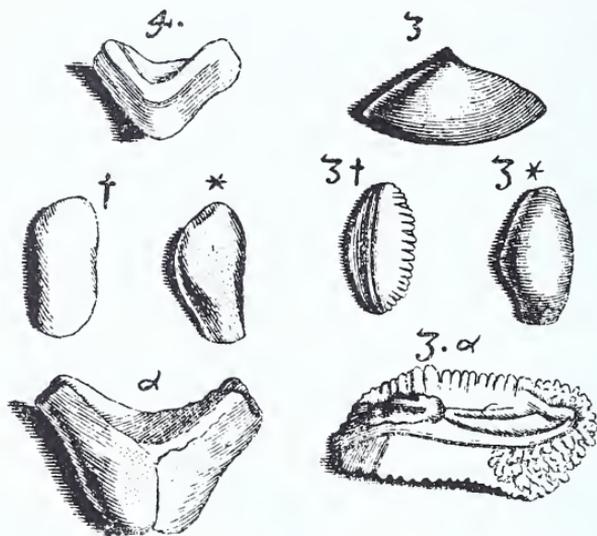
[*Strophodus magnus* Ag.] Stone pit at Witney.

1.* A variety. (L. 1442) ditto

2. *Siliquastrum Lupini* siliquam nonnihil referens: seu veniam dabis sic loqui, *Siliquastrum lupinarum*. (L. 1448).

[*Strophodus magnus* Ag.]

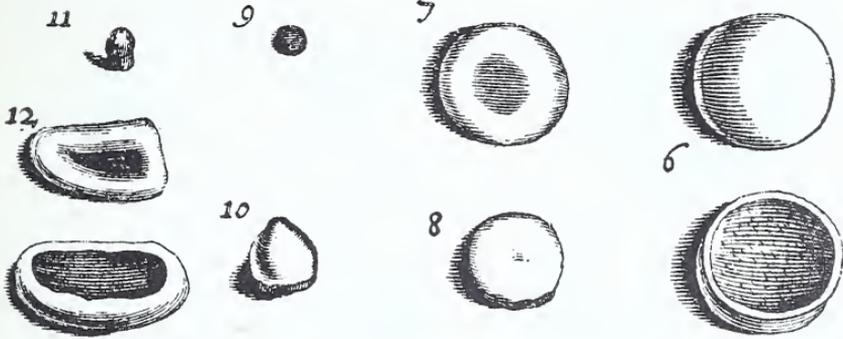
Garford Quarry, Berks; Witney & Charlton, Oxon; ad pagum Rance Northants: Honey-comb Lash apud Waltonienses.



3. Siliquastrum minus, triangulum; seu minus conchae ad-
instar rostellatum. (L. 1488). [*Strophodus magnus* Ag.]
Stonesfield.
- 3.* Siliquastrum ossiculum è capite Aselli minoris referens.
- 3.† Os ipsum è capite Aselli minoris. [Otoliths of ?Whiting,
either recent or from Coralline Crag of Suffolk.]
- 3.^a Bone from the head of the greater Asellus cum fluore
adnato. [Otolith of Cod-fish].
4. Siliquaastro congener *Punctularia* gibbosa, quandoque tor-
tilis, superficie marmoreâ: see *Siliquastrum gibbosum*,
marmoreum. (L. 1481). Marcham, Garford & Stonesfield.
[Side view. . .]
- | | |
|--|---|
| 4.* <i>Punctularia</i> with minute spots. | } [May be
<i>Strophodus</i> ,
but doubtful] |
| † <i>Punctularia tortilis</i> . (L. 1482). | |
| ^a „ „ a larger variety. | |



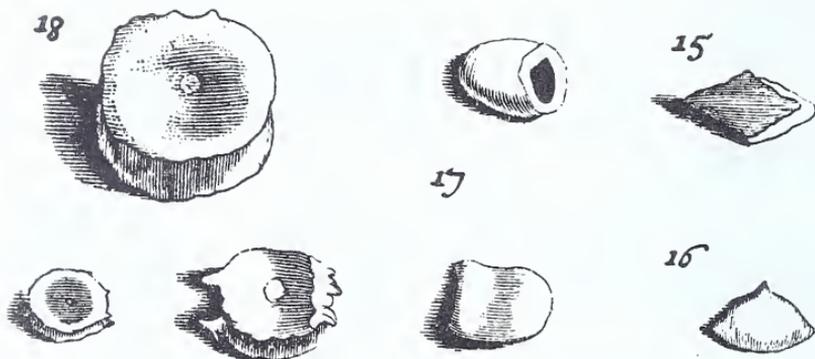
5. Siliquaastro accedens *Ricinus*; seu *Siliquastrum minimum*
instar seminis Phaseoli. (L. 1493). Witney and Stonesfield.
[Probably a Pycnodont tooth]



6. *Bufonites majusculus atrorubens* instar capsulae glandis quercinae: lapidis *Bufonis* varietas prima apud Anshel-mum Boetium delineata. (*L.* 1362). Faringdon.
 [Tooth of *Lepidotus*]
7. *B. medius rotularis* alveolo utrinque donatus. (*L.* 1365).
 [*Lepidotus*] Faringdon.
8. *B. medius orbiculatus*; seu *B. vulgati*or Anglicus. (*L.* 1363).
 [*Lepidotus*] Faringdon.
9. *B. minimus* à convexori parte rugosus. (*L.* 1382).
 [Probably *Pycnodont* teeth] Glos. & Oxon.
10. *B. minor*, trochili ad instar fastigiatus, seu *B. Trochilus* dictus. (*L.* 1383). Faringdon Sandpit.
11. *B. minimus* *Trochilo* affinis, calyculo striato longiusculo donatus. (*L.* 1380). Faringdon Sandpit.
12. *B. Scaphoides*, extremo altero latiore. (*L.* 1384).
 Marcham, Garford, Faringdon.
 [10-12 Probably *Pycnodont*]



13. *Plectronites laevis* mucrone paulò acutiore. (*L.* 1338).
 [Probably *Teleosaurian*] Berkshire quarries.
14. *P. major* altiuscule striatus, mucrone magis obtuso.
 (*L.* 1325). Stonesfield.
 [Probably *Teleosaurian*]



15. *Rhombus minor sive medius.* (*L.* 1427).

[Ganoid fish scale] Marcham and Charlton.

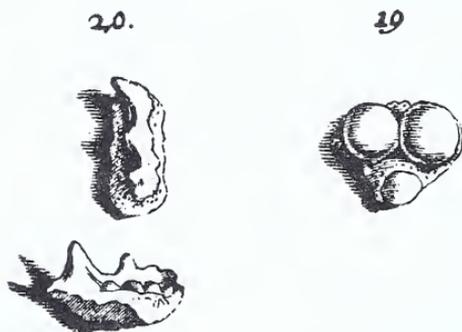
16. *Scalpellus minor versicolor.* (*L.* 1438).

Charlton.

17. *Bufonites congener Gibbus lapis: seu B. gibbus cognominatus.*

Found by J. Archer at Marcham, & by Lhwyd at Faringdon.

18. *Ichthyospondylos.* [= Fish vertebrae]



19. *Bufonites* attached to the jaw of a fish. (*L.* 1368).

[Probably *Lepidotus*] Garford.

20. *Glossopetra* upon a fragment of a mandible.

Faringdon.

[See letter No. 68.]

66. MS Aubrey 12, 245

For Mr JOHN AUBREY at ye Revd Dr Gale's in St. Paul's Churchyard London.

Hond. Sr

Oxford. Apr. 24. 93.

Yr kind letter of the sixth ought to have been answered sooner. But because I know Mr Tanner and some other friends correspond with you about yr book, I have ventured to defer it longer than otherwise I should. I have disposed of the number you desired of the *Proposals*,¹ to Mr Levett of Exceter and Mr Lugg² of Baliol; but Dr Gregory³ being gone for Flanders, I have deliver'd those you order'd him to one Mr Shadran of Baliol, an ingenious obligeing gentleman, & the doctor's particular friend and countreyman. As many as I have discoursed with, have a good opinion of the book; but my acquaintance is very small, & interest and authority much lesse. Dr Bathurst & Dr Charlet will not be backward in giving it its due encomium; which will I hope, arm it sufficiently agst any prejudice in this University. If you design yr excellent collection of letters for the Museum, I think you need not ask any one's leave for it. In ye catalogue of yr works which I desired you to insert at the end of yr *Villare*, you have added that you design yr collection of letters from correspondents for the Ashmolean Library. However (though I confess I am very covetuous of them) I am so sensible of the obligation we allready lie under, & the gratitude due to you that I acquies, & if you have alter'd yr thoughts, I will if you please blot out those words. I have lately receiv'd a letter from my Hond frd Mr Ray, (in whose correspondence I think myself very happy) wherein he acquaints me, yt 'tis

¹ *Proposals for Aubrey's Natural History of Wiltshire*. The ready assistance that Lhwyd was always ready to give to Aubrey was probably the chief reason why Aubrey left his MSS to the Old Ashmolean just as, later on, Lhwyd's readiness to supply Antony Wood with the biographical and historical details that he loved led to Wood's bequeathing his invaluable library and diaries to the Old Ashmolean Museum, and thus securing their safety for posterity, and to the glory of Oxford.

² ADAM LUGG of Balliol as Proctor had been a Visitor of the Ashmolean Museum in 1691.

³ DAVID GREGORY of Balliol, the Savilian Professor of Astronomy.

pitty but yr *Miscellanea Physica* were printed; adding that *what else he has seen of yr works are both pleasant & instructive to read.*

Mr Anwyl presents his service to you, & desires you'd be so kind to yr Wiltshire landlord in the preface, as to rase out his memory. I shall add no more at present but that all our common friends here, are well, and give you their humble service, as well as,

Yr much obliged & affectionat Frd.
EDW LHWYD

My humble respects to Mr Wyld: I hope my request in my last gave no offence.

67. MS *Lister* 36, xxv

Oxf. Apr. 27. 1693.

Hond Sr

I shall not fail to send you Caldesi's Anatomy of Tortoises¹ together with ye paper &c. for Mr Waller, towards Monday or Tuesday. I am much surprised to find they have got my observation of ye fish bones shooting fourth crystalline particles. I never mention'd it to any one, but Mr King & one Mr Tyrrel. 'Twas my fault to trust their unacquaintednesse with this study, & it put's me in mind of one of Owen's² epigrams

*Scire tuum nihil est, nisi te scire hoc sciat alter,
Si sciat hoc alter, scire tuum nihil est.*

Together with ye book, &c. you will receive your share of our Witney merchant's discoveryes. For he return'd yesterday *Crura Thymo plena*. You have many elegant stones to your share, & will I question not be very well pleas'd with them. He is willing to goe to any part of the kingdome; & how fit he is to be employ'd you'l be able to judge from what he has allready performed. I am Sr,

Yr most obliged & humble servt
ED. LHWYD

¹ Giov. Caldesi, *Osservazioni anatomiche intorno alle Tartarughe*, Firenze, 1687.

² JOHN OWEN, 1560?-1622, fellow of New College.

68. MS *Lister* 36, xxvi

Oxf. May 7. 93.

Hond Sr

I am glad ye paper prov'd so acceptable to you; and hope you receivd the box last Fryday. Pray let me know as soon as may be, how you like ye discoveries of our countrey-philosopher. He has met with but few shell's, but will doubtlesse make amends for that in his Lincolnshire journey. I have sent you enclosed a *Glossopetra exigua polyacanthos cum adnato mandibula fragmento*,¹ which with me, put's this question beyond all dispute. Twas found at Faringdon gravel-pit, and belongs to ye Welsh gentlm. one of our contributors; therefore I must desire a special care in returning it with ye rest of ye stones. I would have it engrav'd by all means; but whereas there's no mention of it in ye letter, Mr Waller may bring it in, as a stone I communicated unto you. I have not time to adde any more at present than that I am Sr

Yr most affectionat & obliged servant
EDW. LHWYD

I am scrapeing of money for ye Visitors fees, against ye 20th of this mounth; and so can spare no advance money for John Smith: without which our Lincoln adventure will not go on well. If you please therefore, send us twenty shillings.

69. MS *Lister* 3, f. 155

Oxf. May ijth [1693].

Dear Sr,

I am not onely much concern'd, but impatient for ye trouble you have been at, about the box. The Oxford carrier who innes where I told you at ye Saracens head on Snowhill is one Tho. Moore, who is coachman, and waggoner. I sent it by his coach; and it should come to London, ye 3d or 4th instant. P'ts enter'd in his warehouse book at Oxford; and his warehouse keeper at London is one John Deal, who is, as I am told a very honest man. I have writ this post to a friend in that neighbourhood to enquire after it.

¹ Probably figured, see page 182, fig. 20.

For my part I am in noe hast, for publishing ye letter. But how forward our other frd¹ is, you know best. I judge his discourse of these things, is intended an other way; viz. more philosophical than historical. I have still left two stones in his hands; towit *Gamaropodium*, sive *Articulus brachij cancrini*;² et *Spheniscus* sive *Dentellaria scissilis cuneolata*. If he assumes these (which I must confesse I doe not at all expect he will) 'tis odds but I take some opportunity or other of retrieving them in a calm and civil way. I am apt to belive there 's some curiosity in ye Irish pillars you mention. I think you formerly told me something of it, from ye relation of Mr Chardin, and then that they were related to be Pentagons or Star-stones.³ If they are onely elegant pillers and somewhat regular; worne either by the sea water; or frequent storms and grayheaded Time; I have seen such in Wales. I have not time to adde any more than that I am Hond Sr

Yr very affectionate and obliged servt
EDWARD LHWYD

Mr Char[l]ton has a stone of the *Siliquastrum* kind; of ye form of a pin-cusheon, with undulated furrows on ye right side. I take yt stone to be worth any 20 that I have yet seen of Mr Woodward. He told me 'twas found in Sussex. Mr Doody's Scalestone (*Lepidotes Plinii*)⁴ is also a great rarity; but ye account they sent Mr Ray of it is erroneous.⁵ I recd ye contents of yr last, and shall dispatch the Lithoscopist on Monday. Two such journeys will set us far above W.

¹ JOHN WOODWARD.

² Perhaps catalogued by Woodward as Class ix. m. 3.

³ The Irish pillars, as they called the basaltic columns of the Giant's Causeway, were evidently considered to be full-grown Star-stones [= Pentacrinoid joints].

⁴ *Stigmaria ficoides*.

⁵ Letter of Ray to Lhwyd of 22 March 1692.

III

1693-1695

WORK FOR CAMDEN'S *BRITANNIA*

THE year 1693 marks a second parting of the ways. We have seen how Lhwyd's work changed from Botany to a whole-hearted survey of the Formed Stones of those parts of England and Wales that were accessible to him. But henceforth, a third interest begins to occupy an increasingly large part of his mind. A few of his correspondents, following John Aubrey, begin to take advantage of his special knowledge of the Welsh language and of his sympathy for Ancient Britons: they write letters asking for information that his special knowledge can give.

Then on April 15 came a pressing invitation from EDMUND GIBSON, whose acquaintance Lhwyd had already made in 1691, when the former visited the Old Ashmolean to read a Dugdale MS. bringing a letter of introduction from Charlet. Gibson had recently accepted the task of producing a new edition of Camden's *Britannia*, and was hunting for assistants.

Lhwyd would doubtless have preferred to have finished his 'Catalogue of Formed Stones' first, and then to have attacked the defective archaeology of the

Britannia; but whereas he could not find any publisher willing to undertake the Catalogue, the undertaking of a new Camden was certain, urgent, and to be accompanied with stingy remuneration. The negotiations, given in outline on page 11, may be studied more fully in letters to Lhwyd from Edmund Gibson and Swalle (81, 113). Lhwyd's own views are expressed in Letters 71, 75, and 77.

From now onwards the subject-matter of his letters changes with the increase of the range of his correspondence. The obvious pride that he took in the discovery of new species of figured stones, and shells, not already described in the writings of Beaumont, Lister, or other authority, begins to give way to descriptions of antiquities and copies of inscriptions, of stones fashioned by man rather than grown by nature.

In the few letters to Aubrey that have survived, antiquarian and philological interests are uppermost, fossils are seldom mentioned. The Edmund Wyld whom Lhwyd frequently mentions was the first to give him encouragement in the study of British antiquities. From JOHN LLOYD of Ruthin he obtained much relevant information about Welsh topography and place-names (70); and WILLIAM NICOLSON wrote as enthusiastically about antiquities as he had done upon fossils. RICHARD MOSTYN and ERASMUS SAUNDERS show by their letters, many of which are still extant, the readiness with which they helped forward the work of emending Camden. NICOLAS ROBERTS under date February 13, 1693/4 wrote 'Mr. Camden's and Mr. Speed's Mapps are unsufferably erroneous as to ye

Topography and Orthography of places', and he knew, for he sent Lhwyd a full description of Pembroke-shire.

A large volume of letters reach him in reply to a questionnaire that he has circulated in Wales asking for information for his new edition of Camden.

He must have worked at exceedingly high pressure, for by July 16, or only two months after he had agreed with Swalle the 'undertaker' (73), he had the manuscript of four counties of North Wales ready for the press, with a plate of drawings of antiquities to be engraved (121). Then desiring also to include the southern counties in his review, and feeling the absolute necessity of making inquiries at first hand, he planned an excursion to Wales while the fine season lasted, that very autumn. Leaving Oxford for Monmouthshire on about the 17 of August he was away for seven weeks, on what we may describe as the 'Camden Tour' (74, 77). There was much to see and do. He worked in haste and had no time to write letters, so we have no information as to his itinerary.

The work was finished and in Gibson's hands by mid-September 1694 (111), but a month later Lhwyd made a small addition to the plate of antiquities by including four small sketches *a, b, c, d* of glass beads that still present problems to local antiquarians.

Further letters to LISTER indicate that his activity in collecting formed stones continued all through the summer, and show that he was not treating the Camden proposition as a whole-time job. Moreover, he had already seen to it that Lister's great monograph on Mollusca should be on sale in the Museum.

His active mind was even projecting a book on Fossil Botany to be illustrated by Waller, to which might have been given the appropriate title of *Hortus Subterraneus* (64, 74), with figures of the impressions of the fossil ferns from the coal-mines of Glamorgan.

At the end of the autumn of 1693 Lister, engaged in the completion of his work, was anxious to collect all possible information about British Land and Freshwater Snails. To help him Lhwyd on his return from Wales collected Land Snails at Woodstock and Cornbury Park (76), and by November had obtained a last consignment 'with creatures in them' from the Chilterns (82). Then turning his attention to pond life, he was able to deliver some Water Snails by December 1 (84) and others, until stopped by the freezing of the ditches about December 21 when he tried to get *Paludina vivipara* (87). Lhwyd was thus able to extend our knowledge of the geographical distribution of several species of Mollusca from Lister's county of Yorkshire to Oxfordshire, and his notes provide the first records for that county. His friend Dyer was also asked to help in the good work (85).

In mid-November (80) he was asking JOHN AUBREY for an article on Caerfilly Castle of which the original MS. is still extant.

70. *Cambr. Mag.* iii, 214

For ye Reverend Mr JOHN LLOYD at Ruthyn in Denbighshire.

Oxford. May 16. 1693.

Dear Jack,

I receiv'd yr letter, and we communicated yt part of it to Mr. Anwyl, yt concern'd him. As for my friend John Davies, he has not ye least reason to be dissatisfied; especially since you were so cautious and prudent as not to assure any thing, but onely to write conditionally. I think you have discreetly provided for the Pry-coppin, and also for yr self, since I doubt not but you have almost an unimitable contentednesse in yr condition. And in reality he that has that, has enough, 'tis the contempt and censure of other men, yt commonly makes us far more miserable than our own misfortunes, *Nil habet infelix paupertas durius in se, Quam quod ridiculos homines facit.*

Yr former letter came not by Elis Price, but by post sometime after he was enter'd. Mr. Anwyl promis'd to write to you his apology, &c. He says Mr. Wyn bad him acquaint Mr. Price, in case he should see him, that his nephew might be enter'd of *Jesus*, if he pleased. In short I shall not pretend to excuse either of them. But it seems to me that Mr. Wyn ought to acquaint Mr. Price by post, in a matter of yt consequence. My intended voyage to ye West Indies is quite laid aside: poor Robin Parry, went as minister to ye Barbadoes, and died the third day after he landed.¹

I should be very glad of a constant correspondence with you; but then we must be carefull in every letter, to give each other a theam. Otherwise we shall want matter, and our intercourse will have long and frequent interruptions. To begin therefore, I desire you would send me a catalogue, in your next, of all ye ancient towns, castles, & forts, yt you can reckon in Meirionydshire & Denbighshire; with what account you can give, of ye names of such as may be interpreted: such as ex. gr. Dinas Emrys, *Civitas Ambrosij*; Castell Dinas Brân, *Castrum Corvinum*, *an potius Brenni?* &c. I desire chiefly ye names of such ancient (and at present mean places) as are not mention'd in ye maps. Tho indeed those that are in ye maps, and in

¹See No. 53.

authors are so false written, that onely such as know ye countrey very well, can understand them. I would also gladly have a catalogue (I doe not mean a compleat one, but *talem qualem*), of the mountains and lakes of Meirionydshire, with yr brother David's interpretation & glosses on them: for I belive he's able to give some acct of divers of them. My design in this, is partly to observe ye method our ancestors used in nameing places; and partly to gratify a very ingenious gentleman who is writeing ye History of ye Kingdome of Northumberland: viz. Mr. William Nicolson, Archdeacon of Caerlile, who writ some part of the *English Atlas*, and is a person of great name in ye North for his learning, & other excellent qualifications. I have help'd him allready to explain diverse of the names of their Northern Rivers, from ye names of those in our countrey; and he promises himself some light, from ye names of our towns and castles and mountains and lakes. Take ye two former yr self, and deliver ye charge of ye mountains and lakes with my most humble service to your brother David, as being his proper province.

I am, Dear Sr,

Yr most affectionat kinsman & humble Servant,

EDW. LHWYD

Yr friends here, are all very well. My hearty respects to Lepid Cardo, Ned Humphreys and Pedro, but as for ye Cronic, I know not whether he be dead or alive. Elis has receiv'd Ned Humphreys's letter, but he's allways negligent of his answers. When you see him, you may tell him that I shall not be much at ease, till I doe something in ye matter about which, he wrote to Elis.

I have lately communicated a Latin epistle [65] concerning Form'd Stones, to be inserted in ye *Philosophical Transactions*; and must deferre my intended *Prodromus Lithologiæ Britannicæ* for some considerable time. For I have been diverted from it by a legacy of books which Mr. Ashmole has left us. I have now allmost finish'd ye catalogue of them, and it takes up above a hundred sheets. Adieu.

71. MS *Lister* 36, xxvii
Hond Sr

May 23d. 93.

I have writ to Mr Waller last post, to thank him for his obligeing letter, &c. Dr Plot being now in town, I happen'd to tell him yesterday yt I had communicated a letter to Mr WALLER about Form'd Stones, to be printed in the *Philosophical Transactions*. But I found that news was in no wise pleasing to him: and after about a quarter of an hour's chewing ye cud upon it, he told me I should not have sent it him, had he known of it.

Mr Swall ye undertaker of a 2d edition of *Camden* has been here, to make choice of some persons as commentators. Amongst others some one recommended him to me, as one yt might say something to Mr Camden's description of North Wales. He has been with me, and I told him yt for ought I knew, I would doe something for two or three counties. He tells us we shall be gratified to our satisfaction. But tho I make some question of his performance, yet if you think fit, I will goe on, because upon this occasion I may pick up some materials from ye gentry and clergy which may prove usefull an other time. And we may choose whether we communicate ym to Mr Swalle at last, if we do not like his requital, wherof I intend to acquaint him by letter, very speedily. But that 'twould be too much trouble to send it, I could wish Mr Ray had ye perusal of my paper before it be printed; but since he's not at hand, and that you and Mr Waller approve of it, let it even take it's chance.

I dispatch'd the Witney merchant to Grantham &c. this day 7 night, and allow'd him five weeks to be absent and no more.

Since Mr Waller is so very curious in designing, and makes it part of his diversion, I could wish he would settle a correspondence at Acton in Gloucestershire, and other colepits, to have all possible variety of mock-plants transmitted to him. Which is a thing perfectly new; and perhaps as unaccountable and as pleasing as any phenomenon in Nature. A *Hortus Subterraneus* would be a surprisening novelty, to ye other parts of Europe. I am Sr Yr much obliged and affectionat servt

E. LHWYD

72. MS *Ellis*, 12

For ye Rev. Mr. JOHN LLOYD, Scholemaster of Ruthvyn in Denbighshire. Chester post.

Dear friend,

Oxf. July 6. 93.

I receiv'd two letters from you, since I wrote by ye carrier: both very instructive and obligeing. I should be more forward in my answers, but yt I am unwilling to be too expensive to you: neq. enim tantus cessator es, ut calcaribus indigeas. Sr Roger Mostyn is expected here from London to night: if he be not already come down, I shall apply myself to him, as you advise, & I hope to find him favourable. Your information of the names of ye Tomènydh, and of their scituation near each other, was very acceptable.

To your query whether it has been anciently, ye custom of any nation, to tumble down stones upon their enemies, from steep hills? I reply yt Pufendorff¹ (in a n[ew] Dutch Treatise of ye commonwealth of Europe) relates yt 1300 Switzers (who you know inhabit such a country as North Wales) put to flight Leopold Duke of Austria, whose army consisted of 20,000 men; after they had first by tumbling down stones upon them, brought them into confusion, and if I may trust my memory Q. Curtius informs us, yt Alexander met with such receptions now and then, in his expedition.

A catalogue of ye Carnedheu which have been denominated from persons yt died and were probably buried there, would be acceptable. We may gather from Virgil's Epitaph on Baliste ye celebrated robber; yt it was an ancient custome to thro heaps of stones on ye graves of malefactors:

Monte sub hoc lapidum tegitur Balista sepultus:

Nocte, die, tutum carpe viator iter.

I have seen a fellow march nine times about Gorphwysfa Peris a Carnedh under Snowdon hill, repeating ye Lds Prayer, and casting in a stone at every turn: whence I am apt to imagine yt St. Peris or some one else lies buried there; tho their tradition be onely that he was used constantly to rest there after

¹ S. von Pufendorf, *Introductio ad Historiam praecipuorum regnorum in Europa*, 1688.

he came up ye steep hill below it. I think with Mr. Thelwal that we are wholly in ye dark about our celebrated Helen Luedhog; and that we have no warrantable history to prove who she was, or where she lived: but because I have had no opportunity of perusing British MSS. I can say little in this matter. I can see no reason why y Wydhfa, should be so call'd quasi Gorweddfa, as Dr. Davies informs us. If we take ye word in its natural & most obvious signification, it imports a desert or wild place: so foxes have been some times call'd Gwyddgwn i.e. wild dogs, as ye Irish still call them. At a place call'd Llech Idris in Trawsfynydh parish I copied once this inscription

PORIVS HIC IN TVMVLO IACIT
HOMO - - - RIANVS FVIT

The people call it very well Bêdd Porws. But this I suppose can not be ye same with that you mention from Mr. Thelwal. Tho it be of ye same place, and may be extorted to ye same sense. I thank you kindly for your inscription at Clocaenog. You say you have been exact in copying it: but have you no scruples left? or may we venture to publish it, for it differs much from Mr. Camden's? I can account for the name of Cryggryn I think very well; for Crig signifies an ancient tumulus; thus Crig-Howell a small town of Caermardhinshire is so called from one of these tumuli; where they found last year a curious collection of silver coyns, consular, as well as Imperial. I have observ'd several others of ye ancient Barrows (for so they call ym here) call'd Crig: as Crig Iwân in Caermardhinshire, Crig-mor and Crign Hereffordd in Cardiganshire, &c. and I doubt not but y Wydhgrig (rectius Gorsan y Wyddgrig) is thence denominated. Suppose (if you dare believe your guide) you employed a boy to search a whole day about ye turberies you mention, for ye gravestone lost? By Arian y Cor is most commonly understood not Roman coyn but old English coyns. The time yt I give you to inform yr self in ye antiquities of yr country (as occasion shall be offered and as you find your self at leasure) is as long as you can take delight in it: but I have promised to have my task ready by ye last of August, which will be but a small matter of what I hope we shall pick up in

seven years; for I have no thoughts of neglecting this study as long as I live.

I have seen ye places calld ye Pedestran & Equestran. But this latter (if they sheud me ye true place so denominated) was not by ye place where ye Roman Horse swam over. I shall enquire farther into ye paper you mention at Lhÿn, about ye extent of North Wales. Dr. Davies under ye word Cyffm tells us ye confines of Gwynedh & Powys. One Mr. JOHN AUBREY, Fellow of ye Royal S. shew'd me once a letter of Mr. Wyn's of Cerig y Drudion, which is perhaps ye paper you mean. But I have it not, nor ever had it. I know he's able to give a beginner in these studies considerable information; and therefore should be very glad to receive anything of his: ye more ye better. Mr. Camden says nothing of Eclernur and Glyn Dowrdwy and very little at all of Merionydshire; but has left Mr. Jones and you elbow room enough. I would gladly go to ye charges of transcribing ye names of ye parishes from ye registers of Bishops' courts. What you tell me of Mr. Mostyn is most acceptable news: I shall be sure to observe his commands in not mentioning his name, and in any other injunction he's pleased to lay on me. Mr. P[ugh] of Malhavarn has promised me Mr. Pr[ice] of Llan Vyllin's notes. As for miracles and ye old saints, I'll not medle with ym. *Molliter ossa cubent; quiescant cineres.* Adieu.

E. LH.

73. MS *Lister* 3, f. 149

Dear Sr

Oxf. July 16. 93.

I recd yr noble present, and have according to yr orders bespoke three of yr books to be handsomly bound for presents. One whereof I have presented to Dr Bathurst President of Trinity College, one of ye most learned and worthy persons of this University. The second I intended for Dr Sherard,¹ but he went hence for London, before I could have it ready.

¹ DR. WILLIAM SHERARD, 1659-1728, F.R.S. 1718, had accompanied VISCOUNT TOWNSHEND AND WRIOTHESLY, grandson of the first Duke of Bedford, on two continental tours, on which he studied plants of the Jura and the environs of Geneva. A list of these he communicated to Ray. He tutored Henry, 2nd Duke of Beaufort in 1700 and wrote several letters to Lhwyd from Badminton. In 1703 he went as Consul to Smyrna.

He designes to go beyond sea very speedily as tutor to my Lord Townsend,¹ but will wait on you, I presume before he goes.

A gentlman had presented us with *Vaillant* before, and therefore I shall exchange yours for some other book.

Of the two other books yt are left, I design to present one to morrow to the Vicechancellor for the Public Library: and the other to my very good friend and yours, Mr Dyer.²

About Fryday next I shall make bold to send you four Welsh counties, and a table of some antiquities to be graved; which (after you have lookd a litle on the notes) I desire you would be pleasd to send to Mr Churchil with what approbation you think fit. I am Sr

Yr most obliged & humble servt
E. LHWYD

What does Dr Plutus³ doe? I hear nothing of him of a long time.

74. MS *Lister* 36, xxxi
Hond Sr

Oxf. Aug. 4. 93.

I have sent you by ye bearer John Bartlet at ye Swan in Holbourn Bridge what our Witney stone-gatherer has brought you, out of Lincolnshire and Northamptonshire. You'l find ye greatest rarity on ye top of ye box before you open it: I doe not much like this voyage, & therefore I am not for employing him any more this summer. I am very much obliged to Mr Waller⁴ for ye figures he has given of ye stones; and would desire they may be returnd at his leasure. there are many faults in ye printing of yt letter, tho not above one or two that's very material.

I doubt Swall and I, can come to no agreement. I have offer'd to doe all Wales, & to take a journey speedily quite

¹ Viscount Townshend and Wriothesly; see note on p. 196.

² RICHARD DYER, mentioned in 73 for the first time, was an active Fellow of Oriel College who aided Lhwyd in his studies of Nature. He was born in 1651, and was therefore nine years older than Lhwyd.

³ Dr. Plot.

⁴ RICHARD WALLER as editor of the *Philosophical Transactions* would have had the discretionary power of settling the illustrations for the paper. He was a capable artist himself.

through it, for ten pounds in hand; and twenty copies of ye book, when it shall be publishd: but he'll not come up farther than ye one half of it. I have now sent him my last resolution, which if he does not accept I shall break off with him. But if we agree (for I have sent him a paper to subscribe to) I'll begin my journey towards Monmouthshire, on ye 14th and from thence continue it ye length of Wales. I can but just save ye carrier, & subscribe my self Sr

Yr much obliged and humble servant
E. LHWYD

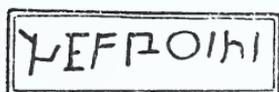
75. *For ye Revd Mr. LLOYD Scholemaster, at Ruthyn Denbighshire.* MS Ellis 12

Oxford. Oct. 10, 1693.

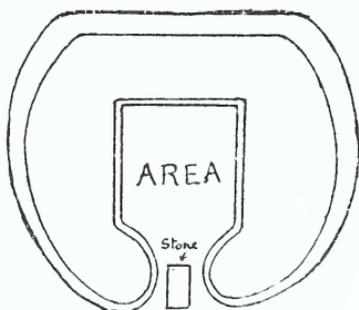
Dear Sr,

I have been about 7 weeks of late in South Wales; otherwise you had heard from me oftener in that time. The reason of my journey thither, was because I have been perswaded to undertake not only ye three counties I at first designed; but also all Wales, Monmouthshire included. Mr. Swall and Mr. Churchill (who are my task-masters) did not require I should put myself to ye trouble & expences of a journey into Wales; for they care not how little is done for that country; their business being only to procure subscribers, which they have allready done to their satisfaction, (for ye remaining copies are like to go off at a dearer rate) and in order thereunto to make a great noyse, but not extend their purses much. Upon this occasion my time is prolonged; so that whatever shall be communicated betw. this and Christmase will not come too late. As for ye maps, I design (at leastwise at present) to leave them as they are. For if you would have ye names of places written in true Welsh; then they must be all corrected; and that would take up much more time and pains than Mr. Swall and Mr. Churchill are willing to requite, and be no acceptable piece of service to ye English buyer neither. Whatever I can adde or correct otherwise, I'll spare no pains. I thought it necessary to take a journey into S. W. because I had but few acquaintance there, from whom I might receive any information. I met with several ancient inscriptions there, whereof one onely was in Welsh: ye rest in Latin. That which I conjecture to be British is on a stone pillar

about 3 yards high on ye lip of a mountain call'd Cefn Gelli Gaer, in Glamorganshire, and is thus—



Close under this stone, there's a small round trench about 6 yards over; with a square area, &c., within it, of this form— My thoughts are that in ye area in ye midst, a man lies buried; and yt the inscription is Teffroiti or Deffroiti (mayst thou awake). If ye first letter of your inscription at Clocaenog be an (A), and the last which you make thus (S), then I should pronounce it to be the tombstone of some prince (thô not mention'd in history) call'd ÆMILIANUS: for in all likelihood TOVISAG must be the same with which we now write Tywysog: but you seem to have been very exact in ye copying of it.



As for ye stroaks on ye edges I met with those on other tombstones, and I make not ye least question but this also is a tombstone. The MS you mention of Pembrokeshire, would be very acceptable: and may prove serviceable on this occasion. I am very well acquainted with Mr. Vaughan, and shall shortly write to him about it. I was most of ye summer A^o 1688 at Snowdon, and was then very inquisitive about the Torgochiaed;¹ but they told me nothing of their migrating under ground from one lake to another, tho if I mistake not the Bishop of Salisbury in one of his letters of his travels mentions such a thing in ye lakes of Switzerland; where also I find by Mr Ray the Torgochiaed are plentifully found, as well as in Winandermere, Westmoreland.

I met with fordh Helen Lueddog in Glamorganshire, Brecknockshire, and Cardiganshire; so yt I suppose it was continued through all Wales.

¹ *Salmo perisii*.

I find Bettws an usual name for churches in South Wales as well as North Wales. But what may this word mean? A Montgomeryshire gentleman writes to me, yt its nothing else but Beatus; and that it was an attribute of St. Beuno's. The information of ye seal found at Llech y Wydhon is very acceptable; & I hope we need not question ye truth of it, but I would know whether John Davies means Llech y Wydhir at Llan y Mynych; or some other Llech so call'd. I must confess I make some scruple of believing it; because I take this Llech y Wyddon and such places to have been places of burial amongst the heathen Britons, before such seals might be used. But herein I dare not as yet be positive; and I may be deceiv'd. As for ye meaning of this name, there's no doubt at all, but it's the same with such another monument yt I met with this journey in Cardiganshire, called Llech y Gowers: but we know such names were imposed by the common people in succeeding ages: and 'tis but sometimes that the names of places give us any light into their history.

As for our countrey-men's stories of ye Cowrda; I suspect that notion to be one of the erroneous traditions which we have [in] common with other nations. There were of late years discover'd in a limestone quarry on a very steep rock in Radnorshire, eleven human skulls with ye rest of ye bones, and one head of a greyhound, as they conjectured. The man yt dug ym, told me i fôd e'n meddwf.; bôd nhw yno erpan sincoddy byd yn amser Noe. His reason was for that they lay in the quickrock, where no men could possibly bury them; his manner of expression *pan sincoddybyd*, put me in mind of Dr. Thomas Burnet's notion of ye Deluge; who tells us that ye antediluvian earth was only a shell over the ante-diluvian sea; which shell cracking and breaking, it sunk into ye Abyse or sea that was under it; and so happened the deluge, sed haec obiter. This man told me indeed yt the skulls were much thicker than usual; but otherwise he thought they were but litle or not at all bigger. The large bones dug up in Sicily, some parts of Italy, &c., are by Boccone, a late virtuoso, ascrib'd to elephants. Dr. Plot, in his *History of Staffordshire*, discourses very learnedly and at large on this subject, and con-

cludes that some monsters or persons of extraordinary growth have been seen in all ages; but denies that ever there was a time when men were generally larger than at present.

I suppose one reason amongst others, for our believing that this country has been heretofore inhabited by giants, is the exceeding largeness of some stones yt have been carried (we know not how farre) and raised up on ye tops of mountains: such as ex. gr. Stonehenge & Avebrey in Wiltshire, Long Meg and her daughters in Westmorland, Hisfaen gwyddog y memen gwyr Caermardhinshire, &c. For some of these stones are supposed to weigh no lesse than 12 Tunns; and allowing ye Britains before ye comeing in of ye Romans to have been altogether rude and ignorant; we are apt to conclude upon this occasion they were vastly stronger and bigger yn the men of these later Ages.

I have written to Mr. John Williams about Mr. Maurice his reflections on Camden: but have not yet heard anything from him. I am told Mr. Maurice rails agst Mr. Camden with a great deal of Freedom, but what his reasons are we shall see upon perusing his Book. Whatever Mr. Maurice might be I look upon Mr. Camden to have been one of the most learned, judicious, and ingenious writers in his kind that ever England or perhaps any other country has produc'd; and therefore we must for our own credit treat him civilly. But as to what we can adde or correct, I make no question were he alive, but he would be thankfull for it: for he seems to have been a man of very candid temper.

Your account of ye Caereu, &c., was very wellcome. Caer we know signifies property & strictly no other than a wall or fence. We say everywhere Caereu'r Dref for ye walls of it, and in Caermarddinshire they say Caer y' fynwent. I have seen several such caereu as you describe, on my late journey. One whereof, viz. yt is like Cader Ddmmael, was in all probability a Roman camp: for at ye entrance of it, two pewter pots were discover'd; full of Roman silver coyns, to ye number of two or three hundreds: I have seen about 40 of these, whereof ye latest was of Domitian; ye most of any Emperour were of Vespasian: and about ye one half were Consular coyns. Yr

conjecture of Caer Dynod's having been heretofore a British oppidum; seems to me an ingenious thought and not improbable. Pray let me know in yr next ye meaning of these two words; Clegor, and Gelleghfa, if they may be interpreted. I thank you for ye explanation of ye word y wŷg. Dr. Gale is of opinion, yt those places in Engl'd that have in their names ye word *wick*, as Wickham, &c., were heretofore consecrated to the Druids: and tho he alledges no reason for it, yet this seems to favour his assertion. Is Cerig y Drudion anything near it?

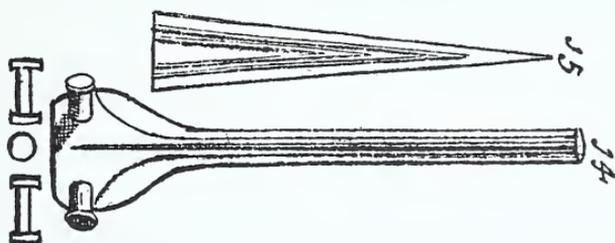
I suspect ye word Caer to be onely an abbreviation of Cader. The Irish write it Cathair but leave out the letter (t) in the pronunciation.

You mention a circle of stones by Oegers: I desire nothing more than particular descriptions of such circles of stones as are pitched on their ends in the ground: and such stones as are in any form pitched in ye ground, with other vast stones layd on them, &c. Such circles of stones are by one Mr. Aubrey, an eminent antiquary of ye R.S., reputed temples of the Druids whereof he has written a treatise (which has not been printed as yet, tho in my opinion it very well deserves publishing) by the name of *Templa Druidum*.

I have room to adde onely my hearty thanks to your self, and that obliging gentleman Mr. Price of Llwyn Gwern: when I come to Wales, I hope to find some opportunity of doing it personally, and of being better acquainted with him. I am also [beholden] to Mr. E. Thelw[al], for his civility in communicating to you what seems pertinent.

The stone near Dolgen I suspect, to be the very same with that which lies in a bush near Llech Idris in Trawsfynydd; ye inscription whereof I formerly sent you. What ye inscriptions upon stones near Bron Vannog in Clocaing parish are, you know best. Carnedheu are in some places of Glamorgan-shire call'd Bedheu, & in men's memory malefactors & self-murderers have been buryed in some of them on ye tops of mountains. The arms found at Bedh gelert were brass daggers and ponyards of 3 or 4 fashions. I have some of them; but all I have are broken. I saw ye greatest part of them when they were first discover'd; but there were not any of

them gilded or glazed. I would gladly have an acct of the place where Mr. Wyn of Estymlyn's urn was found. I was not



Brass Dagger, with rivets that fixed it to the handle.

satisfyed what Math in proper names signifies: but the question is very material and pertinent, & we may learn in time. I am sorry I hear nothing of Mr. R. Mostyn or Mr. Wyn of Cerig y Drudion. Rather than fail in my duty I'll make bold tho a stranger to write to them myself,

I am Sr Yr affectionat kinsman,
E. L.H.

76. MS *Lister* 36, xxxv

Oct. 16. 93.

Dear Sr

I was much surpriz'd at yr letter; and exceedingly troubl'd that I have not been so successfull as you may expect, in searching for the shells. I have been all this day at Woodstock park, where I hoped to meet with the three sorts but I found onely the *Fasciata ericetorum*,¹ and of that but very small ones; whereof I have sent you herewith about a hundred or more. The *Cochlea turbinata et striata*² of Columna is to be found plentifully about 15 miles hence: and the *Pomatia Gesneri* or the biggest edible snayl³ may be found at Cornbury Park which is but fourteen miles off, if you have any occasion for them. The other *cum spirâ ultima in aciem depressâ*⁴ is exceeding scarce in these parts. I shall onely add my prayers that it may please God to continue the restoration of your health, and entreat you to write as often as you can to

Yr very humble & obliged servt EDW. LHWYD

¹ *Helicella itala* (L.).

² *Pomatias elegans*, Mull.

³ *Helix Pomatia*, L.

⁴ *Helicogona lapicida*.

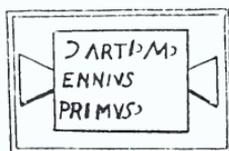
I design to try tomorrow again for larger snails, & one of the other sorts. It provd very rainy all this day: which perhaps occasiond our ill successe.

77. MS *Lister* 36, xxxvi

Oxford Oct. 25. 1693.

Hond Sr

I am sorry yr last found me not at Oxford: to have sent you those snails you desired. I suppose it may be now too late. I observd some antiquities in my journey in South Wales; but whether Mr Swall & I shall come to an agreement or not, I can not well determin, but I suppose we shall. I afforded litle or no time to search after natural curiosities: but I find that countrey affoards no lesse variety of form'd stones than this: but ye stone being generally hard limestone or bastard marble; they are much more difficultly procured. The colepits of Glamorganshire, affoard as much variety of subterraneous plants as those of Gloc. & Somersetsh. &c. It's observable yt those plants are generally capillaries. The workmen indeed told me of Ash leavs with ye keys to them; tho perhaps that would prove also some florid fern, to such as should curiously observe it. I would desire yr thoughts (or any other gentleman's of yr acquaintance) of the following inscription [from Lhan Dhewi Brevi in Cardigan]



Whether it be Caij Artij manibus, Ennius primus? I shall add no more at present, but yt I am

Yr most obliged and humble servant
E. LHD

78. MS *Lister* 36, xxxviii

Oxford Oct. 27. 93.

Dear Sr

I am heartily sorry yt in searching for ye *striated Turbens*, I have no better successe. I have searchd most of ye woods within 5 miles of ye town; & have sent two men to places

more remote, but still we finde nothing but empty shells and those in great plenty: I am sure I have seen 500 of ym, my self. If you please I'll hire a horse and goe & search the Chiltern Woods my self. For I suspect that ye fellows employd, (though they knew them very well) have not been diligent enough. In ye mean time I have sent by John Bartlet of ye White Swan at Holbourn bridge a small strawberry basket, with a parcel of your curious wrong-turnd snails of ye woods: which now and then I call *Heterostrophos Sylvaticus aculeatus*.¹ These, if you have not done with them allready, may perhaps find you some diversion. I have sent also two *Cornua Hammonis*: and a perl to be deliver'd to Mr Tilman Bobert when he calls for it. He is Jacob's brother; a good botanist and a very modest man: and is removed hence lately to take care of ye Garden at Hampton Court. I have sent you ye enclosed from ye Arch Deacon of Caerlile;² supposing you may have occasion of proposing to him some queries [heareafter] about their mines. Mr Tilman Bobert has been curious in collecting insects; and has imparted his collection to me; which about a twelvemonth since I sent to Mr. Ray, where they were well accepted. I am Sr

Yr much obliged & humble servant

EDW. LHWYD

79. MS *Lister* 36, xxxix

Hond Sr

Oxf. Nov. 5. 93.

My thursday's letter presumed I might overtake ye Oxford waggon, about Stokenchurch or Wickham: but it so fell out that I was not then provided for it. I have now sent a small basket by Edward Bartlet wth a dozen of ye *Cochleæ striatæ et turbinatæ* Col. and five *Cochleæ sylvaticæ spirâ ult. in aciem depressâ*, with live creatures in them. That was all I could get in two half days; but if you must have more, I'll goe a second time, and endeavour to get some children to help me. I had one boy this last time; but he did me no other service than trouble me with empty shells. I forgot to tell you that in ye last basket, was one of your *Cochlea fluviatilis compressæ*³ wch I found in ye midst of a dry wood. Now I see these shells

¹ Clausilüd species.

² W. NICOLSON.

³ *Planorbis corneus* L.

may be had; if you have any further commands, be pleasd to acquaint Sr (with all speed)

Yr much obliged & humble servant

EDW. LHWYD

I'll undertake on one other journey to make ye matter compleat, and send you 30 or 40 of each species: if these will not suffice.

80. For Mr JOHN AUBREY at Laungton house near ye Devizes Wilts. MS Aubrey 12, 250. Oxf. Nov. 16. 93.

Worthy Sr,

I receivd yr kind letter of ye 19 past; but have been a little busy since, otherwise you had heard from me. I can not in ye least blame your caution in communicateing yr *monumenta Britannica*: but my request was onely for your thoughts of Caer Filly Castel, and anything else that you thought fit to communicate within my prövince; viz. Wales. This I had not desired, but that I thought one or two pages of your three volumes, might be made use of (under your name), without any prejudice to the work. I did not expect or desire a perusal of yr MSS. but onely a transcript from you, of Caer Filly &c. when you returnd to London, which Mr Tanner told me he thought would be shortly.

I am very much obliged to you for your constant favours, and I hope shall allways continue sensible of them. In your letter of ye last of August you were pleasd to acquaint me that you had allmost prevaild with Mr Wyld to give me ye Armorican dictionary. It would be a very acceptable present. He was ye first yt gave me any encouragement to study British antiquities; wherein haveing now got some small relish I think (how vain soever my endeavours may prove) I shall never quite forsake ym.

There has been lately discoverd in Merionydshire an ancient golden torques.¹ I can not describe it better than Virgil does V. *Aeneid*

Pars laeves humero pharetras: it pectore summo

Flexilis obtorti per collum circulus auri

¹ This treasure was dug up in 1692 in a garden near Harlech Castle. (*Camden*, p. 786.)

It's not a chain, but a wreathd bar of gold about a yard long; hooked at both ends exactly like a pair of pot-hooks. Whether it be British or Roman I can not pretend to determin. But tis certein ye Britains used such, long after ye Saxons comeing. For there was a nobleman who was Ld of Yale (now in Denbighshire) call'd *Lhwelyn-aur-dorchog*, *Leolinus aureo torque donatus*, s. *auri-torqu* I thought to have been more at large but have been interrupted, I have presented yr service to ye gentlemen you desired. I am Sr

Yr most affectionat Friend & humble servt

ED. LHWYD

Mr White gives you his service.

81. MS *Peniarth* 427; *Cambr. Mag.* iii, 216

For ye hond RICHARD MOSTYN Esq at Penbedw in Flintshire.

Hond Sr,

Oxford 9ber 21, 93.

I am obliged to return you my humble thanks, for that favourable encouragement you are pleas'd to give me, in your letter to Sr Roger and am much concern'd yt my present occasions are such as allow me not to come to the countrey, to receive your kindnesse. The truth is, the Booksellers concern'd in this new edition of Camden, are not willing to be at such charges with the persons they employ, as to enable them to survey their respective Provinces. All they require are onely such additional notes as may render this edition preferable to any yt hath been yet publishd. And that it will prove so, there is no doubt at all, for to my knowledge there are several persons employ'd (for the English Counties), who are generally allow'd to be men of learning & worth, and some of these are resident in those countyes, they have undertaken to illustrate: particularly Dr. Plot for Kent, Dr. Tod (of Univ. Coll.) for Cumberland, Mr. Nicolson formerly of Queen's Col. for Northumberland, Mr. Machel for Westmorland, & Mr. Kennet for Oxsh. But to come nearer home, I hope you'l pardon my boldnesse, if I beg of you some contribution towards Flintshire; or any other part of Wales. I had address'd my self to you long since, but that I had no thoughts till of late medling with

any more than ye three counties of Denbigh, Merioneth, and Montgomery; But the gentlemen yt had once undertaken ye other three counties of N. Wales, imagining some difficulty in it, have alter'd their thoughts. Sr Roger is pleas'd to inform me, that there is an Inscription on a stone near Mostyn, whereof I also found mention in a MS. of one Mr Aubrey, F. of ye R.S. who say's it is call'd *Maen y Chwyfan*, which seems so strange a name that I cannot devise what should be the origin of it. An accurate copy of this Inscription would doubtlesse be acceptable to ye public; the same MS. informs me that there has been a stone chest or coffin full of Urns, found in yt *Carnedh*, call'd *arffedogaed y wrâch*: and that there is hard by the Abbey of Vale Crucis an Inscription on a stone which (when it stood) was above 7 yards high, concerning a batle between ye K. of Powys and the Saxons. He says it begins thus: CONGEN FILIVS ELISEG. But he has no more of it, and this was never copied from ye stone, but onely told him by one Mr. Mredydh Lloyd. But I need not give any hints of what would be acceptable on this occasion, to one that's a farr better judge of it than my self; I have sent to some Friends a few general Queries which I hope have come to yr hands, to which I have nothing els to add, but that no information or assistance is more desired than your's, and that I hope you will please to encourage ye endeavours of

Hond Sr Yr very humble & obliged Servt.

E. LHWYD

82. MS *Lister* 3, f. 161

Sunday n.d. [? Nov. 1693]

Dear Sr

I have at last found Streakd *Buccina* enough to stock as many gardens and groves as you please, if it be practicable to plant new colonies with them.

But of ye keen-edged Snails, I have not been able to procure above ten or a dozen.

You will receive them, Tuesday night by ye same waggon I sent the last basket.

I have also left a shilling at Stokenchurch, to pay for forty of the sharp-edged Snails with creatures in them in case

they can be procured. I might have made my bargain better by giveing ym farthings a piece for as many live ones as they could send me in three days time; but it came not to my thoughts 'til 'twas too late. In searching for these snails I discover'd a very curious Bell-mushroom; which I imagin hitherto unobserv'd. You will receive in ye basket two or three patterns of it enclosed in a small box; whereof I desire you'd please to present one to Dr Pluknet, and an other to Mr Doody,¹ (who I know is writeing of such plants) when you have opportunity. I am (hond Sr)

Yr very affectionat and obliged servant
EDW. LHWYD

You will find in ye basket a paper of two or three Shells: which is a present to you from one Mr Dyer, fellow of Oriel Coll. a very curious and ingenious gentleman. They are not in your Treatise *de animalibus Angliæ*; but yet they are no news to you. The umbilicated Cochleo-nerite is curious, and seems distinct from yr *Cochlea rufescens fascijs maculatis distincta*. I desire to know whether ye *Entales* and *Dentales*, stick to shells, stones &c. as ye *Balani* doe.

83. MS *Lister* 3, f. 158

Thursday h. 12. [? Nov. 1693]

Hond Sr

I recd yr letter this morning & shall look out for ye Fresh water Snails this afternoon.

Mr Dyer shall try what may be done; but we can expect nothing out of Devonshire under one month at least.

What I meet with this afternoon, you may expect by John Bartlet at ye Swan in Holbourn brig on Saturday.

Mr Bobert it seems cannot conveniently come from Hampton-court. I doubt whether all be well with him; for I desired him long since to wait on you. It is so late that I can but just save the post, and tell you that I am

Yr most affectionat & obliged servant
EDW. LHWYD

¹ SAMUEL DOODY, 1656-1706, keeper of the Apothecaries' Garden at Chelsea 1693; F.R.S. 1695.

I have an intimate friend, yt has studied about 4 years in this University: but has no inclination at all to take Orders. I would beg your advice how he might dispose of himself. He's a sober, industrious man & pretty ingenious, & of very honest principles. If we had him in some such station as Mr Cole of Bristol, he would doubtlesse put up for a collector. He's scholer enough for most employments. He can command upon occasion about 10 or 20 pounds but no more.

84. MS *Lister* 3, f. 150

Sunday. [c. Dec. 1, 1693]

Dear Sr

I hope you recd safely ye Freshwater Snails: thô it so fell out yt I could not possibly procure them, by ye time I promised in my last.

One Dr CHARLET [Master of University Coll.] intending for London to morrow, tells me he designs to wait on you sometime this next week; to give you ye thanks of ye University for your frequent presents, & continual favours. He is a person of a very public spirit, & of ye greatest sway & interest I think of any here: and mindes nothing more than ye reputation of ye university, ye satisfaction of ye public, & ye encouragement of such young men as he finds deserving. I have often wish'd you acquainted with him (thô he is more a man of *Parts*, & genteel converse, than learning) that so we might secure his favour and helping hand upon emergent occasions. He has that influence, yt he can perswade the University to print any book &c. provided it be well approved; tho of never so singular a subject: & ye Company of Stationers are by their articles with the University to take off 500 copies of any book yt's printed here.

I had lately a letter from Mr WOODWARD; wherein he has these words: 'I have now (I thank God) setled my affairs, & so far conquerd my late accessary businesse yt I hope very suddenly to fall upon a review of my papers in order to ye publication of somewhat concerning these shells, plants, &c. in stone &c. The truth is I intended to have given my self a litle relaxation after this tedious fatigue, but my friends here, are so importunat with me, for my thoughts of these things,

yt I see I shall have no rest till I gratify them; so yt I am constrain'd to fall about it, for my ease & quiet. I have a great deal to say, and which end to begin at, I have not yet resolv'd, &c. So far Mr Wdwd; to which I add yt let him have never so much to say, he'll scarce outdoe his promises. Pray let me hear from you at your leasure. I am Sr

Yr most affectionat & obliged servt
E. LHWYD

I had mistaken Mr Tilman Bobert's place, so yt my letter to him never found him out. But I suppose ere this time he has waited on you.

There are Locusts lately come into Wales: whereof I have one sent me. They seem to me to be ye same species with ye African locusts whereof Mr John Aubrey presented some to ye Museum, which were brought from Tangier about 3 or four years since. If you think it may be material for ye *Transactions* I'll send it you: otherwise I'll give an account of it to Mr Ray. You have probably heard of them allready from some other parts of England.

85. *For ye hond RICHARD MOSTYN Esq at Penbedw in Flintshire. Chester post. Camb. Mag. iii, 217*

Hond Sr,

Oxford Dec. 5, 93.

I recd yr Letter ye last post, & am more sensible of my obligations for your favourable encouragement, than I can readily expresse. Yr contributions which you are pleas'd to stile mechanical, are like to be the most curious, and acceptabl to the learned, of any that shall be publishd in our province. I am sorry you have been disappointed, as to ye inscription: I have met with ye same fortune, two or three times in Caermarthenshire & elsewhere: the common people calling such carving as you mention, (& sometimes crosses also) inscriptions. Yr etymon of ye name, whether right or not, seems very probable. Some may object perhaps yt that name implyes yt the people who call'd it so, were vanquishd there, because otherwise they need not call it Achwynfaen, which if granted, they'l urge yt 'twas not proper for ye conquer'd, nor customary

to put up such memorials, we may then suppose it put up by ye other party, &c. Whatever yt name may import, ye bones make it clear, that there has been a slaughter of men, & 'tis more than probable yt ye stone, is either in memorial of ye battle in general or of some particular person then killd. Yr Pen y Gorseddeu answers to ye five (or 7) Barrows on Salisbury plain. The word seems to imply onely high seats or places: in Cardiganshire and Caermardhinshire these ancient tumuli are calld Crigen; and doubtlesse thence it is, yt Mould is call'd y Wydhgrig, i.e. Tumulus conspicuus; which being renderd in latin *mons altus*, became thence calld by ye modern name of Mold. Yt ye first syllable in Wydhgrig signifies altus conspicuus, &c. I gather from Gwydhfa [i.e. locus conspicuus] which is ye highest peak of Snowdon-hill, & hêrfaen gwydthog (i.e. Colossus conspicuus) a mear-stone about 18 foot high, in ye confines of Caermardhin & Cardigan-shire. If your's be a very high stone and calld y Gwyfaen, I know not but this etymon may also come in play: but enough of this. Ye name of Gorsedh yr Iarlh is remarkable; I have seen elsewhere Crig y Dyrn, which I interpret Tumulus Tyranni sive Regis: for from this Tyron comes doubtlesse our usual word Tyrnas Teirnas a kingdom. I am not satisfied whether this word Iarlh be of English or British original, but suspect ye later: I know ye English-Saxons had Earl, but the Germans have no such word, who instead thereof have Graaf. Sr Roger has been pleasd to shew me his Catalogue, wherein I find several MSS. yt would be instructive to such as are studious of British Antiquities: of some of which I may hereafter intreat yr perusal; but perhaps there may not be very much, amongst them pertinent upon this occasion: my desire being cheifly an account of such observables as you propose. The History of ye Britons of Cumberland is news to me, haveing never heard of any such MS. Nothing can be more acceptable than some account of ye antiquities you mention at Glodhaith: I wish there be still remaining an account where they were found yt we may mention ym in their proper places. Such as have been brought out of England will not be of use to our present design.

A draught of ye noble medal you mention; with ye particular

place where 'twas found would be acceptable to the publick. After so much impertinent scribbling I can not too abruptly subscribe myself (Hond Sr)

Yr much obliged & humble Servt,
E. LHWYD

86. To JOHN RAY. *Ray Correspondence*, p. 270

Oxford, Dec. 12, 1693.

Sir,

I observed near Kidwelly, in Carmarthenshire, this last summer, that the *Gryllo Talpæ* live there in the sea-lands that are covered every tide. I brought one of them with me, and cannot find that they differ from those of the midland counties. In Wales they are called Rhing y Lês., q. d. *Stridor æstivitatîs*. I am, &c.

[EDW. LHWYD]

87. MS *Lister* 36, xlii

Oxf. St. Thomas day. 93.

Hond Sr

I was in hopes this morning, I should have been able to send ye Viviparous snails¹ you desire'd, by my friend & countrey-man ye bearer: but upon tryal I found ye water in our ditches, not onely frozen, but also a great deal too high & too muddy. As soon as I can possibly procure ym, you shall be sure to have them. I have no time to say any more at present, than yt I expect some farther account from ye countrey, of ye time, quantity, &c. of the Locusts, which as soon as receiv'd, shall be sent you, from

Yr much obliged & humble servt
E. LHWYD

If you can say any thing to ye postscript of my former letter (save one) be pleasd to think of it in yr next. Dr Charlet went not hence till yesterday. What you mention at ye end of yr letter is no news to me, for I have heard that g[entleman] traduce & speak slightly, of much worthier persons. The bearer will bring me ye stones you deliverd Mr Bobert.

¹ *Paludina vivipara*.

88. MS *Lister* 36, xliiiOxf. Jan. 1—9 $\frac{3}{4}$.

Dear Sr

I had sent you some *acct of ye Locusts* sooner, but yt I expected to hear more of ym out of ye countrey. But now upon my friends unusual silence, I begin to suspect he has litle more to say of ym so you'l find on ye other page all ye acct I can give of them at present.

I am sorry ye Canary gardeners prov'd so negligent or unsuccessfull; but I hope yt hereafter my Ld [Portland] will take care to send upon such employments, if not scholers, at leastwise men that have a genius that way, & such as can make it their delight as well as profit.

As for a chapln to Mr Nicolson, &c. I know not well what to say to't. The young man I mention'd to you would be (in case he'll take orders) very fit for ye place. But at present he has no skill at all in plants; tho he may have some litle smattering in other parts of Nat. History. In case ye place be secured for him, we could make him a fit man to succeed Mr Banister,¹ betwixt this & midsummer at farthest: if that be not too late. There are two or three in this town would be very fit for it, but that we are spoild with sufficient preferment allready. I know one person in the countrey every way qualified for this employment, but that it has so repented him of takeing ye oathes, that he has thereupon resigned a good rectory, & now keeps a small private schole & lives very contentedly.

I am glad to find Mr Woodward so forward; but were his papers which he offer'd to yr perusal compleat; & all yt he design'd to print on the subject, or onely ye beginning, as a specimen thereof. I know not any thing of Mr Moreton,² nor heard at all of his name. There was lately an ingenious Scotch gent. here, who told me he was acquainted with Mr Woodward; but I know not his name. He brought Dr Pluck-

¹ The Rev. J. BANISTER collected plants in Virginia where he was a missionary. He died between 1692 and this date by a fall from rocks. See Ray's *Further Correspondence*.

² JOHN MORTON, F.R.S., of Oxendon. See note to No. 105.

net a noble present of plants from the E. Indies. Mr Dale¹ I find is a person yt commands respect from all candid men who are lovers of Natural History.

I have allways suspected 3 or 4 landsnails, as distinct from all you had publishd in yr *Tract de animalibus Angliæ*, but no more. I am sorry Dr Charlet has not yet seen you; but I hope he will, ere he returns, for he's still at London. I am Sr

Yr much obliged & humble servt
EDW. LHWYD

Be pleasd to doe me ye honr of inscribing ye paper thus; or how else you think fit,

'Part of a letter from Mr Edw. Lhwyd *Cim. Ashm. Oxon.* to Dr Martin Lister S.R.S. giving an account of *Locusts* lately observd in Wales.'

I'll send ye locust either to yr self or Mr Waller when you please.

89. MS *Aubrey* 12, 251

For Mr. J. AUBREY. *To be left with ye revd Dr Gale at St. Paul's, London.*

Worthy Sr.

Oxf. Jan. 9. 93-4

I recd both yr letters & ought to have answer'd ye former a post or two sooner. The golden torques seems to be valued by ye proprietor at an unreasonable rate; for whereas the intrinsic value of it amounts but to 34 li at most; he demands for it 150 li. He brought it here lately & offer'd it to ye University & ye Vicechancellr bid him 50 li and since that he has been offered 60 li by a curious Welsh gentleman who is a collector of antiquities & was willing to purchase it, (in regard he presum'd it to be a British antiquity) at any rate. The gentleman I suppose still has it. If my Ld Abingdon be desirous of treating with him about it; a letter may be directed to him thus: For ye Revd. Mr John Williams at Tan yr alht, Caernarvonshire; by Westchester & Conwy.

Mrs. Walker values her picture of St. John Bapt. &c. at 20 li, but I fansie if not 12 li would purchase it.

¹ SAMUEL DALE of Braintree, pharmacologist, friend, neighbour, and executor of John Ray.

Our mathematic instrument maker¹ pretends yt Mr Potters quadrant is an old invention; but yt he'l make one if you please for 10s; thô he says he can not see what use it will be off. I'll either employ him to make an other (if you think fit) or by permission of ye Vicechancr send it you to be copied at London.

I am very sensible (& ye other gentlemen you mention are I'm sure no lesse) of yr particular affection to us, as to what you mention concerning yr *Mon. Brit*?

I advise you to consult with some friends yt may be not onely judicious and able (through experience) to direct you; but also candid, disinterested wholly free from prejudice, such as I take Mr Ray to be, nor doe I question but that there are several more such of yr acquaintance. I have no acquaintance with Dr Tancred Robinson²; but am notwithstanding sufficiently satisfied of his excellent worth. You may for ought I know be intimate with him: if so I hope he has perused yr MSS. and may in case you desire it, give you freely his thoughts. I know in ye interim yt you will not take it amisse of me that I have taken this liberty.

Sr, I have one request to make to you, in behalf of our once celebrated city of Caer-Lheion ar Wysk: viz. yt you would bestow upon us an old Roman inscription found there which Mr Tanner not long since shew'd me in yr *Antiquities of Wiltshire*; from whence if you give me leave I will copy it. That one contribution for ye illustrateing of our cuntry will I hope be noe detriment at all to your work especially since it is forreign to Wiltshire, & may perhaps be easily spared. I may peradventure be able one time or other to communicate to you something in return. Mr GIBSON is come to Lond. to help deliver ye *Britannia*³ of ye presse: ye rest of yr friends here are very well, and give you their service. Dr Edwards ye Principal of Jesus has order'd me to let you

¹ Possibly JOHN PRUJEAN of New College Lane, who made quadrants like that of Francis Potter of Trinity College.

² Their long correspondence began in October 1696.

³ The first Latin edition of Camden's *Britannia* appeared in 1586. It was translated by Philemon Holland into English in 1610, beautified with maps in 1637, and again produced by E. GIBSON in 1695.

know when you come next to Oxford yt he is very desireous of yr acquaintance.

Pray what think you of our torques? is it British or Roman? I should be glad to know yr own & yr friends thought thereon when you write next to

Yr obliged Frd. & humble servant
EDW. LHWYD

My respects to Mr Wyld &c. I mention'd onely a round camp with some Roman coyns found there, in my letter to Mr Woodward. One Mr. Tholonne¹ is lately come hither (but as yet I am not acquainted with him) with a design to write an Irish dictionary & a dissertation to prove ye Irish a colony of ye Gauls.

90. *Probably to JOHN LLOYD. Cambr. Mag.* iii, 212

Dear Sr,

Jan. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$.

I ought to answeere yr two last, but as it falls out, I have no time at present. The occasion of this letter is to acquaint you that the Bishop of London has been enquireing for a man qualified as you are to be chaplain to one Colonel Nicolson Governour of Mary-Land, and also to be his commissary there. I have enquired wt the place may be worth, and they tell me, at least 150 li. or 200 li. per annum: but of this I have not yet got any certainty.

You must know that the Bp of London is a man curious about plants, which makes him enquire after one yt knows somewhat that way; and Mr. Nicolson (whom I know to be as good a man as any can desire to live with) is very ingenious and curious and consequently a true lover of such as are so. Now Sr I doe not rightly know, how you stand affected at present as to the case of the Oathes, and therefore I hope (and humbly entreat) your pardon for mentioning this to you. For it proceeds from nothing else but ye affection and service due to you from

Yr veteran & never failing Friend,

ED. LHWYD

¹ JOHN TOLAND, 1669–1722, theological writer, author of *Christianity not mysterious*, left Oxford 1695.

Dr. Lister wrote to me to desire my thoughts in this case; and therefore pray write with all speed yr answere.

My Frd, ye rector of Dôl-Gelheu,¹ sent me last post a dismal account of ye burning of 12 hay ricks, with some kind of unaccountable fire, which did ye men yt endeavoured to save them (in ye night) no dammage at all, also of catle dyeing; grasse poysond, &c. He and others of the countrey suppose that all this has been done by Witchcraft. I have allready answered.

91. MS *Lister* 36, xlv

Oxford Febr. 15. 169 $\frac{3}{4}$.

Dear Sr

My friend Mr Thomas, whom I made bold to recommend to your favours, is very sensible of them, as I find by his letters; but my obligations to you are so many, that I dare not pretend to return you due thanks for them. I suppose you'l receive some sea shells as soon as he can send them.

I have now recd a farther relation of that unaccountable fire in Meirionydh-shire, which being added to ye former, may be very fit to be publish'd in this next *Transaction* if it comes not too late. I shall not pretend at all to nibble at ye cause of it; but send you ye bare relation to be publish'd, and then Mr Woodward and other philosophers *emunctæ naris* will have a fair field to exercise their talent, and no great opportunity of censuring those yt communicate it. I lately sent him Mr Jones's former letter, but neither added any thoughts of my own, nor have as yet receiv'd any from him; not yt I expect ye least satisfaction from his answere but that I know he loves to be so employ'd. I receiv'd not long since two letters from him, so full of pride and self-conceit, yt I find he rather improves than corrects ye fault I observ'd at our first acquaintance; and his correspondence begins now to be tedious. The paper to be printed is on ye other side; which thô it be not so accurate a relation as might be wish'd, is yet such as I have no reason at all to question the truth of. My correspondent lives about 12 miles from ye place where this

¹ The Rev. MAURICE JONES, matr. Jesus College 1680, rector of Cerrig y Druidion 1697.

accident happen'd, so yt having no opportunity of examining the matter, himself; ye account is therefore lesse circumstantial.

Upon the whole I find (1) that they ascribe both ye poysoning of the grass and ye burning of ye hay-ricks to one and the same cause; and that a kindled vapor from ye sea, which when it lights upon hay and such matter as is easily combustible, fires it; but when it lights on the grasse is it self presently extinguishd. 2ly that that exhalation has been observ'd to continue at least a fortnight or three weeks, and that constantly within the compasse of a mile or thereabouts and not taken notice of elsewhere. Now although an *ignis fatuus* be no rare meteor, yet that it should not onely fire hay and corn, but likewise poyson the fields, is not (that I know of) mention'd in any philosopher or historian. Since therefore we find the effect much exceeding what is usual, we must also search for some cause no lesse extraordinary. To be brief I have not yet totally quitted my suspicion of ye Locusts. And that is, that altho some of them came to land, yet a far greater quantity of them have been drown'd, which being cast ashoar near that place, created this infectious exhalation, ye kindling whereof might be owing perhaps in some measure to the nature of the ground, being moorish &c. Now that a considerable quantity of them were drown'd, is not barely my conjecture, for a gentleman observ'd some of them cast up on the shoar near Aber Dâron in Caernarvonshire. I writ to Mr Jones to know whether they found any of them on the coasts of Harlech; but receiv'd no answer to that query, he living too remote from ye place him self, and also takeing it for granted, that I went on a wrong supposition. There are two difficulties I must confesse in this matter which I know not well how to remove. The first is yt Mr Jones says this ground has been infectious (tho not fatal) ye three last years; and consequently something else must be the cause of it, since ye locusts came but this last autumn: the other is that catle onely are subject to ye infection whereas such authors as have mention'd the poysoning of the aer by drown'd locusts, tell us 'twas mortal to men as well as catle? *Locustarum ingentia agmina in Africa, quæ a vento in mare dejectæ, fluctibusq; ejectæ, odore*

intolerabili Cyrenis mortifero vapore gravem pestilentiam fecerunt pecori, hominumq; DCCC millia consumpta tabe, proditum est. Iulius Obsequens *de prodigijs* pag. 69.

Sr I recd yr letter since ye writing of this; and have deliver'd your excellent presents as directed; & am order'd to return you their hearty thanks. I made bold to present myne in yr name, to Mr Dyer, who is curious in such studies, and returns you many thanks. This at present from

Yr obliged and humble servant

E. LHWYD

The Extract of another Letter to the same Purpose.

Honoured Sir,

Oxford, Feb. 20. 169 $\frac{3}{4}$.

I here send you a note out of a MS. entituled, *The History of Pembroke-shire*. 'Twas written about the year 1603 by one Mr. George Owen, a gentleman of that country, who seems to have been a person of considerable accuracy and veracity.

Lib. I. cap. 26. 'About the beginning of June, in the year 1601. a piece of ground to the quantity of 200 English acres, was covered suddenly (as if the same had fallen in a shower out of the air) with a kind of caterpillars or green worms, having many legs, and bare without hair. They were found in such abundance, that a man treading on the ground, should tread upon 20 or 30 of them; and in this sort they continued for the space of three weeks or more, no man knowing how they came, nor any of the like sort were ever seen in the country before, nor since; and being opened, there was nothing found within them but grass. The place was on a Hill in the parish of Maen clochog above Ffynnon Dhewi. They were found as it were with one accord to go one way, viz. up the hill, and went over the hill a quarter of a mile and more. As they went they devoured and consumed the grass, that the ground appeared bare and red like fallow. And after they had continued there three weeks, there resorted thither an infinite number of sea-mews and crows, as if all of many countries had been summon'd thither, who in few days consumed them all. Also swine fed upon these worms eagerly, and waxed very fat,' &c.

An Account of the Burning of several Hay-Ricks by a Fiery Exhalation or Damp: And of the Infectious Quality of the Grass of several Grounds. From the same Ingenious Person.

Sir,

I received this last post from my worthily esteemed friend Mr. Maurice Jones, Rector of Dôl-Gelheu, the following account of the burning of several ricks of hay and houses, and also the poisoning of the grass, so as to render it mortal to the cattle that feed upon it, by a kindled exhalation, or *Ignis Fatuus*. Be pleased to take it in his own words:

'This letter contains no answer to your queries about the locusts, for I am wholly intent at present upon giving you the best account I can of a most dismal and prodigious accident at Harlech in this county the beginning of these holy-days. It is of the unaccountable firing of sixteen ricks of hay, and two barns, whereof one was full of corn, the other of hay. I call it *unaccountable*, because 'tis evident they were not burnt by common fire, but by a kindled exhalation, which was often seen to come from the sea. Of the duration whereof I cannot at present give you any certain account, but am satisfied it lasted at least a fortnight or three weeks; and annoy'd the country as well by poisoning their grass as firing the hay, for the space of a mile, or thereabouts. Such as have seen the fire, say, 'twas a blew weak flame, easily extinguish'd, and that it did not the least harm to any of the men who interposed their endeavours to save the hay, though they ventured (perceiving it different from common fire) not only close to it, but sometimes into it. All the damage sustained happen'd constantly in the night. I have enclosed a catalogue of such as I have received certain information of; and have nothing to add, but that there are three small tenements in the same neighbourhood (called Tydhin Siôn Wyn) whereof the grass is so infected, that it absolutely kills all manner of cattle that feed upon it. The grass has been infectious these three years, but not throughly fatal till this last. Pray send me with all convenient speed your friends thoughts and your own, of the causes, and if possible, also the remedy of this surprizing phænomenon,' &c.

Dôl-Gelheu, Jan. 20th. 169 $\frac{3}{4}$.

Decemb. 24th. 1693. Richard Griffith of Lechwedh-du, Humphrey Owen of Garreg-wenn, and Richard Davydh of Erw-wenn, each of these lost a rick of hay the 24th. at night.

Decemb. 27th. 1693. That night was burnt one rick of hay of John Philips of Ynys-Lanvihangel y Traethau, two ricks of hay of Griffith John Owen of Cefn-Trevorbâch, and Katherine William, widdow, of Cefn-Trevorfawr, lost two ricks.

Decemb. 29th. 1693. That night Francis Evans of Glas-vryn had one rick burnt. Richard Davydh of Erw-wen, predict. had a barn-full of hay of three bayles of buildings burnt down to the ground.

92. MS *Ashmole* 1816, f. 61

Oxford Tuesday 92.

Dear Sr

I beseech you set yr thoughts at work as fast as you can, to find out if possible a remedy for one of the plagues of Egypt, for by ye enclosed you find yt those locusts (for yt's my interpretation of this calamity) mention'd in my last, are like to bring a famin if not a plague upon our countrey. You must know O Sr that alltho I have sent you an account of these locust's comeing into Wales, yet they are not yet sensible of it in that countrey. For ye Pembrokeshire locust was brought me up by one of ye Fellows of Jesus College as a curious spec. of Grasshopper and ye onely account I had of those of Meirionyddshire was from that countrey carrier who onely told me there had been some flocks of strange birds (as he had been inform'd) with six feet and lanthorn wings which made a clashing or rolling as they fled, seen not far from Dôl-Gelheu.* I shall write to ye Gentleman to day and acquaint him with my thoughts of the cause of their disaster; but for a remedy all yt I can doe is heartily to recommend them to yr charity.

I am Sr

Yr much obliged & humble servant

E. LHWYD

* The same notion I find in Pliny, ye vulgar people have had of them in Italy.

Pray write yr thoughts of some remedy or prevention of farther mischf either to ye Gentleman himself (for more

expedition) or to me ye very first post. Whether shoould be convenient to scatter dried fern & furz along their ground so as to cover it, and then set it on fire? to bleed their catle, &c.?

93. *Philosophical Transactions*, No. 208, Feb. 20 169 $\frac{3}{4}$, p. 45

*Part of a Letter from Mr. EDWARD FLOYD, Cim. Ashm. Oxon.
giving an Account of Locusts lately observed in Wales
To Dr. M. LISTER,*

Sir,

You have probably been already informed from some other parts of the kingdom, of swarms of Locusts that have lately appeared on our British Coasts. However because I am not certain that they have been observed elsewhere, I shall take this occasion of giving you what account I can at present, of some that have been seen in Wales. As far as I have been yet informed, they were first seen on the 20th of October, scattered about the fields in Mathery parish, Pembrokeshire, where they were generally taken notice of, at first, because of the unseasonableness of the time for grasshoppers; but afterwards, for that upon further examination, they found them distinct from our English grasshoppers, in bigness, colour, &c. I could not learn that any of them have been seen flying in that country; but from North Wales I am informed that two vast swarms of them had been seen in the air not far from Dôl-gelheu, a market-town of Merionyd-shire. I cannot assure you of the time when these flying Locusts were observed, but by the date of my friend's letter, &c. I guess that it was near the same time that those others of Pembroke-shire had been taken notice of in the fields. What part of the world these creatures should come from, I must leave to your conjecture; in the mean time I can assure you that they are of the very same species with some African locusts in my custody in the Museum; for which (and many other valuable curiosities) we are obliged to that very inquisitive and ingenious gentleman, Mr. J. Aubrey, S.R.S. who received them some years since from Tangier. As yet I have but one sent me out of Wales, which you may command if you please, for I expect shortly more of them.

This Pilgrim-Locust I call, *Locusta erratica*, *alis ichthyocollæ adinstar pellucidis, reticulatis maculis conspersis*. It is in length (from the head to the tips of the wings) three inches and $\frac{1}{4}$, of a reddish colour all over, except the wings. As to the head and *caputium*, it resembles the fourth figure of Moufetus. The eyes are prominent and very large, somewhat of the form and bigness of gromwel-seeds, of a reddish colour, elegantly streaked. The *antennæ* are broken so that I can say nothing of the length of them: They are about the bigness of a hog's bristle, and curiously geniculated. As to the legs, the first pair are not quite an inch long; the second, somewhat above that length; but the third two inches and $\frac{1}{4}$. These hind-legs are very beautiful; for the thighs are hexangular, and elegantly scaled on the outside, with a black list extended lengthways through the midst of them. The shanks are of a lively red colour, adorned on the hind-part with two orders of small sharp prickles, placed not opposite to each other, but alternately. The wings are about three inches long, resembling very much those of the larger *Libellæ*, or dragon-flies, but all over garnished (the outer wings at least) with reticulated black spots.

I see not much reason to doubt but that these are the very same species of locusts, so famous in history for their wandring over, and depopulating whole regions.

In *Pliny*, lib. xi. c. xxix. we find these words,—*Solémque obumbrant sollicitè spectantibus populis ne suas operiant terras. Sufficiunt quippe vires; & tanquam parum sit maria transisse, immensos tractus permeant, diraque messibus contegunt nube, multa contactu adurentes: Omnia vero morsu erodentes, & fores quoque tectorum. Italiam ex Africa maximè coortæ, infestant, sæpe populo ad Sibyllina coacto remedia confugere, inopiæ metu*. Now whether this *multa contactu adurentes* makes any thing for the firing of the hay-ricks I question. For I should be apt to understand those words, as if they meant only exarefaction, and perhaps poysoning, not down-right firing or combustion.

Julius Obsequens in libro prodigiorum, p. 69. Edit. Bas. 1599. *Locustarum ingentia agmina in Africa, quæ à vento in mare dejectæ, fluctibusque ejectæ, odore intolerabili Cyrenis mortifero*

vapore gravem pestilentiam fecerunt pecori, hominúmque DCCC millia consumpta tabe, proditum est.

I was suspicious of this at the very first reading of Mr. Jones his letter, and therefore writ to him the very same day I writ to you and Mr. Ray, to examine the sea *Algæ* and *Fuci* for dead locusts.

The like account also Moufet cites out of *Otho Frisingensis: Tandem verò in Mare Britannicum sublata ventorum vi, fluctibus obruebantur. Sed æstu Oceani in litus rejectæ aërem infecerunt, pestémque anteactâ fame non minùs sævam intulerunt.* And which comes nearer to our purpose, in Mouf. p. 123. *Postea per Germaniam errantes ad Mediolanensem usque agrum iter ceperunt, eoque depasto in Poloniam & Silesiam revertebantur. Tandem Mense Novembri (tam diu enim vixerant) ut frigoris vi tabefactæ maximum fætorem excitarunt, & nisi suis aprisque Sylvestribus pabulo fuissent, non minus peste gravissimâ quàm fame tam Germanos quam Italos affecissent.* But in Wales there are no Creatures to devour them, unless the Badgers and Crows may take off some.

94. MS *Lister* 36, xlvi

Dear Sr

Oxf. Febr. 26. 169 $\frac{3}{4}$.

I have waited on Dr Wallis and presented him with one of your books, who returns you his humble thanks. The former *History of Sh[ells]* I bestowd on Jesus Coll. Library; not as from you, but as a book you had left at my disposal. I presume there's none in ye coll. can distinguish whether it be ye best edition or not: but if they should it's not very material. I writ to Mr Bobert to acquaint you yt ye meteor continued two months, and for ought I know lasts stil. Therefore if Mr Waller be pleasd to return my letter on that subject, I shall endeavour to send him a better account of it. Pray be pleasd when you see him to give him my humble thanks for his civility to my friend Mr Thomas. I am Sr

Yr most obliged & humble servant

EDW. LHWD

I hope no body saw ye former part of ye letter concerning ye fire: for I remember I spoke something therein of Mr Wwd.

95. *For ye hon RICHARD MOSTYN at Penbedw Flintshire. Chester Post. Arch. Cam. 1858, 228*

Hond Sr,

Oxford Febr. 26, 169 $\frac{3}{4}$.

I receiv'd ye excellent Draughts you were pleas'd to send me since Tuseday last; and had acknowledg'd that favour sooner, but that I thought it convenient first to desire ye opinion of some learned and inquisitive persons about Maeny Chwyvan.¹ I have now consulted Dr Wallis, Dr Bernard, and Mr Dodwel: but I could not find any of them were satisfied whether those odd characters towards ye bottom of the pillar on the East side were significative or onely design'd as some manner of Ornament; nor yet whether it be an ancient Heathen monument or erected since Christianity. That figure on one of ye Edges somewhat resembling the vertebræ of some Animal, with a ring struck through it at ye lower end, (and an other ring through that) seem'd to me at first to savour of antiquity, and to have been some Hieroglyphic: but ye crosse in the midle on each side ye head, and also an other X in ye midst of ye pillar on ye East side, should make us suspect it a later monument. I desire you would be pleas'd to communicate your own thoughts of it; and to inform me whether it be generally call'd as I write it: as also whether ye characters mention'd seem intire or defaced. 'Twould be also requisite to know (if possible) where the other antiquities were found. Sr Roger has told me the Brick was found at Caer Rhyn (or C. hên) Ye medal is mention'd in ye letter you were pleas'd to send me; but I want yr information as to . . . ll the rest. I desire to know what colour ye Urn is of, if an urn we may call it? also what material ye heads (*query*, beads?) are of. There is one checquer'd figure which I know not what to make of, and must therefore intreat your explanation. I have nothing to adde but to beg the favour of a letter at yr first leasure; for I must deliver up my papers about a fortnight hence. I am Sr

Yr most obliged & humble servant

EDW. LHWYD

(Seal) *On a shield, a Lion rampant to dexter.*

¹ A carved pillar, 11 feet high, on Mostyn Mt. Figured in *Camden*, p. 834.

96. To JOHN AUBREY. MS *Aubrey* 12, 260

Sr. Oxford Febr. 27. [1693-4].

I recd yours of ye 27. and have talk'd with Mrs. Hall, but she tels me she expected to hear from you sooner; and says she'll not part with ye picture under 14 li. For my part I am apt to suspect that when you come down here your self any time this summer you may buy it cheaper.

Mr. Gibson tells me you are pleas'd to impart to him all yr papers in the box in my custody: which I shall redily deliver to him, but should gladly have orders under yr own hand to satisfy me whether you design him all or onely part of what is in ye box. I am at present in some hast and therefore shall only adde that I am Sr. Yr most affectionat Friend
& humble servt. EDW. LHWYD

97. For ye Rev. Mr. JO. LLOYD Scholemaster at Ruthyn.

Arch. Camb. 1859, 161

Oxford. St. Davids day 169 $\frac{3}{4}$.

Dear Sr,

I am very much in yr debt but when my present business is off my hands; I hope to correspond with you more warmly. You needed not have sent up yr money so soon; for 'tis a hard case if I can not prevail to have one or two books at a subscriber's rate thô I come later than the time proposed. Yr ISS. were acceptable; but whether I can get them into Camden or not may be question'd; for Mr. GIBSON tells me now that they have not room for much additions; and that at his revising of all ye papers sent in, he must so dispose things as that the whole work shall appear uniform &c. wch is contrary to ye agreement we made at first with the printers, and for that reason Dr EDWS would have me keep my papers, in order to print them apart. But since matters have gone so far, I am resolv'd they shall goe on for me, and therefore shall submit to their censure what I have collected. The kindled exhalation in Meirionydshire is one of the most remarkable phænomena I ever heard or read of. I conclude it is a meteor or ignite vapor, and not the effect of witchcraft, for that it has operated in the same method now for two

months: viz a kind of *ignis fatuus* proceeding almost every night from ye sea shoor; and that continued along the sea coasts for two or three miles. Now altho an *ignis fatuus* is no very unusual meteor, yet that it should not onely continue regularly for two months together, but also fire hay and corn and buyldings, is not that I know of recorded by any historian or philosopher. The effect therefore being so very extraordinary; it seems necessary we should also search for some cause exceeding what is usual. To acknowledge freely my thoughts to you; which I desire you would communicate to as few as may be (or rather no body at all) I doe imagine there has been a considerable quantity of locusts drown'd in our sea in their voyage from America (for thence I suppose they came) which being cast up on the shoors about Harlech produced an infectious exhalation which poyson'd the cattle; and being kindled also fired ye hay and corn. Nor is it so strange that their poysonous vapor should thus kindle; when we consider that even whilst alive *multa* (says Pliny) *contactu exurunt*. I must confesse not onely yr self, but also Mr. Ray, Dr Bathurst, Dr Lister, and all others to whom I have imparted my thoughts wholly dissent from me. But as my rule is to be as cautious as I can, in makeing use of my reason; so I am not to be byassd so much with authority, as to acquiesce in the belief of anything from the judgment of others; for which I have no warrant from my own reasoning. All the account I have of this fire is from my worthy friend Mr. JONES of Dol Gelheu: who seems inclined to believe it witchcraft; and could give no other account of it but the particulars of the mischief it has wrought. He living too remote from Harlech to answer queries and to give a full relation of all circumstances, I shall adde nothing upon this subject; but that I shall be ready to lay down my conjecture: when I find good reason for it. What you mention of ye grounds being infectious long before is confird by many others; but 'tis generally confessed they never dyed so suddenly as this year &c. I have sent queries to Mr. HENRY LLOYD; which if he's pleasd to answer we may be able to guesse farther &c.

I am (Dr Sr) yr most affect. kinsman
& humble servt E. LHWYD

98. For Mr. JOHN AUBREY at Dr. Gales Scholemaster of St. Pauls London. MS Aubrey 12, 253

Sr. Oxf'd. March 4th. 93-4.

Yrs by ye last post I receiv'd not til this morning for it so happen'd yt I did out yesterday as far as Enston, in company of some of my countrey men who were goeing for Wales. I have sent this morning to Mrs. Hall and she's willing to part with ye picture for 14 li [though I could not have anything abated of that price].¹

You may expect it on Wednesday night at ye Swan in Holbourn bridge. Be pleas'd to pay ye money (if you think that way convenient) to Mr. Sam Smith at ye Princes Arms in St Pauls churchyard; and desire him to return them to me: but then you must also pay for ye return. Or else yt may be desird; for I may have occasion of writeing again on Tuseday. Mr Kent has sent me ye books. In yr next be pleas'd to acquaint me whether you give them now to ye Museum or onely reposit them for the present in my custody. Mr. Tanner brought me the key of your box, and I have deliverd him yr *Monumenta Brit.* but no other papers for he desired no more.

To morrow I shall send to him for your *History of Wiltshire*.² I have nothing to adde at present but that I am Sr

Yr most obliged friend & servant
EDW. LHWYD

Let Mr. Tanner deliver my Antiquities of Wilts to you for ye Museum. [In Aubrey's writing.]

99. To the same. MS Aubrey 12, 262

Hond Sr Sunday morning. [March 16 93-4.]

I have recd yr obligeing letter and the money; and shall

¹ The letter with which Lhwyd put through the deal is among his *Reliquiae*. It is dated Feb. 1693-4.

Mrs. HALL, I have sent you this letter that you may see Mr. Aubrey's resolution, or rather his friend's, who would buy ye picture. You see they resolve to give but 12 pound and therefore pray send your last resolution that that may be the end

I'm your humble servt

E. LHWYD.

² Aubrey's *Wiltshire* was not printed before 1847.

send the picture without fayle by John Bartlet Tuseday morning; directed as I doe my letters. I have entered ye books you lately bestowd in our catalogue. I am now about the *Catalogue* of ye MSS. and I desire to know whether you please I should insert yr *Antiquities of Wiltshire* and your letters amongst ye rest of your donation. I have seen yr discourse of ye Thames, and thank you for ye honour you doe me therein. Chwyrn signifies *rapidus, violentus, pernix*, &c. and probably 'Cyrn is a corruption of it. I have writ a tedious letter this morning to ye Archdeacon of Caerlile, and have no time left to adde any thing but that I am (Dear Sr)

Yr most affectionat Frd, & humble servant
EDWARD LHWYD

100. *To ye hond* RICH. MOSTYN *Esqr. at Penbedw in Flintshire.*
Chester post. Arch. Camb. 1859, 162

Hond Sr

Oxford March 8 169 $\frac{3}{4}$.

I just now receiv'd yr most obliging letter of the 28th of Febr. and ye excellent draughts you were pleas'd to send me of *maen y chwyrn* &c. came to hand about a fortnight or three weeks since. I am ashamed that I have put you to so much trouble at a time so inconvenient, but being ignorant of it I doubt not but you 'l excuse me. I acquainted you with my receiving ye draughts in a letter which I guesse might come to yr hands soon after ye date of your's; and added some questions relateing to them all which I find anticipated in your letter. Mr. GIBSON, the gentleman whom the Printers have employ'd to deliver this Book of ye Presse, tels us they can allow us to be but brief in our additions: otherwise they cannot afford (as they have engaged in their printed proposals) to sell ye book at 1li 12s. He adds farther that we must give him ye liberty of so disposing of our notes as ye whole work may seem uniform: which (I fear) includes also a liberty of keeping much of what shall be communicated for a latin Edition or some other use. Upon this account Mr KENNET¹ who had undertaken Oxsh. is fallen off; and some others begin to be dissatisfied. Some friends also advise me to break off;

¹ WHITE KENNET of St. Edmund Hall.

but since things are gon thus farre, I'm resolv'd to go through with it as well as I can. Before I had recd your letter Mr had made ye same objection concerning the letter Æ on ye copper plate, with that you mention offer'd by the Bishop of Chester. And when I answer'd that letter occur'd frequent in Reinesius his *Syntagma Inscriptionum* he replyd Reins has taken those ISS out of MSS &c. and not copied them himself from ye stones. But I look'd upon that (pardon my freedom) as onely a disputatious subterfuge, and so acquiesc'd in ye answer. For it seems too hard to imagin yt ye same mistake should be committed in at least 200 inscriptions copied by several hands. Nor can we well suppose (unlesse we suffer prejudice to lead us into dotage) that any one should counterfeit this copper plate. Mr Davies of Newburgh in Anglesey writes thus (in all likelihood) of your plate or Discus; but I am fully satisfied he has been misinformed. 'About 50 years agoe there was accidentally dug up, in ye parish of Aberfraw, around large piece of plate about 18 inches in ye Diameter, and thicker in ye middle (*sic*) than round the edges, having this inscription SOCIA ROMÆ. It came to the hands of Owen Wood of Rhosmon Esq. and was found to be Corinthian brasse. He presented it to Dr John Williams then Archbishop of York &c.' A country fellow in Caermardhinshire describ'd to me exactly such a cake of silver he once found in that countrey. Having not at that time heard of any such; I was not so inquisive (*sic*) as to ask him whether it had any letters, neither did I take the name of the place in writeing where it was found. In Lodovico Moscardo's *Museo Lib. I. cap. xxvi.* which is inscrib'd *Delli Amuleti* there is much such a head as that you sent me; which confirms what you mention concerning it. I shall venture to say 'twas found somewhere in North Wales: as I suppose I may safely, since you are so particular as to inform me 'twas found in a well. We have an earthen vessel here in ye museum somewhat of ye form of your urn, which we call a Portugal Ewer, but whether truly or not I am uncertain. It seems probable that your Crikiaeth urn was also to hold water or some other liquor in; either at washing or sacrificeing &c. Such Roman Burial-urns as I have seen had large pieces of

burn't bones in them, such as could never be put into such urns as yours. The brasse daggers¹ were found in Meirionydhshire but upon ye borders of Caernarvonsh. near Bedh-Kelert. I was there in ye countrey and procur'd several pieces of them: but I did not hear there that any of them were guilt (*sic*). I took *Clawdh Wat* to be onely a continuation of *Clawdh Offa* under an other name. I can not guesse how this came to be call'd *Clawdh Wat*, nor whence the Roman way so call'd has been named *Watling Street*. I have observ'd in several mountainous (*sic*) places small brooks issue violently out of ye ground; and always judg'd them subterraneous currents, having seen such at Wkie Hole and Ogof Lhan y Mynych & some other caves. As for miraculous wells I take it for granted that superstition and ignorance first gain'd them that reputation; which prejudice and bigotry has ever since maintain'd. As for ye s[c]ent of ye mosse,² 'tis no more than what's natural, and to my knowledge there are other wells (in ye same countrey) the mosse whereof is endued with that smell. I can add no more at present than that I am

Hond Sr

Yr much obliged and humble
Servant EDW. LHWYD

101. MS *Lister* 36, xlviij

Hond Sr

Oxf. March ye 13. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$.

I recd both yr letters, one of ye 4th and ye other with one enclosd to Mr Pisie. I have all this while expected to hear farther of the fire but my correspondent is very slow and lives in a place too retired for frequent opportunities of writeing. Mr ARCHER who is lately returnd from Westmorland has brought us some oars and form'd stones: But he tells me this is ye onely countrey for teeth and bones; and that in the North they are chiefly upon Star Stones & Entrochi with some few Conchites. One Mr TOLAND an Irish gentleman importunes me to desire you'd be pleas'd to send us 3 or 4 patterns of ye Amber Stones, mention'd in Sr Robt Reddings letter *Phil. Tr.* 198. I told him I took them to be onely electrine spars & no great rarity. But he's not conversant in these studies, and

¹ See figure on p. 203.

² Holywell Moss, *see* p. 171.

endeavours to perswade us that to his knowledge they pullulate yearly directly upright at ye bottom of the well; adding that they are clean gather'd at least once a year.

I have often forgot to acquaint you from Mr DYER that he has observ'd in Devonshire a *Limax maximus marinus, colore fusco, griseis maculis notatus, purpureum colorem fundens*. I am glad to find you so well provided against such as are ignorant and malicious. I doe not understand yt ye publishing of physical books in the authors life time is so dishonourable. At leastwise I am sure we may say Fecere alij item boni. I am Sr

Yr most affectionat and obliged servant

EDWARD LHWYD

102. MS *Lister* 36, 1

Dear Sr

Oxf. April 1st 94.

Your unusual silence makes me fear ye worst; and therefore I beg ye favour of two or three lines next post.

I am sorry I have nothing to adde about the meteor, since I find that paper is not yet publish'd. I dispatch'd long since as many qeries as I thought necessary to a gentleman that lives on ye spot, but have recd no answeare. A letter to a gentleman of our Coll. about three posts since, informs us, yt the fire has also appeared in Caer-narvonshire, but the place he did not mention. The nearest maritim place of yt county to Harlech is 7 or 8 miles. But this relation I dare not rely upon (thô its likely to be true) ye gentleman who sent it living in Denb-sh. at 40 miles distance, and being seldome over serious or cautious in his letters. If we have it confirmd hereafter, I shall take it also as a confirmation of my conjecture about ye locusts. About ye later end of July I find that several catle died in Pembrokeshire, so unaccountably that they ascrib'd it to witchcraft. Mr Woodward acquaints me that one Mr [T.] Robinson (a north countrey divine) has lately put out a book entitld the *Anatomy of ye Earth*.¹ I can hear nothing of it in this town and Mr Woodward tells me it's not worth ye enquiring after. I find our Witney lithoscopist betray'd us, in not onely instructing Mr Morton, how to find

¹ Published in February 1694.

out *siliquastra*, fish-teeth and vertebræ; but also in selling to him several curious stones, which of right belong'd to us.

I am Sr

Yr most affectionat and obliged servant

EDWARD LHWYD

103. MS *Aubrey* 12, 255

Hond Sr.

Oxf. Apr. 1. 94.

I recd yr obligeing letter of ye 27th past; and am very glad ye picture came safe.¹ I have 7 shillings and sixpence left stil in my hands to be disposd of as you please to order it, which I forgot to mention in my last. I hope you recd ye letter with the enclos'd coyns in ye box; directed to Mr. T. Lloyd. I am glad ye acct of ye Meteor prov'd so acceptable; I can receive no answer to some queries I sent to ye countrey relating to it; otherwise I should take ye freedome of communicateing my thoughts, of the reason of it. Thô I must confesse as many of my friends as I have told them to have hitherto rejected them, as absurd. However if in ye answer to my queries, I find several circumstances that will favour ye conjecture, I shall be like to publish it either in *Camden* or (which is more proper) in the *Philosophical Transactions*. I have your ingenious observations concerning remains of Gentilisme which are (in my opinion) very curious, and contain much information for such as study antiquities. It is true as you say, we have not many at present in the University that prosecute that study very far. However we have several, and may well hope that such collections will make more. As to what you observe concerning some young men's undervalueing such remarks I own that's true: but if that consideration should discourage gentlemen from giving books to public libraries; we should have no []. Mr. Tanner gave me yr brother's paper. But I have [] skill in genealogies or heraldy (*sic*); and therefore such note [] to Mr. Camden, are quite another way. For which reason you'l be so kind as to excuse me, for taking no notice of [all] Aubreys. For to celebrate those Norman families whom some persons of good account in Wales,

¹ The picture was for Lord Pembroke to be sent to Wilton.

call by a name signifying *Grassatores*, and to take no notice of our own Gentry; as it would be in me no sign of an honest patriot, so it would give several just occasion of offence. I have enclosed the paper for you to give Mr. Gibson; who may take notice of yr family in Wiltshire, and so trace you into Brecknockshire, more properly than I could in Wales. I have made bold to peruse some of yr letters; which I think a valuable treasure. I will not persist in urging you to dedicate them to the Museum. For though I beg for ye public, yet I am sensible I ought not to be too importunate; considering you have been so generous a benefactor already, we have *Dalechampius* edition of [*Pliny*¹] but not *Holland's* translation. Dr. Edwards is yr very hu[mble] servant. I am very sensible, of yr continual favour

Yr much obliged a[nd] affect. Frd.
E. LH[WYD]

I find some British notes of Mr. Baxters in yr discourse of ye river Thames, which surpasses my skil in yt language.

104. To JOHN RAY. *Ray Correspondence*, p. 281

Honoured Sir,

Oxford, May 27, 1694.

Your last was of January 22, since which time I have not been able (though I have endeavoured it very much, by sending queries to the country) to give you any farther and more accurate account of that prodigious Fire I then alarmed you with. I understand only, in general, that it lasted at least three or four months; nay, some add that it still continues, though not in the same place, but appears up farther in the country, and that it has been also commonly seen on the sea coast of Caernarvonshire. The reason that induced me, at the beginning, to think of the locusts, was only a random guess, that so strange and unheard of effects must proceed from some cause no less unusual; for if ever our sea or land had been capable of their own nature to produce such a

¹ Presumably the copy of the *Historia Mundi* annotata a Jac. Dalecampio, Franc. 1599 which has been removed from the Museum to the Bodleian. Pressmark *Ashmole G. 11*. Holland's translation 1610 is *Ashmole G. 17*.

meteor, I should expect to find it recorded, that at one time or other, in the revolutions of some centuries, such a thing had happened.

You have probably seen, ere this, the *Phil. Trans.* of February, where there is all the account I could give of the locusts, but no figure of the animal, though I sent it up, and Mr. Waller promised to have it engraven. I have been informed since that many of them have been seen amongst the sea-weeds at Lhyn, in Caernarvonshire, and also in the Severn sea, in Monmouthshire. It was my suspicion that the infectious exhalation of these dead locusts might kindle, &c.; for Pliny tells us that even whilst they live, *multa contactu adurunt*. There has been, and still continues, a great mortality of cattle, horses, sheep, and hogs, about the place where the fire happened. Some say cattle were wont to die there formerly, others only that it was no good thriving or feeding-place for them; but all agree in that it never was infectious anything comparably to what has happened this year. These locusts, it seems, came also last year into Germany; and Job Ludolphus (as you find by the inclosed) designs a particular treatise of them, wherein he will maintain that the quails, wherewith the children of Israel were fed in the wilderness, were no other than these creatures.

[EDW. LHWYD]

[To this letter Ray replied on June 1, and to a later letter about Ferns on June 10. See Ray, *Further Correspondence*, Nos. 143 and 144.]

105. MS *Lister* 3, f. 145

Hond Sr

Oxford Sunday morning. [1694]

I receiv'd your kind letter, together with an other from Mr Ray: from both which I find our adventurous philosopher is but little valued amongst men of judgement; thô several learned men amoungst ye clergy and in both universities, have mistaken him, because they were wholly unacquainted with observations in this kind. The first thing I intend to publish, shall be the *Lithologia*, but 'twill require at least a twelv-month's time, before I can fit it for the presse.

We are now busy, a treating with Mr COLE for his museum; and are very like to have it. He is willing to give it us on some conditions he has lately sent us, which have been read in a public meeting of our Delegats. The main articles are, that he must have a distinct Repository, which must be inscrib'd *Museum Coleanum*; and that ye University would print at their own charges a large Natural History of his composing; allowing him ye one half of the copies. The former will be granted him, there being room enough, in this house for it; but we have sent to him to explain ye latter a litle more particularly. In his proposals he promises (and offers to enter into articles) that he will setle a considerable sallary on the keeper.

Mr MORTON¹ who visited you together with Mr Woodward; seems a very candid ingenious man; and is become of late my particular friend; and will assist me in ye *Lithology* as much as he can. I must be also troubling you for a great deal of help; & in case you have done with yr form'd stones, I shall be desireing you to send all as soon as you please to the Museum. I am Dear Sr

Yr most affectionat. & obliged servant
ED. LHWYD

If my Lord of London, wants a Minister for ye West Indies; one who has been my deputy for 2. or 3 years and is skill'd in ye searching for figured stones, is very desireous of goeing.

106. To JOHN AUBREY. MS *Aubrey* 36, 257

Hond. Sr.

Oxf. May 29. 94.

I had return'd you our thanks sooner for your late present; but yt I expected you here by this time, according to your promise. The *English Pliny & Dictionary* I have recd. and enter'd in the catalogue with this mark *A*. which character I thought convenient to adde to all the books and pamphlets

¹ The Rev. JOHN MORTON of Emmanuel College had taken his master's degree in 1695 and, having been stimulated by Dr. Lister's books, became an enquirer after fossil shells, one source of which—Lhwyd's 'lithoscopist'—he had tapped. See Letter No. 102. He published the *Natural History of Northamptonshire* in 1712. 'A work of very considerable industry, written on Dr. Plot's method, and on Dr. Woodward's hypothesis.'—NICOLSON.

of your donation; as also this **M** to those given us by Dr. Lister for as yet you two, are our noblest benefactors (indeed our onely benefactors of note next to Mr. Ashmole) for books as well as other curiosities. I know not what to say as to what Mr. Gibson tells you of yr MSS. I presume the curators of the presse have not as yet had any perusal of your works, and til then litle can be sayd to it. Mr. Tanner sometime since shew'd me a letter from you wherin you mention'd that I had given you some hint yt Dr. Edwards was disposd to be at ye charges of publishing yr *Monumenta Britannica*. I do not remember that I had any directions to write any such thing to you, and I hope if my letters are stil by you, you'l find no such promise in them. Dr. Edwards I know is very sensible of the true worth of yr labours, as he was pleasd to declare upon perusal of your *Monumenta Britannica*; which I presum'd to give him a sight of the day before I deliver'd them to Mr. Tanner to be sent you. He orders me to give you his service, and addes he would be very glad of your acquaintance when you come to Oxford. Mr. Anwyl, Mr. Davies and Mr. Wyn give you their humble respects, as also yr friends at Queens. Mr. Tanner is at present out of Town, I think with Dr. Charlet. I have nothing to adde but my humble respects to Mr. Wyld, and Mr. Gibson as you meet wth opportunity, and to subscribe myself (worthy Sr)

Yr much obliged and affectionat Frd.

EDW. LHWYD

The two books you are pleasd to mention in yr last, will be a noble present and highly acceptable.

107. MS *Lister* 36, lii

Dear Sr

Oxf. July 3d 94.

I had acquainted you with my receiving your excellent present sooner, but that Mr Sherard told me you were gone out of town. Dr ALDRICH, our present Vice Chancellr, is Doctor of Divinity; but yr Anatomical Treatise was very acceptable to him, he being a person of general learning and curiosity. Yr last being purely physical I suppose he does not expect any present of it.

I find yr accuracy in proposeing queries has at last procured us a right understanding of the Giant's Causway. I take it to be one of ye noblest curiosities this age hath discoverd in ye Mineral Kingdom, and surely Dr Burnet will be apt to say, it's one small pattern of ye frame of the Antediluvian Earth. It seems much to me yt it should not differ in greet or substance, from ye common marble or stone of that mountain. I have finishd the greatest part of my annotations on yt part of *Camden* that treats of Wales: but am afraid they will not print all I send 'm thô I have studyed not to trouble them much with superfluities. I have sent them some of the counties, and shall send you others very speedyly; because I presume (by what Mr Churchill has told me) that you have some authority with him; and therefore perhaps you may persuade them to doe what's convenient. If I gain any credit by this: its not unlikely but our gentry may be hereafter willing to encourage somthing more considerable. I understand yr book has sold very well here; and therefore I hope such as blame you for what they understand not, will be more cautious for ye future. I am Sr

Yr most affectionat & obliged servt
E. LHWYD

Upon ye death of Sr Carbury Pryse his estate together with the mines are fallen to one Mr EDW. PRYSE who is my mother's brother. I drank yr health last night with Mr Sherard & Mr Dyer. Mr Bobert's MS. I receiv'd.

108. For ye Rev. Mr JOHN LLOYD Scholemaster of Ruthin in Denbighshire North Wales. Chester post. Arch. Camb. 1859, 164

Dear Sr¹

Oxf. July 31. 1694.

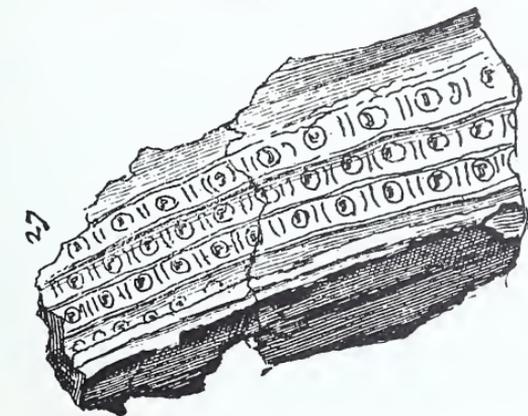
I'm afraid yt by this time you begin to question whether your old Friends at Oxford be *adhuc in vivis*. And my onely hopes are that my friend Mr. [W.] WYN has in some measure satisfied you, that since our late active correspondence, I have been somewhat busy haveing yt ungratefull task layd upon me of drawing a catalogue of about 1000 MSS. in my custody;

¹ Altered to 'Dear Veteran'.

besides that which you have contributed so much unto. They have now printed off about 7 or 8 counties, but have as yet but one presse at work, so that they have not come near Wales. I have sent in the six counties of South Wales and Monmouthshire long since: but have not yet parted with those of North Wales nor shall I be obliged to doe it 'til they have printed and sent me down some part of South Wales which I am sure will not be this month. Mr. Mostyn's draughts together with some other Antiquities out of South W. (Monmouthshire chiefly) will be engrav'd in a table or two at the end of the Welsh Counties; to which I have also added three specimens of Mock-plants, whereby I mean impressions of distinguishable species of plants on cole slates at 20 fathoms depth &c. I have omitted a draught of an urn Mr. Mostyn was pleased to send, because I am told by some of Lhÿn that 'twas found amongst ye Algæ or Gwmmwn; so that I am not satisfied as yet but that it might be cast out of some Portugal vessel; seeing we have such at ye Museum by the name of Portugal Ewers: and that in regard it's like a sandbox within, it could not possibly be an urn, for that in urns we constantly find great pices (*sic*) of burnt bones. I shall take care to observe Mr Mostyn's orders in not making use of his name. I am troubled that Mr. John Williams and Dr. Charles should both refuse me the favour of takeing a figure and description of ye Gold Torques. Mr Williams's answer was that he could not grant it; because he could not call it his own; and Dr Charles (who had it a long time in his custody) required Mr. Williams' leave, before I should take any acct of it. What ends either of them could propose is best known to themselves. I had sent up ye draughts to be engrav'd some time before Sr Roger purchas'd it, nor did I know he had it 'til yesterday. I beg a letter from you at yr first leasure; with all the additions you can make.

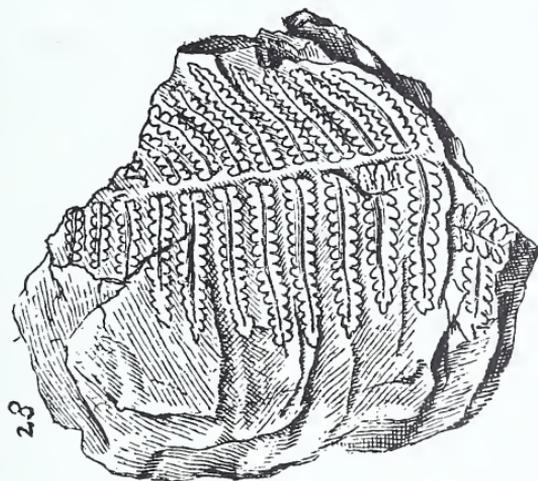
I desire a catalogue of such places where either yr self or Friends have observd any fossil shells for I intend to say something in general of such bodies, but have not resolv'd in what county. If you have received any tolerable account of ye fire in Meirionedhshire from some ingenious person pray send it

Mock-plants out of [Mr. Evan Evans' of Eaglesbush] Colepit near Neath in Glamorganshire.



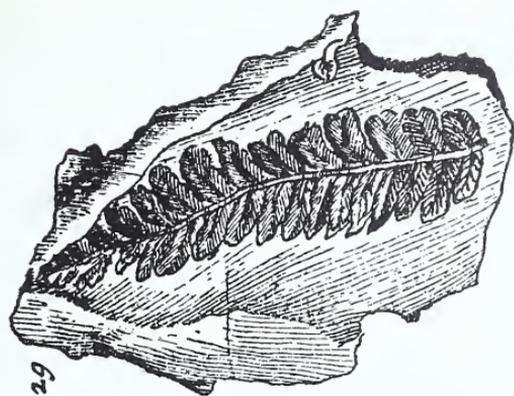
27

FIG. 27. Length 6 inches. *Epi-phylosperma mineralis* (L. 180). [Sigillaria stem.]



28

FIG. 28. *Filix foemina mineralis* Glamorgansium (L. 181). [Frond of Pecopteris.]



29

FIG. 29. $1\frac{1}{2} \times 4$ inches. *Poly-podium minus minerale* (L. 182). [A pinna of *Neuropteris* frond.]

me: for I would willingly give a full relation of it in that county, though I should say nothing to the cause. We have been inform'd here that 'twas seen also in Caernarvonshire; of which I would gladly be satisfied. Mr Ray has added catalogues of the rarest plants in each counties (*sic*): and has (upon my unwillingness of being at unnecessary trouble) drawn up also a catalogue of ye rarest plants in Wales, hitherto observ'd.

But we are all so jealous of these printers that as yet we are unsatisfied what they'l doe. Viz. how much or how little they'l print of what we send them. All your friends here are very well. Ned Humphreys's brother¹ gives you his humble service, and thanks for your kindnesse at his coming up &c. I hope to see 'm (*sic*) a good scholer in few years; for he seems to be a very toward lad. My hearty service to Lepid Cardo (*sic*) &c. I am Sr yr most affect. Frd and servant

EDW. LHWYD

shall I give [Th.] Price² of Lhanvyllyng a small touch or not?

109. To Dr. LISTER. *Phil. Trans.* xviii, No. 213. 223

(Oct. 1694)

Some farther Account of the Fiery Exhalation in Merionydshire.

Honoured Sir, Oxford, Aug. 23, 1694

I discoursed with an intelligent sober person, that lives near Harlech in Merionydshire, who assured me the Fire still continues there; that it is observed to come from a place called Morva bychan in Caernarvonshire, about 8 or 9 miles off, [over part of the Sea]. That Cattle of all sorts, as sheep, goats, hogs, cows and horses, still dye apace; and that for certain any great noise, as winding of horns, drums etc does repel it from any house, or barn or stacks of hay; upon account of which remedy, they have had few or no losses in that kind since Christmas. That it happened during this summer, at least one night in a week, and that commonly either Saturday or Sunday; but that now of late it appears something oftner. The place

¹ ROBERT HUMPHREYS matric. Trinity Coll. 1694.

² PRICE addressed Lhwyd as 'cousin'.

whence it proceeds is both sandy and marshy. This is all I could gather from him, material. [EDW. LHWYD]

[For Ray's views on the phenomena see his letter for Sept. 7, 1694, in his *Further Correspondence*, No. 146, p. 254.]

110. MS *Peniarth* 427; *Cambr. Mag.* iv, 244

For the Revd Mr. JOHN LLOYD Scholemaster at Ruthyn, Denbighshire

Dear Sr,

Oxf. 7 ber. 8. 94.

This is onely to return you my thanks for your last, of Aug 25. I have this week sent up Montgomeryshire, and Meirionnydh; being dun'd for them by Mr. Gibson. I am now satisfied we shall have pretty fayr play: for whereas I suspected all this while they would print but few Notes or Additions, I find by some counties I have seen, their Additions are almost as large as ye Text. I have given the best Acct I could of ye Torques, in yr County, at Harlech; and hope it may be easily understood by ye Description, thô a figure of it had been ornamental. I have also added all ye information I could get from Mr. WYN of Maes y Neuadh, and Mr. JONES of DôlGelheu, of ye prodigious Fire, wch they say continues stil: for I was unwilling to omit wholly so strange and unaccountable a phœnomenon. The Touch I mention'd of my old Frd¹ I intended thus. Having occasion of mentioning his name, I thought to adde these words: *a Gentleman (that we may not envy our worst Friends all the good character they seem to deserve) of some learning and Ingenuity, &c.*, but I omitted it. He has indeed some learning and ingenuity; but nothing of candour, and no great share of Judgment: as appears by his Letter to my Ld of Leechfield, concerning the British History, which he gave me formerly to transcribe. I take Mr. Mostyn (betwixt you and I) to have as good a share of both these (besides his other Qualifications), as any I have had correspondence with, in Wales.

Mr. Anwyl in all appearance is like to be preferd to Lhan-iestyn, Caern: which he tels me is worth about 120 li per an. I have nothing to adde but my service to Mr. Jones and all other

¹ THOMAS PRICE of Lhan Villing.

Friends, particularly to that negligent Varlet, Mr. Wm Wyn, if you happen to see 'm. I am Dear Vet[era]n

Yr most affectionat Friend and Servt

EDW. LHWYD

III. *For his much esteemed Friend Mr. EDMUND GIBSON at the black Swan in Ave mary-lane, London.*

MS *Cardiff Public Library*

Oxford, Sept. 13. 1694

Sr

I have herewith sent you the Translation of that part of the *Britannia* that relates to Wales;¹ together with some annotations on each county. I was always sensible there were several persons better qualified for this task than myself; and therefore, as you know, for some months declin'd the undertaking. But finding afterwards that those gentlemen who were fittest for it, could not have leisure to attend it, I thought it better, with the assistance and advice of friends, to offer my best endeavours, than to leave it wholly to the management of some person lesse acquainted with the language and country. Thus having not enter'd upon this province, till such as were more capable had declin'd it as inconsistent with their private occasions, I hope what faults I have committed in the performance may be something more excusable.

In the translation I have without favour or prejudice endeavour'd to retain the sense of the Author: but whereas I have sometimes differ'd in writing the Welsh names of Persons and Places, I presum'd few readers would scruple to allow me that liberty.

[Llwyd then explains the method he has observed, with some general rules relating to the Orthography and Pronunciation of Welsh.² He ends:]

And where we disagree in the sense, I shall upon notice thereof, either give directions to alter it, or offer some reasons to the contrary.

I am [*Worthy erased*] Sr, Yr obliged Friend and Servant

EDW. LHWYD

¹ Cf. MS. *Cardiff* 4. 172.

² This letter is printed in Camden's *Britannia*, edit. 1695, page 583.

112. For Mr EDM. GIBSON at the Black Swan in Ave Mary Lane London. MS Cardiff Public Library

Sunday morning Post mark Sept. 24, 1694

Dear Sr,

Since yr last, I have writ twice, which I hope came both to hand. My last was the letter you desired to be inserted before the Welsh Counties, which I thought most readers would construe rather requisite than singular. I suppose you have not yet begun those Counties, and therefore if you suppose it convenient, you may adde this account of the Welsh Alphabet after that letter. [*Then follow notes on the Pronunciation of Welsh words, printed l.c., p. 583*]

Pray let me know at yr leasure when you begin with my province, that I may send you a correction of a place in Monmouthshire which I long since sent in the letter that miscarried. We drink your health somtimes with Mr. Aubrey,¹ who talks briskly of printing ye *Templa Druidum*, when Camden is out, at ye charges of Sr JOHN AUBREY.

I am Worthy Sr Yr most affect. Frd and Servant

EDW. LHWYD

113. MS *Lister* 36, lv

Dear Sr

Oxford October 2. 1694

'Twas but last post that I receivd your letter by Mr Thomas; for it so fell out that he could not return by Oxford. I had finishd my task in Camden before it came; so that I have onely refer'd in ye margin to the places you mention. Your Treatise of Spiders &c. is so scarce yt I can not procure one in this town; but in some of our libraries we have it. I have sent you enclosed a letter, from a gentleman in Flintshire, which might make us suspect yt what Capten Hicks told you formerly of delineations of birds on stones by Stratford upon Avon, might be true. Mr WOODWARD hath some time since, offer'd me ye perusal of the manuscript he designes to publish; but I thought that would onely occasion farther delay, and

¹ ROBERT SALUSBURY wrote in 1696 that when visiting Gibson at Lambeth 'who comes in but old Hermetic Aubrey: we drank 3 or 4 bottles of very good liquor, viewed the Library and so returned'.

exhorted him to put it in ye presse wth all speed. Whether it be in ye presse or noe, I know not: and doe hesitate a litle, whether I shall add any thing on that subject to any of our Welsh counties in *Camden*.

I heartily wish your next may bring a better account of yr health than the last you sent

Yr most obliged and humble servant
E. LHWYD

Upon ye first reading of Dr Folie's acct of the Giant's Causway; I thought Boetius's stone, had agreed with it onely as to matter: but upon consulting Boetius, I find it ye same as to Form.

From Mr. SWALL

October 5, 1694

Mr Lhwyd,

I have drawn a bil at 10 days' sight on Mr. Clements' for eight pounds eighteen and doe for this promise you to deliver you seven *Camdens* when done upon payment of six pounds more besides the first payment £3. 12 which being allowed you on act. makes £12. 10. 0, which is the one half of our agreement, as for this other Mr. Churchill have pd £5, so you must desire Mr. Gibson to call on him for the remainder, which he will readily pay. When you have recd that and mine, pray send a rec[eip]t in full to Sr.

Your Humble Servant
ABEL SWALL

114. *For Mr. EDMUND GIBSON at the black Swan in Ave Mary Lane London. MS Cardiff Public Library*

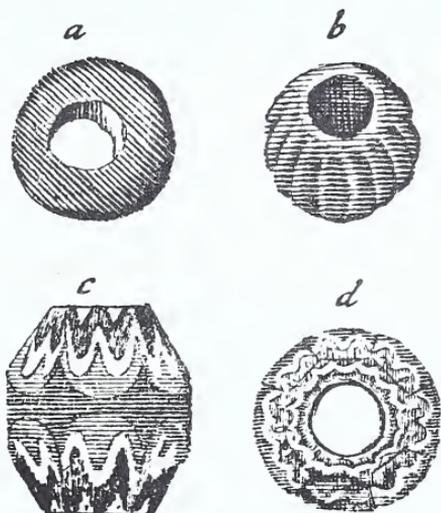
Oxford Oct 18 '94

Dear Sr,

I hope you have recd ere this, all that remains of Wales except the last county, which shall be sent you this next week.

I have sent you enclosed two or three other Trinkets to be added, if it be not too late, in that vacant space of ye table, on ye left hand, which seems somthing of an eye-sore, or *deliquium*. I think it is after number the fifteenth, but I have not ye

Table at present by me, having left it with Dr. Edwards who approves of it very well.



- a. An Adder-bead or Glain Neidr of green glass, found at Aber-Fraw in Anglesey.
- b. Another of earth, enamelled with blue; found near Dôl Gêlheu in Meirionydshire.
- c. A third of glass, undulated with white, red, and blue: found near Maes y Pandy in the same County.
- d. Represents one end of the same. Of these Adder-beads, which are supposed to have been Druid-Amulets, some account is given at Kerig y Drudion, in Denbighshire.

In ye margin of that annotation in Denbighshire I have writ ye word Glyne, which I desire you would alter writing Glùne. I find I have also mistaken ye name of a place twice mention'd in ye additions to Anglesey; for whereas I writ it Lhan Buwbo, it ought to be *Lhan Babo*. It repents me to have mention'd so trifling a mistake in ye letter I sent you by Mr. Anwyl. I find that in all places you make more than ample satisfaction for it by correcting mine, and therefore desire you to proceed with all the liberty imaginable.

Dr. Charlet mention'd something to me yesterday about a project of an *English Chronicle* to be published in five tomes; but could give me no clear idea of the Design. I find no inclination

to engage in anything of that nature; but if you approve of it, I should be willing to contribute anything I can towards ye promoteing of it, if any other shall undertake ye British part.

I am, yr most affect. fr. and servant

EDWARD LHWYD

115. MS *Lister* 3, f. 151

Sunday morn [Oct. 1694.]

Hond Sr

I am afraid, I have this time too long misused yr patience, for wch I heartily beg your pardon. I have placed yr volume of Shells & Formd Stones in the room of the other, & the title in ye catalogue agreeing with this as well as that, the Visitors (were there any matter in't) will never misse ye former. I admire ye progresse you have made in this part of Natural History, & above all ye patience of yr workw. & doe hope it will not be long ere you add names to them & so print off for good. The adding of names to them, & such descriptions as yr spare & leisure hours will permit, is a thing that the work seems now ripe for. As to my own memory, I find that short titles or names of natural bodies are the most serviceable, tho they doe not allways distinguish the species from those that are congenerous with them; or expresse all their properties. I mean such titles as are composed of four or five & so to 8 words. J. Bauhin calls ye English Saxifrage, *Saxifraga Anglorum pratensis folijs fœniculi latiorib. radice nigra, flo. candido, semine fœniculi similis Silao*, which is indeed an excellent title, but should all plants be thus named 'twould discourage many from becoming botanists. Hence I should judge it convenient, (yt men might more easily converse about natural things) to give them short titles, leaving the rest of their properties to their figures, descriptions, &c. or else (if ye contrary seem necessary) to give them two titles: ye one nominal shorter than this of Bauhinus; ye other descriptory, longer, when requisite.

I am also of opinion yt many words more ought to be invented to denote ye *genera subalterna* of shells; for there

being amongst all ye authors yt have treated on yt subject, not above thirty generical names; these must have so many other terms added to them to make things clear, in describeng one or two thousand species, yt it must needs clog ye memory very much.

I have transcrib'd what Rondeletius & Bellonius say of ye *Urticæ marinæ*; but I desire a litle farther directions of what you would have done in this case. Would you have me employ one to delineat their figures; or onely transcribe their descriptions & note ye pages where ye figures are? If you can think yt Capten Hicks may be belive'd in his relation of ye Birds in slate,¹ I would go to morrow senight to Stratford upon Avon: but I would be assured of the place at least within ye compasse of one mile. This relation seems to me as well as to yr self, either an invention or a mistake. I have some correspondence of late with yr neighbour Mr Wod but I believe it will not continue long; for I suspect him to be too cunning for me; & not over communicative of his things or notions; nor liberal of his good character, to such as may deserve it. But my acquaintance with him is but small, & perhaps I may misunderstand him. The Principall of Jesus Coll. talks much of a *History of Wales*, & offers his interest to dispose ye gentry, to give me ye like encouragement yt Dr Plot met with in Staffordshire. I answer'd yt in two or three years time, I hoped to capacitate my self for it, & yt I should then be very glad of such an employment. I have found no friend as yet yt can doe our businesse on ye bank of ye Trent, but shall enquire as diligently as I can. I am now at some spare hours learning Irish, yt I may be ye better critic in ye British, in case I should ever be concern'd in ye *History of Wales*. But I can not learn yt there is any Dictionary, Vocabulary or Grammar of yt language extant, nor one man in this town yt can read it; wch makes ye task somewhat difficult. I am Sr,

Yr most obliged & humble servt
E. LHWYD

¹ As birds in slate are also mentioned by Ray in his letter to Lhwyd of 7 Sept. 1694, the present letter may be dated as of the following October.

116.

Oxf. Tuesday morn [Ma. 25.]

This is all I find in authors, under ye notion of *Urtica marina*. The Polypi, Sepiæ, Lologines &c. I shall send next week¹; being now very busy in preparing for ye Visitation. I hadn't been so slow, but yt I presumed you were in no hast.

I am Sr

Yr most obliged & humble servant

EDW. LHWYD

I rejoyce to hear you design short names &c. for each species in your *History of Shells*.

Urticæ marinæ Rondeletij et aliorum sunt	{ vel Cirratæ quas & fixas vocant	{ 1. Urtica major rubra, cirris brevioribus. 2. Urtica minor cirris brevibus, versicolor. 3. Urtica cinerea comata, S. coma longiuscula semper (quod ait Rondeletius) explicata. 4. Urtica cirris in ambitu brevissimis, capillamentis in medio longioribus purpureis donata.
	{ vel Gelatinæ qæ solutæ appellantur	

De urticis cirratis.

Tit. I. Urtica major rubra cirris brevioribus. Urtica rubra Rond. p. 530. Urtica rubra vel purpurea. Rondeletij, Gesnero de Aquatilib. 1241.

Rond. Hoc Urticæ genus, nostri ob colorem purpureum sive phœniceum, rosam appellant: alij Pisterol quod contracta recti intestini extremum cum masculino Sphinctere sive podicem referat, quem Pisterol nomine intelligunt, quod posteriore loco situs sit: alij porus sepie Britannorum: alij culde cheval vocant.

Est autem hæc primæ similis [*quam parvam vocat*] nisi quod frondem et longiorem et copiosiore[m] habet: rubra est.

Saxis aliquando hæret, aliquando soluta vagatur.

Esculentæ sunt, sed *parva* urtica duriores.

Satis vulgaris est hæc Urtica ad litora Arvonix et Monæ Insulæ, apud Cambro-Britannos, ubi obscæno nomine γ Gont gôch, appellatur.

¹ See page 164.

Tit. II. Urtica minor cirris brevibus versicolor. Urtica parva Rond. 528. Massiliensibus Urtigo: Normannis Cul d'asne: Cubaseau Burdegalensium. Urtica parva Rond. Gesneri, p. 1240.

Rond. Urtica hæc nucis juglandis magnitudinen vix superat: ob id *parva* a nobis dicitur. Massilienses *Urtigo* vocant. Græcorum vulgus *κολικαινον* (quod nomen forte non intellectum Galli sua lingua in cul d'ane i.e. culum asini transformarunt) Normanni Cul d'asne. Burdegalenses Cubaseau.

Tota carnosa est; cirros breves habet: contracta recti intestini extremum habet. Colore vario est. Quædam enim est viridis: alia cærulea; alia subnigra, sed punctis aliquot cæruleis vel flavis, vel rubris notata.

Esculenta est: in Oceani saxis, et maxime in Santonico sinu frequens: et apud Santones, Burdegalensesque in delicijs habetur. Eas diligenter et leviter coctas in Sartagine frigunt. Huic similis si non eadem circa Porth Neigivl, & alibi in Arvoniam et Mona Insulam satis vulgaris est, colore flavescente, & quandoque carneo aut subrubenti insignis.

Tit. III. Urtica cinerea comata. S. coma longiuscula semper (quod ait Rondeletius) explicata. Urtica cinerea Rondeletio p. 529. Urtica cinerea Rond. t.ij Gesnero p. 1241.

Rond. Cineream voco urticam a colore, quæ tenuis est admodum: quæ frondem magnam sive cirros multos habet, carnis parum. In saxorum rimis vivit. Comam semper explicatam habet, nec unquam contrahit. Revera tamen urtica est: acrius enim pungit ac mordet, si paulo diutius manibus contrectetur.

Hujusmodi urtici in scopulis Fresconijs Agathensis sinus reperitur.

Tit. IV. Urtica cirris in ambitu brevissimis, capillamentis in medio longioribus purpureis donata. Urticæ quarta spec. Rond. p. 531. Urticæ quarta spec. Rond. t.ij quæ Purpuris & Buccinis adnascitur, Gesnero p. 1242.

Rondel. Quartum Urticarum genus id erit quod instar Holothuriorum testis alienis adnascitur & maxime purpuris. Pars exterior dura est et rigidiuscula, spissiorque quam in alijs Urticis. Cirros brevissimos in ambitu habet. Ex interioribus ejus partibus filum longum [*figura exhibet plura capillamenta aut stamina*] deducitur, purpureo colore tam jucundo tamque florido infectum, ut cum precioso illo purpuræ succo certet.

Verisimile est hanc urticam purpuræ adhærentem, a cane Herculis demorsam fuisse, quæ tam excellenti, suavique colore, rictum dentesque canis illeverit, ut negarit Puella quam deperibat Hercules

fore unquam eum optati compotem, nisi prius eo colore infectam vestem dedisset. Inde Purpuræ colorem inventum fuisse. Etenim si mortuam Purpuram dentibus arripuit canis, tum una cum vita, succus ille evolat: si viva, ea undique ita munita est, tum testa clavata, tum capitis operculo, ut undique ab omnibus injurijs tuta sit. Præterea Purpura tante est duritie, ut dentibus canis robustissimi minime cedat. Sed de ea re sive fabulosa sit, sive historica, statuatur quivis pro arbitrio.

Hæc urtica de qua nunc agimus, duriore est carne; quam ob causam ea nostris rejicitur.

Urticæ gelatinæ. S. urticæ solutæ. These seem another genus, & to deserve perhaps some other name.

Tit. V. Urtica gelatina, radijs octo subularibus (seu calamistro similibus) instructa. Urticæ quinta spec. Rond. pag. 532. & Gesn. p. 1242.

Rond. Urticas solutas diximus vulgi lingua *Potes* nuncupari. Ex ijs est quæ a Liguribus Capello di mare, a Massiliensibus capeau carnu vocatur, quasi dicas pileum carnosum, a figura. Etenim pars una veluti fungosa quædam massa, rotunda, cava, in medio perforata, purpurea, veluti fasciola ambiente, pileum plane refert. altera parte polyporum pedibus similis est. Octo enim pedes habet crassiusculos, extremis partibus quadratos, in acutum definientes. Nullas interiores partes distinctas habet. Circa Magalonam plurimæ reperiuntur, maxime æstate, quæ tum dissolvuntur, & in liquorem abeunt, diffluuntque glaciei modo, si diutius manibus tractes. Ad eam magnitudinem aucescunt, ut pileos quibus viatores uti solent superent. Pruritus in pudendis & uredinem in manibus & oculis movent atque acrimonia sua Venerem vel extinctam excitant, quæ maxime de causa, cum urticis numerandæ sunt.

Tit. VI. Urtica gelatina pileo pentaphylloide, quaternis radijs sinuatis donata. Urtica soluta alia Rond. p. 533. Gesn. p. 1243.

Rond. In sinu Agathensi vidimus eam quam hic exhibemus urticæ speciem quæ supradictis, substantia, vita, viribus similis est. quatuor dumtaxat pedes habet S. frondes potius, longiores quam ullæ aliæ urticæ, quæ satis apte folijs acanthi comparari possunt: in altera parte lepeas aliquas habet stellatim dispositas. Quam procul absint a veritate, qui hanc urticam & superiorem pro pulmonibus marinis usurparunt, suo loco demonstravimus. Nec minus errant qui urticas cum Holothurijs & Tethyis confundunt, cum toto genere differant, quamvis Aristoteles Holothurijs & Tethyis Urticas subjunxerit.

Tit. VII. Urtica gelatina pileo sinuato, quae pulmo marinus Matthiolo, p. Hujus Figuram v.e apud Aldrovandum de Zoophytis, p. 575.

Tit. VIII. Urtica gelatina quæ Potta marina vulgo Aldrov. de Zooph. p. 578.

117. MS *Lister* 3, f. 132

Oxf. Nov. 13 [1694.]

Hond Sr

I ought long since to have return'd you my thanks for your last obligeing letter; thô I have had litle else, of moment to write. I happen'd some years since to be so free, as to give ye G. you mention the character of an ingenious person, but one that was subject to ye vanity of despiseing most other men, and that was of an arrogant and disagreeable conversation.¹ Mr Beverland (to whom I gave this account of him) meeting him afterwards in a full company at a booksellers shop in ye Strand, ask'd whether he had not a curious collection of Engl. fossils: Mr. Wwd having answer'd he had some; Beverland (more suo) reply'd *then I suppose you are ye gentleman one Mr Floyd of Oxf'd mention'd to me. He told me there was one Wwd a Londoner, who had a tolerable collection of form'd stones &c. but that he was a proud, arrogant fellow, yt affoarded no man a good character but esteem'd all the world fools in comparison of himself &c.* Upon this I had an expostulatory letter the next post; to which I return'd one no lesse hasty & confirm'd what I had told Bevd² but with the addition that he had omitted all ye good character I had given him. Softning our pens by degrees we became at last reconcile'd, but how firm friends I know not, nor am I very solicitous about it. However (to tel you ye truth) I long to have his book out, that I may see a litle of his strength; for if he performs one moiety of what he has always pretended, he'll tel ye world considerable news. Dr Sherard and others had inform'd me yt your book³ had given much offence to ye London physicians: and I heard a young physician of great character in this town disparageing it, for ye titles *Ægrotus* I. II. &c. some of the

¹ In October 1692. See No. 55. ² HADRIAN BEVERLAND. See No. 55.

³ LISTER, *Sex exercitationes medicinales*, June 1694.

patients being woemen: and for yt you treat of diseases that occurre so seldom, as ye Hydrophobia. These and such like objections, thô 'tis plain to any indifferent person, they are no other than the effects of malice and absurd prejudice; are some times hearken'd to, by the lesse warie. But that I know is no discouragement to a person of your temper: since we find by dayly experience that men of narrow knowledge and studies (unlesse they are very good natured) can hardly avoyd censuring and injuring others.

I receivd this last week a letter from Mr BEAUMONT¹ wherin he offers ye University his collection of fossils for twenty pounds: but considering we have your collection, and Dr Plot's and my own (which I design for ye Museum at last) I doubt whether he has many things that we have not; at leastwise I know not whether that may not be too much money.

I find Mr Gibson has almost finishd the main body of the *Britannia*. He has dealt very favourably with me, haveing printed all I sent, and also grav'd all the figures.² I shall add no more at present but that I am

Yr most affectionat and humble servant
EDW. LHWYD

*To ye hond RICHARD MOSTYN Esq. at Pen Bedw in Flintshire.
Chester post.*

118. *Arch. Camb.* 1850, 142

Oxford, Nov. 29, 94.

Hond Sr

Your last obligeing letter came to my hand at such a time that I thought unseasonable to trouble you with any Answer to it: nor did I think it proper to propose any further Queries on the subject then in hand. I ought however to have returned you my thanks long ere this, and must therefore humbly beg your pardon for neglecting it. *Camden* is now wholly printed

¹ The letter is from Ston Easton, dated 26 Oct. 1694, soon after Lister had visited him with a 'Hamberger'. 'I think', he wrote, 'that if they are worth anything, they are worth twenty pounds.' Beaumont's Crinoids are figured in *E.S.O.*, vol. xii.

² On August 27, W. Nicolson had requested Gibson to insert *all* Lhwyd's additions to the *Britannia*.

off, except ye preface and Index, but will not be publish'd I suppose till next Term. I have made bold to send you Monmouthshire (Translat. & Addit.), with a copper plate to be added at ye end of Wales; as also the two first Counties of my Task, all directed to Mr. JOHN LLOYD of Ruthin. Those are ye only Counties that have been sent me from London, so yt I could not send you as I intended, North Wales: and indeed Monmouthshire of all ye Counties in Wales affoards ye greatest variety of Roman Antiquities. But I can not pretend to have made any curious search into ye monuments of any County. When it comes to your hands, which I suppose will be about a week or fortnight hence, I should be very glad to be informed of what you think amisse as well as of your approbation of what you like. I have observ'd your directions in making no mention of your name: but have taken ye Liberty (speaking of the Antiquities of Kaer hun) to mention your Brother; supposing it no Breach of modesty nor any sign of Flattery if we make honourable mention of ye deceas'd. I am (Hond Sr)

Yr much obliged & humble Servant,
EDW. LHWYD

119. MS *Lister* 3, f. 168

Sunday morning [Dec. 1694.]

Hond Sr

Your present came not til last Thursday, so that I could not til now give you an account of the receipt of it. I order'd the box to be carried to Dr Charlet our Pro-Vicechancr who told me he would write to you this post. I find one book amongst them which we had before viz. *Musæum Calceolarij*; and in yr last present, *Chardin's Travels* was also a duplicat. & *Vaillant of Coyns*. If you please to give me commission I shall exchange the duplicats for books yt would be of present use to me, for as yet there are not many students here at the Museum besides my self; thô when our catalogue is printed, I need not fear company. I mentiond formerly the duplicats to one or two of our Visitors, who reply'd that when they come to any considerable number they might be exchanged; but we have noe benefactor of any note besides yourself; and 'twould be of considerable use for me to exchange such books,

as they come in; for I can not conveniently be absent from this place at other libraries. Considering that amongst your donation of books to this Museum, those of Plants are very considerable, it would not perhaps be amisse to lay out the duplicats in books of that kind. The secretary of the Dublin Society was pleasd lately to send me a letter in order to a correspondence. I know not whether you may remember yt I told you formerly Dr Molyneux and his brother had discoursd much with me at Dublin abt a *Natural History of Ireland*. When *Camden* is out, it may be guesd partly whether I might be capeable of serving the public in that way. If so, I suppose there are few or none so much at leasure to attend it, as most other scholers being engaged in some more beneficial employment. The onely objection is that such an undertakeing would be too expensive (without present encour'.) to

Yr most obliged servt
EDW. LHWYD

120. MS *Lister* 36, lvii

Oxford. Jan. 1st 169 $\frac{1}{2}$.

Hond Sr

I have acquainted the Vicechancellr and Dr Charlet wth your pleasure as to the duplicats, and shall also inform all the Visitors of it, at our next Visitation. As for what I hinted concerning Ireland; 'twas onely on supposition yt ye Provost of the Coll. at Dublin, Sr R. Bulkeley¹ Dr Mollineux &c. would invite me to it & ensure me present maintenance for travelling, with what farther encouragement would seem requisite. Not that I am at all uneasy in the place I am at; but am so well satisfied with it (thô I can scarce make 30 li. a year of it, for my own use) that at present I have noe thoughts of quitting it whilst I live. But such an employment either in Ireland or Wales would not at all oblige me to resign my present station: for I am satisfied the Visitors would give me leave on such an occasion to be absent as much as I pleased.

Mr W. tels me in a letter of Decemb. ye ijth that the printer

¹ SIR RICHARD BULKELEY, B.A. OXON. 1680, 'a person of good understanding and reason which in divers respects were much improved by the imperfect symmetry and deformity of his body'. Buried at Ewell, Surrey, 1710.

was then on the third sheet of his book, so that I suppose 'twill now quickly be out, & put an end to our long expectation. For he would always have me believe that he could give such acct of the Deluge, as would serve not onely to explain how marine bodies are lodged in the bowels of the earth &c. but also the origin of all minerals, of springs, of meteors, &c. so that surely we must expect some hypothesis different from the History of Moses, and the Theory of Dr Burnet.

I find you have added in the last *Transaction* what farther account of the meteor, I sent you: it happen'd that I had also enter'd the same in *Camden*: however I hope that will not be much amisse. I am glad the Ph[ysicians] begin to be cool; and doubt not but 'twill soon redound to your reputation. I am

(Hond Sr)

Yr much obliged and affectionat servant

EDW. LHWD

I have an intimat friend, who is well acquainted with classic learning and has a genius that way, that wants some countrey schole yt might bring him about 40 li. a year. He desired me to acquaint you with it, thô I told him 'twas not likely it would ever happen that you could doe him any kindnesse.

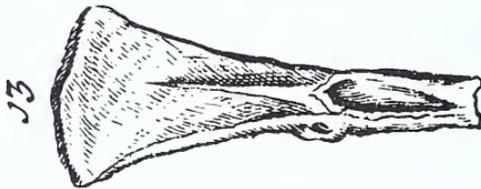
121. To ye hond RICHARD MOSTYN Esq at Penbedw, Flintshire
Cambr. Mag. iv, 244

Oxfd. Jan. 8, 169 $\frac{4}{5}$.

Hond Sr,

I ought to have returnd my thanks ere this, for ye favour of your letter of Dec. ye 7th wherein (as in the rest I have receiv'd from you) appears your obliging civility and readinesse to promote whatever bears but some shadow of learning. Sr Roger is pleasd to grant me ye favour of a draught of the Torques, thô it be too late for *Camden*, the table of antiquities for Wales being long since engraven and printed off, and ye book now compleately finishd, and dedicated (by Mr Gibson) to the Lord Keeper. I hope you have receivd ere this, that County I made bold to trouble you with, as also ye plate wherein all the figures are engraved much lesse than I expected; because they would not be at ye charges of two

plates; but 'tis well they have allow'd us one. I think I never mention'd to you yt Mr. Jo. Davis, Rector of Newburgh in Anglesey, inform'd me yt ye Great Copper plate inscrib'd *Socio Romæ* was found near Aber Ffraw in that County; and that there could be no doubt of it, in regard a gentleman now living in his neighbourhood saw it when first found. I conclude he means the very same with yours, because he says Mr. Wood of Rhos mon gaue it ArchBp. Williams. However I have mention'd it at Caer hûn, which, if it should prove an error,



Bronze Axe found at Moel yr Henlhys in the parish of Darowen, Montgomeryshire.

is not perhaps very material. But I must beg you pardon if I have committed a mistake in the place where ye brasse axes were found. For Mr. Stodart the Scholemaster of Wrexham having given me one of them soon after they were discovered, told me (as I find by ye inscription on ye paper where I kept it) that they were found at or near Deganwy Castle. I was somewhat unwilling when I was writing, to trouble you with a letter on that question and therefore ventured to place it at Deganwy; having an opportunity of adding an annotation on that place because mention'd in Mr. Camden.

Whenever I come to your parts of Wales I shall make it my businesse to wait upon you, there being none more sensible of his obligations to you, than is (Worthy Sr)

Yr most humble Servt

EDW. LHWYD

27 Jan. 1694.

TO WILLIAM MOLYNEUX

[By this letter Llwyd conveyed the impression that he was comfortably settled at Oxford, but would be prepared to write a *Natural History of Ireland* in Dublin for a salary of £60.

To this MOLYNEUX replied on Feb. 7 that he was glad that Lh. was so well off, for to pay £60 was impossible in Ireland.]

122. For the Revd Mr. JOHN LLOYD Scholemaster at Ruthin, Denbyshire. Chester post. *Cambr. Mag.* iv, 246

Dear Sr,

Oxford. March 23d. 169 $\frac{1}{2}$.

It's high time to beg your pardon for defferring so long my answer to yours sent by Mr. H. Jones. I have at last sent you the two *Camden's* by the Shrewsbury carrier, and directed them to be left with your brother at Wrexham. You will find four in the box; but the other two are for Mr. Brynkir & Will Anwyl of Dôl Frîog. I shall give you directions by Mr. Anwyl (who sets out next week), to whom you must direct them at Bangor or Caernarvon. But I had rather you should dispose of them in your own neighbourhood if you can. Upon acct of ye maps they come to six shillings a piece, the binding; and each book cost me 1li 12s in quires; but Harry Clement partly out of spight to ye London booksellers yt were the undertakers, and partly for more quick sale, has sold 'm at first for thirty-six shillings bound; but is now come to thirty eight. You must know by ye way that 'tis a folly (as ye booksellers manage it) to subscribe for one copy of any book; for ye undertakers allow the countrey booksellers two books in 8 gratis; so that they can afford to sel them at subscription price, if not under, to those yt have not subscrib'd. In one of the books you'll find the errata corrected in my province; but I had no time to doe it in all, and therefore must beg that trouble of you or one of your lads. The undertakers put a trick upon us as to the maps of Wales; for when they told us in the *proposals*, they would give us a map of each county in England, it was generally understood that they comprehended Wales; but they have given us onely one map of North Wales and an other of South Wales; and 'twas partly for that reason; and partly because I was not so capeable of the task, that I refused to have any thing to doe in the correcting of the maps. Having some old maps of Wales by me; I made bold to adde them in your copy; but if they prove too great an eye sore, they are easily pluck'd out. You may freely use your discretion either to take 36 shillings a book or 38. Chancr Wyn pays 38 for his, and so did Mr. Anwyl, and two or three more of my

friends in the college, for whom I had subscrib'd, if I receive 38 shillings, I have the seventh book gratis, according to their *proposals*; and if 36 I pay onely 12 shillings for it.

Something ought to be reply'd to your letter, but I am in some haste as you find by my scribbling. That ye Romans conquer'd and were possess'd of North & South Wales is no question at all amongst antiquaries; and if it were, their subterraneous stoves and bricks inscribd LEG. II, LEG. XX, & LEG. VI. dug up in Monmouthshire, Flintshire and Caernarvonshire, besides other inscriptions, coyns, &c. to be found doubtlesse in each county, would soon decide ye controversy. And whereas you say ye cuntry afforded no corn several years, after I doubt not, but it afforded corn before the Romans reduced it (for Tacitus tels us Anglesey was a receptacle of fugitives) and think it no absurdity if we imagin 'twas tild before Rome was buylt.

I suspect ye plant Dr. Foulks means may be ye *Gladiolus Lacustris*,¹ ye characteristic whereof is that it yeilds milk, bears blew flowers, &c. I directed you a parcel of books from Harry Clement (by ye Anglesey carrier) who, I suppose, enclosed a letter with them. You tel me yt good poems would be acceptable: there's one lately publishd by the name of Prince (or King) Arthur, (ye author one Dr. Blackmore² a London Physician) which is highly commended, but is a large b. of about 16 shillings price. As for ye *Epithalamium* you mention written by Dryden; Clement tels me there came no such thing to the booksellers' hands.

I am (Dear Veteran) Yr most affect Friend,
EDW. LHWYD

My hearty service to Cardo and thanks for his kind present; but I shall shortly write to him myself. His brother is usher of Burford. Fail not of telling me freely what is liked and what disliked in *Camden*, especially my share.

I recd ye fifty shillings by the Ang[lesey] Carr[rier].

¹ Water Sword-flag, *Lobelia Dortmanni* L.

² Sir RICHARD BLACKMORE, M.D., poem on *Prince Arthur*, 1695.

IV

1695-1697

PREPARATIONS FOR TRAVEL

THE *LITHOPHYLACII BRITANNICI ICHNOGRAPHIA* AND THE SHORT TOUR IN WALES

THE additions to the Welsh Counties in Camden's *Britannia* were executed in a most scholarly manner, and met with universal approval. Lhwyd himself, however, regarded this part of the work only as an introduction to the gentry of Wales and thus as a stepping-stone to something greater.

During the course of the preliminary negotiations with Swall, Dr. Edwards, the Principal of his College, had suggested that these additions might usefully form the nucleus of a separate work on the Natural History of Wales. The idea took root. Had not Dr. Plot achieved a large Natural History of Staffordshire on subscriptions raised in the county? Lhwyd argued that what Plot had done, he, with the help of the Welsh gentry, could do for Wales.

So with characteristic energy he determined forthwith to revise his Catalogue of British Fossils, getting it into a fit state for publication by the University Press, and then to leave Oxford for an extensive programme of work in Wales, to study the natural history and antiquities of his native land. As his correspondence plainly shows, the formed stones had begun to lie heavy on his mind, and his letters become increasingly palaeontological once more. They make

frequent mention of WILLIAM COLE and discuss the chances of obtaining his collections for the Oxford Museum. There are numerous references to Lhwyd's own Catalogue or *Synopsis* of Formed Stones, and also considerable criticism of Dr. Woodward's hypothesis according to which fossils owe their position in the rocks to a universal deluge when the fountains of the Earth were opened.

With JOHN MORTON he went to the Humber to collect fossils. He sent HUGH JONES to Kent and to the isle of Sheppey. He determined on a personal visit to the elusive Mr. Cole to clinch the bargain for his Museum. That he recognized that the strength of his discoveries lay in the number and variety of the Fossil Vertebrates that he had collected is indicated by the postscript to letter No. 123, in which he proposed to publish his Fossil Fishes first. But in the event he conformed to the traditional practice of starting with Crystals and ending with the Fishes and Anomala, a marshalling of evidence that helped to confirm his view as to the growth of fossils underground.

He planned to have the Catalogue or *Synopsis* of Stones fit for the press by March 1696 (139), when he had no doubt that, with the recommendation of the Vice-Chancellor and of his scientific friends, the University Press would willingly publish it. Unfortunately Vice-Chancellors change, and the Stationers' Company changed too, and by their determination to end their old agreement to take 500 copies of books published by the University (173) poor Lhwyd's *Synopsis*, with its impressive title of *Lithophylacium Britannicum*, was one of the first victims of the

'misunderstanding'. Fortunately, however, his work was valued in higher places, and Sir Hans Sloane and Samuel Pepys 'in $\frac{1}{4}$ of an hour' ordered it to be printed in a limited edition as already described (p. 23). The ten subscribers included 'Mr. Newton' of Cambridge. And so, in the author's absence from Oxford, the first book on English Fossils appeared in February 1698. It laid the foundation for a new science.

It was an epoch-making work that Lhwyd could only have completed with the aid of the Old Ashmolean Museum, and it provided the few with a first systematized treatise on British Fossils. Owing to the edition being limited to 120 copies, its worth was not widely realized before Huddesford produced a second edition in 1760.

After the work on fossils in the Museum was sufficiently far advanced, his letters, apart from personal messages to friends, contain little about natural history. The majority deal with old inscriptions, manuscripts, the languages and literature of Wales, Scotland, Ireland, and Cornwall.

To make this larger project as widely known as possible, to stimulate interest and to obtain subscriptions, two statements were drafted, both of which were submitted to John Ray and Martin Lister. The first was entitled '*A DESIGN for a British Dictionary, an Archaeologia Britannica and a Natural History of Wales*' (pp. 13 and 130). This was printed and circulated in November 1695. The second, entitled *PAROCHIAL QUERIES*, about a year later. The text of the two papers is printed on pp. 13 and 17, and need not be repeated here.

Many of the letters of this period are concerned with the gathering in of subscriptions necessary for the publication of his philological and archaeological researches.

For the collection of money he was singularly fortunate in securing the services of WALTER THOMAS of Bernard's Inn, who had been most strongly recommended by Sir Thomas Mansel as the best solicitor in London. He was thus relieved of the uncongenial task of dunning subscribers. By the *Design* subscriptions amounting to £30 a year were promised, and through the good and careful offices of Walter Thomas other subscribers were secured, and in all the annual takings in aid of Lhwyd's work amounted to

	£110.	10.	0	in 1696
	81.	0.	0	„ 1697
	69.	0.	0	„ 1698
	57.	0.	0	„ 1699
	11.	0.	0	„ 1700
And	31.	15.	0	from non-subscribers.
Total	£360.	5.	0	for the five years.

No less than sixty-one letters from Walter Thomas have been preserved in the large volumes of *Reliquiae Luidianae*. They are especially numerous during the period of his great tour, when he was often in urgent need of money, which was none too easy to raise.

Four thousand sheets of *PAROCHIAL QUERIES towards the Natural History and in order to the Geography and Antiquities of Wales* were circulated, three to each parish. By these means the pot was kept boiling. Among his most enthusiastic helpers were his old College friends and contemporaries, JOHN LLOYD



DR. RICHARD RICHARDSON

From a portrait in the possession of Dr. R. Gunther

of Ruthin, whom he familiarly addresses as 'Veteran', and Maurice Jones.

The way being thus well prepared for research in the most promising quarters of the Principality, and with the approval of the head of his College, there appears to have been no difficulty in securing leave of absence of long duration from the Visitors of the Ashmolean Museum.

Money had come in so well that he was able to go for a six-months tour in 1696. From the scanty notes at our disposal it seems that he left Oxford at the end of April (152). On June 1 RICHARD RICHARDSON met him at the house of Mr. Morgan, schoolmaster at Bangor, to botanize in the Snowdon district. He examined manuscripts at Bangor and at Hengwrt. On the homeward journey he was at Swansea on September 14 and reached Oxford about October 11. He had every cause for satisfaction with the results of the summer's campaign. He had visited eight or nine counties. He renewed intimacy with many of his old College friends and made new and useful contacts with others. Dr. Richardson in particular, who had always proved a faithful friend (17), was a Yorkshireman educated at Bradford School and University College, where he took the degree of M.B., and at the botanical course of Dr. Herman at Leyden. Retiring to Bierley, he developed an extensive medical practice, and employed his spare time in writing to numerous correspondents, going for botanical excursions and cultivating his flower garden, greenhouse, and hot-house, 'the second oldest in England'. A man well qualified to appreciate the work of Lhwyd,

who addressed many of his most valuable letters to him. (159, 175, etc.)

His correspondence became formidable. A selection of the principal letters, kept at the Museum among the *Reliquiae Luidianae*, included the following:

	<i>Number of letters</i>	<i>Dates</i>
James Archer	18	1695-1700
John Aubrey	34	1691-6
James Bobart	2	1688-96
Tilleman Bobart	2	1691-5
William Cole	34	1695-1701
Edmund Gibson	18	1693-1709
Martin Lister	88	1690-1709
John Lloyd	36	1686-1707
Bp. William Nicolson	56	1692-1709
Eric Odhelius	4	1692-4
Robert Plott	5	1689-92
John Powell	15	1696-8
Edward Pryse	5	1695-8
John Ray	14	1690-4
Nicolas Roberts	14	1687-96
Erasmus Saunders	10	1693-1703
Howel Vaughan	6	1693-8
Maurice Wheeler	4	1691-5
Ralph Wilbraham	38	1689-1703
John Williams	14	1693-6
William Williams	20	1697-1700
John Woodward	21	1692-4
William Wynne	5	1696-9

Some Letters of 1695-7 have not been bound with the others and may be consulted in MS *Ashmole* 1829.

The greater number of these correspondents were also subscribers to Lhwyd's travel-fund, and their

names reappear among the subscribers in the list that is prefixed to the *Archaeologia* published in 1707.

We should have liked to have seen more letters from Dr. Richardson at this period, but the deficiency is counterbalanced by the letters of JOHN RAY to whom Lhwyd regularly confided his discoveries and theories of Fossils, and with whom he shared his estimate of Dr. Woodward. His admiration for Ray is well expressed in a postscript to No. 124, 'I post up all his letters'.

His method of gleaning information by the circulation of sheets of queries was attended with such success that he has occasionally been credited with the invention of the method. But his predecessor, Dr. Plot, had, however, used questionnaires many years previously.

Special items of interest are the notes on 'Mineral Leaves' (133); the coming of Lister's son to Oxford; Cole's letter to the Vice-Chancellor (p. 287); Lhwyd's plan for a tour in Cornwall (158), and for giving his collections to Oxford (145).

123. MS *Lister* 36, No. lxii

Oxford March 28. 1695.

Dear Sr

I have almost every week since my last expected Mr Woodward's book;¹ and therefore have thus long neglected writing to you, as having little of moment to trouble you with. If you have perused it, I humbly beg your thoughts of it; and what character it bears in the world. It has acquire'd a great name in this town, partly because he undertakes to confirm by his observations the History of Moses, and partly because he buylds upon experiments; and tels us some things as his own, which doe not occurre in English books, or others of common request, and reading here. However when we come to consider him with some attention, we shall find him to differ from Moses little lesse than ye author of ye *Sacred Theory*. For whereas Moses tels us ye waters were increasing on the earth 150 days, before ye Fountains of the Deep were shut up: Mr Woodward informs us (p. 274. 275). that the earth was not onely wholly drown'd in ye space of one fortnight, but that it was also totally dissolv'd. It's true these are not his words, but they'l bear this sense. For when he tels us those antediluvian plants he finds in ye bowels of the earth; do plainly shew the Deluge happen'd, in the month of May; twill follow ye earth dissolv'd in that month, otherwise (according to his own hypothesis) these plants could not be bedded so deep in stone. And we can allow but a fortnight's time for it, because Moses says 'twas on ye 17 day of ye month, yt the *Fountains of the Deep were opened*. Thus we find his hypothesis agrees not with ye Scripture; but when we consider how far it may agree with reason and common sense; we find so many absurdities in it, that to me it seems scarce worth our consideration. 'Tis much to me that neither Dr Plucknet, Dr Robinson, nor all ye ingenious gentlemen he dayly converses with have been able to prevail with him to forbear troubling ye world with such whimsies. However I hope his book will have two good effects. 1st. That these enquiries

¹ J. WOODWARD, *An Essay toward a Natural History of the Earth*. London, May, 1695.

after Form'd Stones, &c. will not hence forward be thought so trivial, as not to deserve the attention of the best philosophers; and 2ly that the invalidity of this Hypothesis, as well as of that of Dr Burnet; will make men preferre Natural History, to these romantic theories, which serve to no other use, but to give us some shew of ingenuity in ye inventors; who are yet in my opinion to be lesse valued than the authors of ingenious romances, for whereas those deliver their writings as fables; these doe not onely fully belive what they write themselves, but endeavour to possesse others with the same perswasions, and have indeed too often succeeded therein in all ages. I am (Hond Sr)

Yr most affectionat and obliged servant
EDW. LHWYD

If you could setle a correspondent in the Isle of Shepey to save us all the Crampstones¹ the copras-women pick up for a month or two, I would now fall about a *Lithologia Britannica*: and so contrive it that the first tome (in 8^{vo}) shall consist of onely teeth and bones of fish.

124. For the Revd Mr JOHN LLOYD at the Schole in Ruthin.

Arch. Camb. 1860, 178

Dear Veteran

Oxford May 2 [1695].

I was in some hopes of receiving a large epistle by the carrier containing . . . remarks you threaten'd on the *Britannia*:—together with the ce[nsures] of such of your acquaintance as have perused it. But [ga]ther from Mr. Jones's letter yt you have reserv'd that to be [sent] with the coriander seed by the next return.

Some gentlemen in Glamorganshire have invited me to undertake a *Natural History of Wales*; with an offer of an annual pension from their County of about ten pounds for the space of seaven years; to enable me to travail &c: but I know not how the gentry of other countrey's (*sic*) stand affected. If the like encouragement would be allow'd from each county,

¹ Crampstones = *Glossopetra rostrum corvinum referens*. L. No. 1260. [*Lamna obliqua*, Ag. from the London Clay.]

I could very willingly spend the remainder of my days in that employment: and begin to travail next spring. Nor should I onely regard the Natural History of the countrey, but also the antiquities and anything else (as far as may be consistent with my capacity) which my Lord of Bangor and other competent judges shall think convenient to be undertaken. I have given a hint of it to Mr Ray, who is doubtlesse the best acquainted with Natural History of any living: and his approbation of the design you'll find in his letter enclos'd. I have made no application to any gentleman as yet: but Dr Edwards has promis'd to mention it to Sr ROGER MOSTYN and some others. In the mean time I would gladly know your thoughts of the matter; and would desire you (as you meet with opportunity) to advise with Mr Mostyn about it. If you suppose it likely to take I shall draw up some proposals, which may contain a short account of the design; if not, I shall not trouble my thoughts farther about it. I must confesse the sallary may at first sight seem too much (!) and the time of seaven years too long; but such as are acquainted with Natural History know there's no good to be done in't without repeated observations; and that a countrey of so large extent cannot be well survey'd, and the natural productions of it duely examin'd, under the space of four or five summers; after which the time remaining will be short enough for methodizing the observations and publishing the History. Besides, during that time I propose to take one journey into Cornwall, and an other into the Scotch Highlands, in order to collect parallel observations; that so I need not rely much on the credit of forreign writers nor overcharge the work with numerous quotations, and spinning out the matter to multiply sheets, as my old friend Dr Plot seems to have done, in both his histories. Another argument for the reasonableness of such a sallary is the great expenses I must be at in graving several tables of such natural bodies as are undescrib'd. For if I undertake this task, I am resolv'd to spare no pains nor charges in the performance and therefore unlesse I am enabled to go through with it, 'twould be imprudence to medle with it at all: but I shall say no more at present upon this subject.

A parcel of the mock plants out of Mostyn coal pits, if they could be procur'd without too much trouble, and so packd up as to be carried hither without breaking to pieces, would be very acceptable; because Dr Lister and Mr Ray have lately advised me to resume ye *Synopsis Methodica* of the form'd stones of England, from which I had been diverted partly by Camden, but chiefly by a tedious catalogue I have been obliged to make of a vast number of pamphlets and other books as well printed as manuscript, in my custody. We are like to receive either this summer, or the next, a very noble accession to the Museum; for Mr COLE of Bristow, who has been surveyor to the customs for about forty years, and has a collection of natural bodies well near as considerable as that we now have, has offered to give them the University, on condition they'll print a book of his composing, which contains some observations he has made in Natural History; and they are very like to comply with his request. Harry Clement tels me he's unprovided at present of the books you writ for, but is gooeing to London very speedily, where he promises to pick up some yt will please you.

I am Dear Sr yr much obliged and affectionat friend

EDW. LHWYD

My humble respects to Mr Jones. I am sorry for the ill news in his letter. His brother¹ is my deputy here; for Robin Humphreys (to whom I had conditionally promis'd it) prov'd very unfit for the place. It's worth about ten pounds a year but his Unkle and Brothers must allow him some helps, otherwise he cannot subsist. An old frd James Harries is prefer'd to Lhan Trisant in Glamorganshire; which they say is worth about 200li a year. You may return me Mr Ray's letter when you have read it, because I poste up all his letters.

[The substance of Mr. Ray's letter mentioned above is thus endorsed (in Mr. Lloyd's hand?)]

'The sum of Mr Ray's letter was that he had cur'd his diarrhœa by using Naples-biskets boild in milk. 2. His censure upon Dr Woodward's *Hypothesis* as too magisterially delivered &c. This

¹ Hugh Jones.

he confirms by transcribing a part of Dr Robinson's letter, who in his last paragraph says—"Indeed men yt have not been conversant in these studies and enquiries, nor taken any pains to search out and examine these bodies and observe their places and beds cannot be competent judges of these things." The Dr proceeds—"I take Mr Lloyd of Oxford to be a man of another temper, and of greater both skill and discretion; & wonder his frds. do not press him to publish his *Lithologie*, wherein I expect to find matter of fact and soundness of judgments without any chimerical whimsies and castles in the air." You see the Dr upraids (*sic*) me, tho not singly, with negligence of the advancement of true and solid philosophy for not importuning you to hasten the edition of your *Lithologie*. Mr. Ray concludes—"I wish you may find such encouragement from the gentry as may enable you to undertake the task of collecting materials for a *Natural History of Wales*; and in time of writing and publishing it, a thing exceeding desirable and for which none so well furnis'd with the requisite qualifications of learning, industry, judgment, and veracity, as yourself, at least as far as I know or have heard. I am Yr J. R.¹

125. For the Revd Mr JOHN LLOYD Scholemaster at Ruthyn in Denbighshire. Chester post. Arch. Camb. 1860, 182

Dear Sr

(Nine lines at the commencement of this letter are torn off.)

—Mr Robinson: I suppose the binding will come to about 4s. a book on account of the maps; so you must send Argent accordingly.

I am glad to find your conjecture so agreeable with myne (*sic*) about the Brasse instruments. That they were Bolt heads of Roman Catapultæ, was the opinion of an Italian writer Lodovico Moscardo, whom Dr Plot has also follow'd in his *History of Staffordshire*: but I have ventured, as you'd see in the perusal of Caernarvonshire, to make some doubt of it. The truth is, I always suspected them, as you doe (tho I have not express'd it on this occasion) to have been Roman Tools used by labourers either in mines or quarries or both; but you 'l answer, 'tis strange the Romans should use brasse

¹ Ray's letter dated April 8, 1695, is printed in full in his *Further Correspondence*, No. 151. He wrote to Tancred Robinson on the same day censuring Dr. Woodward (*ditto*, p. 300).

tooles. Be it what it will, the figure is not erroneous as you imagin, but very faythfully taken from one I have by me; and I doubt not but to be satisfied, one time or other, of the true use of it. You'l find I have publish'd several other things, whereof I could give no satisfactory account, but I am not at all ashamed of that; and I think there are, and always were, too many writers unwilling to acknowledge their ignorance, & therefore loath to give us the bare relation of several things remarkable, because they knew not the causes of them &c. For my part when I think I know causes I adde them; and when I dont the Reader will have the pleasure of discovering them. If I could find any use for the supposed daggers in mines, I should be apt to conclude them also tooles. For one of them was found in an old Lead mine (supposed to be Roman) calld Budheu Gwenhwyfar at Lhan y Mynych: and the rest were found in rockie places both in Wales and Cornwall. Mr Mostyn and you say some of them are gilded; but of 20 pieces that I have there's not one of them so: some golden spots they have; but file any of them where broken & they'l also appear so. You seem to presume in your last that I understand not what a catapulta was. Well, in such matters we must submit to *Veterans*; other I could tel you that I am not unacquainted with Justus Lipsius *De Machinis* &c. I stil suspect the urn at Glodhaith was but an Indian or Portugal Ewer lost in a wrack; for I learn from Mr Wyn's son, now at Jesus, that it was found amongst the Gwmmwn: at leastwise it was unfit for an Urn: for in several urns I have found bones; but none could be put in this because of the mouth (*sic*) there's a kind of sandbox which would not admit of them. You must give us some farther directions what books to send you and Mr Robinson: I spoke to Harry Clements about it who supplies Mr. Davies: and he's willing I find to send you books provided you pay carriage to and again: and also buy something considerably (*sic*). Pray give my humble respects to Dr Foulks and thanks for his civility and kindnesse to me, express'd to my friend Mr Wyn. I understand he has found a plant in flower in Snowdon, which I have mention'd in Mr Ray's *Synopsis*, but with the addition that I never saw the flower of

it. I suppose 'tis either the *Subularia Lacustris Alpinorum Lacuum*,¹ or the *Bulbosa Alpina juncifolia*;² but would gladly be informed whether of them; and would be much obliged to him for the best description he can give of the flower in your next letter. I am Dr Vetn

Yr most affect Frd.

EDW. LHWYD

To save unnecessary charges I'll write two or three lines to Hugo Jones the other side.

126. For Mr HUGH JONES. *Arch. Camb.* 1860, 183

Sr

I recd both your letters tho I deferr'd too long my answer to your former; because I intended to give you an account when Dr Edwards, who is now in Hampshire, would return, that you might time your journey accordingly. After all this delay I can give you no certain information; however I would have you come up as soon as you can, but *crura thymo plena*: tho if *Thymum* can not be had, we must be content with *Serpillum*. Were you here at present I could find you good employment under Sr Timothy Tyrrel's son³ as an amanuensis; he having undertaken the *Annals of Britain* from Brutus to our time, which he intends to publish in four several tomes in folio and apply'd himself to me for an Amanuensis. I have written to Jack Davies two days since to secure you Burford Schole if possibly he can. Your former letter was very instructive, and had not a word in it superfluous. The inscription was very acceptable, but it quite puzzles (*sic*) me. I never saw this character W in old inscriptions before: tho som thing like it you may remember in that at Voelas: but this being the builder of the Church I doe not suppose very ancient. The last two lines I read *O delófeu qui P. M. [an Piæ Memoriae?] inedicavit hanc ecclesiam*. I dare not be confident of the first word; but for the rest I am well satisfied. The inscription at Lhan

¹ *Isoetes lacustris* L.

² *Lloydia serotina* Reichenb.

³ JAMES TYRRELL, *General History of England*, 1696-1704.

Golhen Abbey is mention'd in one of Usher's letters; and Aubrey says the stone was falln down if not broken several years since. You mention Lhyn y Bala at Lhan Berys, which I suppose is a mistake for *Bryn y Bala*. I shall adde onely my humble respects to yr brother and sister: and that for his part he's an idle varlet for never writing to his and yr playn frd and servt

E. LHWYD

127. MS *Lister* 36, No. lxxv

Oxfd. June ye 6th 95.

Hond Sr

I would not put you to the trouble of sending hither your Form'd Stones; since you suppose we have the same already. I did not know how great a stock you might have, of stones unknown to me; and indeed thô I might have them, I find that variety of specimens from several places are of more use in this part of Natural History, than any other: but my request in my last was too hasty and presumptive, for which I humbly beg your pardon.

The books of your writing we have in the Museum are

1. The *Historia Conchyliorum* &c. folio.
2. *Hist. animalium Angliæ tres Tract.* This was given us lately by ye Presid. of Trinity; but we want the Appendix. You gave it formerly with some other books your self; but at that time we had no Library at this place, so Dr Plot gave them the publick Library.
3. *Exercitationes Medicinales.*
4. *Exercitatio Anatomica, Pars I.*
5. A general *Table of the Insects of England; with a Treatise of the Beetles* in MS.

We are very like to come to an agreement with Mr COLE: for in his last letter he writes thus—'I am preparing to goe as soon as I can possibly to my countrey museum, from whence I intend to send the Delegats such answers to their Queries, that I doubt not, we shall (upon a full understanding between us) come to a final conclusion. My Intentions and ends are clear and sincere, without any reserves; much lesse

of clogging my guift, as you know by experience, Mr Ashmole hath done his.'

He invites me to come and live a week or a fortnight with him at this countrey museum, which is in Wiltshire; and I intend to accept of the invitation; and go over to him about a fortnight hence. I am Sr

Yr most affectionat and obliged servt

EDW. LHWYD

A stonedigger shewd me lately a curious, vast *Nautilus* dug up 5 miles hence. I bid him half a crown for it; but could not purchase it as yet.

128. MS *Lister* 3, f. 135

Dear Sr

Oxford Sund. Morn. [1695]

I recd yours of the fourth, and answer'd it the same morning. The occasion of this is to acquaint you, yt the *Nautilus* mention'd in my last, was unlukily bought up next morning, by a painter who lives in Gresham College, and was then at work in the village where 'twas found. I suppose he payd half a crown or three shillings for 't, and that he design'd to present it to that Repository. If it be not yet disposed of, I belive you might have it of the purchaser, (one Mr Thomas Leatherstand) at or near the same rate. The fellow that sold it him was one I had taught to save such stones, and was oblig'd by bargaen to let me have ye refusal of any of his discoveries. If it be given to the Repository, I would gladly make Mr Hunt¹ a present of fossil vertebræ and other stones, which I presume would be more acceptable, for it.

Pray (if it be communicable) be pleasd to acquaint me in your next, who writ that small pamphlet against WOODWARD &c. under the title of *Two Essays* sent in a letter from Oxford, by L. P. Master of Arts. I am sure by some words I find in it, you can guesse at the author; and am also as certain that no one of Oxford could write it.² I am sorry Sam Smyth is

¹ H. Hunt, operator to the Royal Society.

² L.P., M.A. *Two Essays*. 1. Conceiving some errors about the Creation, general Flood, and the peopling of the World, in two parts. 2. Concerning the rise, progress and destruction of fables and romances, with the state of Learning. 8vo. London 1695.

so tedious in publishing Mr Ray's *Synopsis of Birds and Fish*, and that of *Plants*: I am sure they had sold a pace, especially the latter, had they come out in ye spring. I have seen ye second part of your *Exercitatio Anatomica*;¹ but have not yet perused it, as expecting it in the parcel mention'd in your last. I know not whether I ever acquainted you, that Dr Charlet thinks it convenient, all presents should be directed to the Vicechancr that he may be the more sensible, what (and by whom) things are given: but I think ye matter's pretty indifferent; onely 'twould save me the expences of carriage, if things were so directed.

I have recd a letter since my last from Mr Cole, wherin he tels me, he shall continue about three weeks yet at Bristow, before he comes to his countrey museum in Wiltshire. In the mean time we are to have an other meeting in the Museum to consider of his proposals, after which I am to be sent (plenipotentiary I suppose) to wait upon him. At my return you'l be troubled with a farther account of our proceedings from Hond Sr

Yr much obliged servant
EDW. LHWYD

129. MS *Lister* 3, f. 157

Dear Sr

n.d. [1695]

I receiv'd both your letters, but the box, it seems, comes not til Fryday night. The expences I have been at, on such occasions, is very inconsiderable, in comparison of the benefit that accrues from the use of such excellent books; nor doe I keep any note of it, neither Dr Plot nor my self having ever proposed to the University, that they would reimburse such expences. Your former presents to the Vice-chancr Dr Bathurst and Dr Charlet, were, I am sure, very well accepted, but this second part is common in the shops about a month since: so I think it not convenient to present them with it. The Vicechancellour told me then, he would write to you, but I know not whether he was mindfull of it. How ever I am very certain he's sensible of your constant favours to

¹ Published in June 1695.

the University; for coming one day to see our study, he said to some doctours that were with him, that one of the most prudent complements the University had pass'd of late years, was when they made you a member of it.

The reason I enquired after the author of the *Two Essays*, was because the 6th and 7th pages are part of a letter of myne to Mr Ray. I must confesse I like'd it very well; but it seem'd to me that onely some good naturalist had supply'd an other writer with materials. They have a notion in this town that one TOLAND an Irishman who has livd here this last 12-month, and is eminent for railing in coffee houses against all communities in religion, and monarchy, is the author; but for the reason above mention'd (besides some others) I presume he had noe hand at all in't. I doe not wonder at all that Dr W. holds fast to his Hypothesis in spite of all opposition. Men of his temper seldome trouble their heads to rectify their notions, or recall what they have publickly declared; but hold themselves obliged in honour to maintain their ground, and fight it out, at any hazard. This Toland I have mentiond to you, who sets out this day for London, is the fittest man to deal with him of five hundred; being one of excellent parts, but as litle a share as may be of modesty or conscience; and one of the best scolds I ever met with.

About 9 days hence I intend to visit Mr COLE, and then I shall be able to guesse whether his museum comes to Oxford. He is preparing us a specimen of his book; in which he'l demonstrat that fossil shells have chang'd their species by long lying in the

End of letter.

130. *For ye Revd Mr. JOHN LLOYD Scholemaster at Ruthyn*
Cambr. Mag. v, 278 *Oxford. July 16. 1695.*

Dear Veteran,

I am just taking horse to wait on Mr. COLE at his countrey house, in Wiltshire, in order to treat with him about his museum; and therefore have no time to scold now, in answer to that frantic letter brought me by the carrier. All I shall say is, if you doe not lay your helping hand to the *Natural History of Wales*, I'll mention thee in every page of it. As for Caer

Verwyn I can not see why an illiterat shepherd may not be beliv'd in such a case as soon as a Bishop; for ye names of mountanous and desert places are better known to those of his profession than men of learning. The inscription at Clocainog is tolerably printed except the last character which was not my fault but ye graver's, as you may easily perceive from ye note I have added to it. But Mr. Veteran, where did ye inscription at Vynachlog lurk all this while? Did old Brân ap Dyfnwal moel mud, keep it under a lhen gêl from yours and all other profane eyes, or were you all so lazy as never to enquire after it? Pray if I have not a compleat copy of it in your next, let me know how large ye stone is and whether it lies in the Abbey or elsewhere. As much as you sent me of it I read thus: Congen filius Cadelh, Cadelh filius Brockmael, Brochmael filius Elises, Elises filius—[an legendum Suoidanc] congenitaque pronepos Elises, &c. If the rest be as plain as this is, we shall find no great difficulty in the interpretation. Arch Bp Usher sent some other Inscn with it (I found somewhere in Wales) to Dr. Langbain, which latter, Dr. Langbain in his epistle to Usher gives over for desperat, but was in hopes to be able to interpret this at Vale Crucis. As to ye difficulties you mention in writing a *Nat. History of Wales*, you are not to imagin that I propose the writeing of such a history as to leave no room for future improvements, that's more than 20 persons can undertake to perform. All I pretend to is to be as industrious as I can, in case I am employd; and to spend the remainder of my time in ye examination of ye antiquities and natural products of our country. I have no time to adde any more than that I am not withstanding you are loath to own me

Yr most affectionat and singular Frd

E. LHWYD

My service to Mr. Jones, &c.

131. MS *Ashmole* 1820^a, 55.

Aug. 25, 1695

[Letter introducing Hugh Jones, his Deputy at the Museum to an unnamed person, perhaps Bobart, when en route to search the coast of Kent for fossils.]

132. MS *Lister* 36, No. lxxviii

Hond Sr

Oxf. Aug. 26. 95.

I have lately taken a ramble wth Mr MORTON¹ as far as the Humber, which was the reason of my long silence; and have been also in expectation of coming to some conclusion with Mr Cole, that I might give you the acct you desired about his collection; but he was detain'd from meeting me in Wiltshire by Sr ROBERT SOUTHWELL,² who as he tels me is lately come to his neighbourhood. However I have weather'd the point so far, that the Vicechancr is willing to comply with his humours so as to send Burgers ye graver to him for three or four days at the charges of the University, at which time I intend also to visit him, and if I can possibly, bring him to some conclusion. I long to know whether Dr WOODWARD'S answer to ye *Two Essays* be in the presse: he sent me a lr about 3 days since by one Bagford; wherein he desires my opinion about those essays and the author of them but I shall give him no trouble on that subject. Mr Morton and I, had pretty good diversion on ye Humber shoar, and brought away a considerable collection of fossil shels, some vertebræ, &c. thô not many new ones.

Mr JONES ye bearer is my servitor and deputy at the Museum. He is come to London about some privat businesse of his own; but I have given him instructions to goe into Kent in order to search some of those chalkpits, for Mr Morton shew'd me curious stones Woodward had sent him out of those pits: he is also to get me what Crampstones or *Glossopetra* he can meet with in Shepey, and so to return hither. Smith of Witney whom we formerly employd in Lincolnshire has got a good collection, but would not part with them at any reasonable rate, so I have dismissd him. I got a *Patella* or two from him, which were the onely fossil ones I had met with. I found him at a village call'd Sherbourn about 2 miles beyond Warwic, where I suppose he is stil, but he told me that countrey affoards litle or nothing in this kind. These

¹ The natural historian of Northamptonshire, p. 237.

² President of the Royal Society, *E.S.O.* xi, 126.

countrey fellows I find will sell their best customers for a half-penny, so I thought it convenient to teach the bearer who is a man of discretion and fidelity. I have litle to adde but that I am (Dear Sr)

Yr most affectionat and obliged servant
EDW. LHWYD

I was in hopes Wdwd had been weary of my correspondence, having had no letter from him til this since his book was publishd; I suppose because I desired leave to suspend my thoughts of his Hypothesis til the larger work was printed.

133. To JOHN RAY. *Ray Correspondence*, p. 290

Dear Sir,

Oxford, August 28, —95.

The first of your queries was, whether the impressions be all of leaves, or parts of leaves? To which I answer, that the stone wherein these mineral leaves are exhibited is generally so brittle, that when we endeavour to split it, to get out a plant, it breaks also transversely; so that, for one whole fern branch we find, we see twenty broken ones, but for single leaves, they are very common. Moreover, those stones are broken in such small pieces by the workmen in the pit, that we find few lumps big enough for whole plants; and indeed if they contained whole ones, it seems impossible so to split them as an entire plant should be exposed to view. Howbeit, it has not been my fortune hitherto to meet with any other parts of plants than either single leaves or branches; whether there be any roots or flowers to be met with I shall endeavour, God willing, to be informed hereafter. Your other questions are, whether they are found smooth or crumpled, and whether we meet with the impressions of each side of a leaf? To which I answer, they are always smooth and fair, and that I have seen both sides of leaves. Nay, lately (since the date of my last) I have seen both sides of the same numerical leaf, so that I can now confirm that observation of Dr. Woodward's, which I mentioned in that letter. I have sent you here a figure of one of

these coal plants, from which, and those in *Camden*, you may make some estimate of the rest. I found it at a coal-pit in the forest of Dean, together with several others. As, 1st, Hart's Tongue; 2dly, a kind of *Trichomanes*; 3dly, *Lonchitis aspera*, called by the workmen Vox Vearn, i.e. Fox Fern; 4thly, a kind of *Equisetum*, which they call Cat's Tail; 5thly, a small *Gallium*, or *Mollugo*, with some others which I know not whither to refer. This seems to resemble partly the Osmund Royal, but to me the leaves are too small, too thick set, and round-pointed; but I leave you to match it, who are best able.

[EDW. LHWYD]

134. MS *Lister* 3, f. 140

Dear Sr

Oxford Sunday morn. [c. Sept. 1695]

I hope you have receiv'd ere this a letter from the Vice-chancellour,¹ with an account of his receiving your most acceptable present. He told me he would write to you about a week agoe; but he's a person much more eminent for his learning and parts, than care of businesse; so perhaps he has neglected it. I gave him his own letter, and shew'd him that part in your letter to me, wherein you are pleas'd to bestow on me, the *History of Shells* formerly in the Museum. My obligations to you are long since, above all thanks; thô I know not whether I shall ever be able to make you any better acknowledgement.

Some of your plates would be a great gift to me, and exceeding usefull and ornamental in my intended *Synopsis methodica* of ye English stones; but in regard I design to print it in 8vo as a pocket book to be carried into stonepits, &c. such large draughts being folded in, would soon be sullied and torn, abroad in the fields. I remember your *Tabulæ mutæ* were 1st printed in 8vo but know not whether you had therein any figures of English fossil shells. If so, those plates would be very proper for this piece, and might perhaps be fill'd with other species. My friend Mr DYER and two or three more,

¹ V-C. ALDRICH wrote to Lister on Sept. 12, 1695, that benefactors, especially good men, are very scarce in these times. (MS *Lister* 37.)

offer me plates a piece, which I shall gladly accept of, rather than defraud the public of their generous intentions. Dr Woodward need not be displeas'd at my writing on ye subject, (tho if he were I should not be much concern'd) his work being philosophical discourses, & in English: but myne onely a classical enumeration with short descriptions of such of our English stones as have been hitherto discover'd, in Latin. I shall not say much of the origin of them; having at present no hopes I shall be able to account for it. Mr Gibson tells me one WISTON, Chaplain to the Bishop of Norwich has written a treatise upon that subject, wch is now a perusing by Mr NEWTON of Cambridge, & will shortly be printed.¹ This gentleman (as Mr Gibson who thô not acquainted with these studies is not I suppose much out) tells me will solve all ye phenomena of form'd stones by a comet yt happen'd at the time of the deluge. This hypothesis will probably appear more ridiculous than that of Dr Burnet or Woodward: so I hope that ere long we shall have this wrangling philosophy laugh'd out of countenance, and ye plain Natural History better esteem'd of. I am Dear Sr

Yr most obliged servant
E. LHWYD

[H.] JONES has acquainted me how kind you were to him, & gives you his humble service & thanks. He return'd a week sooner than I expected, but his reception at Sheppey was such yt I can not much blame him. You have inflam'd his curiosity by making some mention, of a voyage to the Canaries.

135. To JOHN RAY. *Ray Correspondence*, p. 291

Honoured Sir,

Oxford, Sept. 12, —95.

I received your letter of the 4th; and that you may have a truer idea of these subterraneous plants than I can possibly give you by correspondence, I have sent this day, by the carrier, a small box of them, directed for you, to be left with Mr. Smith. I had brought a great clod of them, about half a year since, from the forest of Dean, and had buried it in the

¹ WHISTON, *New Theory*, May 1696.

ground here, in a moist place, in hopes it would keep the better, the figures being very apt to disappear after some months' keeping. This, at the taking of it up, crumbled to pieces. However, I have sent it to you as it is, and hope it may serve to give you as clear a notion of the state of these fossil leaves as if you were yourself at the coal-pits. I have also added those three specimens I have figured in Camden,¹ though one of them (I mean that which I suppose to be an undescribed plant) I was willing to venture only the one half, not knowing whether I may ever meet with the like again. These three are much fairer than those we have from Gloucestershire and Somerset, and lodged in firmer stone. When you have viewed them sufficiently, be pleased to take what you like out of the Gloucestershire parcel, and return the rest to me at your leisure. I heartily wish you may be able to satisfy yourself upon sight of them, whether they are original productions, or the remains of once real plants; for I must confess that at present I cannot acquiesce in the opinion of their having been once mere plants growing on the surface of the earth. I have in my custody a piece of native silver, lodged in spar, brought, four years since, out of the West Indies, whereof some part appears out of the stone, in the form of a small spiral or twisted capreoli; and another part is a thin plate, having such a superficies on each side, as if it had received an impression from a piece of fine cloth. Now, seeing that fossils do naturally shoot into these forms, may we not reasonably suspect they might also put on the shapes of leaves and shells? I have likewise several times seen somewhat like the form of a piece of fine linen in flint, which seems to require no less admiration than these plants, though we are the more affected with them, because we find the same natural things in the bowels of the earth as we knew before on the surface. However, I am almost fully convinced, and have been so for several years, that many of those vertebræ and shells which I have met with are the spoils of once living animals, my chiefest reason for which is, because many of the vertebræ and other bones are of a mere bony substance; and several shells which we meet with are

¹ See Letter No. 108.

scarce distinguishable in consistence from the same species on the sea shores.

EDW. LHWYD

136. [To the Rev. Mr. JOHN LLOYD] *Cambr. Mag.* v, 279

Dear Sr,

Oxford Sept. 22. 1695.

I receiv'd your kind letter with the enclosed half crowns, which were more than enough towards the two books. The other two sent at the same time, I have heard nothing of, but what you told me in your former letter. Perhaps your brother has not yet receiv'd Mr. Vaughan's money; but I hope he'll take care to put him in mind of it, which, because he deliver'd it him, he may doe more conveniently than I can. I am very sensible of my obligations to Mr. Mostyn and Dr. Foulks, for their generous encouragement of the *Design* I proposed; and wish nothing more, in case it be my fortune to undertake it, than to be able to perform it in some measure to the credit and satisfaction of such worthy patrons. I intend to print some short acct. of it, on half a sheet; but must first advise with Dr. Edwards, who is expected about a fortnight hence, from his parsonage in Hampshire. Upon further consideration I think it more advisable to propose the antiquities of Wales, &c. as my main aim and designe, than the Natural History, there being so few in our parts acquainted wth this latter; and under the umbrage of that, to collect also all the materials I can for a Natural History; which may be publishd afterwards by myself or some other, in Latin or English, as shall seem most convenient. The gentlemen you mention offer very fairly in promising to take off a book. And I would not have the sallary proposed to any but such as have an esteem for learning, and have also plentyfull estates. I could wish indeed there were not above twenty concern'd in it, throughout all Wales; for I doe not love to be burthensome to variety of humours. I have sent you a small token just out of the presse, against Atheism, &c. Be pleas'd to excuse the binding for I could get no other.

I am, Dear Veteran,

Yr most affectionat Frd & humble Servant,

EDW. LHWYD

I am sorry for Mr. Jones's losse; pray give him my humble Service. His brother Hugh is like to doe very well; if his Unkle allows him but any small encouragement.¹

137. MS *Lister* 36, lxxi

Hond Sr

From Tangier near Oxf. Oct. 15. 95.

I hope you have recd a letter I sent you about a month since. I have now a long time expected Mr Cole would make some certain conclusion; but (as you'll find by his letter inclosed) he's so fickle yt we cannot tel what to think of him. The truth on't is, we have few amongst our Heads of Colleges that are sensible of the value of them, they being all divines and strangers to that kind of learning. I intend however to visit him in Wiltshire, in case he comes thither; thô I can not so conveniently doe it at present, in regard Mr Jones leavs me, resolving to take a chaplain's place in a merchant man to the East Indies. He is so sensible of his obligations to you, that I dare promise he'll neglect no opportunity of serving you. I suppose he'll have leasure enough whilst he stay's in town to receive your instructions, which is all at present from
(Dear Sr)

Yr most affectionat & obliged servant

EDW. LHWYD

MS *Tanner* 24. 78

J. BYROM to T. TANNER at *All Souls*.

Stanton Oct. 30.—95.

... When I had writt this, Mr. Lhwyd (to whom my service & thanks) did me favour to call here: but his stay was so short, yt me thought he envy'd every minute he gave me. It's hard, I know, to keep yt wch is good, & so it provd in his company. However he left wth me yt wch, when finishd, will be a lasting monument to himself—: his *Design* of a *British Dictionary*,² *Archaeologia Britannica*, & a *Natural History of Wales*. I am willing to think yt he will meet wth an

¹ On October 28 HUGH JONES received a letter from W. ROWLANDS from Holt, which gives details of their excursion. 'Honest Hugo, After I parted with you I came on successfully as far as Abersason (for so 'tis vulgarly pronounced) which is 4 miles of Leighton (in Bucking. sh.) in yt pitiful village I had ye sorryest lodgeing a traveller can meet with. . . .'

² See p. 130.

encouragemt wch such a work deserves, it being in my opinion ye most useful service, yt can be done to our antiqutys. We shall then, I hope see our 1st planters as naked as they went, without ye imaginary dresse of mere art or fancy: then we shal see old citys & villages rise up from their ruines, wth their ancient names & the etymologys of 'em. I can hardly forbear saying more but I must consider yt I am writting a letter.

[J. BYROM]

MS *Lister* 36 (lxxiii)

W. COLE to the VICE-CHANCELLOR

Bristol Nov. 4. 1695.

Revd Sr

I receiv'd your's by Mr. Lhwyd; and from a due sense of your particular favour towards me (and of the rest of the worthy representatives of the University) I doe acknowledge my obligations to you and them for the good opinion they have entertain'd of me, and the value they have for my labours and the design'd effects of them. To answer therefore yours and their expectations so far as I am able at present, I doe assure you, that I am constant in my purposes to perform what I have offer'd in my *proposals* with all the expedition I can, having all the materials of my intended *History* ready, and having made considerable progresse in digesting them; and for that I am not able to ascertain the time when the whole will be perfected, I have newly consider'd and resolv'd (God willing) to divide it into two parts. The first to consist of all those natural things (of my observation) which are in controversy and doubtfull whether produc'd equivocally or not: wherein I will give an account of all my experiments faithfully and carefully made (many of them often repeated) in which I shall not be positive in asserting my opinion of them; but having truly set forth the matters of fact, appeal to the judgement of the University, especially to those who are the most competent judges of it. This according to what I can compute will be about $\frac{1}{3}$ of the whole. The rest will comprehend all my observations and discoveries of things either altogether or partly new, and which (as to their generation) are well

known, or not much doubted to be in the common way. The first I hope to finish about the middle of next summer, and if I can, possibly sooner; which will be the most difficult parts, and which being finishd, I purpose to wait on you at Oxford, and bring it with me to be examin'd by the delegates, and there abide until the figures necessary for that part shall be drawn & engraven, of which I have a considerable number ready of my own drawing. Which part of my *History*, if approv'd of, I shall then be ready to enter into such stipulations as shall be found reasonable betw. the University and my self. And I shall studiously endeavour to contract all into as little room, as I can, both in number of sheets and tables; and then declare my self (according to the encouragement I shall find) what I will settle towards the maintenance of him who shall be deputed keeper of my Collection according to my proposals, and in all things else approve my self Sr

Yr most humble & faithful servant
WILL. COLE¹

These for ye Revd Dr Adams, Vicechanr of the University of Oxford.

138. MS *Lister* 3, f. 142

Oxford Sunday morn. [Nov. 10, 1695].

Dear Sr

I return'd from Mr COLE three days since; whom I found very well pleas'd with the honour ye University intend him, of printing his book, and allowing him a distinct Repository. The Vicechancellor wrote him a very obligeing letter, which so well pleas'd him, that he is at present very favourably inclin'd

¹ WILLIAM COLE lived for fifty-six years by the sea, first in the Isle of Wight and at Southampton, and later at Bristol from 1668, where he resided at the Butts near St. Austin's Back. In April 1701 he moved into Wiltshire, but did not live long enough to enjoy his new home. He died next year.

His collections were probably the best that had ever been made of the fossils from that most important of British rocks—the Carboniferous strata of South Wales and the Bristol Coal-field.

towards us; but (as you say) 'twill be a slavish task to keep him constantly in that humour. I have sent you enclos'd his answer to the Vicechancellor, which (provided he stands to it) seems reasonable enough. I ask'd him whether he be willing to give us his collection next autumn, in case that University will oblige themselves when he comes up at mid-summer, to print his book when ever 'tis ready. He answer'd that he was not much averse to it, but that he could not satisfy me therein, til he comes to Oxford. He told me the least sallary he intended for the keeper was ten pounds a year; but added that perhaps 'twould be much more if he found good encouragement. I suppose the most will be twenty, tho' I presume he is very able to make it fifty, being very rich, and having no children. I am (Hond Sr)

Yr most afft. & obliged servant
EDW. LHWYD

His Majesty was entertain'd yesterday at the Theatr with a very sumptuous banquet,¹ but intending for Windsor at night, he made no longer stay than whilst a speech was deliver'd and some books presented him by the Chancr.

JONES was dissuaded from going to ye E. Indies by one Dr Evans who has liv'd there many years; but Mr London has promis'd him the place of Chaplain to the Gover[nor] of Maryland, wch he is resolv'd to accept of.

You may remember I told you formerly, Mr Cole undertakes to prove that shells by lying in ye ground since the deluge have so changed their forms that they seem to be other species's &c. And 'twas upon this acount he has been so earnest this last summer I might be sent to him; that being convince'd my self, I might satisfy our Delegates of the truth of this great discovery. The matter in short is thus. Having observ'd that your *Ostracites rostro maxime adunco*² has the squamous surface of an oister; and also the like smoothnesse on ye inside, and the same vestigium or mark where the animal

¹ It is stated that his Majesty did not stay for the banquet provided for fear of being poisoned. He left for Cirencester and Badminton.

² *Gryphites. Lith.* 480.

adhere'd; he thence concludes notwithstanding its crooked form that it's no other than our common oyster shell petrified. I found him not well pleas'd with objections, thô never so cauteously offer'd; so I scarce troubl'd him with any, but left him confident in this perswasion.

139. MS *Lister* 3, f. 144.

Oxford Nov. 14. [1695].

Hond Sr

Had I known your intentions about your son, I should scarce have entertain'd any thoughts of an other employment; but many of these papers being now sent abroad (and in some places well receiv'd) I must wait the issue of it, before I can answer, what you kindly offer me. If I am employ'd in Wales, I shall be a rambling every summer, and very busy at study in the winter; but if that should not take I shall be very ready to doe your son all the service that lies in my power. However I hope we shall doe as well; thô I should not my self be at leasure to attend him: for I intend to make choice of a very ingenious deputy, a Batchelour of Arts, who is at present an excellent scholar, and has a genius capable of makeing an able naturalist. If you think fit, he shall be his companion, and proceed in his charge according to your directions. We have diligent tutors in each college; but very few that have any notion of the modern Natural Philosophy. Mr JOHN WYN of Jesus College (my contemporary there) is the onely person I know, that's both a diligent tutour & a good naturalist. Mr DYER of Oriel Coll. would indeed be ye fittest, but I fear he takes no pupils; however I'll sound him, the next time I speak with him. Your countrey men are of University College, the Master whereof is Dr Charlet, who is your's and my very good friend; and ye greatest promoter of learning and ingenuity (as being more active than others) now in Oxford.

I intended to desire your interest with my Lord CARBURY,¹ who (as I am told) is much honour'd & respected by the

¹ JOHN VAUGHAN of Christ Church; president of the Royal Society, 1686-9; 3rd and last Earl of CARBURY.

gentry of his country. If he recommends it to one or two gentlemen in Caermardhinshire, I doubt not but 'twill be well recd in that countrey. My design is not to be burthensom to the generality of the gentry. Half a douzen or half a score patrons in each county, such as have the greatest estates, and a genius for enquiries of this nature, would suffice.

Mr Cole's distinct Repository will be no great inconveniency to us: for we have two rooms to spare in this buylding; and Mr Ashmole's Museum is pretty full already. Perhaps he designs an other keeper for his collection, but if so I'll break all measures; for as I brought him first to treat with the University, so I presume they'll dismisse him, when ever I advise them so to doe. His moko's are fine stones, to please woemen and children, and his corals are indeed curious; as are also some birds and insects; but the main thing I humour him for, is the sallary he intends for the keeper. I am Hond Sr

Yr most obliged & affectionat servant
EDW. LHWYD

Be pleas'd to let me know it, if you think you can dispose of any more of these papers.

If you can handsomly propose it, let my Lord Carbury &c. subscribe their contributions, after which you may return ye paper to my hands, to be shewd to his countreyemen here, who have some considerable acquaintance at home. I hope as I told you in my last to have my *Synopsis of Stones* fit for ye presse in March; and am sorry I could not, in obedience to your command, have finish'd it long since. I find (whatever I deserv'd) I have got some credit by Camden, in Wales, which made me hasten out these *Proposals*.¹ If you see Mr Bobert or Mr London; desire them to secure JONES the place of Chaplain to ye Governour of Maryland; because we hear now there are five or six besides him to be sent over; but none but himself has any notion of Natural History, wherein I am well assured he'll be no lesse industrious than Mr Banister.

¹ 'The Design.' See pp. 13 and 130.

140. *Cambr. Mag.* v, 279

To the Revd. JOHN LLOYD.

Oxford. Nov. 20. 95.

Dear Sr,

I have now sent you the paper I mention'd in my last, and would desire to hear from you as soon as you have perus'd it and shew'd it two or three friends. I suppose Dr. Edwards has also sent some of them to Dr. Wyn the Chancellr; for he told me about a week since he intended to doe it by ye first conveniency. Pray acquaint me how you think to dispose of them to the best advantage, and give me all the advice you can, concerning ye fittest persons to recommend it in your cuntry; and in Montgomery-shire. You have often mention'd Dr. Foulks as one of a generous temper and very forward to encourage such public designes as he finds reason to approve of. I suppose he would be the fittest person to receive subscriptions in Denbighshire, or at leastwise for a great part of it, but being not acquainted with him, I dare not request so great a favour & trouble. I think to send half a dozen to Mr. Price of Wrexham, by the interest of Mr. Wm Wyn, who I find is well acquainted with him; and these (as I suppose at present) will be enough for your county. If any shall object, that all is lost if it please God I should dye in the interim, you may assure them I shall make choice of a young man for an amanuensis, who has parts enough to make at least as good a naturalist and antiquary as I am in a few years, and that I shall spare no pains to instruct him. I leave Mr. Roberts to tel you what University news occures, and shall onely adde that I am

Yr most affectionat Friend & humble Servt

EDW. LHWYD

I have sent one of these papers myself to Sr Robt Owen.

141. *For ye hond RICHARD MOSTYN Esq. at Penbedw, in Flints*
Cambr. Mag. v, 280

Oxford Nov. 26. 1695.

Hond Sr,

The many favours you were pleas'd to shew me, when engag'd in the publishing of Camden, have encouraged me to

direct the enclos'd to your hands, which contains some *Proposals for a Geographical Dictionary, and Natural History of Wales*. Dr. Edwards and some other friends, advis'd me to print it; but what encouragement 'twill m[ee]t with, I can not guesse: especially in these unsetl'd times, when the public taxes require good husbandry; thô 'tis far from my design to be burthensome to any, but those who have good estates, and are of their own free choice (& not purely from the example of their neighbours) disposed to favour ye undertaking. There is one very obvious objection, which I have not taken notice of in the paper, because indeed I could not well answer it. And this is that if it please God I should dye before either of these books be fitted for the presse; all the encouragement given me, would be so much thrown awa[y]. In order to provide for such an accident, as well as I can; I shall endeavour to make choice of a young man, of some extraordinary parts & industry, for an amanuensis; and shall instruct him (as far as I am capable) in the studies of Natural History, and Antiquities; that so he may be qualified not onely to assist me in this undertaking, if it please God I should live to goe thorow with it; but perhaps to finish it as well or better then my self, if it should happen otherwise. I have already an eye on one whom I think fit for the purpose, and also very desireous of such an employment. But I could wish the College would be so favourable as to choose him into the Foundation; that so he may have some being to depend upon in regard these singular studies will never come in his way to preferment, but rather hazard him the reputation of being ignorant in every thing else, as we find it too often happens to men that signalize themselves in any one study. I intend to mention it to Dr. Edwards; who is pleas'd to be very active in promoting this design; and has already or will very speedil[y], sent some of these papers to my Lord of Bangor, to Dr. Wyn the Chancellour, and Dr. Owen Wyn at London. Having but lately printe[d,] I have sent but few abroad; and have not yet heard how they are accepted. Onely one letter I recd just now out of Glamorganshire: wherein my friend tels me, that as yet he has shewd it onely two gentlemen; viz. Sr John Aubrey & Sr Charles Kemeys; and that one of them

subscrib'd five pounds, and the other forty shill. This is a beginning much beyond what I expected; but these are persons of the greatest estates. When we come to Brecknoc-shire and Radnor-shire, we shall move more slowly. I once intended to determin the sallary to ten pounds a year from each county; & had express'd it so, in the paper; but was advis'd by some friends to leave it as 'tis, in regard some counties might well contribute more, and perhaps others not so much: and that the greater encouragement I met with, the better I should be enabl'd to employ the assistance of others. But it's high time to beg your pardon for this tediousnesse; and to subscribe my self,

Yr most obliged & hum[ble] Servant

EDW. LHWY[D]

I have sent half a douzen of these papers to Ned Humfreys,¹ who I suppose, will wait on you ere he disposes of any of them. Mr. Wood, the antiquary has been very ill this fortnight, and is thought to be pass'd all recovery.

Since ye sealing of this, I recd a letter from one Welborne, who is Steward to ye Earl of Peterburrough; wherein he offers to sale (either to the University or any private person) a collection of silver and brasse coyns, consisting of 13 hundred pieces;² but at so dear a rate, (viz. 6s. one with another) that I know 'tis to no purpose to mention it to ye V.-Chr., nor inde[ed] would ye University buy them at any rate. I suppose 'tis y[e] collectio[n] of his m[a]ster, tho' he only tels me, they belong to an ancient gentlem[a]n, who is willing to part with them, because his sight begins to grow dimme: an[d] addes there's a cabinet to be sold with them, so curious that it was design'd to have been presented to K. James as a repository for his medals. I have heard Beverlandt commend Peterburrough's coyns as ye best collection in England. This I have added because I know not but Sr Roger may be disposed to purchase

¹ EDWARD HUMPHREYS matr. Jesus coll. 1685, B.A. from All Souls 1688.

² These coins may have been those mentioned in letter No. 51. The Earl of Peterborough, who had been released from the Tower in 1690, was again confined to his house in February 1695-6.

such a collection. I suppose for a small gratuity we might have a man of judgment & fidelity to view them; and doubt not but they will abate much of the price he proposes tho he says 3oll. a piece have been off[ere]d for so[me.]

A letter may be directed to Mr. Robt Welborne, near the E. of Peterb's House, by the Horse Ferry in Westminster.

142. MS *Lister* 36, lxxiv

Oxf. Dec. 5th 1695.

Hond Sr

I gladly recd your kind letter; which I long'd for, these two or three posts. I know not what grounds Dr WDWd may have, for what he affirms. I wrote indeed to Mr Morton about a fortnight since, yt my *Synopsis* would not be as large as I at first intended, but that I design'd to write it with all convenient speed. Be pleas'd to take no notice of any thing of this nature that comes from Wdwd of whose disingeniousness I'll give you one very notable instance, thô I know 'tis needlesse. Having sent me one of his books as a present; he desir'd me freely to send him my thoughts of it, & those of other gentlemen here; upon which I told him two or three gentlemen reputed ye best philosophers here, admired it very much, thô for my part I could not as yet subscribe to his Hypothesis of the Dissolution of the World; and therefore desired leave to remain in suspence til his larger work was publishd. It happen'd a litle after yt Mr COLE of Bristow having occasion to write to Wdd told him four or five gent. at Oxf. intended to write against him; as one just come down from ye University, had assured him. To this he answers he had recd certain information from Oxf. ye best philosophers there, approv'd very well of his *Hypothesis* &c. but that there was one invidious man (whom he litle valued) that endeavour'd to expose it. Cole told me there was much more in ye letter, but its no great matter what there was.

I had done something in this matter long since; even when Mr Ray was pleas'd to promise it; but that I was hindred by a tedious *catalogue* of pamphlets & MSS. which required about

two years time, and afterwards by *Camden*. There is now such an other legacy of pamphlets as Mr Ashmole's, left us by Mr A. à WOOD;¹ but I intend to employ an other to make the Catalogue.

As for my Paper, I don't question but 'twill take if you can gain my Ld Carbury: for there is about thirty pounds a year subscrib'd already. I belive few of those persons whom I have to deal with, know any thing of Dr. Plots proposals for Middlesex. I suppose ye Dr pretends his subscribers shall be gainers; but for my part I pretend no such thing. If they'll have ye thing I propose done; they must be my patrons and benefactors. Three gentlemen have subscrib'd already five pounds a year each: If I had twenty such, I should not labour for any more. All ye requital I can make my benefactors is onely adding in the title page of each book—*Written at ye Command and Expences of some of the Nobility & Gentry of that Countrey, whereof a Catalogue is inserted &c.* I intend to make use of such an amanuensis as will be as well qualified as my self (or perhaps better) to carry on ye *Dictionary* and *Archæologia*, if it please God I should dye before I finish them. Mr Gower² whom you mention I have not heard of, so I suppose he is in one of the neighbouring English counties. Be pleasd to let me know as soon as you can, what my Ld Carbury says to it who is a person of great interest in his countey, and will very much credit ye design, if he approves of it. I am Sr

Yr most obliged servant
EDW. LHWD

I have been importun'd to ask you (I need not tel you by whom) whether you are fully satisfied of Mr Doody's experiment of ye growth of misselto, from seeds, inserted by him into a white poplar. Mr Cole asks such ridiculous questions; as whether you & Dr Plucknet (for Mr Ray quotes you

¹ A. Wood died on Friday, 29 Nov. 1695, leaving his most valuable papers to the old Ashmolean Museum. Had he given them to the Bodleian Library they would probably have been burnt.

² GOWER, perhaps the Master of St. John's, Lister's old Cambridge college. An Edward Gower forwarded letters in 1697-8.

both) saw Mr Doody¹ put in ye grains or berries; and whether you are certain the plant sprung from ye very same place, he put in ye seeds &c.

I'll send you more papers to morrow, but I would have them onely put into such hands as are proper. For my Paper is not calculated for a bookseller's shop, nor to lye in a Coffee; because people that understand not ye matter, will think it unreasonable.

143. MS *Lister* 36, lxxv

Dec. 31. 95.

Hond Sr

I was well assured you were not unmindfull of me, thô I began to suspect, you could doe nothing with my Lord Carbury; and I suppose now I was not mistaken, there being no mention of him in your letter. There are several men of note, who further ye design all they can in the countrey: and in ye city, one Mr FRANCIS GWYN,² who I think lives in White Hall, has gain'd many subscribers, and makes it his businesse to promote it amongst his acquaintance. I hope Mr Gower whom you formerly mention'd, is one of the friends you have made use of; for I know not whether Mr Gwyn and my other friends, have much acquaintance or interest with ye gentry of Monmouthshire. I have not time to adde any more but that I am (Dear Sr)

Yr most affectionat friend & humble servt

EDW. LHWYD

144. MS *Lister* 3, f. 162

Oxfd Sunday morning [end of 1695.]

Dear Sr

I humbly thank you for your kind letter, & the paper enclos'd; by which & some others I have lately recd, I find

¹ SAMUEL DOODY, 1656–1706, keeper of Chelsea Garden, 1692, F.R.S. 1695, 'made the most discoveries of any man in that age' among Cryptogams. His MSS. are in the British Museum.

² FRANCIS GWYN, the eminent politician.—*D.N.B.*

I shall meet with encouragement enough to support the charges of travailing, &c. and therefore am resolv'd to undertake it. You may also rest satisfied, I shall perform my promise, in sending you the treatise of Figured Stones before I set out for Wales, which I intend at farthest towards ye latter end of April. In ye mean time you need not take any more care of it; for you may be assured I shall finish it as soon as I can.

I lately receivd the enclos'd, with ye books it mentions out of Germany: be pleasd to let me know in your next; whether Weigelius's *Philosophia Mathematica*,¹ which he dedicates to the Royal Society has been receivd; & if so, how I shall dispose of this copy. Lungershausen's are I doubt scarce worth the sending you; being two small treatises; ye first entitle'd *Judicium Naturæ de Natura Scripturæ*; ye other *Brevis Dissertatio de Lingua Anglica*. They come to my hands by mistake ye person yt sends them presuming me to be fellow of the R. Society, as you'll gather from his letter. I am Dear Sr

Yr most affectionat & obliged servant
EDW. LHWYD

145. MS *Lister* 36, lxxvii.

Oxford. Febr. 9. 9⁵.

Hond Sr

I am very well satisfied with the Subscriptions; but must keep my Ld Carbury's as privat as I can; least some gentlemen who are dispos'd to be more generous, should upon seeing what he contributes alter their resolution: as I heard several have done already, for that my friends who had gain'd them, neglected tendering them the paper to subscribe, when they were disposd to it. I have therefore thought it necessary to employ a sollicitor (one THOMAS of Bernards Inne) to wait on Mr Francis Gwyn & Mr Tho. Mansel & some others of my best friends for their subscriptions, and to take their notes to such of their acquaintance as have promis'd. Be pleasd to acquaint me in your next to whom I may direct the books I recd for the R.S. You return'd me the letter, but mention

¹ ERHARD WEIGEL, *Philosophia Mathematica*. Jena, 1693.

not whether Weigelius's *Philosophia Mathematica*, which he dedicated two years since to ye R. Society hath been yet recd. By an extract of Dr Robinson's letter from Mr Ray, I find Woodward is my implacable enemy, and does me all the mischief he can; which yet (he addes) is not much. If he stil maintains his character among the clergy (for I suppose he never had much amongst naturalists) he may doe me some prejudice; for I depend somthing on ye interest of ye Bishops of Bangor and St Asaph, which later I hear has lately chang'd his favourable opinion of me. I am glad you have made such interest in ye High-Lands; thô I suppose 'twill be about three years ere I undertake that journey.

Dr ROBINSON advises me to think of publishing my observations yearly by way of Diaries; which might be done, had I undertaken onely the Natural History: But the generality of subscribers are for the *Dictionary* and *Archæologia* and very indifferent for the *Natural History*. Be pleas'd to give him my humble service & thanks, and you may promise him that I shall not begin my journey to Wales, nor medle with any other businesse, til I have finish'd my *Catalogue of Stones*. He says my enemies (who they are besides WOODWARD, I know not) give out I am not able nor willing to perform any thing to the purpose. If the purpose they mean; be a satisfactory account of the origin of fossil shells &c. I fear they are in the right. But I belive a classical enumeration of what Form'd Stones my collection consists of, and a few figures of the rarest, will be more to the purpose, than a Rabbinical chimera about the thawing of the Globe &c. I am Dear Sr

Yr most affectionat & oblig'd servant
EDW. LHWYD

I have some thoughts of giving my Collection entirely, figur'd according to the catalogue I shall print of them, to the University; and that as soon as the *catalogue* is publish'd: but would gladly know your advice. I suppose that for fish bones (I mean fossil ones) tis much beyond Dr Woodward's thô he has plow'd with my bullocks for what he has in that kind; and recd the first from my own hands.

My resigning it may possibly enable some new collectors to outstrip me, in regard I direct them to the places, where each kind has been found; but I am so farre from envying any one that succeſse, that I heartily wish it, to such as are dispos'd to take pains in this way; and are men of candour and integrity.

146. MS *Tanner* 34. 129.

To the Rev. THOMAS TANNER

Sr

Feb. 14 Sunday one a clock.¹

Having recd this letter just now; I thought it best to send it to your hands with all possible speed. I need not desire you to keep it privat nor add anything more of the matter; but yt I entreat you to send a purpose messenger (if there be no other conveniency) to-morrow, to Mr. Kennet, with a very earnest letter to deal freely & plainly with you &c. The answer you receive be pleased to leave with Mr. Robert Wyn ye bearer at ye Museū, & he'll take care to convey it safely to

Yr most affectionat Fr. & humble Servt
EDW. LHWYD

I would gladly answer Mr. Archer by Tuseday post.

147. MS *Lister* 36, lxxix

Oxfd. Febr. 24. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$.

Dear Sr

This is onely to thank you for yr last kind letter; and to give Mr Bisse² the bearer the opportunity of paying his respects to you, who is very desireous of the favour of your acquaintance. He is Fellow of Wadham College; and has the character of an ingenious and industrious man; and being a student in

¹ I am, quite unable to suggest a year for this letter. It is however a matter of interest to record that on October 21, 1695, William Rowlands had been to Cambridge and had visited Archer and seen his collection of fossils. In a letter to Lhwyd he reported 'I had a view of his Stones, which I knew by their names far better than himself: for he had but exceeding few besides those you sent him'.

JAMES BISSE attended A. Wood in his last illness.

Physic, he desired I would give him this opportunity of waiting on you. I hear Mr Thomas¹ of Bernards Inne, whom I employ to sollicit my affair, succeeds well; and I hope that by this time he has waited on you as I have orderd him, to give you some account of his proceedings.

I have not yet written to Mr Waller but shall doe it this week, and send him these books thô in all likelyhood that dedicated to the Society has been receiv'd ere this, since the gentleman says this is the third time, the author sent it.

I shall observe your advice in disposing of my collection, which was all I meant by resigning it: for I have no thoughts of resigning my place on any terms, and probably shall never doe it; being I think as well satisfy'd with it, as I could be had I ten thousand a year; which happynesse is wholly owing to your kindnesse who procured it me. If what Dr Wdwd reports were true; it might be well in time for the University, for having no near relations, I have no thoughts of disposing what I shall be possess'd of from the place where I have my being. I am Dear Sr

Yr most obliged servant
ED. LHWYD

I have some thoughts of sending up for NED THOMAS to take care of the Museum whilst I am on this employment, allowing him 20 li. a year. For the Batchlr I formerly mentiond is unlukily prefer'd to the tuition of a gentleman in Cambridge.

I long to know whether your son² comes hither this term, & of wt college you intend him.

148. MS *Lister* 36, No. lxxx

Oxford. March 10. 9 $\frac{5}{8}$.

Dear Sr

I have observ'd your orders in writing to Mr Thomas, who I doubt not will wait on my Ld Pembroke and Radnor. I was surpris'd at ye catalogue he sent me of two and forty subscribers being double ye number I expected. This good succeſſe is chiefly owing to Mr Francis Gwyn, Mr Thomas

¹ WALTER THOMAS.

² ALEXANDER LISTER.

Mansel of Margam and the Archdeacon of Cardigan, a man of excellent worth and valued accordingly by his countrey-men.

I am not particularly acquainted with Mr. Baron, but his character is well known in town, for an ingenious honest man, and a diligent tutor. This is all at present from

Yr affectionat & obliged servant
EDWARD LHWYD

149. To Mr. JOHN MORTON. MS. *Eng. Hist. C.* 11. 22

Oxford Apr. 2. [16]96.

Dear Sr.

I am so far from takeing yr kind letter amisse yt I heartily thank you for it; & do assure you yt I wish Dr Woodward as well as any of his friends, thô I am sorry to find him write so contemptibly of Dr Lister & Dr Robinson. I must confesse I am a man of low acquaintance in ye world, & therefore know not what esteem is generally had of them; but for my own part I have alwayes taken them for persons of integrity and candour, as well as exquisite judgement in those studies they professe. And to deal freely with you (as you desired me) I am not at all altered in my opinion of them by this letter of Dr Woodward; as presuming those diminishing character he gives them, may be rather owing to a passion he was in at ye writing of it; than to their deserts. Nor can you blame me for entertaining such thoughts; when I tell you he has formerly in his letters to me (which I have still by me) represented them as worthy persons and such as he had a respect for; and I am sure he could not at yt time be ignorant of their temper, haveing been acquainted with them for some yeares. As to his charge against me; which is *that I have to my cost given diminishing characters of him and his book*; I answer yt I never spoke otherwise of either, than what I have done to himself by letter: viz. that he seemed to entertain too mean thoughts of men of established reputation; & yt his *Hypothesis of ye Dissolution of ye Earth at ye time of the Deluge*¹

¹ JOHN WOODWARD, *An essay toward a natural history of the Earth . . . with an account of the Universal Deluge.* London 1695.

seemed to me contrary to ye sense of Scripture, & unwarrantable in reason. For ye former there needs I think no other proof than this letter; wherein he tells you yt 'tis not worth his while to enter into contest with a man of Dr Listers character, & Dr Robinson is a man to whom he had done enough to have obligd, were he a person to be obligd: and for ye latter I am still of ye same opinion, but very ready to change it, when he or any of his friends shall convince me of error. You will urge perhaps yt thô these are my sentiments yet there was no need of owning them; to which I reply yt I think all men are free to speak their sense of any books publish'd in philosophy; & provided they make their objections with due respects to ye author, neither he nor his friends [can] fairly take it amisse. Now I have not only upon all such occasions given Dr. Woodward the character of a learned and ingenious person & one of indefatigable industry; but have also maintained (to ye best of my skill) severall assertions in his book, which others thought erroneous. And whenever I have spoken of his vilifying other persons (which I have done only to very few friends, and such as I knew would make no ill use of it) I always added 'twas ye only fault I know in him, & yt I hoped experience would teach him to correct it. I must confess I could not approve of his temper or judgment, when he once told me yt were I but personally acquainted with Mr Ray, I should discover him to be but a mean man; and thô he tells you he has never spoken of me anything yt tended to my disreputation; I can assure you yt within this twelvemonth he has given it under his hand to one of my acquaintance *yt I am an invidious man*, & adds more than I shall trouble you with, who I know are pleased to entertain better thoughts of me. He does not indeed in that letter name me, no more than he does Dr Lister & Dr Robinson, but expresses himself so yt he could not possibly mean any other. Upon ye whole [matter] I only say yt I heartily wish a settled amity betwixt him, Dr Robinson, Dr Lister, & some other persons of excellent character. For my own part I am not out with him at all; and must declare to you yt whereas I have spoken of his assuming temper;

I found most yt knew him or had read his book so sensible of it, yt in my apprehension there was no dissembling it. Several have given him yt character in my own hearing, before they knew I was acquainted with him; upon which I told them yt he had many good accomplishments to make amends for yt fault. I find I have dwelt too long upon this subject. haveing scarce room to beg yr pardon for being so tedious, & to assure you yt for ye future I shall not trouble you with any thing of this kind. About a fortnight hence I intend for Wales: if yr occasions permit, a line or two in ye interim would be acceptable to

Your affectionat friend & humble servant
EDWARD LHWYD

150. *To the Revd Mr. H[UMPHREY] FOULKES, Rector of St. George*
[Extracts of several letters]

Cambr. Mag. v, 282

Oxford Apr: 6: 96.

Sometime this year I shall print a Catalogue of my collection of Form'd Stones with a few observations on such bodies in general. I design to add an asterisk to such as I have plenty of and to signify in the preface that I would exchange them with any gentleman that has collections of this nature, by which means I expect several gentlemen, being desirous of a collection of this kind & having nothing to exchange, will be willing to lay out money for them.

I suppose Dr. Blackmore might borrow the heroes you mention out of an old French Romance of K. Arthur. Sr Rhys ap Thomas his monument was shewed me at Caermarthen church: his puissance was well expressed by a poet of that time which (as the vulgar report) had like to have cost him his life. The words were onely y Brenin a bràr ynys, ond Sydh o ran i Sr Rhys. *Divisum Imperium cum Jove &c.*

151.

Oxford.

Bead-house (which as Jack Lloyd of Ruthyn tells me is Sr Rob. Owens etymon of Bettws) seems as good as either Bedhouse or Beatus but as yet I acquiese in neither of them and my objection to Bead house is that it is an English name:

neither can I apprehend why a chappel should be called a Bead-house any more in Wales than elsewhere. Gelen is probably (tho I know nothing of ye place) the name of brook; but that it should be called celen, because it has gelenod in it, seems to me not very probable.

[It will be seen from the following date that the writer was then about to commence his tour through Wales, for the purpose of collecting materials for his promised History of Wales, all previous letters being dated at Oxford.]

152. MS *Lister* 36, lxxxii

Oxfd. April 23. 96.

Dear Sr

Mr Thomas coming down in ye Easter holydays, to shew me his book, &c. I have been here ever since; and am preparing to begin my journey for Wales, towards ye end of the next week. I have almost finishd the *catalogue*; but can not stay long enough to write my general observations: and indeed if I had all, ready for the presse, I think (since matters fall out as they have) 'twould be my best way to deferre the publishing this book til next winter; when 'twill be a convenient time to present it to my subscribers, a litle before ye next year's payment. I find Dr W. is pretty well diverted for the present by Dr Ash in ye *Miscellany Letters* and Doctor Robinson¹ in the *Philosophical Transactions*; so that you need not be in any haste for what I have to say on the subject. Indeed the best of my book will be figures of some things which perhaps Dr W. himself has not seen; notwithstanding his correspondence with five hundred persons (as he lately boasted to my frd ye Archdeacon of Cardigan) beyond the seas. I am in hopes the University will print my book, and allow me copies for all the subscribers and other friends.

I was at Mr Lister's chamber² this morning, whom I am

¹ 'As to your old correspondent Dr. Woodward I have given him over as a man not fit for conversation. His language is intolerable, and in his behaviour extreamly . . . ; he is insolent. He calls Mr. Ray a mercenary scribbler, a meer copyist. . . . The clergy say he has done more mischief than Dr. Burnet.' *Letter from Robinson to Lhwyd*, dated 11 April 1696.

² ALEXANDER LISTER of Balliol College, only son of Dr. Martin Lister.

heartily glad to find so hopefull a gentleman. I askd him what acquaintance he has in this town; and his answer was that some of his scholefellows were at Christ Church College; but that for certain reasons he was not disposed to renew his friendship with them; and was desireous of no other acquaintance than those of his own College.

Sr if you have any commands before I set out, be pleasd to write within two or three days after this comes to hand: otherwise I know not how a letter will find me til ye first of June, at which time I have engaged to meet a gentlman at Mr Morgan's house, scholemaster, at Bangor in Caernarvonshire. I have lately made bold to write to Dr Robinson, who was pleasd to favour me with very obliging letters in answer; and has I belive ere this subscribd in Mr Thomas's book, and sent him to some other friends. I am (Worthy Sr)

Yr most affectionat and obliged servant
E. LHWYD

153. *To the Rev. Dr. MILL,¹ Principal of Edmund Hall, Oxford.*

Cambro-Briton, i, p. 55

Swansey, Sept. 14, 1696.

Rev. Sir,

I have here presumed to trouble you with a copy of an inscription, which, amongst several others, I met with this summer in North Wales. The monument, whence I took it, was a stately pillar of very hard stone, of the same kind with our common mill-stones. 'Twas of a cylinder form, above 12 foot in height, seaven in circumference at the basis, where it was thickest, and about six near the top, where smallest. The pedestal is a large stone, five foot square and 15 inches thick; in the midst whereof there 's a round hole, wherein the monument was placed. Within a foot of the top 'tis encompassed with a round band or girth, resembling a cord, from whence 'tis square to the top, and each square adorned with

¹ Dr. JOHN MILL was born at Shap, in Westmorland, in 1645, and became Principal of Edmund Hall, in 1685. He died in 1707. He is celebrated for an edition of the New Testament, containing about thirty thousand various readings, which, after a labour of thirty years, was published about a fortnight before his death.

a ring, reaching from this band to the top and meeting at the corners. It was erected on a small mount, which seems to have been cast up for that purpose; but in the late civil warres (or sooner) 'twas thrown down and broke in several pieces, whence the inscription is so imperfect.

The reason I trouble you with it is, because I remember amongst Usher's Letters one from Dr. Langbain to him, wherein he writes to this purpose.—'I have received both the inscriptions, and shall send you my thoughts of that at Vale Crucis; but for the other I give it over for desperate.' Now this I send you is the inscription at Vale Crucis; and I doubt not, but the vale received its name from this very stone, tho' 'twas never intended for a crosse. The copy Dr. Langbain received was perhaps taken before the stone was broke, and you may possibly meet with it among his papers and letters, if you know where they are lodged; or direct me to search for it when I come to Oxford, which will be a month hence at farthest.

The inscription would be legible enough, were it entire. It begins—'Concenn filius Catelli, Cattel filius Brochmali, Brochmal filius Eliseg, Eliseg filius Guoillauc. Concenn, itaque pronepos Eliseg, edificavit hunc lapidem proavo suo Eliseg, &c.' 'Tis remarkable, that, adjoining to the monument, there's a township called *Eglwyseg*, which name is corrupted doubtless from this *Eliseg*, tho' our greatest critics interpret it *Terra Ecclesiastica*. Thus in Caermardhinshire we find this epitaph,

Servator fidei, patriæque semper amator,
Hic Paulinus jacet cultor pientissimus æqui.

The place, where the stone lies, is called *Pant y polion*, i.e. the Vale of Stakes, corruptly for *Pant Powlin*, Planities Paulini. I find other places denominated from persons buried at or near them: whence I gather *they* were antiently men of great note, who had inscriptions on tombs, be they never so rude and homely. But I trouble you too much with trifles; so shall adde no more but that I am,

Worthy Sir, your most obliged and humble servant,

EDW. LHWYD

154. To Dr. TANCRED ROBINSON, F.R.S.

A letter from the late Mr. EDWARD LHWYD containing several Observations in Natural History, made in his Travels thro' Wales. Phil. Trans. xxvii, p. 462 (1710.).

Honoured Sir, Swansey, Glamorganshire, Sept. 14. 1696.

At Snowdon Hills we met with little or nothing additional to what is in Mr. Ray's *Synopsis*; only the little Bulb I found plentifully in flower; and in one of the lakes I gather'd a small plant, which I suspect to be undescrib'd. I have given orders to watch the *Subularia*; but the lake where it grows is so high, that men have seldom occasion to come near it, so that I have but slender hopes of any account of its flowering. I sent roots of what rare plants I met with, to the Duke of Beaufort's, my Lord of London's, and the Physick Garden at Oxford; and planted many of them at the Bishop of Bangor's garden, which is about 7 miles from these mountains. I have dried several paterns of most of them; as also of such plants as our sea coasts afford, which are considerable for number; amongst which I think I have two or three undescrib'd.

I searched diligently in these mountains for Figured Stones; but met with none at all, except cubical Marchasites, and Crystals, whereof I found one about 9 inches long, and thicker than my wrist, transparent as glass for the better half, but opaque towards the root like white marble. Some small ones I met with of the colour of a topaze; and was inform'd of others purely amethystine, found in the Valley of Nant Phrantcon. I find our ancestors (for want of more precious stones) made themselves beads of opaque, or marble crystal; for I have one given me, cut like a lottery-ball, and perforated; found not long since in Meirionydhshire. I desire to know whether you are satisfy'd, that those transparent stones figured by Dr. Plot, and by Dr. Lister [*Phil. Transact.* No. 201.] by the name of *Ombria*, &c. are so form'd naturally. One of them was lately given me (set in copper with a little handle to it) by the name of *Tlŵs Owen Kyveiliog*, i.e. Owen of Kyveiliog's Jewel; so call'd, because found in an old Crig or Barrow, near the place where he lived.

Sir William Williams hath several Welsh MSS (tho' I think no Dictionary) that would be of use to me; but his son tells me, he's resolv'd never to lend any. They are chiefly modern copies out of Hengwrt Study in Meirionydshire, which I am promis'd free access to; and have this time taken a *Catalogue* of all the ancient MSS. it contains. There are the works of Taliesyn, Aneuryn gwawdrydh, Myrdhyn ab Morvryn, and Kygodio Elaeth, who lived in the 5th and 6th centuries (but the small MS. containing them all seems to have been copied about 500 years ago) as also of several others valuable in their kind. I must intreat you to direct me, if you can, how to procure the use of the Cornish MSS. you mention at Mr. Anstisse's. I have been told one Mr Keygwyn, who died of late years in Cornwall, left a sort of Dictionary of the language. Perhaps Mr. Moyle, or some other of your acquaintance in that country, can tell us whether it be true, or a mistake.

We have neither the *Ibex* nor *Rupicapra* in Wales, nor any other Goat but the common. In our language the Park Deer is call'd Geivr Danas: The former word signifies Goats, but whether the latter implies Danish (as if Deer had come from Denmark) or somewhat else, we know not.

The Grey Game (tho' I have not heard of the name) seems to be the female of the Black; which we call Gyryg-ieir, i.e. *Gallinæ ericetorum*. The Red Game we call ieir y mynydh, i.e. *Gallinula montanæ*; because in our country they keep to the highest hills, or Alps, [in Welsh *banneu*,] especially if heathy.

There came this last May into Cardiganshire two strange birds (as I guess by the description given them) of the aquatic fissioned tribe. They say they were almost two yards tall, and of a whitish colour, with the tips of their wings dark. I took 'em to be some sort of Exotic Crane; which, whether they portend a Common-Wealth or not, I leave to their interpretation who regard omens.

This time two years, there came a flock of birds [about a hundred] to a hemp-yard, at a place called Lhan Dewi Velfrey in Pembrokeshire; and in one afternoon destroyed all the Hempseed. They described the Cocks to be all over red

as scarlet; the Hens greenish above, and red underneath; about as big, or little less than Blackbirds; with bills more stubbed and bigger than that of a Bull-finch.¹ I suspect these to have been Virginia Nightingals; otherwise, I know not what to make of them. [See Letter No. 160.]

Our Lakes (tho' they are very numerous) afford no fish that I can hear of, besides Trout and Eel, and Torgoch² and Gwiniad,³ i.e. Shelley³ and Charre.² A fisherman protested to me, that in a lake called Lhyn y Cwn near Lhan Berys, he had several times catch'd Monocular Trouts,⁴ the heads whereof were always somewhat distorted or contracted awry. They farther assured me, that the two highest lakes of Snowdon (Phynnon Vrch and Phynnon l s) afford no fish at all; and that the Trouts of the other lakes differ much in colour: But these things must, and shall (God willing) be better inquired into.

Next summer come twelvemonth, I intend to try the barometer and thermometer on the top of Snowdon and Cader Idris, and to take their perpendicular height, and do any thing else that you shall advise, which may be done conveniently.⁵

There is no Brimstone or Pumice-stones on the tops of our mountains, nor any thing else that I suspect to have been the effects of vulcano's. What seemed to me most strange, were waste confus'd stones, and (to appearance) fragments of rocks, standing on the surface of the earth, not only in wide plains, but on the summits also of the highest mountains.

I have never seen any lake or spring on the summit of a hill. There are indeed on the tops of some hills, where stood anciently castles or forts, certain wells called in Welsh *Pydew*; a word of the same signification as well as sound with the Latin *Puteus*: But no water runs out of these; and several of them I found quite dry. I am, Sir,

Your most obliged humble servant, E. LHWYD

¹ Crossbills.

² *Salmo perisii*.

³ *Coregonus clupeioides*.

⁴ Giraldus Cambrensis mentioned Snowdon trout with right eyes only.

⁵ Mr. CASWELL, employed by Adams in a survey of Wales 1682, measured Snowdon with instruments made by the direction of Flamsteed, as 1,240 yards (Wren's *Parentalia* i, 253). Lhwyd's measure was 1,300 yards, but later surveyors give it 1,189 yards reckoning from the quay at Caernarvon.

155. [To JOHN LLOYD.] *Arch. Camb.* 1859, 166.

Dear Sr

Oxfd. Oct. 25. 96.

It's high time to let you know I am as yet amongst ye living: thô I have leasure to say little more at present. I am return'd to Oxford about a fortnight since having rambld (very much to my satisfaction) through 8 or 9 counties. I gave some account of my successe to Dr Tancred Robinson, who tels me in his answer *yt what occur'd to me this summer is sufficient for a volume according to the measure and proportion of some late writers*; which thô he be my particular friend is I must confesse too fulsome a compliment.

My Ld of Bangor¹ was extraordinary obliging; and is incomparably the best skilld in our Antiquities of any person in Wales. He gave me leave to take a catalogue of his MSS. which thô considerable enough are yet much inferior to the collection at Hengwrt which I take to be the most valuable in its kind any where extant; thô I found no Manuscript there which I could safely conclude to have been written five hundred years since. My design hereafter is to spend a month or two (according to its extent) in each county; and so bid adieu to it: thô I think I have taken the best course the first year, to ramble as far as conveniently I could in order to inform myself what helps I may expect from Manuscripts &c. in general: and to give more general satisfaction to the Gentry. I shall begin in Monmouthshire as being but a day's rideing hence and lying next to Glamorganshire; where the Gentry have subscrib'd as much as a third part of all Wales as far as I can yet learn. For I know no more of the subscriptions in Denbighshire and Flintshire than I did when I left you; thô I hope you will shortly send some news thereof to

Yr most affectionat Frd and servant

EDW. LHWYD

I have sent you Nicolson's *Historical Library* as a small present by Cadwaladr the Carrier. My humble respects to Mr Robinson, Mr Richd Mostyn and our Ruthin and Maerdy Society² as you meet with opportunities.

¹ Bishop HUMPHREY HUMPHREYS.

² Probably WILLIAM and EDWARD HUMPHREYS.

156. MS *Lister* 35, No. 59

Oxf. 8br. 26. 96.

Dear Sr

I have been return'd to Oxford above a fortnight since; where I find a continuation of your favours towards the Museum by a noble accession (tho not exceeding your usual presents) of books proper for the place. I found ye Under-keeper had enterd them in the catalogue and intimated yr donation (as is our custome) in the title-page of each of them; but he ought to have acquainted you with his receiving them, tho' he says the Vicechancr did it. On account of my absence they deferred the Visitation (tho' they came hither the usual time to receive the fees Mr Ashmole has orderd them) til next Thursday; so that I have been busily employ'd ever since my return in placeing our coyns, shells, &c. to their right figures. I scribld some hasty account of my rambles to Dr Robinson¹ in answer to a lr I had recd from him in the countrey. This perhaps he has shewd you or told you of; so I shall not trouble you on that account at present being in some hurry. I hear my old frd Dr W. is in ye presse; so I hope he 'll fully discharge that too weighty a task, you were pleasd in your late excellent book to recommend to

Yr most obliged servt

EDW. LHWYD

Yr son is well and hearty. In my opinion you have done mighty well in allowing him a second tutor; who seems to be a good humourd, ingenious person.

157. For the hond HOWELL VAUGHAN *Esq at Aberffrydlon, Montgomery-shire. Salop post* MS *Carreglwyd, Anglesey*

Oxf Nov. 4. 96.

Hond Sr,

Being now returnd to Oxford, and considering how I had best employ this winter in prosecution of that tedious task I have undertaken; I can think of nothing more necessary than the perusing our ancientest Welsh MSS.

I ought not indeed to trouble you now, having done it so lately; but they who are masters of such curiosities, must

¹ No. 153.

expect to be continually harass'd by men of my employment. My present request is yt you would please to lend me three or four of your manuscripts for ye space of three months; after which time I shall take care (on any forfeit) to return them safe to your hands. There are a great many in your library, that will be of singular use to me in this undertaking: but those which I now desire are the 21th. ye 23d. 26th. & 46th. Mr. Johnson will soon find them (marked with those numbers) on the same shelf they use to lye; if you please to give him orders to look them out. They are onely old poets as you will find by the catalogue I left with you, but because they mention several places & persons, they will be of good use to me in my present design. I have written to Will Williams of Bryn y Llevrith and one W. Jones to bring them up with 'm if you please to favour me with the use of them. Or, if they are deliverd to Mr. David Evans of Machynlleth, he'll take care to put them in a box and to send them hither by the Shrewsbury carrier. Mr. Wm. Wyn has just finish'd *Cradog of Lhan Carvan's History* with Dr. Powel's¹ Notes, &c. and will put it in the presse before Christmase. He has put it into modern English and has a very large preface to it, wherein he maintains Geofrey of Monmouth's History (the ridiculous fables therein excepted) with very plausible arguments, as they seem to me, and good judgment & ingenuity. I was telling him that your grandfather² had writ some notes upon the *Triades*, which I was sure would very much recommend his book, should you communicate them, and give him leave to print them (under your grandfather's name) at the end of his book. I think you told me you had some of the sheets your self, and yr unkle shewd me some others of them; but I fear a great deal of it is lost. However what remains would, I am sure, be acceptable to the public; so I suppose you will be troubl'd with a letter from him shortly about it. I have nothing to adde but to beg your pardon for this boldnesse and importunity of (Sr) Yr most obliged humble Servant

EDW. LHWYD

¹ DAVID POWELL, D.D., fellow of All Souls. *Historie of Cambria*, 1584.

² ROBERT VAUGHAN, 1592-1667, matric. Oriel 1612. Welsh antiquary. *D.N.B.*

158. MS *Lister* 36, lxxxvii

Oxford Nov. 12. 96.

Hond Sr

I am very sensible of my obligations to Mr Moyl¹; and that it would be most to my interest to goe to Cornwall next summer; but having promis'd ye gentry of Glamorganshire and Carmarthenshire, (where I have the greatest number of subscribers) to survey those countreys with all convenient speed; I find my self obliged to make that my first businesse. My mayn undertakeing being Wales, I design to visit each parish in it (or if I misse any to send my companion and assistant to them) before I travail into any other countrey. After that I shall be ready for Cornwall or Ireland; or (if we have peace) for Britaigne in France. About a month hence I shall print a *paper of queries* and disperse them as well as I can throughout Wales amongst the gentry and clergy. My assistant and fellow-traveller is one Mr William Rowlands² Batchelr of Arts of Oriel College; who is an ingenious fair-condition'd youth and has tolerable skill in surveying and designing; and is also as well acquainted as my self wth the ancient and modern language of our countrey; nor doe I despayr but that in a short time he'll be as well qualified as I am at present to carry on the *Dictionary* and *Archæologia*, if it please God I should dye before I finish them.

Yr son is hearty & remembers his duty to you: which is all at present from

Yr most affectionat and obliged servt
EDW. LHWYD

I have proposed some orders to our Visitors as convenient to be printed relating to our Museum and litle Library, but they have desired time to consider of them, so that I know not as yet whether they will be accepted. They are debating whether our Library shall be common to all persons, or limited &c.

¹ WALTER MOYLE of Exeter college, M.P. for Saltash. Cf. *E.S.O.* xi.

² W. ROWLANDS, matric. Jesus coll. 1692-3; B.A. from Oriel 1696; deputy keeper of the Ashmolean Museum.

159. *Edward Lhwyd's Observations in Natural History and Antiquities made in his Travels thro' Wales and Scotland. Posthumously printed in 'Phil. Trans.' xxviii, No. 337 (1714).*

To Dr. RICHARD RICHARDSON.

Oxford, Novemb. 24. 1696.

The next day after we parted (at Kapel Kirig) I found plenty of the *Bistorta*¹, and the *Nasturtium petraeum* of Johnson,² and I think a new plant in the small lake of Phynnon Vrch, where the *Subularia* grew. I sent roots of the *Bistorta* and *Nasturtium*, both to the D. of Beaufort's and to this Physic Garden; but whether they live or no I know not, having not been yet in Mr. Bobart's garden. I met with several rare plants in other places; as *Echium marinum* J. B.;³ *Asparagus sylvestr.*; *Eruca marina*;⁴ *Eruca sylvestris laciniata lutea*;⁵ *Dulcamara marina*;⁶ *Tithymalus marit.*;⁷ *Beta marina*;⁸ &c. in Caernarvonshire and Anglesey: And in Meirionydshire I found good store of our Snowdon plants at Kader Idris, and *Balsamina lutea*⁹ in the high road near a place called Capel Begla. In South Wales I found several plants common, which I had never seen in North Wales; such as *Eruca sylvestris*,¹⁰ common on the walls of their towns and castles; *Asplenium s. Ceterach officin.*; *Centaureum luteum perforliatum*;¹¹ *Linum sylvestre*;¹² *Fagus*, &c. In Pembrokshire, I met with two, which I suspect for new, viz. a *Trifolium*, and an *Anhyllis leguminosa supina, flore coccineo*.¹³

Amongst several others, I found one large Crystal above Phynnon Vrch about 7 inches long, and as thick as my wrist. In Monmouthshire I met with large petrified Vertebrae,¹⁴ and some few form'd stones in each county. But I employed the greatest part of my time in copying inscriptions, taking catalogues of Welsh manuscripts, &c.

¹ *Bistorta minima alpina* = *Polygonum viviparum* L.

² ? *Arabis petraea* L.

³ Sea Bugloss, *Mertensia maritima* Don.

⁴ Sea Rocket, *Cakile maritima* Scop.

⁵ *Brassica monensis* L.

⁶ Woody nightshade.

⁷ *Euphorbia portlandica* L.

⁸ Sea Beet.

⁹ *Impatiens Noli-tangere* L.

¹⁰ *Brassica muralis* L.

¹¹ Yellow wort, *Chlora perfoliata* L.

¹² Flax.

¹³ Kidney vetch, *Anhyllis vulneraria* L. *coccinea*.

¹⁴ Perhaps *Lith.* No. 1612.

160. *Phil. Trans.* xxvii, p. 466 (1710). (See Letter No. 154.)

[*Crossbills*]

Oxford, Dec. 22. 1696.

Mr. Roberts . . . said they were extraordinary tame; or at least so intent upon their feeding, that being forc'd from their places, they would not remove above 2 or 3 yards. The Cocks, he says, were of a deep scarlet colour, without any distinction in the feathers of their wings, that they could discern, excepting that the tail and the lower part of the belly were a little paler. The Hen had a lovely scarlet breast; her head and back grey. He is somewhat curious in birds; and says, he never saw any that in the least resembled them as to their colour. One of the other two birds was shot, and its skin stuffed; which probably I shall meet with this next summer.

E. LHWYD

161. *For the Revd Mr JOHN LLOYD at Gwersyllt near Wrexham in Denbighshire. Chester Post. Arch. Camb.* 1859, 166

Dear Sr

Oxfd. St Steven's d. 96.

I had yr Lr just now; and had observ'd the very same method you advise me to, about a week since. For I sent by Mr K. Eaton a parcel of *Queries* to Mr Price of Wrexham, with a great many more to your worship directed to be left wth yr Br, half a dozen to Chancellor Wyn¹ (from his brother William) a dozen to Dick Jones, the like number betw. Ken. Eytyn and his Father; two to Mr Humphreys of Maerdy, four to your brother David; and about 50 to the parson of Dolgelheu. His fellow travailler Mr John Davies took with him a good parcel for Anglesey, and about a douzen to the Schoolmaster of Bangor. I shall dispose of them to other countreys as I have opportunities; but must trouble you to prevail with your kinsman to disperse them in Flintshire where I have no acquaintance at all. I have printed four thousand of them; so that I can afford three to a parish; or more or lesse as occasion requires; besides a sufficient number for Cornwall &c. My acknowledging in this paper a competent encouragement will probably be the occasion of few or none subscribing hereafter.

¹ ROBERT WYNNE, D.D., fellow of Jesus coll. 1683; rector of Llanfyllin 1691; chancellor of St. Asaph 1690-1743.

However to such as ask what their neighbours have subscribed you may answer Sr Rich. Middleton 5li Sr Jo. Trevor 5li Sr Roger Puleston 5li the Bp. of St Asaph 40li. Sr R. Mostyn told me he would subscribe at London and I presume 'twill be the same summe. Sr Paul Pindar 40s. Mr Edsbury of Erdhig 20s. His brother Dr Edsbury 40s. Mr Ravenscroft (in Flintsh.) 20s. Mr Brereton of Barras 20s. Dr Rosendale 1 guinea. Dr Edw. 40s. Mr. Young of Brin Yorkin 10s. Mr Wm Eytyn 10s. And these are all the subscribers I know of in Denbighshire and Flintshire. Such as subscribe ten shillings if they expect no books are as much Benefactors to the design as they that subscribe twenty; and will have their names according to the order of Alphabet in the Catalogue of Subscribers, without any distinction. If they expect books I would not have you take their subscriptions, because the *Dictionary* and *Archæologia* (for I have some thoughts of printing them together) will probably amount to at least 50 shillings a peice. 'Tis pity the Book you mentioned is imperfect; tho it be noe great losse I suppose to the commonwealth of learning; as being onely a collection and translation out of much better authors. I suppose 'twas writ by one Jones of Gelli Lyfdy in Flintshire, a great friend of Mr Vaughan's of Hengwrt. There is at Hengwrt a *Geirlyfr* of his in several volumes; but they are only bare words without any interpretation. I sent yesterday a paper of QQ. to the Bp. of Bangor;¹ with a request he would recommend them to the countrey: and also amongst our Parliament members at London. I hope they'll Frank a good number of them to the Clergy and others in Wales. My Ld of Bangor's name ought to have been subscribed amongst the approvers: but I could not conveniently send him the paper as not knowing whither to direct to him: and I was unwilling to print his name without his leave. You must extort a promise (if possible) from all your acquaintance that they have papers, to make the best use of them they can conveniently: and you may assure them that it lies chiefly in their own powers, whether a compleat or imperfect account be given of their countrey. I hope you will take some parish to your own share

¹ HUMPHREY HUMPHREYS, *D.N.B.*

and furnish me with a sheet of paper upon each Query, or at least on several of them. I desire not that the answers be returned . . . and I believe twill be two years at least . . . perhaps 'twill be conv . . . neglect the papers . . . thoughts I think . . . conveniency, after they have written them: sometime next summer I believe, they may direct them enclos'd to our members from each county: and so we shall save the expences of postage. I have neither room nor matter to add more: so I subscribe myself yr much obliged

and affectionat servant EDW. LHWYD

162. [To RI. MOSTYN.] *Copy in Arch. Camb.* 1858, 343

Dear Sr

Oxfd. Dec. 27. 96.

It's high time to return you thanks for your kind letter and the present you sent with it, which is called *Echinites cordatus* or *cordiformis*, as being the resemblance of a shell call'd *Echinus spatagus* or the Sea egge; Mr Wyn¹ is gone to London about a week since; where part of his businesse is to put his book in the presse; which is Cradoc of Lhan Carvan (or Powel's History) in modern language with an elaborate preface of his own, wherein he offers what may be sayd for the credit of Geofrey of Monmouth He is promis'd an appendix to it by Mr Howel Vaughan, containing some notes of his Grandfather's upon the *Triades* and a short discourse about some errours in the Welsh chronology. I was surprized to find you quote Sr Mathew Hales (*sic*) for what I thought had never been suspected by any person before. However I am glad to have jump'd in the same opinion with so considerable a person; 'tis enough to extenuat the error whatever absurdity may attend it: but pray acquaint me in your next who told you of this Hypothesis, for I remember not that I writ to you any thing about it. I have printed about 4000 of the enclos'd to be dispers'd in Wales, Cornwall, &c. A line or two at your leasure containing some further observations on our language &c will be very well come to

Yr affectionat Frd & humble servant EDW. LHWYD

¹ WILLIAM WYNNE, matric. Jesus coll. 1688; B.D. 1702. *History of Wales written originally in British by Caradoc of Llancarfan*, 1697.

163. MS *Lister* 3, f. 152

Oxford Sunday morn. [Dec. 1696]

Dear Sr

I make bold to send you the enclos'd¹ to the end you may peruse it before I put it in the presse. I design to print it in a small letter on a sheet of paper; leaving as much room as may be allowd after each query; in hopes yt such as once begin to write their notes on the blank paper can not afterwards refrain continueing their communications upon other paper. Pray be pleasd to alter what you suppose amisse, or tel me of it in your letter. I am of opinion that if three or four gentlemen of an establishd & well-known character would subscribe their approbation both of the undertaker and the *queries*, the paper would be much more generally receiv'd. And amongst my friend's those which seem most proper to recommend it, are your self, Mr Ray, Dr Wallis, and Dr Bathurst; unlesse you can think of some other instead of these two latter: for having not yet mention'd it to any one, yet, may doe as we please. 'Tis therefore my request Sr (if you think it not improper) that when you have read it, you would please to return it (the sooner the better, because about a week hence I have an opportunity of sending many of them to the countrey) with some such subscription as this under. *We judge Mr Lh. qualified for this undertaking; and that he can not want proper materials towards it,—if (as an Addition to his own Industry) he receives such Answers to these Queries as can be conveniently returnd from each Parish* —. I presume we may safely venture to print Mr Ray's name to it, whether we receive his approbation timely enough, or not² and I am well assured Dr Wallis & Dr Bathurst will readily subscribe when they see you have done it. Mr Alexander [Lister] has been lately a litle troubl'd with a cold, which has now almost quite left him. I am Dear Sr

Yr most affect. & obliged servant
E. LHWYD

¹ Draft of the *Parochial Queries*, see p. 17. A large number of the replies are bound up in MS. *Ashmole* 1810^a.

² Ray's reply is dated Jan. 7, 1696-7. See *Further Correspondence*, No. 214.

I receiv'd lately from Rivinus, a present of 3 or 4 books and some Formd Stones: amongst which the delineation of a skaly fish like that in Mr Ray out of Scilla, a *Pyrite* and the Clove stone or *Caryophyllus lapideus* were very acceptable.

164. MS *Lister* 3, f. 164

Dear Sr

Stunsfield Monday mornng [1696 or 1697]

I have been retired hither this fortnight, together with my collection of stones and two or three books; for I found the Museum too public a place to mind any thing diligently. Neither can I be at rest here, for about a week since, I was sent for to Oxford to shew the Museum to Professor Bidloe¹ of Leyden, who was recommended thither by the Chancellour. I was with your son at Mr Gibson's the night he came to Town; and calld at his lodging next morning, but being wearied with travailling he was not stirring: so finding him in such good hands as Mr Grandorge & Mr Baron, I left him & returnd hither to my task. I desire you'd please to acquaint me in your next, whether you design him for your own profession, &c.

You may perhaps have some lucky arguments against *W. Hypothesis*; and therefore I would gladly have a word or two, either from your self, or Dr Robinson (to whom I'll write about it if you think it proper) of your thoughts. For though I shall scarce pretend to account for the origin of these bodies; yet I shall be apt to make some exceptions against his dissolution of the rocks. That you once told me of Sr John Hoskyns's I like very well; but he'll answer that wooden pins might suffice &c. in the Ark; and perhaps adde that God gave Noah a hint of this dissolution, and commanded him to use no iron. If he will allow sea mushrooms & corals to be stones, we need not goe any further; for I have above 100 peices of 'm in my collection out of our neighbouring quarries; but he'll plead that all naturalists allow them to be plants; and satisfy ye inexperienced readers, with Ovids verses: *Sic et corallum &c.*

¹ The eminent anatomist GODEFROI BIDLOO of Amsterdam had been physician to William III, on whose recommendation in 1694 he was elected to the chair of anatomy and surgery in Leyden.

I receivd about a week since a letter from Rivinus of Lipsick who offers a correspondence; and to communicat any of the fossils of Germany, whereof he tels me he has a considerable collection. I think it best to close with him; thô I find he has not treated our most excellent friend Mr Ray, with that candour as would become his character and station.

I shall continue at this place about a month longer, which is distant 7 miles from Oxford; but any letter directed as usual, will be sent within a day or two, to

Yr most humble servant
EDW. LHWYD

165. MS *Lister* 36, No. lxxxix

Jan. 6. 9^g.

Dear Sr

I presume Wat Thomas has brought you ere this, one or two of the queries printed: but I must trouble you with a parcel of them to be recommended as well as you can, to the gentry and clergy in the Highlands of Scotland. From several letters Mr John Aubrey has shewn me; I find Dr JAMES GARDEN, Professor of Divinity at Aberdeen, to be a person of considerable interest in the Highlands, amongst the clergy. If it could be so contriv'd, I take him to be one of the most proper to addresse our selves to, on this occasion; in regard that besides his great acquaintance in those parts, he is himself a great lover and a competent judge of these studies. I mean of my design in the *Archæologia*. Mr Baron and Mr Mills¹ are both at present in the countrey but will quickly return hither. I shall order Mr Mills to give you a fayr account of your son's progresse in his studies. I never div'd into his scholarship; but to me he seems to be of a very happy temper; and to have parts enough for any profession, if you design him for one; as I think you formerly told me, you doe. I find him to be dayly more curious and inquisitive; and that I think, is a true sign of good sense and humour. I am now fallen again to ye finishing my *catalogue of stones*; and shall send it you (done as well as I can) before I return to Wales;

¹ JOHN BARON, master of Balliol 1705-21. JEREMIAH MILLES, fellow and tutor of Balliol 1696-1705. ALEXANDER LISTER, matric. Balliol, March, 1695-6.

which I design about the end of March. Thô it be but a triff,
I must beg your acceptance of the Dedication of it, as a small
token of gratitude from

Yr ever obliged servt
EDW. LHWYD

166. MS *Lister* 36, No. xc

Marcham Jan. 30. 9⁶/₇.

Hond Sr

I have been retir'd hither ever since I writ last, in order to transcribe my *Catalogue of stones*, which I now promise to send you by the beginning of March. I am in hopes the University will print it allowing me (which is all I desire) 300 copies; but before they will venture upon 't they must have some person's judgement; so I shall desire Dr Charlet to send it you, who I belive will doe it readily; as being naturally forward to engage in any publique concern. I am glad you have so successively disposd of the papers for Scotland. I must beg your further trouble, of enquiring of Dr Grey or Dr Wallace whether they have heard of any gentman or clergy-man amongst ye Highlands any thing studious of their own language and the antiquities of their countrey; as also whether we may travail there with safety, provided we can be well recommended. As for coarse fare and hard lodging we are proof, being but an other sort of Highlanders our selves: but if it be the manner of the countrey (as some tel me) to knock men on ye head even for a threadbare suit of cloaths, I shall easily bridle my curiosity.

Be pleas'd to write to Mr Mill about Mr Lister for I shall continue here about three weeks or a month longer. If you have occasion to write, use the same directions, and in a day or two 'twill safely be convey'd to, Hond Sr

Yr most affectionat & obliged servant
E. LHWYD

I take Mr Mill to be an extraordinary honest & good humour'd person: Mr Baron who has the same character, I have as yet no intimat acquaintance with.

167. MS *Lister* 3, f. 143

Dear Sr

Marcham Sund. Morn. [Feb. 1696-7]

Mr Williams (my deputy at ye Museum) brought me your last just now; whom I have order'd to enclose herein half a douzen of the former papers, provided there be so many of them left. Your kindnesse on this, as well as all other occasions is easier admir'd, than duly acknowledg'd: however I hope I shall whilst I live, retain a due sense of it. We must by no means think of changeing ye word Wales for Scotland; as you will soon perceive upon a reveue of the paper; and many reasons might be added too tedious &c. needlesse to trouble you with, at present. I writ to Wat Thomas of Bernards Inne to send you an other quire of the *Queries* if you find you can dispose of them. One thing I forgot all this while to mention to you: viz. yt you request Dr Grey, Dr Wallace &c. to engage their friends if possible, to have answers to these queries ready by this time twelv-month: because 'twill be convenient for me to know what progresse is made. The *Catalogue* goes on well enough; and will be sent you without fayl by the tenth of the next month at farthest; but ye General Discourse wch I shall adde will never take, any thing comparable to Dr W.'s essay, for want of philosophical amusements, and a good number of vulgar readers; which English books never fayl of. I am Hond Sr

Yr most obliged & affectionat servt

EDW. LHWYD

I must not goe to Scotland these 3 years; but they will probably forget the time you promisd them before one twelvmmonth.

[Robert Humphreys of Maerdy died at Jesus college March 13, 1696-7.]

168. MS *Lister* 36, No. xciii

Hond Sr

Oxf'd March 16. 9⁶/₇.

I recd your noble present, and shall catalogue them this afternoon. Dr Maunders order'd me to give you his service and thanks; and I presume ye Vicechancellor will write to you him self, if he has not done it already. Our Members are very sensible they never conferrd an honour on any person more to

their credit and interest. Next Monday I shall send you my *Lithophylacij Britannici Ichnographia*, for so I think to entitle the Catalogue of my collection of Figur'd Stones. I desire you would please to correct what you find amisse in the phrase, and also communicat it to Dr Robinson and Mr Ray; from both whom I would beg the same kindnesse: for that I send you is a copy for that purpose. I doubt not but the University will readily print it notwithstanding the number of the figures, when they find you have approvd of it. I am in some haste to save the post, so shall adde no more but that I am

Worthy Sr

Yr most obliged humble servant

EDW. LHWYD

My most humble service & thanks to Dr Wallace and Dr Hutton.

I sent you half a dozen of ye former paper or proposals; which I hope came safe.

The Vicechanr man deliver'd Mr Baron yr present.

169. MS *Lister* 36, No. xciv

Oxford March 28. 97.

Dear Sr

I sent Wat Thomas last Fryday a copy of my papers, and have this post directed him to carry them to you. You had recd them almost a fortnight sooner but that ye gentlman by whom I sent them has for so long a time defer'd dayly taking coach. There are three drawers to be added which my Amanuensis did not copy; but you will easily suppose them from those ten classes that are sent. All is finishd but ye dialogue; which will be but very short. I have sent you but one table of 22 which I have delineated. Mr Burghers demands 18 shillings a table for ye engraving, which seems most unreasonably dear; But if the University pay him that's not much my concern, and I presume that's his usual rate from them. If you approve of ye performance, I doe not much question their readynesse to print it. When you have lookd it over be pleasd to communicat it to my hond frd Dr Robinson who will convey it to Mr Ray. I have not read over ye

copy; presuming most of ye faults of ye transcriber are but literal. I find I can but just save ye post when I have added that I am Sr

Yr ever affectionat & obliged servant
EDW. LHWYD

I shall be for Wales about a fortnight or three weeks hence. Mr Alexander [Lister] whom I saw yesterday is well and hearty.

Those that remain untranscribd are ye *Xylostea* or bones of a woody substance, the *Ichthyospondyli* and the *Anomala* or irregular tribe.

170. To JOHN LLOYD. *Arch. Camb.* 1859, 168

Dear Sr

Oxford March 29. 1697.

'Tis high time to doubt whether the veteran be in the number of the living: such silence having been hitherto very unusual. If you have anything to say to your old friend pray let him hear from you before he enters the campaign, where a letter may ramble a month before it overtakes him. This day three weeks I design God willing for Monmouthshire. I had set out sooner but that I was resolv'd to put my *Lithophylacii Britannici Ichnographia* (for so I entitle the catalogue of my collection of figur'd stones) in the presse before I left Oxford. I have now finish'd it and sent it to Dr Lister and Mr. Ray for their censure before I print it. 'Twill be an 8vo of about 300 pages and will contain 22 copper plates. By this time I presume you may give a notable guesse what use the Queries are like to be of in your parts; or whether 'twas altogether needlesse to print them. I sent a parcel of them to Anglesey by Jack Davies: but yr Chancellor of St. Asaph¹ (he tels me) perswaded him to leave them with him promising to disperse them throughout the diocese. Next Wednesday Mr John Wyn² sets out for London, in order to go over as Chaplain with my Lord Pembroke. This place affords no news worth the troubling you; so being in some hast I shall adde no more than that I am Sr

Yours most heartily whilst
E. LHWYD

¹ ROBERT WYNNE.

² Fellow of Jesus College.

I have never heard anything from Dr Foulks so I conclude he never receiv'd any subscriptions. Poor Robin Humphreys dyed here of a consumption about 3 weeks since. I hope your Frd has writ his volume of *Cowydheu*, and that you have recd so much money of some subscriber or other as will pay him. I desir'd Mr Wilbraham to pay you forty or fifty shillings for me: which he promised to doe about the 20th of this month.

171. MS *Lister* 36, No. xcvi

Dear Sr

Oxford April 6. 97.

Nothing can be greater encouragement to me, than the approbation of so competent a judge; but the character you are pleas'd to give that small piece and its author heaps more honour on them than they are able to support. However 'tis but a pia Fraus, and will serve I hope to prevail with the University to print it, which otherwise they would not probably have done on account of the expence of the figures; and for that the Delegats are utter strangers to these studies, tho' they want not good nature to promote such undertakings as are so well recommended by men of known experience. As soon as 'tis return'd I hope to have it put in ye presse; and so leaving it to my friend Mr Dyer's management, I shall God willing set out in pursuit of more discoveries. If any general instructions occur to your thoughts, towards observations, concerning mines, mineral waters, insects, &c. pray be pleas'd to impart them: as also any books or instruments (for I resolve not to be more sparing than is necessary) that you shall think fit for me to carry with me. I am Dear Sr

Yr most obliged humble servant

EDW. LHWYD

172. [To RI. MOSTYN] *Copy in Arch. Camb.* 1858, 343

Dear Sr

Oxford. April 7. 97.

As to the Gwiniad, if it be an error, I was lead into it by Mr Wiloughby and Mr Ray in his *travails*¹ who tells us the Farra of the lake of Geneva being a fish of the trout kind was the same with the Gwiniad of Bala, &c.

¹ Ray, *Observations made in a Journey*, 1673, p. 430, mentions the Weiss-fish or Farra of the lake of Zug.

173. MS *Lister* 36, No. xcvi

Oxford Apr. 22. 97.

Dear Sr

This comes to take leave of you, intending (God willing) for Wales next Monday or Tuesday. I have propos'd ye printing the *Lithophylacium Britannicum* to ye Vicechancellor and one or two more of the Delegates; and find them upon sight of your Testimonium, willing to venter it, thô at present the Company of Stationers, who by their articles are oblig'd to take from them, 500 copies of any book they print, stand off; pretending they have been losers by all the books the University have lately publish'd; and that they'll be their tenants no longer. Tis expected however that in 5 or 6 weeks space they'll come to some sort of agreement but 'til then, no book whatever will be receiv'd into the presse. In my last Sr I desired your directions for examining Waters, & som general hints for books &c. If you have so much leasure I beg 2 or three lines by the next post; of some general instructions to

Yr most obliged humble servt
EDW. LHWYD

Dr ARCHER¹ (whom I have mention'd in ye Latin letter in ye *Philosophical Transactions*) is come to London, for a year or two. He has been always very desirous of the happynesse of your acquaintance, so I suppose will shortly (if he has not already) wait upon you, either in company of Dr Robinson or Mr Gibson. He is a person of much candour and ingenuity and my particular friend & patron.

174. [To JOHN LLOYD of *Gwersyllt*] *Arch. Camb.* 1858, 227
Oxford Sunday Morning [May, 1697].

Dear Sr,

Mr Griffiths of Kickle deliver'd me your Letter himself; within a few hours after I had written my last: but I could not then get you the Napeir's Bones, otherwise they might have

¹ JOHN ARCHER, having qualified as a physician at Cambridge, wrote to Lhwyd that no bookseller in Cambridge stocks the *Philosophical Transactions*.

been sent by the carrier. I have now left them with Mr Williams (my Substitute here) who will take care to them, the first conveniency. There was but six & sixpence due to Mr Clement; and for the remainder it serv'd both to pay for the Napeir's Bones¹ and to drink your health with Mr Griffiths. I had written before to Dr Foulks² such a letter as you mention; and have sent him another since. Be pleas'd to return the 50 shillings by ye Anglesey carrier to Mr Wm Williams at ye Museum; to whom you may also direct anything else that you would send me. You will be sure to receive a copy of the *Lithophylacii Britannici Ichnographia*, with the first. I intend it also for all ye Subscribers; or at least to all that are scholars, & to whom I guesse it may be anything acceptable. My humble thanks to Mr Robinson for his generous Subscription; and when you see Sr Robert Owen be pleas'd to give him my most humble respects &c. and If he talks any thing of returning me Subscription money, pray be so kind as to offer your service if he thinks fit; since he can not so conveniently send hither as you may. I shall set out for Monmouthshire this week; and then you may expect more troublsom scribbling from

(Dear Sr) Yr most affectionat
and obliged Servant

EDW. LHWYD

There is at present some misunderstanding betwixt ye University and Company of Stationers; so yt nothing will be received into the Presse here, in some time. 'Tis hoped that about a month hence things will be better setld: tho' I believe 'twill be Christmase ere my Book is printed off.

¹ See No. 180.

² Although Dr. Foulks is indexed as Dr. H. Foulks, the only subscriber noted by Lhwyd is Robert Foulks, M.A.

V

1697-1701

THE GREAT TOUR

LHWYD was away from Oxford from May 1697 to April 1701. His preparations had spread over many years. Money had been collected, assistants trained, and a parochial questionnaire drawn up and circulated. The first two years were devoted to Wales. He then toured northern Ireland, and so into Scotland, where he spent the winter of 1699. Then came southern Ireland and, after another four months in Wales and four in Cornwall, he returned to Oxford via Brittany. Unfortunately he does not appear to have kept a diary on the journey, so that it is only from addresses upon letters that it is possible to compile the dates and details of his progress.

When the great day arrived at the beginning of May 1697, Lhwyd left Oxford by the well-known road over Cumnor Hill to Faringdon and on into Gloucestershire and the Forest of Dean. In three months he reached Cowbridge where he stayed for two months to copy a manuscript.

The principal incidents on his various excursions have been taken from his letters by Mr. Ellis, so need not be repeated here. Spending the first year in South

Wales, he gradually worked round to Cardigan and back to Hereford where he visited Dr. Brewster in August 1698. Then making his way through mid-Wales, where he passed the winter at Dolgelley, he reached the north coast in the summer of 1699. His numerous Welsh connexions and the subjects of his patriotic investigations made him a welcome inquirer everywhere.

The two visits to Ireland were both hurried. The records of his impressions are contained in two letters to Robinson (214) and Lister (216) respectively. In his Gaelic researches he was helped by Mr. O'FLAHERTY, whose contributions to the Irish dictionary in *Archæologia* he greatly valued.

If the fruits of the Scottish journey were not as numerous or novel as those from the other countries, Lhwyd was definitely impressed and interested in what he was shown. He was entertained by James Sutherland, curator of the Edinburgh garden, and Sir Robert Sibbald, but does not appear to have made any notable discovery himself, unless we reckon the raw Scottish lad whom he picked up in the Highlands and brought back to the Ashmolean, but failed to train as an efficient servant.

Lhwyd and Parry arrived in Cornwall armed with good introductions to several persons who again gave them others. JOHN MOORE of Helston, 1700-1, WALTER MOYLE of Bake, and THOMAS TONKIN of Lambrigan in St. Piran-in-the-Sands were particularly helpful, and maintained a long correspondence about the old Cornish dialect. Tonkin and the Keigwins were then undertaking the difficult crusade of trying to get

Cornishmen to learn, speak, and write their own Cornish language. But they were too late: it was a forlorn hope: the old form of speech had already become extinct, and 'Cornishmen spoke good English'. However John Anstis helped Lhwyd with a letter to one of the Keigwins of Mousehole, a most valuable introduction, for Martin Keigwin and his son John 'had sucked the broken dialect with their milk'.

The troubles from which Lhwyd and his companion had already suffered in Wales beset them in a more acute form in Cornwall, where not only were they taken for gaugers or tax-gatherers, but Lhwyd on an historic occasion was brought before a magistrate at Helston as a suspected thief.

Possibly at Tonkin's suggestion Lhwyd then extended his travels across the Channel, arriving at St. Malo in the second week of January. Tonkin had a 'brother', Mr. James Kemp, living at Nantes, to whom he wrote a letter of introduction, but owing to strained political relations and the threats and suspicions of war, Lhwyd was unable to make full use of it. He also had letters to two Parisian abbés, one from Dr. Lister, and the other from Mr. Moyle. They may, however, have saved him from worse treatment than eighteen days in jail, which put a stop to all plans for viewing ancient monuments and conversing with abbés in Paris. He had intended to have spent seven or eight *months* in Brittany, but was forced to leave in five *weeks*.

The rough usage that Lhwyd and his travelling companions suffered on several occasions during their visits to 'foreign' countries may be partly explained not only by the lawlessness of the times and by their

being taken for spies, but also by their appearance. After two and a half years' wandering in the wilds, their wardrobes were hardly likely to suggest the high University officials that their passports declared them to be, and that alone might justly arouse suspicion.

Llwyd certainly seems to have travelled too hard to have had time or strength for letter-writing. There are great gaps in the correspondence when he was embarked on important tours. Our chief information about misadventures abroad comes not from Britany direct but from two letters, Nos. 223 and 224, written to Rowlands and Mostyn in the first two months after his return.

THE ITINERARY OF LLWYD'S GREAT TOUR

1697		Nov. 28	Llanfyllin
May	Forest of Dean	Dec. 23	Dolgelheu
" 13	Chepstow	Jan. 2	Gwersyllt
June 15	Usk	" 18	Dolgelheu
July 18	St. George, near Cardiff	1699	
" 22	St. Nicolas	April 4	Dolgelheu
Aug. 10	Cowbridge	" 18	Gogerdhan
Sept. 22	Lhan Dyvodwg	May 25	Tal y Cavan
" 25	Cowbridge	June 26	Flint
Oct. 20	Swansea	"	Conway
Nov. 20	Carmarthen	Aug. 1	Beaumaris
Dec. 20	Llandeilo		Dublin
Jan. 4	Tenby	Dec. 15	Bathgate, near Linlithgow
Feb. 19	Scotchburgh, near Tenby	Feb. 1	Londonderry
Mar. 26	Caldey Island	Mar. 12	Sligo
1698		1700	
April 2	Scotchburgh, near Tenby	April	Wales
May 1	"	Aug. 25	Penzance
" 20	Pembroke	" 27	Lambrigan
" 21	Haverfordwest	Oct. 15	St. Ives
June 19	Narberth	Nov. 3	Plymouth
" 28	Llan Bedr	" 29	Falmouth
July 6	Cardigan	c. Jan. 14	St. Malo
Aug. 3	Hereford	"	Morlaix
Sept. 19	Hay in Brecon	Feb.	Brest
Oct. 18	Newtown	Mar.	Poole
" 26	Montgomery town	" 10	Oxford
Nov. 22	Gwersyllt		

During his long absence from the Old Ashmolean, he was kept informed of what little news there was by his librarian WILLIAM WILLIAMS, who kept the Museum accounts, paid the servant, and also forwarded periodical consignments of money when the traveller needed it. One item of his news was that the Vice-Chancellor wanted to see the MS of the *Lithologia* 'to get it printed', and another that Dr. Lister's son is 'unhappily married to a woman of no fortune, of no extraction and scarce reputation', which may account for the father's benefactions to the Old Ashmolean. On October 4, 1700, JOHN ELLIS¹ wrote to Lhwyd 'at the 4 Hurlers at Pensans in Cornwall' that 'Mr. Williams is gone to Wales, so the Musaeum is under ye care of one Mr. Massy',² an undergraduate of B.N.C., who was put in by Dr. Meare. 'Yr friends all well, only Will Wynne has had gout, yet he makes a shift to hop to ye Ale-House or Tavern in ye shunting intervals.' Yet another correspondent was L. THOMAS, the printer *privilegiatus*, who regretted that their club at the Bear had discontinued to meet, because some members had become fellows of Queen's college, or officers, or had taken to small beer.

From the point of view of the History of Science the great event of this travel-period was the publication of the long delayed Catalogue of Formed Stones, Lhwyd's *Lithophylacii Britannici Ichnographia*, a systematized catalogue of British Fossils illustrated with engravings presumably drawn by Michael Burghers, although they have not all the same quality. In every

¹ JOHN ELLIS at Jesus College 1698-1713.

² RICHARD MYDDLETON MASSEY, matric. B.N.C. 1697, M.D. 1720. F.R.S. 1712. F.S.A. 1718. Reputed a good sub-librarian.

case the provenance of the specimen is recorded, and the descriptive specific names are kept as short as possible, having regard to the identification of the species. It was published early in 1699, the preface having been signed by the author at Montgomery in the previous year. It provided a pattern that has since been followed in the scientific catalogues issued by the Trustees of the British Museum, and will remain as a lasting memorial to the work of EDWARD LHWYD.

In this epoch-making work 1766 localized formed stones are enumerated. How greatly the study of British Palaeontology was impeded through the failure of the Press to print an adequate edition of the book is evident from such remarks as the following:

'I cannot', Mr. R. Rauthwell wrote to Dr. Richardson, 'by any means, nor for any price, get Lloyd's *Lith. Britannicum*. I desired Dr. Massey to enquire for it at the shops in London; but he told me it was not to be had. I beg the favour of you, when you are at leisure, that you would be pleased to write me down all the places in England, that you have observ'd in your travels, where fossils are to be found; and to write the places out of Lloyd's *Lith. Brit.*' (October 11, 1731.)

Through the gift of Lhwyd's type specimens of his new species of fossils, to be placed alongside of those of Dr. Plot in the charge of the University of Oxford, the Old Ashmolean Museum became the first home in England of the new Science of Geology, in so far as it was based on Organic Remains, or 'medals of creation' as they have been most appropriately called.

175. To Dr. R. RICHARDSON. *Phil. Trans.* No. 337, p. 94
(1713)

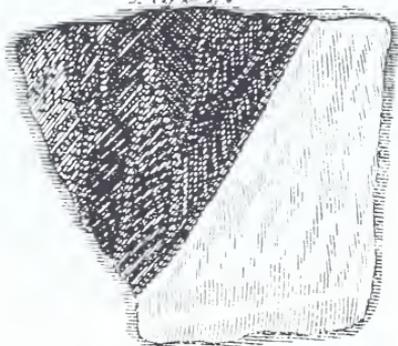
Chepstow in Monmouthshire, May 13. 1697.

Since my coming from Oxford, I spent 3 or 4 days in the coal-pits of the Forest of Dean; where I found (I think) all your capillaries, besides some other new plants, three or four whereof are here figured; together with two species of *Astropodium* gather'd on the Severn shoar, the only rarities of the kind, I suppose, that have been discover'd. I doubt not but (as

Philosoph. Transact. N^o 337.

Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.



TAB. I. Fig. 1. *Astropodium furcatum*: five *stellæ marinæ Magellanicæ Radij lapidei*. Fig. 2. *Astropodium ramulosum*: five *stellæ arborescentis Virgultum lapideum*.

you say) the coal plants have been observed by the workmen long since, tho' they escaped the notice of naturalists, who till this last century contented themselves with bare reading and scribbling paper. I find it well known to all our country colliers by the name of *Carreg Redynog*, i.e. the Ferny Stone; and one Mr Williams, Archdeacon of Cardigan, who is a person very curious and ingenious, told me he had observed much finer patterns 25 years since in the coal pits of Glamorganshire than some that I shewed him. The whole Braken that Kirkman mentioned was a noble curiosity. We saw none such in the forest; tho' we found them much larger than those you sent. The stalks of fern and hartstongue I think we often met with, but cannot say we saw any roots. Indeed I know not well whether the impressions of the stalks might be easily

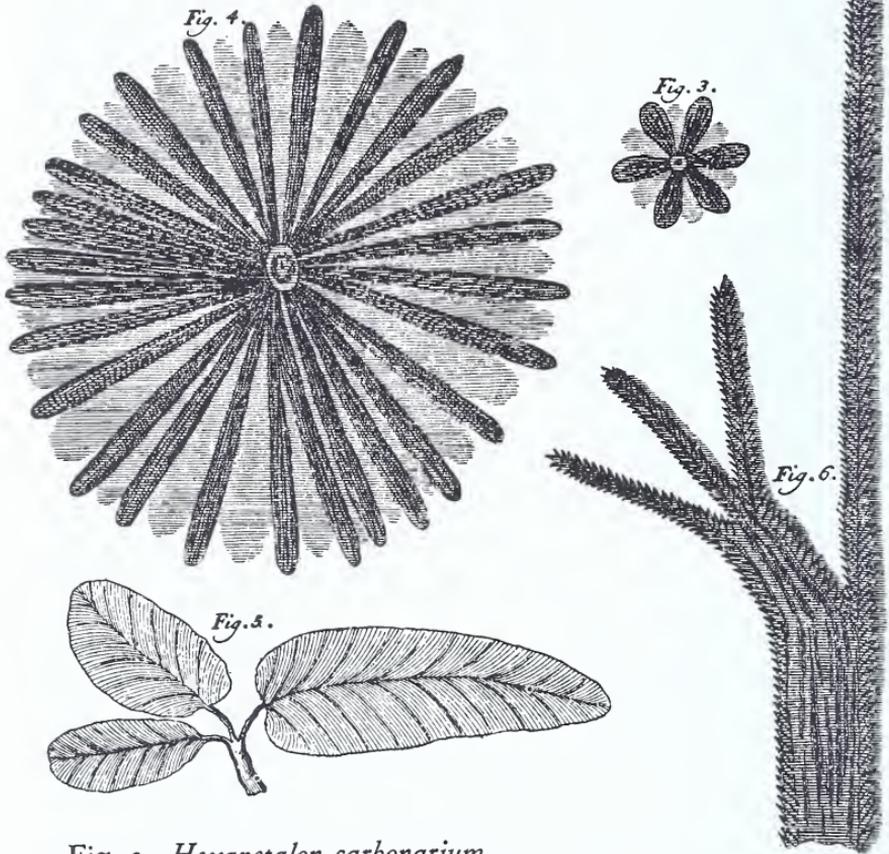


Fig. 3. *Hexapetalon carbonarium*.

[*Annularia* ?*sphenophylloides* Zenker.

Fig. 4. *Radiatula*, &c. *An Flos cujusdam Chrysanthemi?*

[*Annularia stellata* Schlotheim.

Fig. 5. *Phyllitis trifolia*.

[*Neuropteris* sp.

Fig. 6. *Abietis*, an potius *Lycopodij* cujusdam ramulus?

[? *Lepidodendron lycopodioides* Sternberg (leafy twigs of
L. ophiurus Brongniart).

distinguish'd from those of the roots. We also often met with the membranaceous substance of leaves; and perhaps one or two of these figures I send you are the representations of some flowers.

176. *Some farther Observations relating to the Natural History of Wales.* *Phil. Trans.* xxvii, p. 467

To Dr. TANCRED ROBINSON, F.R.S.

Usk in Monmouthshire, June 15. 1697.

Sir,

The most considerable discoveries, since my last, were some new species of *Glossopetræ* and *Siliquastra*, (the first *Ichthyodontes*, I suppose, that ever were observ'd in Wales) on the top of a high mountain called Blorens near Aber Gavenni. The *Siliquastra* were smaller than the generality of those I had observ'd in other countries. Of the *Glossopetræ* we found one pretty large; but the rest very small; all black, or atrobubent. The same place afforded also some variety of fossil shells, and plenty of Cuthbert's beads, which were very small in comparison of what are found throughout the north of England. We also found there a large Testaceous body, not to be compar'd as to its figure with any sort of shell yet describ'd: Together with some embossed representations of pieces of the skeletons of Eels, or some lesser fish. All these were in limestone; but

Advancing about 3 miles further into Brecknockshire, at a place call'd Lhan Elhi we searched some coal and iron mines. Their coal-works were not pits sunk like draw-wells; but great inroads made into the side of the hill, so that three or four horsemen might ride in abreast. The top is supported with pillars left at certain distances; and they make their by-lanes (as in other pits) as the vein requires. The Slat above this coal afforded only stalks of plants, which we did not save, because it seem'd impossible to reduce them to their several proper species. However, close by the pit we found a valuable curiosity, viz. a stone for substance like those we make lime of; of a compress'd cylinder form; and as it were cut off even at each end: About 8 inches long, and 3 in breadth: Its superficies adorn'd with equidistant dimples, like Dr. Plot's *Lepidotes*, *Hist. Ox.* chap. 5. par. 55. and in each dimple a small circle; and in the center of each circle a little stud like a pins head.¹ This is the only curiosity of the kind I have seen; and

¹ *Lepidodendron.*

is not referable to anything I can think of, either in the animal or vegetable kingdom. Among the Iron Oars of the same hills we found some new spars, and several specimens of oars shot into a constant and regular figure, tho' not reducible to any animal or vegetable bodies.

About 5 miles thence, at a place called Pont y Pwl in this County (where, as also at Lhan Elhi, there are furnaces and forges,) we found more coal and iron-mines; and collected some fair representations of the leaves of Capillary plants on the iron oar, but found no branches. One Major Hanbury of this Pont y Pwl, shew'd us an excellent invention of his own, for driving hot iron (by the help of a Rolling Engin mov'd by water) into as thin plates as tin: But without a draught of the machine I cannot give you a notion of it. They cut their common iron bars into pieces of about two foot long; and heating them glowing hot, place them betwixt these iron rollers; not across, but their ends lying the same way as the ends of the rollers. The rollers (moved with water) drive out these bars to such thin plates, that their breadth, which was about 4 inches, becomes their length, being extended to about 4 foot; and what was before the length of the bars is now the breadth of the plates. With these plates he makes furnaces, pots, kettles, sauce-pans, &c. These he can afford at a very cheap rate (about the third part of what is usual) and yet dares warrant them not less serviceable: So that it is not to be doubted, but that he will meet with the encouragement due to so ingenious and useful an invention. He sends most of his plates to London (where he has workmen) making at home only what he finds the country will take off. I am, Sir.

Your most obliged Servant,
E. LHWYD

A note concerning an Extraordinary Hail in Monmouthshire.
Phil Trans. No. 229, p. 579.

We had at Pont y Pool, on the 6th instant, an extraordinary Shower of Hail; which extended about a mile, and lasted near half an hour. It broke down the stalks of all the

Beans and Wheat within that circumference; and ruined as much glass at Major Hanbury's house, as cost 4l. the repairing. Some of the hail were 8 inches about; as to their figure, very irregular and unconstant; several of the hail-stones being compounded, as the Major judg'd, who saw them.

177. MS *Rawl. B. 464, 20x*

For the Revd. Mr. HAWKINS, minister of Gwen Vô.

St. Nicolas July 22. 1697

Worthy Sr.

The occasion of this trouble, is to desire you would please to send by the bearer what acct. may be given of the parish of Gwen Vô; in answer to a paper of queries which I hope you have receivd some time since from my friend Mr. Deer. The main particulars I desire to be informed in, are 1. How you find the name written in ye oldest records you have perusd; and whence you suppose it denominatèd? 2ly. How many houses in ye whole parish; with ye number of acres in the parish, if known? 3ly. What parishes border on't? 4ly. On what day is the Sts Feast observd? 5ly. Whether a rectory or rectory or vicarage? 6ly. What villages, hamlets, castles monastery, chappel of eas &c. it contains. 7ly. What seats of the gentry in the parish. 8ly. Whether there be any old entrenchments or remarkable stones pitched on end &c? 9ly. Whether any inscription in ye church or else where; which you guesse older than the time of K. Henry the eighth. 10ly. Whether you have heard of any Roman coyns or other antiquities found in the parish and particularly whether it be known where the British copper coyn your son brought up to Oxford (hollowed on one side and impressd with a horse and a wheel) was found. 11ly. What parks, commons, rivers and rivulets in the parish? and lastly what quarries, stone pits, marl pits &c? Such answers to these queries as may be returnd, will be very acceptable to Sr.

Yr obliged friend and servant
EDW. LHWYD

178. MS *Ashmole* 1816, f. 66v

About 40 Glain Neidr (*see* p. 247)

With Madm Morgan of Waelod

8 of them were ye same with Madam Pugh's of Mathavarn.

2 blew streakd dark ones.

1 Scabrous blew one.

very large one somewhat globular versicolor of green, blew, red, white &c.

1 whitish one

blew annular one, with white half moons & si . . .

large reddish modiolar.

perf. it blew glasse conical.

somewhat of an amber colour.

of ye streakd obscure blew ones had golden spots.

1 bular alum one with yellow inbosage.

2 green ones markd odly with yellow white red and blew ornaments.

1 large amber ring taken from the snakes whilst a dosing.

6 annular small ones taken from the snakes before they had finishd them.

2 blew ones a large & a smaller markd each with long transverse white streaks.

P.S. De Tabellarijs parùm certus, hasce literas penes me huc husque (in itinere per Walliam Historiæ Naturalis gratia suscepto) detinui. Nuper viro Tues. 7. Maij A°. 1697. datis, (una cū Epistola ad dominum Bobartium inclusa) ad manus nostras perlatis; meas ad D. Waltherum Thomas, Londinum mitto, per eundem Tabellarium si fieri potest remittendas. Tuasque ad Bobartium, Oxonium. Magnopere gaudeo te nostrum fasciculum tandem accepisse. Gerardū et Parkinsonum quod attinet, quinque libris monetæ Anglicanæ constabant quas pro libris etiam et (si fieri potest) Ichthyomorphitis Islebiensibus renumeres rogo.

Cowbrigiae Glamorganensium apud Cambros Australes.

179. MS *Ashmole* 1816, f. 65Cowbrigiæ Glamorganensium
apud Cambros Australes.

TO RIVINUS

Cum sex menses (Nobilissime Rivine) effluxere ex quo amplissima quibus me honorare dignatus es munera, ad manus nostras pervenerint; una cum literis vicessimis maij datis, quibus certior factus sum nihil quicquam ex ijs quæ miseras sive libris, sive fossilibus desiderari. De hoc te statim monuissem, nisi Dominū Grahamium circa id temporis aliquorsum a Roterodamensibus migrasse, a conterraneo quodam suo accepissem.

Nuper autem certior factus Dominum Smyth Bibliopolam Londinensem cum Lipsiensi quodam commercium exercere; eandem ei cistellam tradidi quam a tè acceperam; metallorum Britanniae mineris (quas in tuis rogaveras) quoad potui, referam. Spero eam cujus in ultimis mentionem feci, unà cum duobus libris quos tibi desiderari dixeras ad manus tuas tandem appulisse. Metallis hisce quæ nunc mitto, addidi Clarise Listeri Conchyliorum bivalvium excercitationem anatomicam tertiam, unà cum D. Joannis Vodovardi Globi terrestris Historiæ specimine, in quo serio et vehementer asserit; Diluvij Noachici tempore universam terræ compagem cum hisce omnibus ex quibus constat, saxis, metallis, &c. per ima solutum iri et quasi liqueferi; quod exinde colligit quod in medijs silicibus et marmoribus Conchylia quæ vere marina asserit et piscium ossa conspiciantur; quod nullo alio modo venire posse arbitratur. Pergrati erant quos ad nos misisti libri, uti et lapides quicunque omnes: at præ cæteris maxime arrisit elegantissima ea piscis forma in Islebiensi lapide quasi insculpta: nihil enim tale in Britanniae nostræ aut Hiberniæ fodinis (quantum novimus) hactenus comparuit ideoque quodcunque pretium quam libentissime solverem si quis fossor Islebiensis conductus (hæc enim nostra in A . . . consuetudo) huiusmodi lapidum copiam et varietatem . . . rere posset. Caryophyllum lapideum etiam rarissimis in h . . . re cimelijs adnumerandum existimo; quod si apud nos occur . . . hactenus diligentiam (uti et Plotij et Listeri) evasit. At . . . in Germania etiam rarissimos dicis; ideoquetria exemplaria non . . .

sperare; quamvis quod miseras amicus quidam inquam . . . ense dejecerit et postea pedibus comminuerit. Locum in Ephem. . . in quem de ijs laudas, nondum consulere licuit; cœterùm ego a . . . stellas marinas refero; in libello quodam brevi si deus . . . edendo, sub titulo *Lithophylacij Britanici Ichnographia* . . . quem in nominibus lapidum ad te missorum lithologiæ . . . nilcæ prodromum (si recte memini) vocaram. Apud Lachmundium varia occurrunt: nobis desideratissima: et præ cæteris c Encrine pentagoni, hexagoni et Trochitarum exemplaria aliquot percipio: at lapidum quos ad nos mittere dignatus fueris nihil non gratum futurum est. Wagneri effigiatos lapides quod attinet; libenter viderem marspurgensem lapidem luteum, ferrugineum lupillum, Fungum lapideum, Lithophyton Odon-toid. et patellam lapideam: ubi et Hieron. Velshij Spondylo-lithum et Dolicholithum *Eph. Germ. A. I. observ. 127*. Quoad libros pergrati aderunt quicunque in Historia Naturali nuper prodierint. Cum proximè me commone-facias rogo, quinam per Germaniam in quavis Historia naturalis parte vel etiam rei antiquariæ studio excellant, quique libri nunc temporis Lipsiæ prelo committuntur. Vides amplissime Rivine me nullum modum sollicitando scire: spero itque quod in omnibus quæ nostræ opis judicaveris ea qualiscunque sit, uti non dedignaveris; qua de re merito gaudebit

Favoris tui studiosissimus

EDWARDUS LUIDIUS

180. For Mr. WILLIAM WILLIAMS at the Museum in Oxford.
MS Eng. hist. c. II. 23

Cowbridge Sept. 22, 1697.

Sr.

You had long since recd the inclosd; but that their former miscarriage by post, discouraged me from sending the same way. You may confer with Mr. TANNER or some other friend about the Latin; and alter it where you judge necessary. I would have you print both with all speed (of each 2 douzens) and return me one of the Latin if possible by Rhys. I suppose we have been losers for not printing them sooner; but I have been in so much hurry since I sent them ye first time; that

I have had but few spare hours. I intended to have been in Caermarthenshire about a month since; but have been detained by Mr Wilkins of Lhan Vair in this neighbourhood these 2 months: for so long a time the copying an old Welsh MS. took up; which had he been willing to restore to ye owner, we might have bought for twenty shillings. Learn ye christen-names of the Visitors yt are omitted, and adde them before you return the paper to the presse. I would not have you permit ye new Vicechancellr nor any other of the Visitors have sight of ye paper before printing for fear of new scruples. They have all consented to the Statutes; and therefore they can not fayrly except against our printing their names: but if they should when they see it you may say 'twas I sent it to the presse. The printing the paper without their names would signify little and other Visitors would be more forward to alter them. I am in some doubt whether you had best print it at Mr. Halls or with Mr. Thomas, and to pay him out of my share. You mentiond in your former letter several letters you had receivd for me. Pray send them by Rhys together with Mr. Nicolson's book¹ which Mr. Tanner has recd for me from Mr. Gibson. I hope you have recd some things I left at Aber Gavenni directed to you, to be sent by the Dorchester carrier. You need not open anything I send; but put up all in Mr. Wood's study, where they ought to be safe enough; none being admitted in but your self and Robin Thomas. You may pay him five pounds as his half year's allowance and tel him I desire to hear from him, how far he has proceeded in ye *Catalogue*; and when he thinks to have finishd it. I think I forgot in my last to bid you send Mr. John Lloyd of Gwersyllt (near Wrexham) a set of Napeirs Bones. Pray if your namesake (from whom a letter would be very welcom) has not already told you on't, send them by the next opportunity. I am told from London that the box of fossils from Maryland has been opend aboard and pickd: what remain are safe with my friend Dr. Robinson. The inclosd micrography is a present to the Museum frō one EVERS of Barry, who writ it himself. I have no thoughts of coming to Oxford this

¹ Perhaps William Nicolson's MS *Glossarium Brigantinum*, 1677.

winter, and therefore (least you should not meet with so good an opportunity) send me by this return what money of myne remain in your hands, deducting ye five pounds for R. Thomas &c. Or if you have not all ready be sure to send what you have. I have nothing more to adde at present than that I am Sr.

Your most assured friend & servant
EDW. LHWYD

Direct to me at Mr. David Jones's Inkeeper at Swansea. I think I forgot to leave orders with you to employ Mr Wildgoose ye painter, to give such a memorial of Mr Woods donation above his books as you find of those several benefactors in Selden's Library. The Vicechr to be sure will not scruple paying him.

My service to all friends mentioned in my last. I design to winter near Cardigan; and to survey that county and Pembrookshire if possible before spring. If Oxford affords any news pray let's partake. I had almost forgot to bid you send by Rhys my sadl, sword, spatter dashes (with spurrs) and a whip. Remember me to Ned Cousins and his wife and pay him three pounds, and send me his general discharge. I hope Humfreys's brother has thought of them ere this.

181. *Phil. Trans.* xxvii, p. 500

A Letter from the late Mr. EDWARD LHWYD . . . Giving a farther Account of what he met with remarkable in Natural History and Antiquities, in his Travels thro' Wales.

To Dr. TANCRED ROBINSON, F.R.S.

Lhan Dyvodog, Glamorganshire, Sept. 22. 1697.

Sir,

I had no sooner received your last, but was forced to retire in a hurry to the mountainous parts of this County, in order to copy out a large Welsh MS. which the owner was not willing to spare above two or three days, and that in his neighbourhood. It was writ on vellom, about 300 years since; and contained a collection of most of the oldest writers mentioned by Dr. Davies at the end of the *Welsh Dictionary*:

So I thought it better trespassing on the gentleman's patience that lent it, than lose such an opportunity as perhaps will not occur again in my travels. This is the occasion of my long silence—the transcribing of that book taking up two months of our time.

I sent Mr. Ray an account of some plants we met with, with three or four figures, which perhaps you have seen. We have since found two or three others, which I had never met with before; viz. 1. *Lysimachia Chamænerion dicta Alpina* C.B. Prodr. [*Epilobium montanum* L.] 2. *Bifolium minimum*. [*Listera cordata* L.] 3. *Solanifolia Circaea Alpina* C.B. [Sp. of Enchanter's Nightshade] 4. Mr. Ray's *Alsine spuria pusilla repens foliis Saxifragæ aureæ* [Golden Saxifrage, *Chryso-splenium*.]

We found indeed the first also last year at Hysvaè, one of the hills of Snowdon; and I had formerly sent Mr. Ray a dried leaf. Dr. Richardson brought it home with him last year; and it flowering since in his garden, he is fully satisfy'd it is distinct from the common French Willow-Herb.

In a steep rock called Craig y park, and others in the parish of Ystrad Dyvodog, we observed divers veins of Coal, exposed to sight as naked as the rock; and found a Flint axe, somewhat like those used by the Americans.

At Goldcliff in Monmouthshire we had some variety of form'd stones: But what pleased me most was an *Asteria*, or Column Star-Stone, beset with sprigs the whole length of it, issuing from the commissures of the plates.

This County abounds with *Entrochi*; one whereof I saw



Certain plates which frequently occur amongst the
Entrochi of this County.

in a rock at the Isle of Barry, above 15 inches in length; and an other about 10 inches long, but as thick as a cane. We took their figures and dimensions, but could not get off the stones without breaking.

At Kaer phily Castle the people shewed us an inscription (as they supposed) on one of the steps of the Tower; a copy whereof I here send you. I must confess I am not fully

$\begin{array}{ccc} 7^{\cdot} & & \\ 7^{\cdot} & & \\ - & & \end{array}$
 $\begin{array}{ccc} \text{H} & \text{M} & \\ \text{H} & \text{M} & \\ \text{H} & \text{M} & \end{array}$
 $\begin{array}{ccc} \text{H} & \text{M} & \\ \text{H} & \text{M} & \\ \text{H} & \text{M} & \end{array}$

satisfied whether it were ever designed for reading, or for some kind of antique ornament; but rather incline to the latter. The stone was not designed for a step, there being none of the same kind in the whole stair-case. The marks were mostly worn out by treading; and it is possible they might be once more uniform; and some few mistakes may have happened in the copying it as it is. I have sent the stone to the Museum at Oxford; where the curious may be satisfied. Were it the old Celtic character, which Cæsar says was like the Greek, 'twere a noble discovery: But I fear our ancestors (if ever they had any writing) have left us none upon stones.



I also copied the Masons Marks on some stones there; whereby perhaps some persons curious in architecture may judge whether it has been a Roman or later British building: I say Roman or British, because the Saxons and Danes never settled here; and it is older than the Norman Conquest.

We have collected what insects occur'd this summer, especially the Butterflies; but we are ignorant of the means of preserving them well in our travels. I shall take all the care I can of the Zoophytes this winter in Pembrokeshire and Cardiganshire; but as yet we have met with very few of them. I am,

Honoured Sir,
Your most humble and affectionate Servant,
E. LHWYD

182. To the Rev. THOMAS TANNER. MS *Tanner*, xxiii, 152.
Cowbridge Glamorgsh Sept. 25. 1697.

Dear Sr

Meeting with this opportunity I make bold to trouble you with a line or two; thô I have not time to say much more than—Si vales bene est ego quidem valeo. This summers progresse has provd (in ye maign) well enough to my satisfaction; especially as to Welsh MSS. and materials towards ye *Natural History*. You were desireous I think at parting yt I should give you some account of our Welsh writers. Those few yt remain of them; you'l find at ye end of Dr. Davies's *Welsh Dictionary*; most of which I have seen in my travails and can (if that may be acceptable to you) adde the persons name in whose possession they are at present I have indeed some share of them my self; thô myne are almost all modern copies, transcribed within these 2 or three last years. The inclosd is an old Crosse on ye bank of ye River Ogwr at Merthyr Mawr a small village of this County. The first word I read Conbelini, ye same name with Cunobelin, which was ye Roman way of writing the word we call Kynvelin: but I can proceed no further than Conbelini possuit hanc crucem pro anima ejus. I have sent ye Vice chancellr an other stone frō Kaerphily castle for ye Museum; but that (I fear me) was never intended for an inscription. I am Sr

Yours heartily whilst

E. LHWYD

My humble service to Mr. Flemming,¹ Mr. Hutchenson,² Mr. Elstob,³ Mr. Kennet⁴ &c.

I forgot to deliver you ye MS. you lent me, but 'tis safe enough. Pray faveour me with two or three lines by ye bearer; directed to be left with Mr. Lhewelyn, School Master at Swansey Glamsh. I sent Mr. Williams of ye Museum a latin

¹ GEO. FLEMING matr. St. Edm. Hall 1688. Bishop of Carlisle 1735-†47.

² PHILIP HUTCHINSON fellow of Queen's 1694.

³ WM. ELSTOB matr. Queen's 1691. Fellow of Univ. 1697 (*D.N.B.*).

⁴ WHITE KENNET matr. St. Edm. Hall 1678, Bp. of Peterboro 1718 and BASIL KENNET fellow of Corpus 1697 afterwards President, were brothers.

translation of our Orders to be printed, which I desire you to look over and correct before they be put in the presse.

183. MS *Tanner*, xxiii, 54

Swansey Oct. 20. 97.

Dear Sr

I have but just time to return you thanks for your kind letter and to assure you, you may freely command me in any thing wherein I may serve you. I intend in my own work some such account of ye Welsh writers as you propose; but yt shall not hinder me from contributing my mite to so general a design. I presume 'twill be time enough to send it you about Christmase when I am settled in my winter quarters. My account will be very defective in regard I can not have recourse to Hengwrt study; which thô they say 't has been much rifld is stil incomparably ye best in Wales.

The carrier yt brought my last will be again in Oxford as soon as this comes to your hand. Mr. Gibson tels me Swall has disposed of all Mr Nicolson's books in ye large paper, but has given him one in ye small. If it may be done conveniently, I wish you would take up one from his correspondent H. Clement and send it by the carrier, acquainting Mr. Gibson of it.

My humble respects & thanks to Mr. Tompson¹; when you see him pray learn of him who has any Cornish MSS. and whether he has heard of any manuscript Dictionary in that language

I am (worthy Sr)
Yr much obliged & Affectionat Friend
EDW. LHWYD

My service to Robin Lloyd, Mr. Flemming, &c.

¹ FRANCIS THOMSON, matric. Queen's 1683; M.A. 1692; a friend of Thomas Tonkin.

PAROCHIAL QUERIES

In Order to

A Geographical Dictionary, A Natural History, &c. of *Wales*.

By the Undertaker *E. L. Edmon Lhwyd*

HAVING Publish'd some Proposals towards a Survey of *Wales*, and met with sufficient Encouragement from the Gentry of that Country, and several others, Lovers of such Studies; to enable me (with God's Permission) to Undertake it: I thought it necessary for the easier and more effectual Performance of so tedious a Task, to print the following *Queries*; having good Grounds to hope the Gentry and Clergy (since they are pleas'd to afford me so Generous an Allowance towards it) will also readily contribute their Assistance, as to Information; and the Use of their Manuscripts, Copies, and other Monuments of Antiquity: The Design being so extraordinary difficult without such Helps, and so easily improvable thereby. Nor would I have any imagine, that by Publishing these *Queries*, I design to spare my self the least Labour of Travelling the Country, but on the contrary be assured, I shall either come my self, or send one of my Assistants into each Parish throughout *Wales*, and all those in *Shropshire* and *Hertfordshire*, where the Language and the Ancient Names of Places are still retain'd: And that with all the Speed, so particular a Survey will admit of. My Request therefore to such as are desirous of Promoting the Work, is, That after each *Query*, they would please to write on the blank Paper, (or elsewhere if room be wanting) their Replies; confining themselves, unless the Subject shall require otherwise, to that Parish only where they inhabit; and distinguishing always betwixt Matter of Fact, Conjecture, and Tradition. Nor will any, I hope, omit such Informations as shall occur to their Thoughts, upon Presumption, they can be of little use to the Undertaker, or the Publick, or because they have not leisure to write down their Observations so regularly as they desire: Seeing that what we sometimes judge insignificant, may afterwards upon some Application unthought of, appear very useful; and that a regular and complete Account of Things is not here so much expected, as short Memorials, and some Directions in order to a further Enquiry.

Queries in order to the Geography, and Antiquities of the Country.

I First therefore Information is desired of the Name of the Parish; both according to the Modern Pronunciation and the Oldest Records, (which would be also very convenient as to all other Places whatever) and whence 'tis thought to be deriv'd. Also whether a *Market-Town*, *Town-Corporate*, or *Village*. *Grouped from the name of the parish, there are in the world used to the words of the records, there are in the records used to the words of the records, there are in the records used to the words of the records.*

III. An Enumeration and brief Description of the *Towns, Villages, Hamlets, Castles, Forts, Monasteries, Chappels of Ease, Free-Schools, Hospitals, Bridges*, and all *Publick Buildings*: whatever within the Parish, whether *Ruinous*, or *Entire*, or whose Names only are preserv'd: When, and by whom *Founded, Endow'd* or *Repair'd*?

At the time of the survey, there were in the Parish, and in the neighbourhood thereof, from the church the distance of one league, by the great road, a school, maintained by the parish, in England, and a school of boys, and a main school by the parish.

IV. *Sanctuaries* or Places of Refuge, Places memorable for *Battles, Births*, or *Interment* of *Great Persons, Parliaments, Councils, Synods*, &c.

II. In what *Comot* or *Hundred* *Situate*? How *Bounded*? Of what *Extent*, and what *Number* of *Houses* and *Inhabitants*? To what *Saint* is the *Church* dedicated, and whether a *Parsonage, Vicarage*, or both?

V. *Seats* of the *Gentry*; with the *Names* and *Quality* of the present *Proprietors*, and their *Arms* and *Devise*.

As the parish is situated in the north of the county, the church is dedicated to St. Michael, and the vicarage is a benefice of the see of Exeter.

THE FIRST OF FOUR PAGES OF QUERIES CIRCULATED BY LHWYD IN 1697
MS. Ashmole 1820^a, fol. 87

PAROCHIAL QUERIES

Arch. Camb. 1857, 260 [November 1697]

Having thus propounded what Queries occur to my Thoughts; nothing remains, but that I own to the public, that in Case this Paper meets with a kind Reception (as from this last Summer's Travels, I have great Hopes it may) if the Undertaking be ill performed, 'twill be wholly my own Fault; the Gentlemen of the Country having in all Respects done more than their Part, & afforded such an Encouragement towards it, as might sufficiently requite the Labours of a Person far better qualified for such a Design: But of this, a particular Account shall be given hereafter. So I shall only add here; that as to these Queries, besides Wales, I intreat the favourable Assistance of the Gentry & Clergy in those other Countries mentioned in the former Proposals: & that in all places, they who are disposed to further the Design, wd please to communicate this Paper, where they think fit, to their Neighbours; interpreting some Queries to those of the Vulgar, whom they judge Men of Veracity, & capable of giving any the least Information towards it, that may be pertinent & instructive.

Testimonial.

We judge Mr Lhwyd qualified for this Undertaking; & that he cannot want proper Materials towards it, if (as an Addition to his own Industry) he receives such Answers to these Queries, as can be conveniently returned from each Parish.

JOHN WALLIS

EDWARD BERNARD

MARTIN LISTER

JOHN RAY.

Advertisement.

The Subscribers may please to pay the Money, the Time specified in the Proposals, to any of my Correspondents in their Neighbourhood; who are desired to return it either to Mr WILLIAMS at the Museum in Oxford, or to Mr WALTER THOMAS of Bernard's Inn, London, who will also safely convey to my Hands any Letters, Papers, or manuscripts they receive on this Occasion.

184. *To Dr. TOURNEFORT of Paris. MS. Ashmole 1816, f. 67*

Mariduni, apud Cambros australes, Nov. 24, 1697.

Vir Ornatissime,

Quamvis anni effluerint duodecim præterpropter, ex quo Oxonij tuo favore et benevolentia potiri licuit; non potui tamen hanc tam bellam occasionem te salutandi, per Charissimum nostrū Povellum (medicum Oxoniensem) prætermittere. Quam nos experti sumus ex eo tempore fortunam, quidque nunc agimus, is te ex parte docebit. Tua verò intereà diligentia, et ingenij fælicitas non mihi tantum sed et universo orbi literario satis et iam dudum innotuit: impresentiarum autem quid ultra moliaris scire omnes hic gestiunt; verum naturalium paulo studiosiores percipiunt. Quam nuper suscepi provinciam, Historiam Cambriæ naturalem et Archæologiam Britannicam conscribendi; amicorū opem non in insulis tantum Britannicis; sed et alibi regionum postulat. Cum autem Britannorum veterum lingua quæ etiam hodierno tempore Cambrorum vulgaris est; cum vestrâ Armoricanâ seu Gallo-Britannicâ maxime conveniat; nulla in re nostris votis feliciter consulueris, quam si auctor fueris, ut ejus gentis quidam Antiquarius nobiscū commerciū epistolare exercere dignetur. Interea siquæ ex rebus Naturalibus Cambriæ (qualia ea sint partim nosti, partim augurio conjeceris) tibi arrident; eadem secure postula ab

Amicorum infimo sed tui obsequentissimo

E. EDOVARDO LUIDIO

185. *For ye Rev. Mr JOHN LLOYD at Gwersyllt near Wrexham in Denbighshire. Chester Post. Arch. Camb. 1858, 344*

Lhan Deilo vawr Caermarthensh. Dec. 20. 1697.

Dear Sr

I have been in such a continual hurry ever since I left Oxford yt I was forced to neglect my correspondence even with my best friends; but this year's ramble being now almost over 'tis necessary to let them know we are stil in being. We have survey'd this summer (as particularly as we could) the counties of Monmouth, Glamorgan, Caermardhin, and Cardigan, and are in hopes of finishing Pembrokeshire before next spring:

and so of reaching your county and Flint sometime next summer. In Monmouthshire we found the *Queries* answer'd not in above 20 parishes: about 50 or 60 in Glamorganshire, but much lesse in ye other two counties. I wish men of education may prove more tender of ye honour of their countrey in your parts: for you may be assured, the more materials you furnish me with, the better will be the performance. And if there be a remarkable difference in any countrey it cannot but redound to their credit who took such effectual care in communicating what was necessary. I doe not at all insist upon the *Queries* towards the Natural History: at least but few of them: as ye 17. 19. 24. & 25. but, in the maigin, the more we have the better. We have had tolerable succeſse in these parts as to inscriptions and other old monuments, and we have discover'd several remarkabl Form'd Stones on ye shoars (*sic*) and in the quarries. But amongst all the variety we met with of this kind I have not seen one *Belemnites* wch you know is the most common about Oxford, and indeed in all those parts of ye Island from the Severn shoar to ye remotest parts of Sussex and Kent. I have added a few inscriptions being some of the last that occur'd to us.¹ The 1st stands in ye ch. yard at Margam; and is to be thus read: *In nomine dei summi crux Critdi, Proparavit Grutne pro anima Ahest:* but what ye meaning of this last word may be I must leave to your conjecture. The 2d (wch is but a piece of a monument) seems from ye crosiers on it to have been the tomb of 2 Bishops or Abbots—*Petra tegit geminos pastores Terce alter erat.* The 3d is a stone by ye ch. yard in this Town—*Jacet Curcacimus . . . Urivi filius.* The 4th which we found at the Priory of Ewenny in Glamorgansh. is a Norman monument to their founder Morice de Lundres (or of London)—*Here lies Morice de Lundres ye founder: God reward his labour.* The 5th is a piece

¹ Of the inscriptions mentioned in this letter, the first has been delineated and described by Mr. Westwood in *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, Second Series, ii, p. 147. The second is too rudely sketched by Mr. Lhwyd to render it fit for engraving. The third and fifth are peculiarly interesting, as affording the recovery of inscriptions supposed to be lost. Perhaps the original stones may yet be found. The fourth and sixth refer to monuments which were preserved at Ewenny.

of an altar dedicated to ye Empr Tacitus and the IS is *Imperator M. C. E. Tacito, pio, felici Augusto*. This was the corner stone of a small farm-house near Dinevwr (*sic*). The 6th is an other Norman monument from Ewenni—*Here lies Sr Roger de Reini: God on his Soul have mercy*. I met with several Welsh MSS. but not above 2 or 3 of any considerable Antiquity: and they not written above 300 years since. One of them was a fair large folio on velom containing copies of such old MSS. as ye writer could meet with. This, least we should not meet with ye like elsewhere, we transcrib'd tho it cost us 2 months. It contained amongst others Lhowarch Hen, ye Cumberland writer you formerly mentiond: but that takes not up above 2 or 3 sheets. Dear Sr I have but just room to add my humble respects to Mr Robinson &c. and so beg a letter fro' you with all speed directed to be left at ye Plow in Carmarthen for your most affectionat and obliged friend

E. LHWYD

Mr Williams return'd me long since Mr Wilbraham's 50 shillings, wch excepting Sr R. Mostyn's subscription is all I received this year from North Wales. When I undertook this I depended much on^t you they deal with I my expences can not be lesse than 150 li per annum: but all this to yourself.

186. *To ye Rev. Dr. MEAR Principal of Brazen-nose College & Vice-Chancellor of Oxford*

MS. *Ashmole* 1816, f. 62.

Caldey Island Feb. 19, 1697.

Revd Sr

The inclos'd is a copy of a Paper I recd about a twelvemonth since from Dr Lister upon his perusal of a small book I design'd to have dedicated to him. I hinted in my letter yt I supposd in case he approv'd of it, the University would print it; upon which he was pleas'd (much besides my expectation) to return this formal Testimonium; wch yet I knew not how well to refuse, least it might give some disgust to so worthy a Person; thô it be (as generally all others) too full of Civility, and much above the merits of the Author. I shewd Dr Edwards the

¹ Here several words have been purposely effaced, and perhaps by Mr. John Lloyd, for fear of their giving pain to others.

Original (together with the Book) as soon as I receivd it; but at that time the Stationers being at some dissatisfaction about their Articles 'twas unseasonable to offer any thing to ye Presse. I perceive now that Dr Lister is somewhat concernd that it is not publishd thô he can blame onely my self, for not tendring it sooner. I am well assured that if the Delegates think fit to print it, he will be sensible of the favour; and in regard it contains the grounds of a new Science in Natural History, and is the result of many years searches & observations; I have, I must confesse, some hopes it may meet with a favourable reception amongst ye curious in these studies as well in foreign countreys as at home. 'Twill make but an octavo of about 300 pages but it contains five folio plates, or (which seems much more convenient to print them in) twenty of ye same volume with ye Book. I have my self payd for the drawing; so that ye gravng onely remains which I guesse may cost about 15*li*. All I desire for the copy is what number of books you shall think fit which I would present to my subscribers and other Friends.

The collection whereof this book contains a Catalogue, I have no thoughts of ever removing from the Museum (having improvd it as occasion is offerd) I design to leave it there as a small memorial of the gratitude due to the place from such as thence receive their maintenance. I shall onely adde that next to Mr Ashmole, Dr LISTER (whom I hereby endeavour to oblige) has been our most considerable Benefactor; the books he has given us being worth at least 100*li*; besides his cabinet of Fossils and Shells (under Mr Ashmoles picture) given many years since, for which he receivd the Honour of Doctor's degree. He has sent for these 8 years presents of books three or four times a year and will probably continue to doe whilst he lives; and what he sends are all proper for that Place, & (on account of the Gravng) the dearest of any printed. Mr Dyer of Oriel College is pleasd to take the care of correcting this Treatise, if you think of it to publish it. So yr order by Mr Williams the Bearer is desired by Revd Sr

Yr most obedient humble Servt

EDW. LHWYD

187. For ye Rev. Mr. JOHN LLOYD at Gwersylht near Wrexham
in Denbighsh N Wales. *Arch. Camb.* 1851, 52

Scochburgh, near Tenby, in Pembroksh. Feb. 28, 169 $\frac{7}{8}$.

Dear Sr

I writ to you several times since I left Oxford which is now almost a twelvemonth: but I suppose my Letters either miscarried or that I forgot to give directions where yours might meet me. I find many of my Letters this last year have miscarried, intercepted I suppose by the Country people who were very jealous of us & suspected us to be employed by the Parliament in order to some further Taxes, & in some places for Jacobit spies. We had taken as particular a survey as we could of our counties, & have had I think tolerable successe. In one letter I sent you copies of several Inscriptions to be communicated to Sr Rt Owen &c. to whom I also writ out of Monmouthshire, but know not whether he recd it. Ancient Welsh MSS. on velom are so scarce, that I have seen but four all last year. One large folio in Glamorganshire we borrow'd and transcrib'd; containing amongst many other things Lhywarch hên's Poems, wch you formerly mention'd as ye oldest book seen at Hengwrt by Mr. Eub. Thelw. 'Tis certainly very ancient & valuable; but ye Glamorganshire copy conteind onely 7 odes, ye 1st complaining of his misfortunes, ye 2d of his old age, (where he has this Englyn

Ym petwar prif-gâs *eir moet*¹

Yn gyvervydynt yn un oet:

Pâs, a Heneint; Heint a Hoet.)

And ye death of his sons in battle, telling us where they lye buried.

Bêd Gwell yn y rhiw velen;

Bêd Sawyl yn Llan Gollen;

Gwercheidw Llauyr bwlch Lloryen.

3d Marwnad Urien Reget, whom he tells us was Prince of ye Countreys of Rheged & ye Bryneich or Bernicii, his cousin german &c. The 4th is an Exhortation to Maenwyn to defend his rights against his bordering enemies. The 5th Marwnad Gereint ap Erbyn: at whose birth he says the gates of Heaven

¹ i.e., er fy oed.

were open: that he was Prince of Dyvneint which must be the Danmonii; and that Arthur sustain'd a great losse by this Hero's death who he says was slayn at Llongberth, wch Mr Camden tels us (but on what Authority I am yet to learn) is London. The 6. is Cadwalhawn's Elegy: whom he makes a brave Prince: telling us he fought fourteen battles, and had 60 skirmishes

Pedeir prifgat ar dec, am brif dec
Ynys Prydein; a thrugein kyvarvot.

Reckoning up his places of encampment he names most of our great Rivers of Wales, & several which I suppose are in England: As Keint Ydon, Kowyn, Tufyrd & Meirin. The 7. is a very elegant Marwnad on Cynddylan, Prince of Powys, & is as long almost as all the rest. If ye remaining fragments of his cotemporaries Taliesin & Myrdhin Wylht be as considerable as these they well deserve publishing with a Latin Comment: but my hands are already fully employ'd.

We have discover'd many undescrib'd Zoophyts by dredging here, & in Glamorganshire: and several new sorts of figured fossils; amongst which ye enclosed figure of some flat fish¹ represents one of the greatest rarities hitherto observ'd by ye curious in such enquiries. We found plenty of them (tho' few fayr specimens) in a stone pit near Mr. Gr. Rice's² (wm you remember at ye College) in Caermarthenshire. At Eisleb in Germany there are found figures of fish in ye Quarries, but very different from this & rather finer: for Dr. Rivinus of Leipzig, whose Epistle you find at ye end of Mr. Ray's Synopsis, sent me one of them. I have never heard of any more in Europe; but Dr. Huntingdon brought some to England from Mt Sinai. I am just going out with some friends & have onely time to give my humble respects to Mr. Robinson, Sr Robt Owen, Mr Richard Mostyn, &c. &c. &c. I shall impatiently expect to hear of your welfare; therefore pray write at your first leasure (according to ye directions at the date) to yr most affectionat Frd

whilst E. LHWYD.

¹ 'Flat fish', first Trilobites to be found in Wales. See figures on p. 358.

² GRIFFIN RICE matr. Jesus 1682. M.P. for Newton, Carmarthen.

If I have any Subscriber in Denbighshire besides Mr. Edisbury, I wish they would return ye money (according to ye Advertisement at ye end of ye *Queries*) to Mr. Williams of ye Museum in Oxford. I wish ye *Queries* be answer'd in yr parts as well as they have been in one or two of these counties.

My hearty service to Mr Richd Roberts, Pedro, Dick Jones, our Wrexham friends, &c. &c. I sent Mr. Jones a copy of a large Lr from his brother Hugo and another from him to his Father wch I enclos'd to ye Parson of Dolgelleu. Ned Humfrey's brothr has it seems quite forgot me.

188. To W. WILLIAMS. MS *Ashmole* 1816, f. 63

Sr
Scochburgh March 17. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$.

The inclosd I recd from Mr Wyn this last post; so yt you may securely rely on his coming. I am sorry to find you so dissatisfied at your present station; and heartily wish you a better. My tendring it to you was partly out of Gratitude to Mr Deer, & partly out of a desire of encouraging (according to my small capacity) industry & merit. I doe not remember that you ever insisted upon any terms, or made the least objection to any Article of the Statutes; & thought you always til now very well satisfyd. As to your Allowance you may well remember that before ever you accounted, or I think had receivd any, money: you askd me in ye Museum how much I intended, & I answerd you one third. Now where all that both parties consent to are observd, neither can justly charge ye other with any breach of Promise; nor ought you to take what I orderd in my last amisse; it being nothing but wt I formerly mentiond to you; & what you then ownd to be (as certainly it is) very fayr & just. The thing is not the least discredit to you that I know of; unlesse you your self by excepting against it, make it so. You know I told Robin Thomas in ye study that if he expected a Sallary all ye money he receiv'd must be myne. I perceive you imagin yt I suspect your accounts; thô I sent you under my hand my thanks for your care & Industry: so that according to your Letter I must be a great dissembler & one yt hath litle regard to his Promises: neither of which characters can be very acceptable to

Yr wellwisher E. LHWYD

189. *Ad Celeberrimum virum* D. AUGUSTUM QUIRINUM RIVINUM,
Physiologiae et Botanices im Academia Lipsiense Prof.

Publ. Lithophylacii Brit. Ichnographia, 1790, pp. 95-101.

Caldeiae Dimetorum Insulae 26 Die Martii, 1698.

[This letter is illustrated with the first figures of *Trinucleum*
and other Trilobites. (Identifications by Dr. Stubblefield.)]

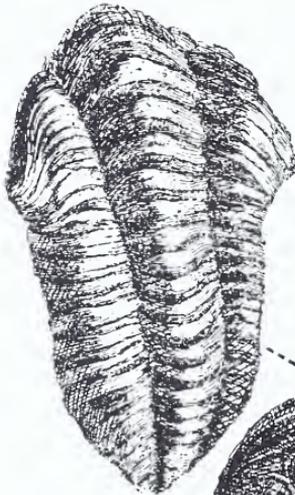


Centro-dorsal
plate of a
Crinoid.

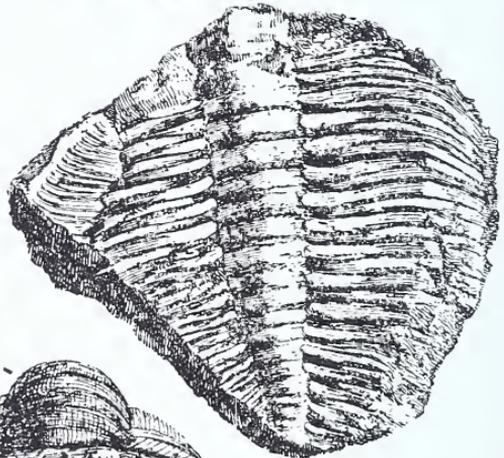
Trinucleum



Possibly *Cryptolithus* [*Trinucleus*]
cf. *concentricus*
Eaton.



Calymene blumenbachi
Auctorum-Silurian
(Wenlock).



Ogygiocaris buchi
(Brongniart) Ordovician
(Llandeilo).

190. *To the Gardener at Badminton.* Scochb. 31 March 1698.

[In his reply of 22 April the gardener states that the Duke of Beaufort has sent £5 to Bristol for expenses, and that the Duchess would like Sea Plants from Pembrokeshire, if she can have them within six weeks; but none from Brecknockshire.]

191. Ad R. V. D. GULIELMUM NICOLSON *Archidiaconum Carleolensem*. Epistola de *Encrino Lachmundi*, *Entrocho Agricolae*, *Asteria altera Staffordiensis Plotii*; aliisque rarioris notae lapidibus e Cumbriâ acceptis.

Lithophylacii Brit. Ichnographia, 1760, pp. 102–6.

Dab. Scotoburgi apud Pembrochienses die 20 Aprilis 1698.

English translation in MS. *Cardiff* a. 39. 1481.

Epistle II

Of the *Encrinus* of Lachmund, the *Entrochus* of Agricola, another *Asteria* mentioned by Dr. Plott in his *History of Staffordshire*; & other rare stones from Cumberland.

To the Revd: Dr. WM: NICOLSON *Archdeacon of Carlisle*
Learned Sr, [Amplissime Nicolsone]

About three weeks ago there came to my hands a little box of uncommon stones: a present well deserving a place among the greatest rarities of my cabinet; since it consisted of curiosities I had never seen 'till then, & which in my opinion served much to confirm and establish my hypothesis concerning the origin of the *Entrochus*. What that hypothesis was I sometime ago gave you a short hint of: but now having a fresh opportunity, I can treat the subject more copiously, & offer some things for a farther explanation of it. I said indeed I conjectured that all the *Entrochi* of whatever species were originally parts of Star fish: but what before was only conjecture, I now openly assert from the following arguments.

First, then among those you sent me I found a fine specimen of that stone which in some of my former letters which bear date two years ago I ranked with the *Encrinus Lachmundi*.¹ Comparing this with a fragment of one of the Rays of a Star-fish; I find it bears the same resemblance to it, as the *Glossopetra* & *Bufonitæ* do to the teeth of fishes; the *Cornu Hammonis* to the *Nautilus*; and other sea-productions found on land do to the real shells, teeth, & bones of animals. I had this star-fish some time since under the name of *Stella marina Magellanicae*, from the Charltonian Museum well known in the learned world; you may find a figure of it in Johnston Plate 28, Figure 14, or the 2d of the lowest rank. When you compare them

¹ *Lith.* pl. 13, fig. 1106. Lachmund *Oryct. Hildesh.* p. 58.

together you are to suppose that the ray of the star-fish has lost its prickles, for since the *Echini* that are dug out of the earth are generally found without their spines, we have no reason to expect that the fossil star-fishes should preserve theirs. I must own there is a small difference in their joints; but this is not very material: in another species there may be found a more perfect agreement. The figure being entirely the same; growing more convex towards the top, with plates furrowed underneath, on both sides serrated or jagged, sufficiently convince me that their origin is the same. There are found in this island alone at least thirty species of the *Cornu Hammonis*, when at the same time, those who have undertaken to write of animals, of whatever age or country, have never yet described above three or four species of the *Nautilus* that agree with the fossil ones in all points. Nevertheless whoever attentively examines the internal structure of any *Cornu Hammonis* & that of a *Nautilus* will no longer doubt of their having one & the same origin. The same thing (to say nothing of their other parts) is to be believed of the spines of *Echini* & Star-fish. For who is there when once he shall have compared the *Lapis Judaicus* with the fossil spines of some *Echini*; and carefully considering the extremities of each, their surface, & the matter of which they are composed, that will not own the former to belong to the same Class with the latter,¹ in spite of all objections raised on account of its bigness, & glandular figure, being such as no spines of any *Echinus* hitherto described can show?

Allowing then the *Encrinus Lachmundi* may justly be reckoned amongst the *Astropodii* (for this is the name we give to any fossil rays or fragments of Star-fishes); the matter of which the *Entrochi* are composed being entirely the same, as also the colour, & the agreement in the joints, are plain proofs that if they are not the same genus, they are at least very near akin to them. Add to this that as the *Entrochus* is sometimes found single, sometimes lamelated, or like a number of little wheels or rolls piled one upon another; so also the *Encrinus*, although with you often found joined many together, in the quarries of Berkshire, Oxford, & Northampton, & all over the south of England they are generally found single.

A year ago I was at Pyrton-Passage, a place frequently mention'd in this catalogue, looking for some large Vertebrae of fishes,

¹ *Crustacea punctulata* is the name that Lhwyd applies to his 6th Class of Fossils like *Echini* and Starfish.

& other neat stones that are found near the Severn; I chanced to meet with a new *Astropodium* resembling a little bough of the branched star-fish; for which reason (for I found many specimens) I chose to give it the name of the *Astropodium ramosum vulgare*, or a bough of the fossil branched star-fish. Its composition is plainly the same as the *Entrochus* or *Encrinus*: how near its figure approaches to the likeness of the *Entrochus* you will form a juster idea from a cut of it,¹ than from any description of mine. I have nothing more to add about it, unless that I could pick up great varieties on the same shore: some resembling branches, others the trunks of trees: some with their branches thick but small, others with larger branches but not so close together; the little shoots of every one ('tho by turning them on the other side they seemed to have a different appearance) were composed of the same matter. Nor must we here forget that the *Entrochi* are also often branched; which will be found to be true to any one that consults the figures of Lister & Beaumont, also your observations & mine in other places; wherefore I rank those stones among the branched star-fishes (*Arboreas Stellas*), or amongst those that have a creeping motion (*Prorepentes*), not amongst those that have scarce any motion at all (*Tardigrada*).

In this neighbourhood, & about the other parts of Wales, wherever there is lime-stone, are found many varieties of *Entrochi*. As I was lately on the hills of the island of Caldey where my curiosity led me; I met with some stones quite new to me, & which confirmed what I have been saying: some of which exactly resembled entire stars, others the same not quite perfect, & again some which only bore the likeness of different peices of them. Many & various were the species, the names & figures of which we have inserted in our Catalogue, therefore there is no reason to repeat them in this place;² the matter of which all these are formed differs in nothing from that of which the *Entrochus* is composed. Among some that represent the appearance of the stock or nave of the star, chance directed me to one, compos'd of little plates studded with stars, on one side of which were very small rays armed with spines; on the other side was the small alternate *Entrochus* (i.e. having every other wheel standing out farther than the rest), projected out the length of two inches. I have given a figure of it Pl. 22, Fig. 4, by seeing which you may perhaps join your assent to my opinion of the birth of the *Entrochus*; 'tho I own some of those star-fishes I never have yet seen, star fishes with rays of different sorts. But in the

¹ *Lith.* pl. 14, fig. 1132 b.

² *Lith.* pl. 14, figs. 1132 b, c, d.

history of marine animals, there are scarce any we know of, compared to those we know nothing of.

You may perhaps start an objection in this place that one example is not sufficient to establish the certainty of the thing? I answer that the learned George Agricola long ago made the same observation: for thus he writes in his fifth book *De Naturâ Fossilium*. 'Nevertheless there is often found a rugged shapeless stone together with a *Trochites* & *Entrochus*, having in it the figure of a wheel, which remained as if it had been the root of some *Trochités* that had been broken off.' Nor was the first great discoverer of our country fossils the curious Lister ignorant of this: who gave us the figures of the Yorkshire *Entrochi*,¹ which were some time after found in Somerset by Dr. Beaumont,² & indeed he is right in his opinion, when he writes that the wires³ of a species of his *Modiolus* were an imitation of the ramifications of the branched star: 'tho his observations did not extend so far as to assign this origin to them. And this is what I purposed to say about the *Entrochus* & *Encrinus Lachmundi*. Nor have I any thing to add unless that the Isle of Barry in Glamorgan, & without doubt many other rocks both in England & Wales, where the lime-stone abounds, produce the *Entrochi* in as great plenty and variety as the Isle of Caldey in Pembrokeshire. In both these islands they are sometimes found a foot long and forked: but very rarely; sticking so close to the rocks, as to render it impossible to get perfect specimens. What in this Catalogue is called the *Volvola* may be put in the same class with the *Entrochus*, although the joining of the wheels is not so conspicuous, nor at first sight would any one think of the *Entrochus*, but I suppose you have had some of these sent to you from a friend in London, & are well acquainted with them, since they are to be gotten from the chalk of Kent. But I proceed to the rest of the contents of my box. *Asteria rubra minor, altero latere compressior* is a variation of Plots *Asteria secunda* in his *History of Staffordshire*, what it chiefly differs in is its smallness, in the depression of the fifth angle, and its brick-dust colour. Its variation from the *Encrinus Agricolæ*⁴ is caused chiefly by its being striated at each extremity in a different manner: For these are Agricola's own words concerning his *Encrinus*. 'Every such part has five angles, & as many sides, every side has five Lillies, whence we may aptly call it in Greek *Penta-*

¹ *Phil. Trans.* No. 100.

² *Phil. Trans.* No. 150; *E.S.O.* xii, p. 36.

³ 'Wires' = *appendicula*.

⁴ *Sphragis asteros Gesneri*, and *Asteria vera Boetii*.

crinos. But whereas the *Entrochus* consists sometimes of many *Trochites*, so the *Encrinus* of many *Pentacrini*.’

From which words we may easily gather that he means the star-stone that has the impression of five leaves on it, various species of which are very commonly found in many of the inland parts of England. But this Star-stone of Stainton is imprinted with an odd kind of a furrow near the centre, from whence to the extremity it is marked with a very fine striæ. It has not been yet my fortune to find it in Wales: but another species of it is found in many places in Glamorgan: particularly at Penarth-Point near Cardiff; at the Fountain of Culver-well near Boverton, & at the clay cliffs by St. Donat’s castle. In Monmouthshire we meet with them only in one place; namely at Severn Cliff, which is also called Gold-cliff from that yellow sort of Pyrites which gives it a golden lustre. I own it resembles very much the specimens of coral from the same quarry of Stainton which you rank with that species of coral which is sold at the shops; but since the outer covering of the Tardigrade Starfish has something of the same likeness, consisting of the same little jointed fibres; & seems to differ from the *Astropodium ramosum* of Pyrton-Passage only in the smallness and number of its ramifications; I shall for the present in this Catalogue reckon them among the *Astropodia*;¹ ’tho perhaps I may refer them to the *Lithophyta* at another opportunity, when from seeing a number of specimens, I can form a better judgement concerning its origin. The Island of Caldey affords a great quantity of a certain species of it resembling on the outside a sort of net-work; as there is none of them at hand, I leave it to a future examination to determine whither we must rank it with the *Eschara* or *Retepora*, or not. The porus about the thickness of one of the smaller feathers of an hen, & full of points; also that capillary plant which you justly put among the species of sea-moss, lying upon the same stone in Stainton, is a pretty good proof that the former also owed their birth to some marine plants. We learn from various authors, as also my own experience from my cabinet of fossils sufficiently testifies that it is no uncommon thing to find parts of plants² particularly of those which we call imperfect (whether terrestrial or marine plants) deep in the earth. But I fear I interrupt your serious studies; ’tho there was a time when you did not think it beneath you to spend a few hours upon this part of Natural History which the most learned have been pleased to honour with

¹ *Lith.* pl. 14, fig. 1132 c.

² *Lith.* Classes 2. *Lapides Corallini*, and 3. *Lithophyta*.

their serious consideration. Farewell, learned Sir, & may you favour this with your approbation among other things which tend to the further investigation, knowledge, & adoration of the wisdom of the Supreme Being.

Given from Scotchburgh
In Pembrokeshire on the 20
Day of April. 1698.

192. Ad Cl. V.D. JOHANNEM ARCHER, M.D.

Lithophylacii Brit. Ichnographia, 1790, p. 115.

Epistola de *Asteria* et *Belemnite*. (*English Translation*.)

Scotoburgi 1 Maii 1698.

To the most worthy Mr. JOHN ARCHER, M.D.

Learned Sr, [Vir Ornatissime].

Four years are near elapsed since I had last the pleasure of your company in searching thro Oxford & Berkshire for fossills of a curious & uncommon figure. I suppose your expectation for something new is greatly raised by such a length of time; since we very seldom visited any quarry or pit without making some improvement in this kind of knowledge; generally discovering some teeth or vertebrae of fishes;¹ or some other small stones, which afforded us amusement in finding out their origin. In such researches we made no small progress together; but it is impossible that those sciences should make any rapid advances, when there are but few engaged in the study of them, & even those few very much taken up with other business. 'Tis very rarely we are able to penetrate into subterraneous caverns; nor in such secret recesses is it an easy matter to find what are the most worthy our observation. There is therefore great occasion for the labours of many, & those too in different countries: nor is it in the power of one man alone fully to settle the mere rudiments of this science; or the work of one age to render this as compleat as other parts of natural history. But however our endeavours are attended with no small pleasure; while in the mean time by searching for materials requisite for this work, we trace with astonishment the sea in the midst of mountains, & discover deep in the earth whole woods condemned to the mines. For we not only see daily new sorts of shell-fish, & bones of marine

¹ *Ichthyodos* or *Ichthyospondylus*.

animals, together with trees and leaves of plants, but we also meet with many fossil bodies which for many ages were rankt with minerals, that upon a more nice survey, sufficiently prove their origin to have been animal, or even vegetable. Some of these are mention'd in this Catalogue, but being much straightened as to my time, I could not clear up all doubts, nor make it quite as plain as could be wished. Among others you will perhaps admire the *Asteria*¹ with little spines of the same texture as a shell taken notice of by Boetius & others, it is joined with the *Echini* & Star-fish.

I shall give my reasons briefly why I did so. Some years ago for the sake of assisting the memory (which indeed is the cheif use of method) I ranked the *Asteria* with the *Echinus*: without any other reason for so doing than the agreement of its composition with the *Lapis Judaicus* (which I certainly believed to be a kind of spine). In the mean time I most accurately compared together what teeth & other little bones of the *Echinus* I could get, to see if this kind of shell-fish bore any likeness to this Star-stone. My labour was not lost: tho' I found not what I sought for; yet I met with in various places some little stones which on examination bore the most perfect resemblance to those teeth & bones.² For sometime therefore the *Asteria* remained doubtful as to its origin; untill at length having discovered the origin of the *Entrochus*, I no longer sought for those little Star-stones which were so near related to it among the *Echini*, but amongst the star-fishes. Having therefore laid open a ray of the common yellow Star-fish; I found some likeness, but not enough to establish the certainty of the thing; some time after, while I was observing the various sorts of *Asteria* on the shore of Pyrton-Passage; I met with three specimens differing much from any of the former & which seemed strongly to support this conjecture. The first then was the common³ columnated *Asteria* which in this Catalogue has the title of the large *Asteria*⁴ of the shore; but which in the space between every one of its angles retained the marks of one that was gone to the extremity of it. I conjectured this stone to be the vertebrae of some star fish of the slow kind;⁵ which should have been inserted into a sort of wreath or chaplet; I have given

¹ *Asteria* among Class of *Crustacea Punctulata*. See Anselm. Boet: p. 300. Lister, *Phil: transact.* No. 112. *Mus: Worm.* Book 2, Sect 2, chap: 10. Plot's *History of Oxford & Staffordshire*.

² See *Lith.* Pl. 12, Nos. 1708, 1088, 1095, &c.

³ The common Star-stone fenced round with five projections in the manner of little pillars.

⁴ *Lith.* No. 1170 *Asteria major litoralis*,

⁵ *Stellae Tardigradae*.

a figure of it with the title of *Astropodium*,¹ together with the joints by which it was fastened to its little wreath or coronet:² the second specimen being of a different sort rather increased the suspicion, which seemed to represent one entire order or row of some *Asteria*, the ribs of the stone hiding the rest; its figure is delineated in the No. 7 of the same plate under the title of the large ribbed *Astropodium*.³ But you will say perhaps the third variety rather contradicts than confirms all my observations hitherto made: when before I drew a comparison between the *Asteria* & the vertebrae of a certain star-fish; nor will you allow it to be probable that the triple row of vertebrae such as no star-fish hitherto described can show, ever did exist, it being contrary to the common course of nature. My answer is, that this kind of animals have generally escaped the notice of naturalists; since of seven species that belong to this shore, I find not more than one or two that they are in the least acquainted with: whence I make no doubt but there are in every country some hundreds of which no mention has been made. But now if amongst these there should be found even one, whose rays entirely or only partly agree together; the difficulty is at an end. Nor is there cause for any one to say, we rest merely upon suppositions; as a fourth part in length of the arms of the common red Star-fish⁴ with thirteen rays is taken up in the joining. But we are not so much in want of clear proofs as to spend much time on probabilities. There still remains another specimen which declares its original in the plainest manner, & seems to leave no room any longer for the smallest doubt. Departing from Pyrton-Passage, having visited the coast downwards, I came at length to Goldcliff in Monmouthshire. Here I met with some fish-palates,⁵ as also some *Ichthyospondyli*, or vertebrae in stone, together with other fish-bones⁶ & fossil shells. There were some Star-stones, but cannot say, in such plenty & variety as are found in the clay and rocks of Pyrton. Amongst those there was one fastened to a stone, on one side of which were to be seen six little ribs, on the other eight, which is exhibited at the fifth figure of the same plate. This is not the first mention that has been made of these little ribs, for Lister has long ago given a description of them,⁷ &

¹ So called from *Asteria*, the star-stone.

² Plate 22.

³ *Astropodium majus costellatum*.

⁴ *Stella rubra vulgaris tredecim radiatorum*.

⁵ Siliquastra.

⁶ *Xylostea*, see Class 11th. All fish-bones of whatever sort, vertebrae and teeth excepted, go under the name of *Xylostea*; many of these bones in outward appearance resembling wood gave cause for this title.

⁷ 'The wires of the star-stone.' *Phil: Trans: No. 112. fig: 14.*

we have frequently found them sticking to the star-stones, & often separated from them. In my book I call them *Appendiculae* (wires). But however it is an unusual thing for these pillars to have their wires so thick & long: 'tho I believe in other places there may be some with even more wires than these. If you compare these wires with the little veins of the above-mentioned Star-fish with thirteen rays that are perceived; tho they are placed in a manner resembling a sort of net-work, you will immediately discover the figure, size, & joints to be the same; & henceforward perhaps will adopt that opinion of ours, that all Star-stones derived their origin from Star-fishes.

There remains therefore with me no doubt concerning the Star-stone: but I dare not say the same with regard to the Belemnite. However there are things concerning them that have occurred to my thoughts, which seem worthy of an inquiry, & since it has not yet been my fortune to find any stone of this kind thro all Wales, we must refer to your curious collections in another place. I agree then with the generality that the Belemnite is a mere mineral stone: but we cannot but allow the same of the Star-stone, *Entrochus*, *Hammonis cornu*, & many other fossills first produced in the sea, as the spoils of all kind of fishes; since tis their particular figure alone that for the most part distinguishes them from other stones. But notwithstanding as these other fossills are indebted to marine animals for their form & fine texture, so I strongly suspect the Belemnite in the same manner to owe his. Some men considering the agreement of this stone with the horn of the fish called *Narhwal*, as to its smooth conic figure, & its cavity towards the base, have pronounced it to be the horn of some unknown *Monoceros* (or unicorn). I confess I am ignorant what truth there may be in such a supposition; for I rather imagine it to belong to some shell-fish, than any other marine animal. But you say there is no species of shell-fish we know of, that agrees with the Belemnite. I answer, in comparing fossills with the recent productions it is sufficient if their agreement extends no farther than a few particulars. For since there is but a small part of the creation that we have acquaintance with, in respect of those things which lie beyond our reach, it must happen (as you very well know) but rarely that we meet with the same species for comparing them together, although they may be distinguished by some general marks common to every individual. Wherefore if one species of the Belemnite seems to resemble any shell-fish, it affords a sufficient handle for conjecture (nor do we at

present pretend to anything beyond conjectures.) The Shell-fish with which I make no scruple to rank the various sorts of Belemnites are those which go by the names of *Tubuli*, *Penicilli*,¹ *Entales* and *Dentales* among which kind I have discoverd many of which no description has been given. But as I before hinted, I suppose the Belemnites are not the very *Tubuli* or *Penicilli* themselves, but rather a concretion of sparry matter formed from these hollow tube-like fossills, & thus I imagine for the following reasons.

In the first place therefore certain *Tubuli* & *Belemnites*, tho they generally differ in size, yet have all nearly the same figure; being broad above but ending at bottom in a point, smooth & hollow.

2. In the quarries of Oxford I have often met with Belemnites inclosed in little *Tubuli* which I laid up as rarities, and exhibit them in our Scrinium as Nos. 1715 & 1716. I own there is a little possibility of this being merely by accident: to wit that the Belemnite was formed in these *Tubuli*; as all kind of minerals are found in other places enclosed in Shell fossills: but by seeing these I awakened a former suspicion: whether or no it has weight in it I leave to the consideration of others.

3. In a quarry at Stansford, near Faringdon, I found various specimens of the great Oxyrrhynchus Belemnite² the cups of which were covered on the inside with a thin shelly substance, I have preserved them in my collection at number 1672 a. Although I grant the Belemnite might be cast in a *Tubulus*, I will not so readily allow that other Shell fish fit so exactly to these cavities: for the bark is not fitted more close to trees, than these shells to the Belemnites.

4. On the shore about Tenby, & almost everywhere near the Irish sea, I collected some fusiform of a sandy substance, in size & shape not unlike the smaller Belemnites. These are in length about two or three inches; about the thickness of a goose-quill at the base, but at the top not bigger round than a small hen's feather: moreover at this end there rises out of the *Tubulus*, I know not what, an object more slender than the shell itself, agreeing in this circumstance with some Belemnites I have found of the sort resembling the pistil of the herb wake-Robin.³ This little animal is perhaps a *Scolopendra*, & on account of its yellow shining hairs

¹ By *Tubuli* and *Penicilli* Lhwyd means Worm-tubes.

² *Belemnites maximus oxyrrhynchus*.

³ See *Lith.* No. 1702. Plate 21. *Belemnites minor cinereus Ari pistillum referens*. Wake-robin = *Arum maculatum*.

may merit the name of *Auricoma*:¹ while I consider the smallness of its head, its thickness, amber-colour, & the little rift which divides it in two parts (we are still speaking of living creatures) I could not help recalling to mind Lyncurion stones² or Belemnites of the colour of amber. But lest I should be thought to wrest every thing to my purpose; I own this is of but little signification, since its figure comes much nearer to a particular species of *Alveolus*³ (which you know has no such little cleft;) nor does experience shew that minerals exhibit other extraneous figures besides parts of plants, or things of an hard substance, as the spoils of fishes; shells, & coralls. And this was what I have to offer concerning the Belemnite for the present. If any future observation should either confirm or overturn this opinion, you shall immediately be acquainted with it. In the mean time, I wish all happiness to my worthy friend, & hope you will follow my example in imparting whatever you meet with worthy your notice.

193. For ye Revd Mr. THOMAS TANNER, *Fellow of All Souls College, Oxon.* MS Tanner xxii. 64

I have sent you this post ye Catalogue of Welsh Authors so long since promised: wch I hope will come safe. & frankd by Mr. Mansel. Tis nothing so compleat as it might be, but at present I am not capable of supplying you with any better. What I am chiefly concernd at is ye not seeing Sr Roger Mostyns Collection; wch by ye account I hear of it, is next to Hengwrt ye most considerable in Wales. Great part of our writings have without doubt been long since burnd & destroyd; and many of them of later years, for one Mr. Roberts a clergyman in this countrey tels me he saw heaps of parchment books & rolls, burnt at St. Davids during ye late civil warrs; and did himself being then a school boy carry several out of ye library for the sake of ye guilt letters &c. One Dr. Grif. Roberts⁴ printed a Welsh Grammer in H. 8. time at Millain, & afterwards in Q. E. time he & one Smyth publishd some books against the Reformation: now these things I am sure they could never perform without ye help of some books in that language; so yt I conclude there are some Welsh books in foreign countreys and perhaps more

¹ Golden Hair.

² Perhaps hyacinth gem-stones.

³ See *Lith. Class Anomala* No. 1740. ⁴ *A Welsh Grammar.* Milan, 1567.

than at home. Indeed Dr. Roberts seems to give some hint of this, when he says in one of his Welsh Prefaces. *I am not ignorant of the ancient Orthography amongst ye Britains being no stranger to their old Books on parchment, Haver-skins &c.* I wish Mr. Tomson (to whom my hearty respects) or some other friend could procure you a Catalogue of ye Cornish MSS. to be added to this. Old Mr. Aubrey us'd to talk much of one Keigwyn as a diligent collector of Cornish antiquities & one who had writ a Dictionary, and my friend Dr. Robinson informs me *one Mr. Anstisse the Younger¹ at St Neots near Lyskeard hath some ancient Cornish MSS.*, but of these things you are probably already better informed from other hands. I have no time to adde more at present but that you had receivd this Catalogue sooner, had I not depended on a gentleman's promise of ye perusal of three or four very ancient books; which he was pleasd neverthesse afterwards to refuse when I sent a purpose messenger twice to him. As soon as you receive ye Catalogue a few lines would be very acceptable to

Worthy Sr

Your most affectionat Frd & Humble Servant
E. LHUYD

Let me know how long 'twill be ere you print this part, because I may have some notes to be sent hereafter. Mr Williams will get some friend in ye College to correct ye sheets as to ye Welsh: and for ye Latin you may freely alter any thing without consulting me. I wish I had two or three copies of ye sheets to give a poor frd or two, who I know will never purchase the book.

194. MS *Tanner* xxii. 38

Dear Sr

Pembroke May 20. 98.

Yours of ye 2d came to hand wch is more than many of my letters doe; for ye countrey people are very curious to know whom the spies and conjurers correspond with, & what their intregues, which has been ye onely discouragement I met with, since I left Oxford: but yt will now soon be over; for in ye countrey that remain I & my companions are pretty well known. I am glad ye catalogue of our manuscripts

¹ JOHN ANSTIS, b. 1669, d. 1744-5.

came safe; and shall be sure to adde what notes shall occurre this year. No news could be more acceptable than your going to London & Cambridge, on so excellent a design. Pray put a little paper book in your left pocket markd N.L. and as any Lhyvrau Kymraeg occurre, think of yr old friend. I desire you would please to write ye first & last 4 or 5 words of each Treatise, adding the number of leavs (& lines in a page) as also whether on paper or parchment, and a mark where you think them considerably ancient. You may also intermix with them such Latin manuscripts as you presume usefull in my undertaking especially any thing not printed, or yt you suppose corruptly printed. I presume ye Welsh manuscripts you'l meet with will be but few, otherwise this would be an unreasonable request; & the Latin relating to our affaires not many more. In a Note Book of Mr. Robt. Vns. I find mention of ye lives of Prince Lhywelyn' ab Iorwerth & David his son, at Benet College which I wish you may meet with. As also ye *Welsh Annals* (in ye same Library) sent Arch Bishop, by the Bp. of St. Davids A°. 1568. In ye same place Volume 256. A copy of the *Laws of Howel Dha*, Vol. 364. *I Dicta Merlini Vatis*—II *Historia Britonum cujus Author putatur Carad Lancarbanensis*. But I need not trouble you with ye names of any; so recommending them in general to your care, I add no more than that I am (worthy Sr)

Yr most obliged Hearty Servant EDW. LHWYD

My service to Mr Churchill &c. I shall send Dr Robinson my Lithology ye first opportunity to be printed at London, for he tels me some bookseller has promisd to venture it: Dr. Lister having given ye Museum to the value of at least 200li of books. I was in hopes the University would print it, & indeed Dr. Adams,¹ Dr. Edwards & ye Master of Univ. seem'd very inclinable: but ye present Vice-Chancellor² will hear nothing of it; tho I told him to whom 'twas dedicated & how great a benefactor he has been. Mr. Williams gave me notice of his receiving Mr. Flemmings third year's subscription. My service & thanks to him when you write.

¹ Rector of Lincoln College.

² J. MEARE, principal of Brasenose.

195. For ye Rev. Mr. JOHN LLOYD *Gwersylht near Wrexham in Denbighshire North Wales.* *Arch. Camb.* 1857, 385

Haverfordwest, May 21, 1698.

Dear Sr,

You had sooner recd my Thanks for your kind Letter of March ye 18th but that you promised therein to second it very speedily, which if you did your Letter makes a long Hallt and unlesse it comes within these three days, 'tis never likely to overtake me. I have long since heard ye news of Sr Robert's Death which I fear is not so false as what you were informed of your old Friend. For my part I have not been one day very sick these ten years; nor have I ever enjoy'd my health (God be thanked) better than in my Travails. I know nothing of Delvs Survey you mention, as transcribed above 100 years since. By his name and his taking a survey of that County I suppose he is scarce himself 100 years older. I hope your Brother David has collected by this time a considerable number of ye coalpit mockplants and coal gingerbread, if he continues in the same Station. Glamorganshire afforded us excellent Diversion in that kind, but this County though a great coal cuntry, produces no great variety of them. The greatest Rarities that occurrd here in ye mineral kingdome are enclosed to be communicated with my hearty service to my old Friend Mr Richd Roberts when you meet with him. The Flat Fish¹ we found plentyfully tho few fayr specimens in Caermarthen-shire, as I informd you in my last. The rest, (which are all variety of Starstones and Cuthbert's Beads and must be referd to bones and modioli of the Sea Star), we met with partly on the Severn Shoar in Glocestershire & Monmouthshire & partly in ye Isle of Caldey in this County. Will Jones, who is my best Designer, being out of the way, they are but indifferently delineated by a young beginner, whose raw exercise you must suppose it, though the difference is chiefly that ye stones are much finer than the Draughts. North Wales abound-ing also with Cuthbert Beads, there's no great doubt but we shall find them with you; especially in Denbighshire and Flintshire, which afford such plenty of Limestone. I should gladly

¹ 'Flat fish' = Trilobites.

receive a Letter from you at Mr Erasmus Lewis's, Vicar of *Lhanbedr pont Steven* in Cardiganshire, where I hope to be on ye 12 of June; but if it should happen to come a week later he'll know whither to direct it. I have not time to adde more at present than humble respects as in the last from Dear Sr

Yr most affectionat Friend & Humble Servt

EDW LHWYD

I find I cannot be in North Wales so soon as I intended by six weeks or more.

Dr. RICHARDSON to Mr. LHWYD. Richardson Correspondence vii
North Bierley, 16 die Junii, Anno 1698.

De effigiatis nostræ hujus vicinïæ Fossilibus a me nihil absolutum expectabis; utpote in hac jucundissimâ Historiæ Naturalis parte novitio planè Tyrone, et nimis imperito: quæ tamen hactenus observare licuit, quoniam id rogas, sic paucis accipe. Singularis figuræ fossilium tria tantùm genera invenimus; *Entrochos* nimirùm, *Conchylia* mineralia, et quæ *Lithophyta* vocare soles. *Entrochorum*, ad locum *Clattering-Sike* dictum, medio itinere inter *Malham* et *Settle*, tantam copiam vidimus, ut brevi spatio modii aliquot iisdem impleri possent; quorum nonnulla variæ figuræ et magnitudinis collegimus specimina; alia nempe insignitè ramosa, distorta alia, alia compressa; quædam longiuscula, brevia, mediocria; crassa, exilia, minutula, etc. Hi etiam, quamvis minùs copiosè, e fodinâ quâdam plumbi et æris, juxta *Malham* (ubi *Fairy-Beads* vocant) eruuntur: imò et non rarò in rupibus ejusdem conventùs Cravenensis, quæ saxo quodam constant molari simili, delitescunt. *Conchylia* hactenus observata ferè e bivalvibus striatis sunt omnia: loco præfato, *Clattering-Sike*, varios pectines colligere licuit, qui materiâ quasi inter saxeam et testaceam mediâ constare videbantur. Ad hanc viciniam per spatium trium aut quatuor milliarium in saxo Lithanthraci incumbente *Conchites leviter rugosus depressior Listeri* admodum vulgaris est; interdum etiam *Pectinites* iste 'umbratilis, seu membranaceus, occurrit, quem olim e carbonariis Monæ Insulæ ad nos transmisisti, cujusque apud eundem Clariss. Authorem fit mentio in *Tract. De Anat. Conchyl. Part. II.* Verùm hîc notatu dignum, quòd in puteis ubi ejusmodi *Pectinites umbratilis* Schistum Lithanthraci proximè incumbentem occupat, plantarum nullæ appareant figuræ. Apud nos saltem sic se res habet; nec alibi aliàs

esse, ex tuis de Carbonariis Monensibus biennio abhinc datis conjicio. *Conchitæ leviter rugosi depressioris* materia prorsus crystallina est, adeò ut non aliud videatur quàm fluor quidam sublustris, cujus facies exterior conchylii superficiem exhibet. Hujus tanta est copia, ut in quibusdam puteis carbonariis per novem aut decem pedes vix aliud Fossoribus occurrat, idque, aliàs parciùs aliàs copiosius, per milliarium aliquot spatium (ut suprà innuimus) obtinet. An verò tanta hujus conchylii copia ullibi marium extet, ipsi videant qui ad Diluvium Universale testacea omnia referunt fossilia. Alios quosdam *Pectinitas* saxum calcarium suppeditat: neque hìc prætereundum, quòd in hisce regionibus præ aliis hoc saxum conchyliia exhibeat mineralia. Adeò enim non verum est quod nuperus quidam Scriptor, *D. Woodward*, tradit, omnes quascunque rupes, et præsertim editiores, testaceis fossilibus abundare, ut nobis ea sedulò quærentibus ad altissimos scopulos montium, *Ingleborough, Pendle*, aliosque per Angliam septentrionalem non paucos, ne unius quidem conchylii occurrebat umbra. (Idem ipse observavi in montibus et rupibus Walliæ.)

Lithophyta quod attinet, varias species carbonariæ vicinæ ostendunt, præsertim eorum quæ *Folia Mineralia* appellantur. Hæc plerumque vel in imo putei strato, (seu Lithanthraci proximè incumbente) vel saltem in penultimo, aut antepenultimo delitescunt. Interdum eadem in minerâ ferri invenimus, nec semel in saxo quodam cinericeo vulgatori apparuere. Non aliud sunt ut plurimum quàm foliorum quasi plagulæ, lævioribus saxis scissilibus insculptæ, aliàs quidem ægrè visibiles, aliàs satis conspicuæ. At nonnunquam ipsissima folia materiâ flexili membranaceâ conflata invenire contigit; unde et reliqua ab ipsis foliis jamdudum absumptis aliquando impressa fuisse, suspicio est. Foliorum autem alii pronam faciem, alii aversam ostendunt lapides; at notatu dignum videbatur quosdam superficie suâ pronam filicini cujusdam ramuli faciem exhibuisse, qui tamen quantumvis fissi planè aversam toties quoties ostendebant. Inveniunter etiam in hisce puteis, præter folia, non rarò caulium, et, si rectè conjicio, radicum quarundam fragmenta, lignorum frustula et cortices: imò quædam hujusmodi schemata, flosculos; alia, semina et fructus spurios (Iulos puta Colurnos, Alneos et Betuleos) mentiri dixeris. Integram aliquam plantam mihi ipsi nunquam invenire licuit; a fossore tamen fide digno (*Thoma Kirkmanno*) accepi, se, viginti hinc annis elapsis, in integram filicem mineralem incidisse. Quoad species nostratium *Lithophytorum*, iis summâ quâ potui diligentia cum ipsis plantis quas

æmulari videbantur collatis, stirpes minerales vegetabilibus minores ut plurimum deprehendi; neque ullis quidem per omnia respondere comperi. Verum quidem est, e capillaribus esse pleraque nostratium puteorum *Lithophyta*; quamvis et non pauca aliorum generum invenire licuerit. At, quod mirari subit, tot ferè species capillarium mineralium e pauculis hisce carbonariis Bradfordiensibus penes me habeo, quot per universam Britanniae Insulam hujus generis nascuntur Vegetabilia. *Lithophytis* nostratibus Titulos (cùm, ut dixi, per omnia non respondeant) nondum audemus assignare. . . .

In toto hoc rudere nullum Conchylum aut Conchylii vel minimum quidem fragmentum, quamvis ea summoperè investigarem, invenire licuit. Atque hæc summa est eorum quæ de statu Fossilium nostratium hactenus observare potui: ubi plura occurrent notatu digna, statim audies.

De hisce quæ octo hinc annis circa Bufonem medio saxo inclusum ad te scripsi, nihil est quod quis dubitet. Ipse enim, dum saxum frangeretur, adfui; et a fossoribus de vivo Bufone invento statim admonitus, et hunc vidi et ejusdem carcerem, in medio saxo, nullis poris nudis oculis conspiciendis permeabili. Imò (quod optimè memini) pars ea quâ latuit reliquo saxo durior erat; ex eoque genere quod nostrates *an Iron-band* vocant. Relaxatum animal non auram ultra tres horas vivum sustinuit. Nomen loci *Moor-Close*, juxta Capellam Wibseianam in Parochiâ Bradfordiensi. Verùm non uno tantum loco apud nos visi sunt hujusmodi Bufones saxigeni: spectatissimæ fidei vir, *D. Carolus Hall*, Mercator Eboracensis, testatur, se adstante, confracto quodam saxo majore solidissimo, vivum Bufonem excidisse, animalis formam latibulo quod ad meditullium erat ad amussim exprimente. Hoc autem saxum (cujus diameter quatuor circiter pedes colligebat) ad pratum quoddam Lewenthorpense juxta oppidum Leeds extra hominum memoriam in terræ superficie extabat. Bingleiæ, quæ sex circitèr hinc distat milliariibus, domo quâdam ecclesiæ vicinâ extat saxum, quod jam focariæ trabis vicem obit, in quo viventium adhuc memoriâ inventus quoque est Bufo; in cujus rei testimonium sic collocabat Architectus, ut cella in quâ latuit tuentibus obversa pateat. Plura hujus rei testimonia apud nos audire possent qui ei fidem denegant; quamvis (ut quod sentio dicam) non video unde fit quòd Historia, authoribus maxime idoneis jamdudum confirmata, ulteriore probatione ullatenus carere possit. In hisce enim hærere, plus propriæ opinioni quam communi hominum sensui, tribuere est, et somnolenta quædam Philosphemata præ autopsiâ et demonstratione colere.

P. S. Ex quo hanc scripsi, novis aliquot Schisti Carbonariæ fragminibus examinatis, quasdam figuras quas ad Equiseta referre solebam, aliasque quas Fucorum et Algarum credidi, nihil aliud comperio quam ramulos eorum quæ *Squamata Schemata* appellare soleo. Utrùm verò et Lycopodium tuum minerale, et quæ Carbonariis Denensibus *Cat's Tail* dici scribis, huc etiam referri possunt, ipse cogita. Certè meo iudicio res suspitione non caret. Scripsi olim suspicari me Araneorum quorundam icones, unà cum *Lythophytis*, in Schisto Carbonariâ observasse: hoc jam ulteriore experientiâ edoctus apertè assero. Alias icones habeo quæ ad Scarabæorum genus quàm proximè accedunt. In posterum ergo non tantùm *Lithophyta*, sed et quædam Insecta in hoc lapide investigare conabimur.

196. To Dr. RICHARD RICHARDSON. *Phil. Trans.* No. 337,
p. 95 (1713) Narberth, Pembrokeshire, June 19, 1698.

I have been very inquisitive about coyns of the Princes of Wales since I began this undertaking, but could never see one of them; tho' the Bishop of Bangor (who is very well skill'd in British antiquities) told me a relation of his kept one of Lhywelyn' ab Iorwerth, who was cotemporary with Richard I. and K. John, in his pocket several years, and shewed it many of the Bishops acquaintance, still living, who confirm it. By the Princes of Wales I understand the British princes from K. Kadwaladr about the year 600. to the last Prince Lhwelyn ap Gruffydh about the year 1280. I have found several of the more ancient British coyns; whereof you see divers figures in Camden. My friend Mr Nicolson quotes Cæsar for the Britors having no coyns; whereas on the contrary Cæsar's words are, *Nummo utuntur parvo et æneo*: nor can I see any reason to doubt of British coyns of all sorts of metal, till he or some other inform whose coyns those are which Mr Camden and other writers take to be British.

The Druid beads are generally glass. Since the last edition of Camden I have met with 2 or 3 of them, that had a snake manifestly painted round them so: that I take it for granted, the *Ova Anguina* of the British Druids were these glass beads; tho' those of the Gaulish were the shells of the *Echini orbiculati laticlavij*. [*Lith.* No. 912, Pl. 12.] [E. L.]

197. MS *Lister* 36, No. cvii
Sr

Cardigan July 6. 1698.

I writ to you from Pembroke according to your directions from Paris, wch I hope came safe to hand, and have since sent Dr Powel¹ a lr inclosd to Mr Pezron. This comes heartily to congratulate your safe return, wch a lr rec. last night from Dr Robinson acquaints me of. Our present V-C. of Oxfd² is ye most pusillanimous I have known and seems not much acquainted with any sort of learning out of his own profession: in so much that he never proposd the printing my book to ye rest of ye Delegats nor communicated your Testimonium which I had sent him; but onely sent me his advice to print it by subscriptions. I find also the London booksellers will not medle with it, and therefore am willing to venture it at my own charges in case my subscribers have but tolerably acquitted themselv with my agent Mr Thomas; for when I last heard from him he was busy a-dunning them, but often in vain. However I presume he may have enough in his hands towards so small an undertaking. Dr Robinson acquaints me you hold it advisable to print onely 100 copies; but will that half quit our charges? and may we not vend two or three hundred of them without ye assistance of book sellers. I am of opinion that whatever number we print will goe off in time at the Museum, provided we may afford them at 5 or 6 shillings price; for I have always found the forreigners that come thither, very inquisitive after some printed catalogue: & who ever will be curious to see my collection, will be also desirous of a catalogue of them. Moreover we can furnish ye buyers with a small collection of stones together with ye book;³ for I have a private storehouse of them besides those which will be exposd to view so that whereas they see only two or three of a sort: I have in that closet (of many kinds) 50 or 200. for stl as I spent my time in making new discoveries ye old ones would dayly occur which (on such a design as this is) I always preservd: and have sometimes sold forreigners some small

¹ JOHN POWELL of Lincoln coll., M.D. 1696. ² Principal of Brasenose.

³ The Lhwyd collection of fossils that I discovered in Oriel College was probably one of these subscribers' collections. Richard Dyer would certainly have taken one.

collections for guineas a piece. All these matters may be manag'd by the Sublibrarian who is an undergraduat, and will not think so easy a trade below him; so that it bring him, as well my self some income. I design next spring for Ireland; where I hope the Dublin Society (with their friends) may take off about twenty copies. My friend Mr Gibson corresponds with an eminent bookseller at Leipzig (or Frankfurt); and what Dr Robinson and other friends can doe at London & York you can best guesse, so that upon the whole matter why may we not print at least the foremention'd number? Dr Robinson will shew you (if he hath not already) a copy of my lr to Mr Ray about some suspicions of the origin of Marine Fossils & ye Coal Plants, together with Mr Rays answer. When you have perusd it be pleasd to inform me, whether you think their being produc'd by such means utterly impossible. I shall be out of all road of correspondence til the 1st of August when I shall be at Dr Brewsters of Hereford; when a few lines from you would adde much life & encouragemt to (Hond Sr)

Yr most obliged faithfull servant whilst
E. LHWYD

199. To R. MOSTYN. *Copy in Arch. Camb.* 1858, 343

Lhanbedr Pont Ysteven July 25. 1698.

Dear Sr

I hartily beg your pardon for such long silence and have no excuse to offer but my being dayly hurried from Karn to Kaer, from Kaer to Klogwyn &c. I long very much to have a sight of the old manuscript you are so kind to bestow on me; but not knowing how it might be sent, nor having leasure enough to peruse it, 'tis my request that the contents of it may be the main subject of your next letter. Dr Lister has lately procur'd me the correspondence of one Monsr Pezron an Armorican Antiquary; but I have not as yet recd any letter from him, for 'tis but a fortnight since I first writ to him. The Dr informs me he has writ *De ratione temporum*. If you can find any such book I should be very glad of any account of it and its author. He has also compos'd (but that I presume is in

Manuscript) a Celtic Dictionary: and is now about a Treatise *De origine gentium*. This gentleman, as the Dr informs me, labours to prove all Europe and the Greek language originally Celtic; for he acquainted Dr Lister he had 800 Greek words that were manifestly Celtic. I wish at your leisure hours you would make the comparison of the British and Greek part of yr diversion: and also that you would study the British to the utmost, and make yourself master of the obsolete words in Dr Davies's Lexicon. This can never be any lost labour nor uncommendable study; and 'twill be some pleasure to us both to communicate our notions and to be assisting each other. The old Poets such as Lhywarch Hen, Myrdhyn ab Morvryn, and Taliesin, are much more worth our acquaintance than is commonly represented: and indeed none but scholars and critics (thô the vulgar pretend to 'm) can make any tolerable use of them: and I am now very well satisfy'd they may do it to good purpose. [E. L.]

198. *Ad Ornatiss. V. D. TANCRÉDUM ROBINSON M.D. in qua Quaestionibus nonnullis circa marina Fossilia et Stirpes minerales respondetur.*

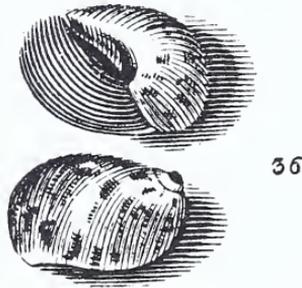
Lithophylacii Brit. Ichnographia, 1760, p. 120.

Cereticae [= Cardigan], 15 die Julii 1698.

[In this letter Lhwyd describes how leaves of plants have been found in a mineral state in five distinct kinds of rock.

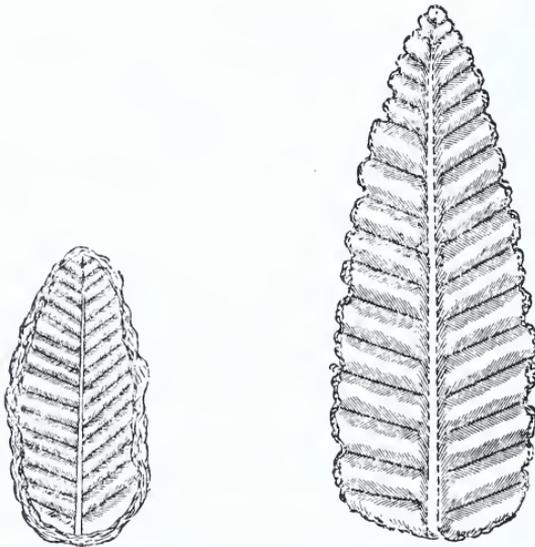
1. In Coal as described by Dr. Richardson in Yorkshire.
2. In Rocks overlying the Coal in the Forest of Dean and in Glamorganshire.
3. In Iron mines in Shropshire, Yorkshire, and at Pont y Pool.
4. In Schists near Lhan Gwm in Pembrokeshire.
5. With Entrochi and fossil shells in red rocks at Stainton in Cumberland.

Occasionally fossils exhibit not only the shape but even the coloration of their living allies, as in the case of *Neritae* found by Lhwyd in a stone-pit at Besselsleigh near Oxford.]



36. *nerites Fasciatus*.
 c. MUSEO OXONIENSIS.

[The possibility of the artificial production of vegetable forms was shown by experiments often repeated by Lhwyd in winter time of exposing certain liquors in a leaden gutter. On freezing there occurs a growth of 'fern-fronds', like those shown in the figures.]



Lhwyd's Frost Ferns

[Lhwyd's well-known drawing of *Lithostrotion* appeared in connexion with this letter. (See p. 456.)]

200. *Ad Praeclariss. V. D. JOHANNEM RAIUM*

Cataractae apud Radnorienses [= Rhayader], Julii 29, Ann. 1698.
De Fossilium marinorum et Foliorum mineralium Origine.
Printed in *Lithophylacii Brit. Ichnographia* 1760, p. 131.
Lhwyd's translation, in MS *Ashmole* 1820^a. 28 is as follows:

Of the Origin of Marine Fossils; & of Mineral Leaves,
branches, &c.

Hon'd Sr

You are pleas'd to ask whether after some years observations I have been at length able to satisfy my self, as to the origin of what we call *Marine Fossils*; & those other bodies no less surprizing, which, to distinguish them from other plants, I have taken the liberty to call *Mineral Leavs* [= *Lithophyta*]: viz. whether I conclude, with ye general opinion, that they have been repositd in the places we find them at ye universal Deluge, & so preserv'd to our time;¹ or that they are original productions of Nature, there form'd from some plastic power of salts or other minerals, wch was ye conjecture of the late ingenious Dr. PLOT² & other experienced Naturalists. To this I must needs answer that ye frequent observations I have made on such bodies, have hitherto afforded litle better satisfaction, than repeated occasions of wonder and amazement; for as much as I often (I may say continually) experienced, that what one days observations suggested, was by those of ye next call'd in question, if not totally contradicted & overthrow'n. Nevertheless so indefatigable is ye curiosity, & indeed so successfull have been the discoveries of this present age, that we are dayly encouraged to hope this so important a question will not much longer want its final determination, to the great advancement of that kind of real knowledge, wch relates to minerals or fossils. A part of Natural History, which you well know, hath been hitherto much more neglected than that of plants & animals; onely, as I presume, because these bodies are less obvious to our view, and much more abstruse and unaccountable as to their origin or production. I therefore at spare hours continue to improve my collection,

¹ An abstract of his argument, presumably written by himself, was published in the *Cambrian Register*, see p. 555.

² Plot, *Nat. Hist. Oxon.*, p. 111.

in regard it may be hop'd that from an accurat inspection of it, some others hereafter may frame several usefull inductions, wch I my self never had the least thoughts of. And in the mean time because the communicating to our friends, what carries but the least shadow of probability, does often contribute somewhat towards ye speedier discovery of the truth, I shall here presume to submit to your examination a conjecture relating to the origin of these bodies, wch I know not whether any other have as yet thought of. But in regard it is necessary that before any new opinion be propos'd, reasons be produc'd against those already receiv'd, give me leave here to lay before you some objections against both the above mentiond accounts of the origin of these bodies. To begin therefore with that which refers all these marine fossils & mineral leavs, stalks, & branches, &c. to the Deluge, I have several reasons to offer against it, whereof (because I would not too much presume on your time & patience) I shall at present propose onely these few.

I. Therefore had these bodies been marine spoils, brought on the dry land by an inundation, they would (for the generality at least) either have been left upon the surface of the earth, or have been lodg'd at no very great depth under it; but I have found them buryed or inclosd within solid marble on the *face* of broken sea cliffs, of the height of 200 fadoms & more at all depths from the tops thereof, to ye bottom; & observd them to be continued so under ye sea water. Nor was that onely on the face of these rocks, but even, more or less, throughout the whole mass of them. And this is manifest from divers rocks hewn down by workmen for making of lime, & other pieces casually fallen from the cliffs in the Isle of *Caldey* & elsewhere about Tenby in Pembrokeshire; as also in several other rocks & mountains that consist of such bastard marble or lime-stone, throughout Wales, Ireland & other countreys. Now although we should grant yt at the time of the Deluge, these rocks were no other than clay or earth; & that therefore, sea shells, coralls & other marine bodies, might by the violence of the inundation have been lodg'd; & that in tract of time that suppos'd clay

or earth consolidated into lime-stone: I say although we should grant all this, yet can I not perceive by what force such bodies could be sunk into any clay or earth to so great a depth. If indeed these bodies constituted one continued mass; so as that one should bear hard on the other, something perhaps might be replyd: but the matter is clearly otherwise; for they are found confusedly dispers'd, throughout the mass of lime stone, some times at the distance (for example) of three foot from each other; some times two, some times within half an inch; & not seldome two or three or more of them contiguous.

II. Such marine fossils have been observ'd on ye sides or walls within our limestone caves; & are even some times found sticking to the roofs of them, for I have gather'd the Cuthbert Beads or *Entrochi*, which are vertebræ of sea starrs, from ye roof of a cave calld Lhygad lhwchwr near Kerrig Kennen Castle in the County of Caermarthen: and on the sides (as well as bottom) of a noted cave calld *Porth Gogo* at *Ystrad Velhte* in Brecknockshire, I have observd sevrall remains of cockles half worn by the swift current of the River *Melhte* wch runs through this cave and polishes its limestone. Now although I can readily grant that the Deluge might have cast marine bodies into these & any other caves; yet can I not allow that it could ever fasten them to their polite roofs & sides: and that they should be sunk so deep from the top, is the difficulty of the former objection. To this may be added that such limestone caves are for ye most part wainscoted (as it were) with a stony crust of *stalagmites* wch is of no very old date; but owing to the continued dropping or distillation of the caves, in wch if any marine-like bodies are found, as I can assure you the *Entrochi* are, I leave it to your self & other unprejudiced observers to consider of their origin.

III. The third reason for my questioning whether all these things be the effects of the deluge, is for that the bones, horns & hoofs of land animals are very seldome if at all found inclosd in solid marble or other ston: whereas seeing all perishd in the Deluge, the spoils of ye land might be expected (in proportion) as well as those of the sea.

others Testaceous of the same sort of shell, in the same quarry & the same stratum or layer.

VII. The immense quantity we have of marine fossils seems no ways to plead for their origin from ye Deluge. For we may observe many thousands of great stones, & even broken pieces of limestone rocks throughout Wales and the North of England, almost wholly composd of those vertebræ; or broken pieces of the Radij of sea stars, which are commonly calld *Entrochi*, Fayry Stones & Cuthbert Beads, whereas 'tis very rare to find on our shoars, three broken Radij or fragments of any sort of Sea starrs close together. Likewise one shall rarely find in ye same place two single of any fish on all our coasts; whereas thousands of these fossil teeth exactly answering those of diverse sorts of sea fish have been of late years found in quarries and gravel pits [at Faringdon] about Oxford; nor is their quantity at all diminishd upon breaking new ground.

VIII. Some of these marine fossils are no other than as it were shadows or superficial representations of sea bodies: nor do they seem to have much more of ye matter or consistence of those bodies they mostly resemble, than a picture hath of ye person or thing it represents. And of this kind is Dr. Lister's *Pectinites membranaceus* out of the cole pits;¹ The Mock plaice or *Buglossa curta strigosa* of Caermarthen-shire,² & the Islebian fish-stones in Germany, of which OLAUS WORMIUS gives us this following account: 'In the Islebian slat (sayth he) are seen some times a small dust of the Golden Pyrites; which represents various figures of animals. I have a large piece of this stone which so lively expresses all the lineaments of a Barbel in golden colour, that the scales, the fins, the tayl, the head &c. could not possibly by any artist be ever better painted. The bodies of these fish, are not converted into *Pyrites*; so that we have but just the outward lineaments of them; and not the least impression left of any bones or other parts. We find our selves therefore oblig'd to confess, that Nature reservs many things from our know-

¹ Append. ad *Tract. de Anim. Angl. & Conch. Anat. Part. Alt.* p. 243.

² *Lith. Brit.* p. 96. Tab. 22. N. 2.

ledge the true reasons wherof, no man will ever, so far discover, as to be enabl'd to render us a due account of them.' Now as these representations are neither animals themselvs, nor the exuviæ of animals; so neither can they be their impressions; for as much as these lineaments are prominent, not impress'd: And as for ye impression they make on one side it seems not satisfactory, because I can not well conceive, how all ye vertebræ of a fish, whereof many are frequently found in our midland quarries & gravel pits should here be totally consum'd, & the surface onely of one side, be converted into this Pyrites or Marchasite.

IX. An other obstacle of my assent to their being all of diluvian origin, is the vast number of unknown marine fossils so commonly met with throughout most counties of England; such as we have nothing like, neither on our sea shoars, nor rak'd by dredges out of the bottom of the sea, by the oyster fishermen & others who have been employ'd by curious persons on set purpose. I have in my collection above 40 different species of the fossil *Nautili* or those shell-stones, a great many sorts whereof are commonly calld *Cornua Hammonis*;¹ and have observ'd plenty of most of these species (broken or whole) in the fields, quarries and clay pits of the Midland Counties of England; Nor doe I question but in that excellent collection of Dr. WOODWARDS, & in those of some others of our curious naturalists, several species may be found that are not in myne: And yet I can not understand that all our British seas affoord one sort of this shell. The like may be sayd as to several other kinds; particularly the *sea stars*, of the broken *Radij* whereof we find no less a variety,² and the *Echini*, to ye prickls or radioli of which, as well as to those of the sea stars, all sorts of *Lapides Iudaici* (as many years since I hinted to you) must be referr'd, notwithstanding the excessive thickness of some of them, and that they have that very rough or grater-like superficies,³ so as to be nothing like the spines of any of the *Echini* or starr-fish of our seas.

¹ Vide *Lith. Br.* p. 15.

² *Ibid.* Clas. 6. p. 44.

³ Plot, *Hist. Nat. Ox.* p. 125; *Lith. Brit.* Tab. 12 p. 1002. 1008. &c.

X. I adde onely one other argument, which though many have already objected, yet hath not that I know of, been hitherto answer'd to satisfaction. And that is that such marine substances are some times generated in human bodies. For to me it appears a far less wonder that shells and other marine bodies should be produc'd in the bowels of the earth, than their production in the bodies of men or animals at land. And that they have been so found is sufficiently attested both by ancient & modern authors of a credit and character beyond all exception. You know many instances of this kind are produc'd by Dr. LISTER in the second part of his *Anatomy of Shells*; amongst which I remember very well to have seen that *Turbinulus* or *periwinkle*¹ discover'd by Dr. PIERCE of Bath & sent to Dr. MUSGRAVE then Secretary to ye Oxford Philosophical Society; & it was such as I believe none could have possibly distinguishd from a sea shell. These Sr are the objections I had to offer against their opinion, who attribute the origin of all these marine fossils to the universal Deluge. For whatever their true origin is, *marine fossils* they ought to be term'd in order to their better distinction from all others. 'Tis also for the like conveniency of distinction, that I use the term of *mineral plants* for those fossil leavs & branches we find so commonly inclos'd in stone & blew marl at our cole-pits, & some iron mines.

And now to proceed we shall find much the like difficulties with what occur'd when we consider'd the marine fossils.

I. For in the first place these subterraneous Leavs frequently (indeed, most commonly) are found at ye depth of at least 20 or 30 foot: and how they should be layd so deep by an inundation seems to me not so easily accountable. For since 'tis the property of leavs to swim, its natural to suppose that all plants were left by the Deluge on the surface of the earth, in the manner we dayly find several American seeds of Leguminous trees cast up on the shoars of Ireland, Scotland, & Wales; and that consequently in a short space there would be no more remains of them, than we find of those sea plants we dung our land with.

¹ *Phil. Trans.* No. 171.

II. Allowing they might be by some accident we can not think of, buried so deep, I can discover no reason for their being thus lodg'd so plentifully in cole-slat & iron stone; and never that I know of, in the mass of our flint, lime-stone & common rock; though there be infinitely the greater quantity of these latter: and this Note seems to deserve our consideration, unless it can be made out that though the matter of flint & limestone has very intirely preserv'd the Antediluvian shells, yet it could not leavs or other parts of vegetables.

III. Had they been owing to the Deluge we should find the leavs & branches of such plants as are natives of our own Island much more plentifully than such unknown plants as we can not parallel: wheras on the contrary as far as Dr. RICHARDSON'S observations & my own have been able to distinguish, the generality of these mineral leavs are clearly distinct from those of our British plants.

IV. Had they been thus repositated at ye Deluge, some specimens of most, if not of each class of plants, would be found amongst them; and especially of trees, in regard such leavs are not onely the most numerous, but also commonly the driest and most durable: But we have not hitherto discover'd that any of these mineral leavs answer to those of trees or shrubs; nor are we assur'd that any have been yet found, but what may be reduc'd to three or four classes.

V. The same curious and ingenious gentlman [Dr. Richardson] hath observ'd that these mineral leavs are, generally speaking, less than those they seem most to resemble, which is what in diverse specimens I have since taken notice of my self.

VI. Although some times mere flexible leavs are found amongst these mineral plants yet ye generality of them (as I have before observ'd of some of the marine fossils) are but mere delineations or superficial resemblances, nor yet could such representations be owing to the impressions of plants, since consum'd, because as I have sayd before of the *Mock-Fish* they are a litle rays'd above the surface of the stone, & not impress'd.

VII. It seems nothing more strange or unaccountable that delineations of leavs should be naturally produc'd in this cole slat &c. than that representations of gnats should be some times found in the fossil amber of Prussia¹ and of spiders in the cole-slat in England.² But if any assert that these were once living animals, they are to explain how they came so deep under ground; & afterwards how they got into these intirely close prisons of stone & amber. I meet with several more difficulties, but perhaps of less moment; which I shall not therefore trouble you withall, til some other occasion.

As to the other opinion, which maintains that all these bodies are form'd in the earth; the great difficulty it labours under, is that we find our selvs incapable of giving any satisfactory account of the causes and manner of such a production. For if any have recourse with Dr. PLOT, to the plastic power of salts; I see not (to go no farther) what they can answer to that objection proposd by your self long since in your *Physico-theological Discourses*. For who can reasonably imagin that any mineral salts should so conspire, as that some of them should so exactly frame the points of the *Glossopetra*,³ which are fish teeth of one matter, & some their roots (adding now and then a piece of a jaw) which are of an other: that some should form the polite convex side of a *Siliquastrum*, & others its Appendix;⁴ that some should make ye *Socket* or *Calix* of the *Belemnites*, & others its *Alveolus*⁵ &c. I therefore humbly offer to your consideration, some conjectures I have of late years entertain'd concerning the causes, origin, & use of these surprising phenomena. I have in short imagin'd they might be partly owing to fish-spawn, receivd into the chincks and other meatus's of ye earth in the water of the Deluge, and so be deriv'd (as the water could make way) amongst the shelv's or layers of stone, earth, &c: and have further thought it worth our enquiry whether the exhalations which are raisd out of the sea and falling down in rains, fogs, &c. do water the earth to ye depth here requir'd, may not from the seminium

¹ Hartm. *Hist. Succini Prus.* p. 85.

² *Lith. Brit. Epist.* iij.

³ *Lith. Brit. Tab.* 13. n. 1270.

⁴ *Ib. Tab.* 16. n. 1505.

⁵ *Ib. Tab.* 21. n. 1675 & 1740 and Scheuchz. *Lith. Helvet. T.* 1. Fig. ij.

or spawn of marine animals, be so far impregnated with as to the naked eye invisible animalcula (& also separat or distinct parts of them) as to produce these marine bodies, which have so much excited our admiration, and indeed baff'd our reasoning throughout the whole globe of the earth.¹ I imagin'd farther that the like origin might be ascrib'd to the mineral leavs and branches, seeing we find that they are for the most part the leavs of ferns and other capillaries, & of mosses & such like plants as are call'd less perfect; whose seeds may be easily allow'd to be wash'd down by the rain into the depth here requir'd, seeing they are so minute, as not at all to be distinguish'd by the naked eye. And as to such of them as are not reducible to these classes of minute seeds; they are such as I know not at all whither to referr.

I am not so fond of this Hypothesis, as not to be sensible my self, that it lies open to a great many objections: and in all probability you will soon discover more difficulties than I shall be able to remove. However, those arguments that first led me to it, shall be here lay'd before you.

I. Because I observ'd that of all these extraneous figures or representations dug out of the earth, there is scarce one in a thousand but is reducible to such natural bodies as expose their seeds either to ye open air or the water: namely plants, insects or fish. For (as I have before hinted) had the spoils of the Deluge been preserv'd to our time, we might reasonably expect plenty of the skeletons and of the horns and hoofs of quadrupeds; and why should not either intire or broken skeletons of birds, be found preserv'd likewise in the same manner & in ye same places we find these leavs of plants? How happens it at least that we find none at all of their Pen-feathers, which should seem of a constitution more dureable, if once inclos'd in fine stone then, than that of plants? I am not ignorant that some very learned writers and those even eminent naturalists, have inform'd us that not onely bones of land animals have been frequently found inclos'd on all sides in solid stone; but likewise the representations or lineaments of birds and beasts; and of men & their parts; nay

¹ 'Write in ye margin Sr L. H.'s Note in the *Phil. Tran.*'

even that *monks, hermits & saints* have been exactly pour-tray'd in the midst of solid marble. To these I must take leave to reply: 1st that some of these informations are manifestly erroneous; for they tell us that these delineations appear'd upon polishing the marbles; whereas all figures naturally delineated within stones, must upon polishing those stones be defaced. 2ly. When we discover any unknown fossils, we are very subject to make erroneous comparisons; assimilating many of them to the parts of land animals which indeed ought to be reduced to sea shells or other marine bodies; as may be observ'd in those stones call'd *Hippocephaloides, Otites, Bucardites* & diverse others. 3ly. Although it be granted that some times the bones, horns & hoofs of viviparous animals are dug out of the earth; yet seeing they are so very few; it seems much likelier that they might have been buried by some other accidents, than that they have been there preserv'd ever since the Deluge. For in the Deluge all land creatures whatever perish'd, nor should we so much expect to find their single bones as whole skeletons, thus interr'd. 4ly. When ever I find any confirmation by competent and credible authors of such delineations of any sort of viviparous animals or birds as the *Islebian stones* exhibit of fish, I shall then readily grant these things may be also as well produc'd without previous seeds; & offer no further arguments for this Hypothesis.

II. I am, as to my own part, abundantly satisfied; and others will I presume upon sight and accurat observation of some fossils I have collected, be no less; that these bodies doe in tract of time quite loose their forms, & become such shapeless lumps as to be distinguished for marine, by none but such as are very conversant in observations of this kind, nor even, at last, by them neither. I say I am fully satisfied thereof; because I have collected sparry or crystalline bodies, whose surface do onely partly resemble *Entrochi*; Likewise shells, *Glossopetra* and *Siliquastra*, consisting of a flinty sort of peble, and receding from their proper or common figures; and lastly *Ichthyospondyli* or *fish-vertebræ*, sometimes more, sometimes less deformed; exhibiting on their surface such small stellated

figures as we find on a sort of the Astroides. Now seeing that in tract of time, some of them loose their substance & form, degenerating into other bodies; may we not suspect that others (considering the intireness of many of them & their vast plenty,) might be in the interim produc'd?

III. If this Hypothesis be admitted; some account might probably be given of the fossil *Nautili* & other strange shells; by supposing 1st. That many of those clouds which fall here in rains &c. have been exhal'd in very remote parts: And 2ly. that such a generation as is here suppos'd, must be much more lyable to monstrous productions than the common. For as Agricola says, appositely to this purpose: *Quanto crassior est terra quam aqua, tanto imperfectiones gignit formas et quæ animalibus careant.*

IV. I have often in one and the same quarry, gather'd 20 or 30 different magnitudes of the same species of shell stones; whence I began to suspect that they might have a certain vegetative growth; & that they had therefore their Generation & Corruption in the very place we find them, & that hence it is that we find some *Nautili*, *Lapides Iudaici*, *Glossopetra* and *Astropodia* of such monstrous largeness, that no seas as far as our curious naturalists have hitherto discover'd, afford any thing comparable to them.

V. To comprise the rest in few words: The burying of these leavs of plants so deep; the vast quantity of these marine bodies; the incredible variety of exotic or unknown shells, sea starrs, &c. in so narrow a compass, as this Island; their so frequently distorted and uneven surfaces; that they should be found at all depths from the tops of the highest rocks to the bottom; that they should be not rarely found adhering to the roofs, and to the walls or sides of caves as well as perpendicular clefts of rocks; and be also sometimes discover'd in animal bodies at land; & that there should be sea shells dug at land containing living animals: I say all these consider'd together seem inconsistent with the effects of a deluge; and if this Hypothesis may be admitted; not very difficult.

But before it be I ought not to doubt but that your self

and others will find many more objections than I can foresee. In the mean time such as occur to my thoughts, I shall here, however destructive they may prove to it fayrly lay down: for they who have no other aim than the search of Truth, are no ways concern'd for the honour of their opinions: And for my part I have been always, being led thereunto by your example, so much the less admirer of *Hypotheses*; as I have been a lover of Natural History.

The maign difficulties that I can at present think of are these.

1. It will be question'd whether the suppos'd *seminium* can penetrate the pores of stones.

2. It will scarce seem credible that such bodies having no life should grow, especially when confin'd in so seemingly unnatural a place, as the earth &c.

4. According to this Hypothesis, these bodies should be found in much the same manner, log'd'd in all kind of stone, &c. throughout all countrys.

5. We should not find plenty of shells &c. adhering to each other; in the same manner as they are found at sea.

6. Some fossil shells should then be found so minute, as to be scarce visible, & others of the same kind in their complete magnitude.

7. It may be well question'd whether the essential parts of this suppos'd spawn of any fish, should being (e.g. must be here often suppos'd) separated, ever effect the end by Nature design'd them, especially when brought out of their proper element.

8. It will be sayd that the remaining Tracks of Shells that once adhered on the surface of some of these Fossils; and the perls which (as has been related) have been found sticking to others are a plain proof that they are the spoils of once living animals; Also the change of the colour near the roots of some fossil fishteeth, as namely of some *Plectronitæ*, shew how far they were fastend in the jaws of once living fish; and that the worn extremities of some others do plainly discover that they have been once employd.

9. Many of these subterraneous fish as particularly several

of the *Glossopetra*, are taken for the teeth of viviparous fish; which being granted its impossible they should be produc'd in the manner here proposd.

10. Lastly such a production seems clearly beside the ordinary course of Nature, nor can we perceive any end or use of so præternatural a generation.

To ye first I answer that its manifest from experience, upon which all solid Philosophy must be grounded that the spawn of animals may insinuat it self into the mass of stone. And this plainly appears from live toads found some times in the midst of stones at land, & those shell fish calld *Dactyli* at sea. If it be reply'd that the stones wherein the *Dactyli* are lodg'd are full of large holes &c. I answer that though they generally are so, yet upon breaking & examining a great many of these stones, I have sometimes found of their shells though without Animals so lodg'd as that there were not any visible *meatus's* from their holes neither directly to the surface of the stones, nor to those other holes in them.

To ye second, yt that 's not so great a wonder as that shells should be sometimes generated, and even grow though they contain no animals, within human bodies, & within the mass of those thick shells of our large Tenby oysters which I formerly mention'd to you, as first shewn me by Mr. WM. COLE of Bristow, and have since observd my self. For we must grant that even any part of ye inland is much fitter for their reception and augmentation than humane bodies. Specially if we reflect that when the spat or seminium here supposd, meets with saline moisture in the earth, living animals are some times produced, as is before attested.

The 3d. is likewise answerd from experience. For we know that even sea shells and some stones yeild to ye growth of plants: Also that the hardest stones are impressd by the *Limpets*, though they doe but adhere to their surface, and that our hardest limestone yeilds to the growth of some *Echini* or sea urchins, and the *Dactyli*; or we find some of their cells much less than others; and that 'tis certain that all the holes wherein they lurk in what stones soever they are found are owing to their growth.

To the fourth I answer that this Hypothesis does not require that these marine bodies should be produced in all countreys alike. For as in vegetables we find that all seeds will not be receivd by all soils; so neither can we expect yt all earths & minerals should be equally proper for such productions. And truly I thought it well worth observation, that as in all these countreys scarce any stones at land, excepting the limestone affoord marine fossils; so I never found the *Dactyli* at sea in any other though in that very common & in diverse counties of Wales.

As to ye fifth I pretend not to determin how long such bodies may continue before their dissolution; but doubt not but that according to the nature of the minerals wherein they are bedded they may last much longer in some places than others, & therefore we are not to wonder, if in such places we find a farr greater plenty of them than elsewhere.

To the sixth I answer that at *Basil's Leigh* Quarry near Oxford large specimens of the *Turbinites major* figur'd Table the 7th Num. 341. may be often met with, & likewise in the same place; concreted lumps of others of the same species very minute. I have also in my collection diverse other examples of the same kind; and STENO¹ informs us that he has discoverd amongst fossils some so small as to be scarce discernable without a microscope & even minute eggs of shells.

The seventh may be in a great measure answer'd from the histories of monstrous productions.

8. As to the adhæsiion of one shell to an other, that may altogether as well happen by this way of generation as at sea: And for the signs or impressions made by some that formerly adhered to them; those might have been disjoyned by the workmen in the digging, or by the sinking in of the ground where they are found or some other accident. But as to the change of the colour of the *Plectronites* towards the root, and some of them being sharpen'd at the point, I must confess I have litle to say; but that we doe not yet know, the teeth of what fish these *Plectronitæ* are; and consequently can not tell, but they may be naturally so colour'd and pointed:

¹ Steno, *Prodromus*, p. 87.

or else yt these and many more have been thus preserv'd in the place we find them, ever since the Deluge, which was formerly my opinion of all these marine fossils;¹ though I can not now maintain it for the reasons I have here given.

9. To the ninth may be answer'd, yt we have as yet but an imperfect knowledge of the generation of particular species of fish. For whereas you have observ'd that some of the cartilagineous are viviparous, I have noted others to be oviparous; having observ'd embryos in the eggs of a sort of dog fish (which were open at ye one end) cast ashore in Anglesey, Caernarvonshire, and other countreys.

10. As to the last though we acknowledge that there is an end in all the productions of Nature; yet it is no less certain that we are often but very improper judges of such final causes. Who therefore can be assured but that the fertility of the earth may in great measure be owing to these marine Fossils? This much at least I have observ'd that in *Wales* they are found, for the most part in the best countreys, & that in vast quantities; and on the other hand, in those hundreds which are most barren, as the mountanous parts of Cardigan, Montgomery, Meirionydh, & Caernarvon, I could never find one of them. There is at Cleydon Field near Banbury in Oxfordshire, a place call'd Hore Furlong, which is noted for plenty of the *Asteriæ*, or (as there call'd) *hore-stones*;² and no less as some of the farmers assur'd me for its fertility. Moreover we can not be so positive, but that some minerals may from hence derive their origin, to say nothing of their physical use; the *Lapis Judaicus* & *Lyncurius* having been long since well known in our shops, as perhaps some others are elsewhere, & more may be hereafter. And these Sr are the notions I had to offer to your consideration, concerning the origin of marine fossils & mineral leavs. You will soon judge how frivolous they may be, or how probable: and as you find them, pass your free censure; for 'tis the truth of so important a question that 's ye onely aim of Sr

Yr most obliged Humble Servant

E. L.

¹ *Phil. Trans.* for the month of May 1693.

² Plot, *Hist. Oxon.* p. 85. & *Lith. Brit.* p. 57 & 112.

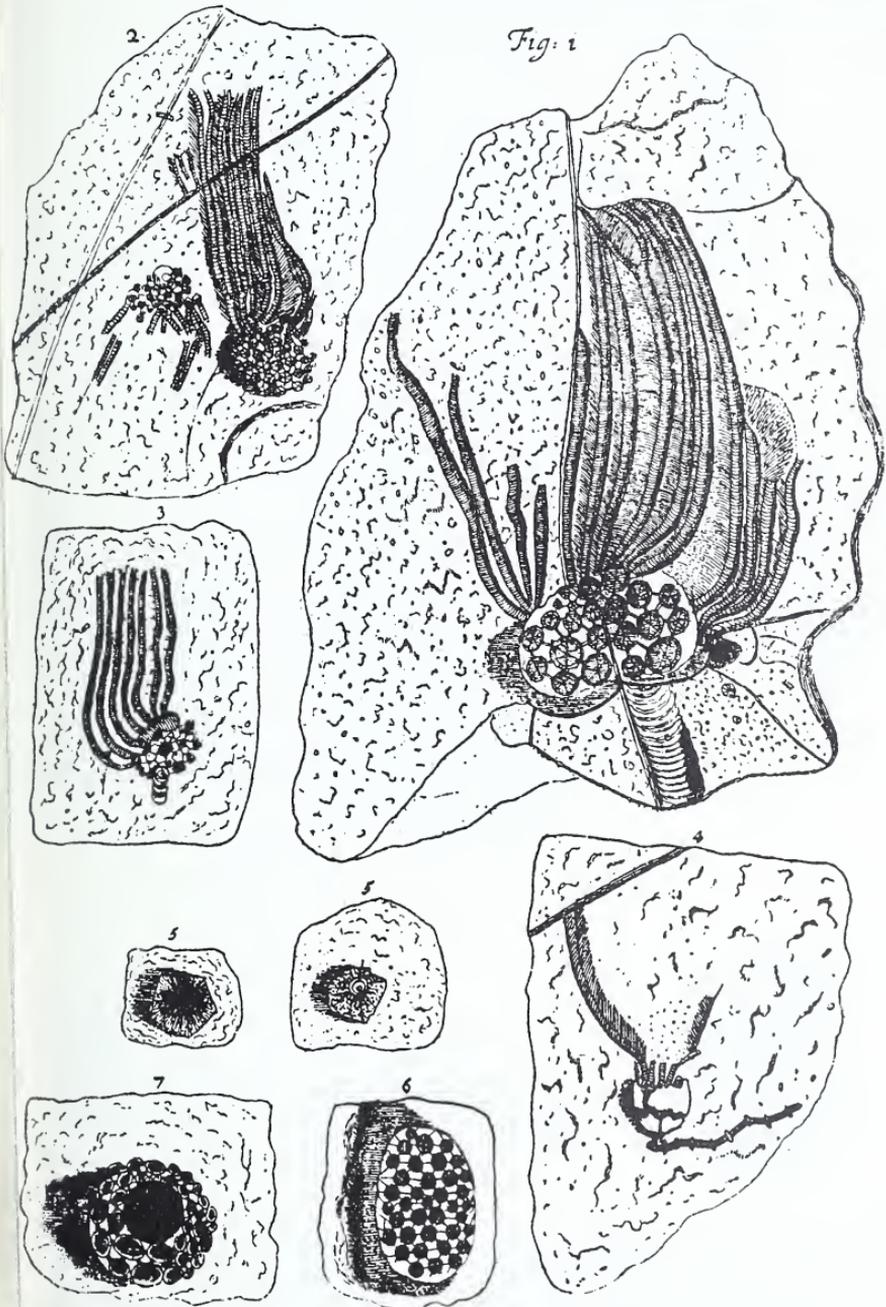
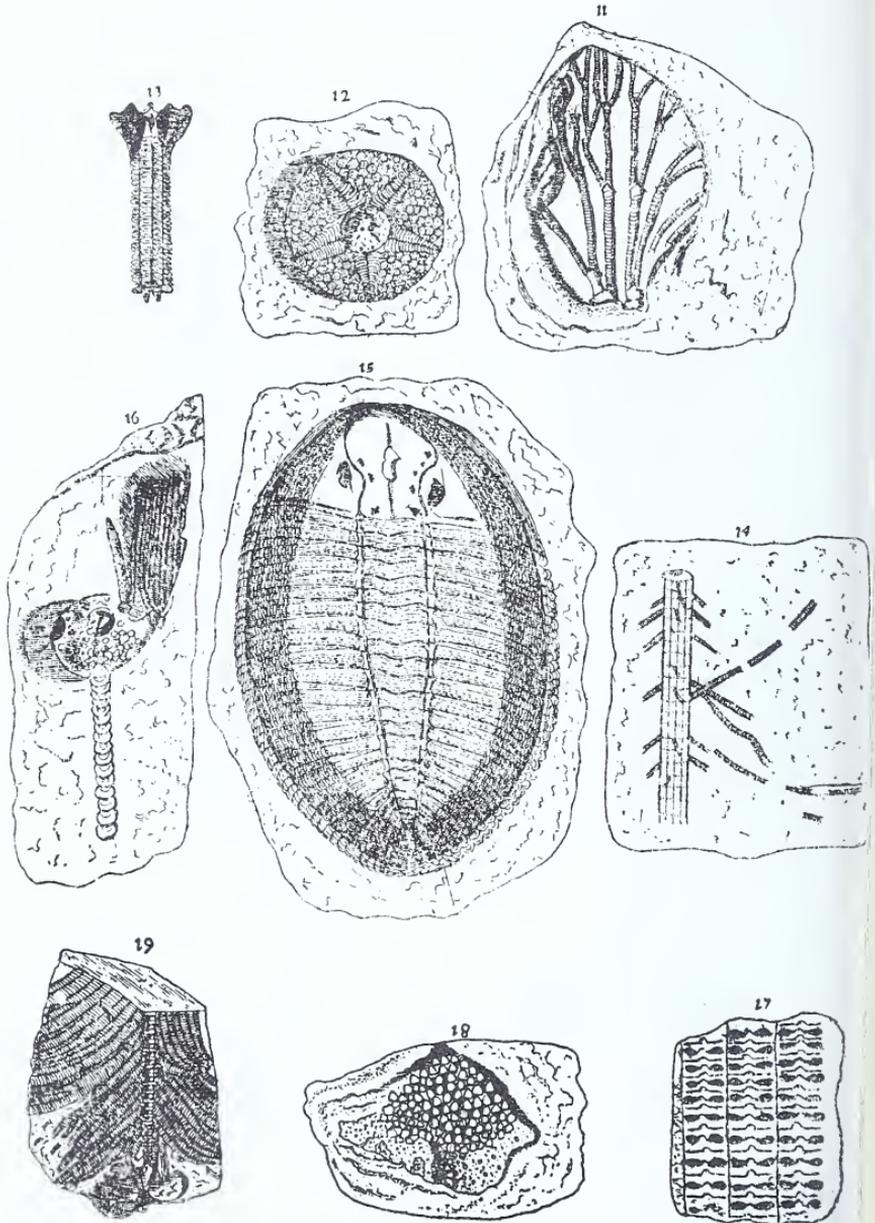


Fig. 1

1 and 2. *Actinocrinus triacontadactylus* Miller, Carboniferous.
3. *Actinocrinus* sp. 5, 5. Columnals } of Carboniferous Crinoids.
4. *Platycrinus* sp. 7. Cup



- 11 and 19. *Pentacrinus (Extracrinus) briareus* (Miller), Lias.
 12. *Hyattechinus?* Carboniferous.
 13. *Pentacrinus tuberculatus* (Miller), Lias.
 14. *Pentacrinus basaltiformis* (Miller), Lias.
 15. *Ogygiocaris buchi* (Brongniart)
 16. *Actinocrinus triacontadactylus* Miller. Carboniferous.
 17. ?
 18. Palate of *Lepidotus*. Lias.

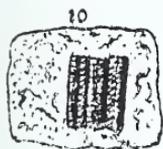
201. *Phil. Trans.* xx, No. 243 (1699). Concerning several regularly Figured Stones lately found by Mr. LHWYD.

To Dr. MARTIN LISTER.

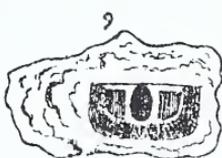
August 1698.

I should have troubled you with some sort of Account of our Travels; which, as you'll find by the inclosed Draughts of Figured Stones, has been tolerably successful.

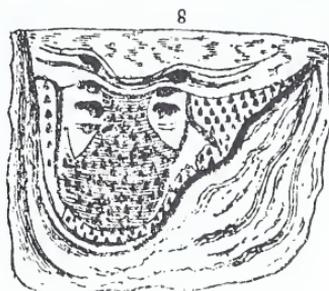
The 8, 9 and 15th we found near the Lhan Deilo in Carmarthinshire; the 11, 13, 17, 19 on the Seavern Shore in Gloestershire; the 14th at Gold Cliff in Monmouthshire; and all the rest in the Isle of Caldey in this County.



Stem of
Pentacrinus sp.



Cephalon of *Marrolithus*
[*Trinucleus*] *favus* (Salter),
Ordovician (Llandeilo).



Cybele verrucosa (Dalman),
Ordovician (Shoalsbrook
Limestone).

The 15th whereof we found great plenty must doubtless be referred to the skeleton of some Flat-Fish; the 8th and 9th I know not at all what to make of. The rest are *Modioli* or *Vertebrae* of Sea Stars; for I have been long since fully satisfied that all sorts of *Entrochi* and *Asteriae* must be refer'd thither; not that I conclude that either these, or any other Marine-terrestrial Bodies, were ever really either parts or *Exuviae* of Animals; but that they bear the same relation to the Sea-stars, that *Glossopetrae* do to the Teeth of Sharks; the fossil Shells to the marine ones, etc.

These are scarce a tenth part of our discoveries in this kind, the last year and the present; but some of them being *toto genere* new, and the rest improvements of your own and other gentlemens observations, I presum'd this faint representation

of them would be some diversion to you. My Designer never practis'd before this Journey, but seems to improve daily, and would make something of it could we meet with either some persons or books to put him in the way.

You have done me, I doubt not, an unexpressible kindness by procuring a correspondence with Mr. Pezron; I am yet so much a stranger to his Works, that I never heard of his name. His notion of the Greek, Roman and Celtic Languages being of one common origin, agrees exactly with my observations. But I have not advanced so far as to discover the Celtic to be the Mother-tongue, tho' perhaps he may not want good grounds, at least plausible arguments, for such an assertion. The Irish comes in with us, and is a dialect of the Old Latin, as the British is of the Greek, but the Gothick or Teutonical, tho' it has also much affinity with us, must needs make a Band apart. I shall speedily write to him, and trouble him with a few queries about their Armorican antiquities etc. [E. L.]

202. To DR. RICHARD RICHARDSON. *Phil. Trans.*, No. 337, p. 96 (1713)

Hay in Brecon, Sept. 19. 1698.

We searched this summer the high mountain by Breconck called Y Vann uwch deui, but found nothing in it new, nor any great variety of rare plants. The most choice were *Sedum Alpinum ericoides*,¹ in abundance; *Argemone lutea*;² *Rhodia Radix*;³ *Muscus cupressiformis*,⁴ and about half a dozen more of the common Snowdon plants. *Lysimachia Chamænerion dicta*⁵ is a common plant (by the name of *Lhysie'r Milwr*, i.e. *Herba militaris*) in the meadows through all the upper parts of this county. We also met with *Sorbus legitima* and *Sorbus torminalis*⁶ (grown to as great a height as the *Ornus*) neither of which had ever occur'd before in Wales. But of all these topical plants I was surpris'd at none so much as the *Capillus Veneris verus* growing very plentifully out of a marly incrustation, both at Barry Island and Porth Kirig in Glamorganshire, and out of no other matter; and also that *Gnaphalium majus Americanum*⁷

¹ *Saxifraga oppositifolia* L.

² *Papaver cambricum*.

³ *Sedum Rhodiola*.

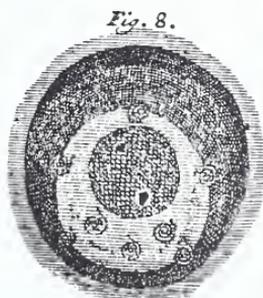
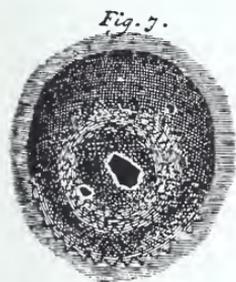
⁴ *Lycopodium* sp.

⁵ *Epilobium* sp.

⁶ The Rowan and the Wild Service Tree. ⁷ ? *Antennaria margaritacea* R. Br.

should grow on the banks of Rymny River (which runs altogether over iron stone) for the space of at least 12 miles, beginning near the fountain-head in a mountain in this county; and yet not a plant of it to be seen elsewhere throughout Wales. In a great lake called Lhyn Savadhan I found a pellucid plant¹ I had never met with before: the leaves are extraordinary thin and transparent, in form not unlike small Dock Leaves; but the middle rib is continued beyond the extremity, so that each leaf has a soft prickle at the end: by which note I hope you will be able to tell me what it is. We found there also the *Hippuris saxea*,² and two elegant sorts of small Leeches, which I suppose not describ'd.

The limestone of this county affords small *Glossopetra* and *Siliquastra*; but they are but very scarce in comparison of the quantity found in Oxfordshire, Northamptonshire, Berks, &c. The most considerable rarities it affords are Fayrie Causways, which I call so in imitation of their Giants Causway in Ireland, *si liceat magnis componere parva*: for whereas theirs may be half a mile long; ours seldom exceed 3 foot. Our lime quarries yield two or three bodies congenerous with it, tho' of a very different form; and perhaps all may be referable to the Coral-line classe, which is the second in my Catalogue.



TAB. I. Fig. 7. A green Adders bead, adorn'd with snakes' skeletons of a citrine colour.

Fig. 8. A black Adders bead, adorn'd with 9 small snakes or *cornua Ammonis* of a whitish blew.

Fig. 9. An Adders bead resembling cherry-tree gum, adorn'd with a snake chequer'd of blew and white.

¹ *Subularia*.

² *Chara* sp.

203. MS. *Lister* 36, No. cxiv.

Sr New Town Montgomeryshire Octob. 18. 1698.

This will I hope find you in very good health, and busily employd about your late Parisian voyage wch I shall much long to see. I have lately sent Dr Robinson my last letter (which is to Mr Ray) and the preface, together with a short plain Inscription, instead of an Epistle Dedicatory; which I neither could nor durst write in that applauding style so much in fashion. You have been at a great deal of trouble and expence about ye gravng which is a kindnesse I am troubl'd I know not how to make any amends for, thô I know your goodnesse never expected any. Hearing nothing from Mr Pezron, I suspect my letter has miscarried, and must therefore beg the trouble of you to send him the inclosd, the safest way you can think of.

A few lines at your next leasure directed to be left with Mr Thomas Francis, Painter at Montgomery, by the Salop post, would be exceeding wellcome to (Hond Sr)

Yr most affectionat & obliged servant
EDW. LHWYD

I was heartily concern'd at ye news of Mr Alexander's marriage; but this is long since over, & should not be renew'd.

Dr. RICHARDSON to E. LHWYD at Mr. Thomas Francis a painter in Montgomery, N. Wales.

Dear Sir, Oct. 19. 98.

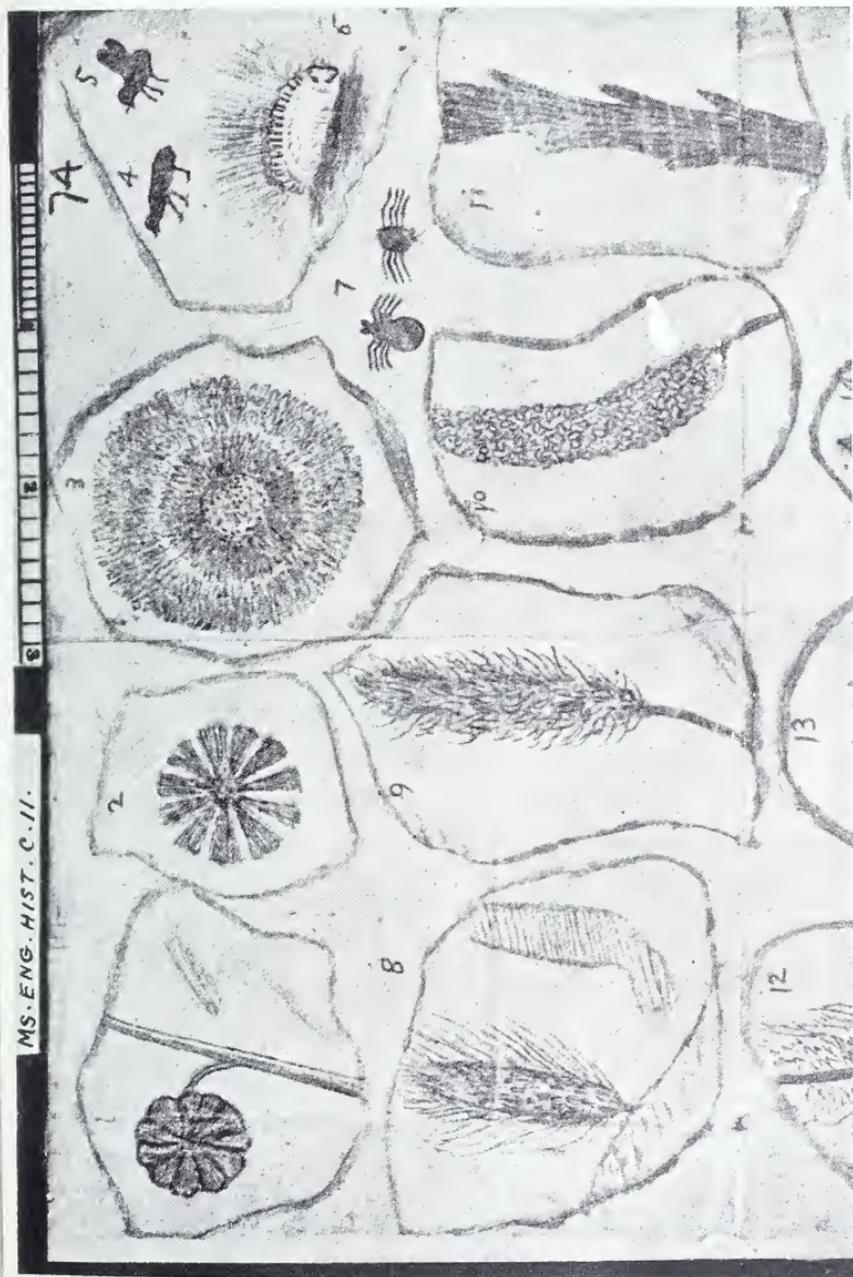
I have at last met with a delineator according to my minde. . . . [The delineator's work appears on two plates of drawings of Fossil Plants and Insects from several stones.]

1. *ενδεκαπεταλον carbonarium petalorum extremitatibus rotundis*. This is not unlike the *Buphthalmum vulgare* G.

[*Sphenophyllum emarginatum* Brongniart

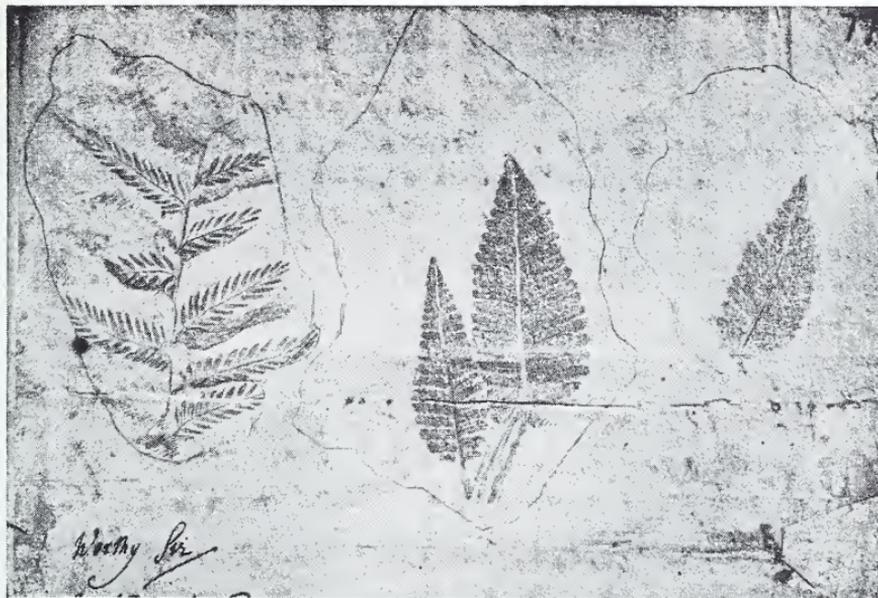
2. *ενδεκαπεταλον carbonarium petalorum extremitatibus quas abscissis et crenatis*. This 'tis probable may be referred to the *Chrysanthemum segetum* or to some of the Chamemeli

[*Sphenophyllum cuneifolium* Sternberg



DR. RICHARDSON'S FOSSIL PLANTS, NOS. 1-11

MS. *Eng. Hist.* c. 11, f. 74



Alethopteris lonchitica
Schlotheim sp.

Pecopteris sp.
[Prob. *P. Miltoni*]



MS. ENG. HIST. C. 11.

79

20

21

23

22

one of them is certainly of the kind, it not only is marked as such in the
 original but also by the words *petraeae* which he has used to describe

DR. RICHARDSON'S FOSSIL PLANTS, NOS. 20-23

3. A *Chrysanthemo Africano* prim. spec. B. r. C. non multum abstulit.

[If a plant, a stem or an alga in transverse section.

4. *Scarabeus*.

5. *Musca*.

6. *Eruca* cujusdam, species *hirsuta*.

7. *Acarinae*.

8. *Gramen hordiaceum*, cf. *Hordeum vulgare* Ger. emac.

[? *Lepidostrobos* sporangia or spores.

9. *Gramen alopecuroides magnum* (?) Ger.

10. *Millium*.

11. Forsan *Digitalis* caulis sicca.

[Fern-like plant. ? *Macropteris*.

12. *Triticum polonicum Bobarti* R.S.M.

[*Lepidostrobos* sporangia clearly drawn.

13. An *Saxifraga graminea pusilla parvo flore tetrapetalo*? R.S.M.

[*Asterophyllites equisetiformis* Schlotheim sp. (reduced about $\frac{1}{4}$).

14. *Fucus maritimo folio parvo membranaceo punctato*.

[? *Stigmaria ficoides* Sternberg (prob. reduced $\frac{1}{4}$).

15. An *Rubiae* species?

[*Annularia microphylla* Sauveur (reduced about $\frac{1}{3}$).

16. *Rubiae* quinque folia erecta h. c. ex singulis caulium nodis quina exeunt folia verticilli in modum caulem ambientia ad summitatem abscissa mucronata.

[*Sphenophyllum cuneifolium* Sternberg sp.

17. An *Digitalis* species cujus flores desideres.

[*Cordaianthus pitcairniae* Lindley ad Hutton sp.

18. Flos hujus cum chrysanthemi folio, ob hoc genus longe diversa.

[*Neuropteris* sp. (the flower-like part is apparently *Guilimitis* of inorganic origin).

19. *Praticula marina* membranacea et maculata.

[Sporangia or megaspores.

20. An *Pini sylvestris*, foliis brevibus glaucis, ramulus cujus extremitas desideratur? The top branches of this (till of late) I always took to be *Equisetum femina* till I observed branches of it where I discovered rhombs. The thicker the trunk is, the larger the rhombs. . . .

[*Lepidodendron ophiurus* Brongniart.

21. ?

22. [*Pecopteris* sp., probably *P. Miltoni* Curtis.

23. For[san] *Galium luteum* vel *Eryngii* parva species.

[*Asterophyllites equisetiformis* Schlotheim sp.¹

I have met with such stones single, both in Limestone & other rocks, as make your fairy Causway, but never so elegantly set together as yours.

But now let us take leave of mock-plants & begin with real ones. . . .

[From the address on Lhwyd's last letter to Dr. Lister we gather that he must have been at the house of Mr. Thomas Francis in Montgomery when he wrote the Preface to his magnum opus, his illustrated Catalogue of British Fossils.]

204. Preface to *Lithophylacii Britannici Ichnographia*.

Montgomeriae Nov. 1, 1698.

[TANCRED ROBINSON addressing a letter to LHWYD care of the Rev. John Lloyd at Gwersylht, near Wrexham, on November 24, 1698, informs him that Dr. Lister's marriage has retarded the printing of the plates for the book, and that he has put the 'Insects' from the coal measures on one of the 'mineral plates' (i.e. plate 4, see p. 408). Of the four 'insects' two are undoubtedly Arachnids, resembling figures of *Anthracomartus* or allied genus, which is found in nodules at Coseley, near Dudley.]²

¹ For the interpretation of the figures I am indebted to Dr. R. Crookall.

² R. I. Pocock, in Palaeographical Society's Monograph for 1911, to which Dr. Stubblefield has kindly drawn my attention.

EDVARDI LUIDII
APUD
Oxonienſes Cimeliarchæ Aſhmoleani
LITHOPHYLACII BRITANNICI
ICHTNOGRAPHIA.

S I V E

Lapidum aliorumque Fossilium Britanno-
rum ſingulari figura inſignium; quotquot ha-
ctenus vel ipſe invenit vel ab amicis accepit,

DISTRIBUTIO CLASSICA:

Scrini ſui lapidarii Repertorium cum locis
ſingulorum natalibus exhibens.

Additis rariorum aliquot figuris ære inciſis; cum
Epistolis ad Clariffimos Viros de quibuſdam circa ma-
rina Fossilia & Stirpes minerales præſertim notandis.

*Nuſquam magis erramus quàm in falſis inductioni-
bus: ſepe enim ex aliquot exemplis Univerſale
quiddam colligimus; idque perperam, cum ad
ea quæ excipi poſſunt, animum non attendimus.*

Du Hamel.

L O N D I N I :

Ex Officina M. C. clō Iōc xcix.

The Figured Stones are grouped in thirteen classes.

1. *Lapides Chrystallini, iisque affines*: Chrystalline stones; amongst which he reckons Bristol diamonds, and other spars; *Selenite* or Muscovy glass, talc, petrifying incrustations, etc.
2. *Lapides corallini*: Corallines.
3. *Lithophyta*: mineral impressions of ferns and other plants upon coal and slate-stones, as well as the resemblances of several parts of the trunks of trees and solid wood.
4. *Fossilia turbinata*: spiral or wreath'd shells of the sea and rivers, whereof the astonishing varieties of the sailors, *Nautili* or *Cornua Ammonis*, are the most considerable.
5. *Bivalvia*: fossil oysters, scallops, cockles, &c.
6. *Crustacea punctulata*: the sea-urchin and star fish, with the spikes (Dr. Plot's *lapides Judaici*) and other parts of both.
7. *Tubulosae*: the vermicular kind.
8. *Malacostraca*: fossil lobsters or crabs, or parts of either, very rare.
9. *Ichthyodontes cuspidati*: sharp-pointed teeth of sharks and other dog-fish.
10. *Ichthyodontes scutellati*: the grinders of the same, mis-called by the ancients *Bufo nitae* or toad-stones, *Siliquastra* &c.
11. *Xylostea*: bones of fishes, which fall not under the foregoing or following title.
12. *Ichthyospondyli*: single *vertebrae* or joints in the back-bones of fishes, called by some rustics 'fairy salt-sellers' and 'hour-glasses'.
13. *Effigiata anomala sive incertae classis*: the *Belemnites* or 'thunderbolts', *crines Veneris*, &c.

The book concludes with six letters in elegant Latin, on the nature and origin of these odd substances; with 21 copper-plates representing the choicest rarities described in the thirteen classes.

This first rude draught Lhwyd offered as a sketch to be enlarged or abridged as future observations should direct.

Lhwyd dedicated his book to Dr. MARTIN LISTER whom he described as the Fundator munificus of the Physical and Antiquarian Library in the Old Ashmolean, as well as a great encourager of the study of British Fossils.

Owing to the failure of the Oxford University Press to publish the book, a hundred and twenty copies only were printed, the cost being shared between ten subscribers:

LORD SOMERS	MARTIN LISTER
Earl of DORSET	TANCRED ROBINSON
LORD MONTAGU	Dr. HANS SLOAN
ISAAC NEWTON	FRANCIS ASTON
Prof. GEOFFROY of Paris	

The Plates which have been selected for reproduction in this volume are those of the *Lithophyta*, *Ichthyodontes* or Fish Teeth (pp. 141, 147) and a few of the figures of *Crustacea punctulata* or Sea-urchins (p. 116).

The figures of parts of Crinoids and of Trilobites on Plate 22 are similar to those published in the *Philosophical Transactions* no. 243 (see pp. 397-8), but figure *, as Mr. Chatwin has pointed out, represents *Trinucleus fimbriatus* Murchison, probably from Builth.

The figures of Fossil Ferns (pp. 408-9) have been interpreted by Dr. R. Crookall as follows

- | | |
|--|--|
| 188. ? <i>N. Schlehani</i> Stur. | 184b. ? <i>Cordaites</i> sp. |
| 189. <i>N. heterophylla</i> Brongniart. | 201. <i>Annularia</i> sp. |
| 191, 197. <i>Neuropteris</i> sp. | 202. <i>Annularia sphenophylloides</i> Zenker. |
| 186. <i>Neuropteris</i> sp. From Coalfields of Glamorgan | 184a. ? <i>Pecopteris</i> sp. |
| (188), Flint (191), Forest of Dean (186, 189, 197). | 190. ? <i>Neuropteris tenuifolia</i> Schlotheim. |

188



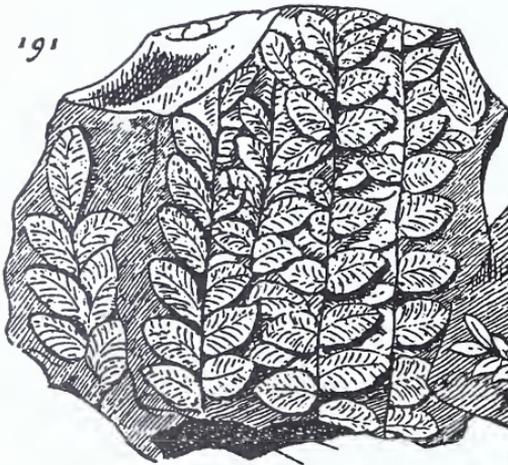
189



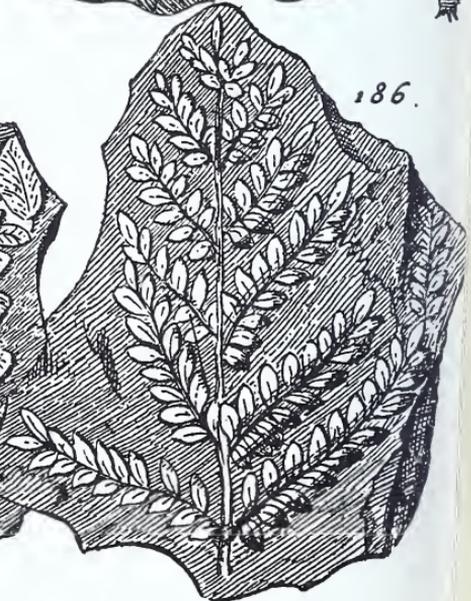
197



191

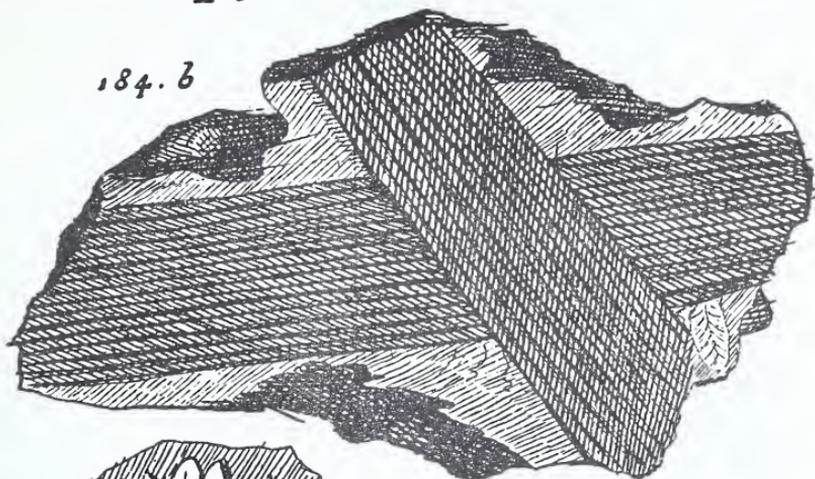


186.

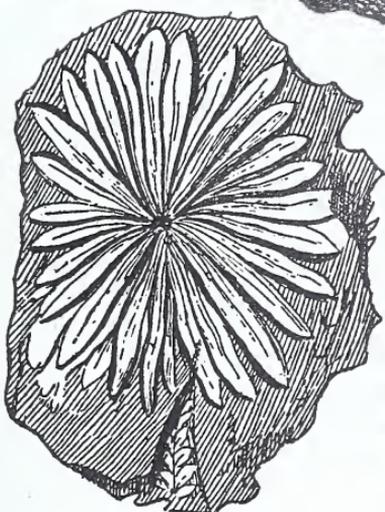


Fossilized Fern fronds of the genus *Neuropteris*.

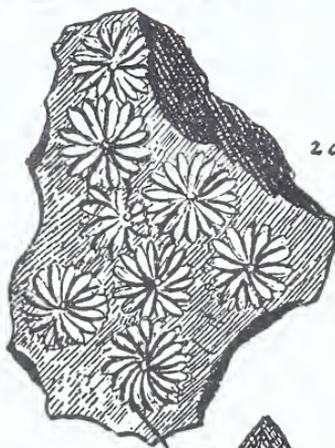
184. b



201.



202.



211



211



184. a



190



184 b. ? *Cordaites* sp. 201. *Annularia* sp. 202. *Annularia sphenophylloides* Zenker. 184 a. ? *Pecopteris* sp. 190. ? *Neuropteris tenuifolia* Schlotheim.

PLATE 12. (See p. 116)

*Crustacea Punctulata*¹

922. Part of a test of a Cidarid. (Not from the *solid* rocks of Pyrton Passage. Must be a drift specimen, if the locality is correct.)
 940. *Diplopodia versipora* (Phillips). Corallian. Cowley.
 942. Flint cast of *Phymosoma*. Henley.
 957. *Conulus albogalerus*. Leske 1778. Upper Chalk. Gravesend.
 1002. Radiole of *Paracidaris florigemma* (Phillips). Corallian. Cumnor.
 910. Part of test of ditto. Bullingdon.
 928. Madreporite of ditto. Chawley.
 1031. Radiole of ditto. Witney.
 1078. Pyramid of ditto. Chawley.
 1088. ? *Rotula* of ditto. Stafford Grove.
 1008. *Stereocidaris sceptrifera* (Mantell). Upper Chalk. Kent.
 916. Test of 1008. (The locality Witney is evidently wrong.)
 1041. Indeterminable.
 1052. Radiole of *Hemicidarid* sp. Witney.

PLATE 15. (See p. 147)

*Ichthyodontes*² *Cuspidati*

1259. *Glossopetra maxima* Cantianorum [*Carcharodon megalodon* Ag. marked 'Cantianorum' but probably from the Red Crag of Suffolk.]
 1260, 1261, 1265 (perhaps also 1262). *Gracirhynchus* [*Lamna obliqua* (Ag.) from London Clay.] Sheppey.
 1266, 1270. *Ornithoglossum* [*Odontaspis elegans* (Ag.).] Ibid.
 1276. *Serrella* [*Notidanus serratissimus* Ag.] Ibid.
 1280. *Glossopetra tricuspis* [Abraded tooth of *Hybodus*.] Marcham.
 1283. *Glossopetra minima* [*Hybodus obtusus* Ag. from the Lower Greensand.] Faringdon.
 1294. *Ichthyodonts* changing into common stones [Three abraded fragments of teeth of *Hybodus*.] Marcham.
 1353. *Glandellaria* [Probably anterior tooth of Pycnodont *Gyrodus*.] Oxford gravel-pits.

The localities of Lhwyd's more doubtful species are given as follows:

- 1277 *Serrella minor crassiuscula*. Charlton.
 1278, 1279 *Glossopetra acanthina* . . . Faringdon and Marcham.

¹ Species identified by Mr. C. P. Chatwin of the Geological Survey.

² Species identified by Sir Arthur Smith Woodward.

1284	Glossopetra minima with portion of jaw.	Faringdon.
1309, 1310	Ehippiaria.	Stonesfield.
1313	Calopodium.	Garford.
1320	Rostrago minima.	Besselsleigh.
1344	Plectronites minimus.	Oxford gravel-pits.
1417	Acanthiodos (shark's tooth).	Witney.
1511	Carinula accedens Siliquaastro.	Charlton.

PLATE 16. (See p. 141)

Ichthyodontes Scutellati

1318, 1321, 1323.	Plectronites [<i>Pliosaurus</i> . Greensand,]	Faringdon.
1319.	Rostrago [<i>Dakosaurus maximus</i> (Plieninger). Greensand,]	Faringdon.
1352.	Rutellum implicatum [Tooth of <i>Ceteosaurus</i> .]	Caswell, near Witney.
1442, 1445, 1448, 1449, 1488.	Siliquastrum sp. [<i>Strophodus magnus</i> Ag.]	1442-5 Witney, 1448 Rance, 1449, 1488 Stonesfield.
1503, 1504, 1505.	Limaculum [<i>Acrodus</i> .]	Pyrton Passage.
1506.	Radius minimus [<i>Acrodus leiodus</i> A.S.W.]	Stonesfield Slate.
1395.	Bufonites scaphoides [Fragment of splenial bone of the Pycnodont <i>Eomesodon</i> .]	Stonesfield Slate.
1585.	Maxillaria [Portion of palatine plate of the Chimaeroid <i>Ischyodus</i> .]	Marcham.
1382.	Bufonites orbiculatus rugosus [Tooth of <i>Gyrodus</i> .]	Faringdon. Fig. 9.
1415.	Bufonites ad pisolithos accedens [Tooth of <i>Gyrodus</i> .]	Witney.

The localities of the more doubtful species are given as follows:

1323	Plectronites latiusculus.	Faringdon.
1328	„ belemnitam referens.	Stonesfield.
1329	„ major.	Garford.
1333	„ vulgaris.	Gagingwell.
1344	„ minimus aculeatus.	Oxford Gravel-pits.
1351	Sutularia.	Witney.
1399	Bufonites scaphoides ad cylindrum paulo accedens.	Faringdon.
1409	Mandibulae fossilis fragmentum.	Faringdon.
1414	Bufonites filiculatus . . .	near Faringdon.
1474	Siliquastrum gibbosum.	Faringdon.
1494	Ricinus congener Siliquaastro (1493), specimina Limacis nigri corio obducta.	Witney.
1497	Ricino accedens Siliquastrum umbonatum.	Stonesfield.
1498	Siliquastrum umbonatum longiusculum.	Beverly, Glos.
1499	Siliquastrum asellarium.	Charlton.
1500	Arquatula.	Marcham.
1513	Cultellaria.	Stonesfield.

Dr. RICHARDSON to E. LHWYD at *Dolgelhey*.

North Bierly Feb. 28, 1698/9.

Worthy Sir,

I had returned you my thanks for your *Lithophylacium Britannicum* . . . *Chamaepericlymenon* I never met with, and I doe not know where 'tis to be met with but upon Cheviot hills: I would willingly travel 20 miles to see it.

The two Capillaries with seeds are very blindly done; the seeds appearing much more visible on the stone. The capillary impressions are quite through the stone [i.e. in horizontal layers].

205. MS *Lister* 36, No. cxvii

Dol Gelhey. Jan. 18. 9⁸.

Hond Sr

Yr kind lr came safe to hand; but I can hear nothing as yet from Mr Pezron, whose correspondence (on the account you gave me of him) I should value beyond all other antiquaries; as being engag'd in the studies most agreeable with my present undertaking. I hope he has recd myne, and must further trouble you when you write to Paris to desire your correspondent to give him a hint of it. My *Catalogue* I find is out, tho I have not as yet seen above one half of it. I fear several of my subscribers will make their not being presented with copies an excuse for their not paying their subscriptions: I mean such as are Scholars and Curious, for few of ye rest will ever hear of it. I told Dr Robinson when 'twas put first in ye presse I was willing to pay for a few supernumeraries on this occasion; and did always hope they might be had. Many persons would have valu'd it for its scarcity; and would therefore have taken such a present kindly, notwithstanding its being so far out of the common road. But the pleasing of all parties is too hard a task; so we must make the best we can of what has happen'd.

I understand you have been pleas'd lately to continue your munificence to ye Museum: 'tis more than their late carriage seems to have deserv'd at your hands; but it seems your goodnesse is such as not to withdraw your kindnesse for the public,

for ye ignorance and male administration of particular persons.
I am Worthy Sr

Yr ever faythfull affectionat servant
EDW. LHWYD

At your leasure a few lines would be very wellcome.

Be pleasd to direct to Dol Gelhey Meirionydshire, Salop
post, Mongomery bag.

206. To JOHN RAY. *Ray Correspondence*, p. 359.

Dear Sir,

Dôl Gelhey, Jan. 21, —98.

I know not whether I ever mentioned to you (though you have probably frequently observed it yourself) in what manner the Bats are lodged in the caves during winter. The caves of this country (to mention that by the by) are always (I speak of the inland caves), in limestone, and in such places only are all our subterraneous brooks, which in Wales are no great rarity. In these caves the bats choose the driest apartments, where, planting their talons to the roof, they cover their bodies with their wings, and so, hanging perpendicularly in great numbers (but so as they touch not each other), they sleep for some months.

[EDW. LHWYD]

207. MS *Lister* 36, No. cxviii

Dôl Gelhey Febr. 12. 1698.

Dear Sr

Yr kind lr of Jan. 28. came safe to hand. I return most humble thanks for your noble present of the Plates; wch I desire you would please to keep by you, til you send the next donation to the Museum, and then that they may be sent in the same box. In ye mean time I should be glad to patch up a book for my own use; towards which I want a few of the plates. Dr Robinson intending I should correct the Errata; sent me down about 3 parts of the book and onely these plates Tab. 1. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. ij. 12. 13. 16. 20. 21. If the others might be wrought off and frankd hither, I could soon get the remainder of the book transcribd and so spare one copy to some subscriber in this country who perhaps might procure me two or three others.

I hear some of the letters have already distasted our old friend Dr. W. & some others. I guesse they may safely venture to expose them in print; for 'tis ten to one I take no more notice of their answer, than I have done of their works. I shall long to hear what Mr Budot says in reference to Mr Pezron. I am (Hond Sr)

Yr ever obliged faythfull servant
EDW. LHWYD

208. For RD MOSTYN of Penbedw. *Cambr. Mag.* v. 283

[*Extract of letter*]

Dogelhey, March 17, 1698.

I have not yet seen Owen Gwynedd's Maen gwerthfawr, but shall desire the favor, when I go to Bala. Mrs. Pugh of Mathavarn was pleased to bestow upon me Tlws Owen Kyveiliog, which is the same with the transparent *Ombriæ* in the Museum, but set in copper. This was formerly called in S. Wales, Glain Kawad, whenc Syppyn Kyveiliog.

Lhygad val glain Kawad coeth Tebig i vaen y Tiboeth. Dr. Davies's collection of proverbs with a coñent on each, & Latin interpretation I have seen at Glascoed: where there's an excellent collection of Welsh papers, but not near so many parchment MSS as at Hengwrt, tho copies of most. I have lately met with an inscription at Towyn of five lines, which by ye form of the letters I guess might have been of ye 7th or 8th century, but, tho the letters be very plain—I can make neither Welsh nor Latin of it. We have discovered at Edernion a very curious marble for salt sellers, hafts of knives, &c. [E. L.]

209. To Dr. RICHARDSON. *Phil. Trans.* xviii. 275 (1714)

Extract of a Letter . . . containing some Remarks on an Undescribed Plant, and other Particulars, observed in Wales.

Sir,

Gogerdhan in Cardiganshire April 18. 1699.

I have here sent you the Draught of a remarkable Sea Plant which we met with a dredging for Oysters near Lhan Danwg in Meirionydshire. The whole plant is of a straw colour, and much of the bigness the Figure represents it. The stems are hollow and filled with a kind of thick reddish liquor, as much like blood (or gore) as the juice of plants; insomuch that it seems referable to the *Zoophyts*. If you press these stems at the

bottom betwixt your fingers, the red liquor is forced up, and causes the drooping flowers (or seed-vessels) to mount erect.

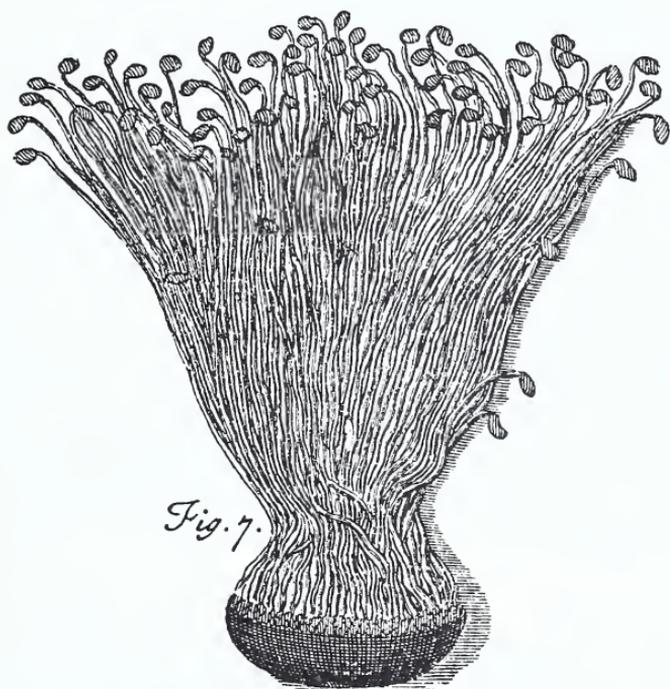


Fig. 7.

Adiantum aursum marinum &c.

Undescribed Zoophyte (*Tubularia*) from Lhan Danwg.

We have lately discovered a sort of Marble in that County, which when polished represents a number of small Oranges cut across; the reason whereof is an infinite quantity of *Porus* or *Alcyonium* stuck through the stone. This might serve very well for inlaying work, as tables, windows, cabinets, closets etc and would make curious salt sellers.

If you are acquainted with any gentlemen that deal in Alum or Copperas, you may please to acquaint them that Wales affords good quantity of each, if they judge it worth their while to put up any works there; particularly Pembrokeshire and Caermarthenshire for the former, and Meirionydshire for Copperas, where I saw a great vein of *Pyrites* strongly impregnated.

EDW. LHWYD

210. To Dr. TANCRED ROBINSON.

Part of a letter from Mr. LLWID concerning a Figured Stone found in Wales; with a note on it by HANS SLOANE, M.D.

Phil. Trans. xxi, No. 252, May 1699

I here send you the representation of a Limestone-Marble, we have lately discovered in this country, when polish'd. We have plenty of it; but few pieces exceed six, nine or twelve inches diameter, for 'tis only a sort of *Alcyonium*, incorporated in several small blocks of the limestone; whereof the first figure represents a piece polish'd perpendicularly, and the other horizontally. I would intreat you to discourse some stone-cutter, and to advise me what uses it might seem proper for, etc. 'Tis (to me) more beautiful than the Florentine Marble, but much more hard and substantial. I should be glad of a line or two about it.

Fig:III.

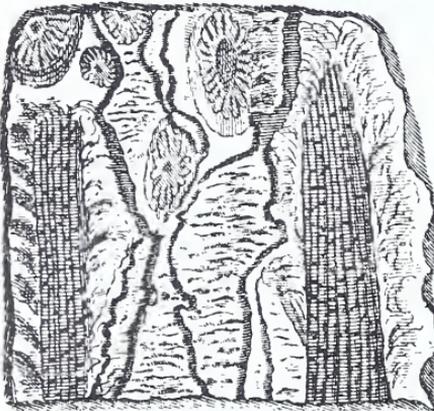
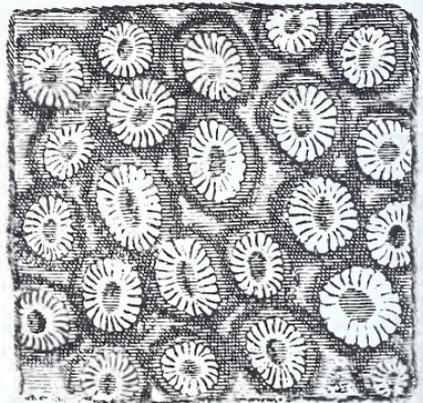


Fig:III.



Lhwyd's Alcyonian Marble.

Sloane's Note.

This Stone is a sort of Coral, and the *Lapidis Astroitidis sive Stellaris primum gen. Boet. de Boadt*, or *Astroites Worm. Mus.* It grows in the seas adjoining to Jamaica. It is frequently found

fossil in England. I have some of it found here, that will polish as well as Agat, which was many years since found out by Mr. Beaumont. There are many other things growing in the seas about Jamaica, and not to be found in these parts, which are frequently dug up in the inland part of England and elsewhere, near to which places they do not naturally grow.

211. *To [name of addressee lost. Possibly MAURICE JONES].*

Arch. Camb. 1857, 386. MS *Peniarth* 427

Tal y Cavn May 25, 1699.

Dr Sr,

I intended you should have heard from us sooner, but for anything I have to say, this will come timely enough. Your Grandfather's account of Hedd Molwynog &c you have enclosed, together with a Bill on Wat: Thomas for three pounds, the rest Will: Jones will pay you when we meet at Kerrig y Druidion. I know not whether Mr Humphreys has paid Dick Jones any money: if not pray doe endeavor to get them in that time.

One Mr John Evans of Ysgwyvrith has communicated an old MS of William Lhyn's augmented &c by Thomas ab William, containing an Exposition of the obsolete Welsh words & perhaps all the works of DD: ab Gwilym. Mr Watkin Owen of Gwydyr shewed us a great deal of civility and was so kind as to lend us a copy of 'Coch Asaph' [but you need not speak anything of this] together with a large Booke of Pedegrees &c written by Sr Thomas ab Ievan who tells us, he was made a Priest at Rome A:D: 1500. He has several other MSS. which we may borrow hereafter, as a copy of Nenius out of Mr Camden & Mr Selden's Library, the Life of Gryffydd ab Cynan in Latin, 'Statutes de Ruthelan' and 'Kyvreith Howel' in Latin. When you see Mr Rogers of Eglwys Vach pray fayl not dunning him for the Welsh parchment MS. long since promised. When we come to Aelwyd Brÿs expect a summons from yr obedient humble servant

ED: LHWYD

I had forgot your friend's name, but you may insert it.

212. MS *Lister* 36, cxxi

Hond Sr

Flint June 26. 99.

This comes with hearty wishes to find you in perfect health. Being about six weeks hence to embarque for Irland, I thought it necessary to give you timely notice of it; because you may recommend me to some acquaintance there who may direct us to make the best of our time. I think that formerly my Ld Brayd Albin¹ was pleasd to promise you his letters to the Highlands. If his lordship please to continue that favour my design is (God willing) to step thither out of Ireland. I also beg your own letter to Dr Wellase: and any other particular friend in Ireland, &c.

What ever commands and directions you recommend to us, we shall carefully observe.

I am told of some muscules very lately found in this neighbour (*sic*) by some labourers digging the foundation of a house which containd living animals. The place is five or six miles from sea: and I belive much farther from any muscules; but I must enquire further into the matter and shall dig about the same place my self.

I am Hond Sr

Yr ever obedient faithfull servant
EDW. LHWYD

Be pleasd to direct yr letters to the Revd Mr Langford's at Beaumaris in Anglesey, Chester post.

213. MS *Lister* 36, No. cxxvii

Bathgate in ye Shire of Linlithgow Scotld

Dear Sr

Dec. 15. 1699.

This comes heartily to beg your pardon for so seldome writing; ye chief occasion wherof was my rambles of late through countreys so retir'd, that they affoorded neither post nor carrier; as not having much communication (this time of ye year especially) with the cultivated parts of the kingdome.

We came yesterday from Edenbrough; where I was so

¹ John Campbell, 2nd Earl Breadalbane, 1662-1752.

kindly entertain'd by Sr ROBT SIBBALD & MR SUTHERLAND; with ye perusal of their museums, coyns & MSS. yt I would affoord no time to write to my best friends. Mr Sutherland's collection of silver coyns; Roman, Saxon, English & Scottish, is one of ye best I have seen. The Museum Balfourianum wch ye College of Edenborough lately purchas'd, consists of such exotics as are to be seen in most other collections; and contains very little of ye product of their own countrey excepting some fossils and a few marine animals. Amongst the fossils I observ'd (as I had often done elsewhere) some Entrochi distorted as to form, & converted to the matter of common lead-spar. The rest of ye figur'd stones were onely yr *Pectunculites subsphæricus* & 3 or 4 other bivalves common in England. Amongst ye marine animals I took notice of a *Penna marina* from ye Isle of Mul.

Sr R. S. shew'd me his MS *De Aquatilibus Scotiæ* wch he has carried on for some years & is stil (as his occasions permit) daily improving. He is a gentlman no lesse obliging & communicative than learned and curious; has a tolerable collection of natural curiosities and a library of about 8000 volumes.

We sped well enough in ye Highlands as to some materials for ye *Archæologia Britannica*: particularly we have been successfull in meeting with several of the amulets of the Druids; & observing somewhat of their doctrine. Of these amulets there are diverse sorts; wherof some may be render'd in English; Snake-buttons or Adderstones, Cock-knee-stones, Toad-stones, Snail-stones, & Mole-stones. The Snake-buttons are ye same as describd in Denbighshire, *Camden*, by ye name of Adder-beads: but there are of these great variety as to colour & ornament. They are all made of glasse, but sometimes plain & sometimes variegated: Amongst these I saw one with 9 snakes painted on it, some with three, & several with one. That which had nine exhibited onely three in view when it lay flat, & if you held it on ye wheel, five. Not onely ye vulgar but even gentlemen of good education are fully persuaded ye snakes make these stones. The Cock-knee stone is ye *Echinites pileatus minor*, which they firmly belive to be sometimes found in ye knees of old cocks: and

a fellow in ye Isle of Mull [professed (*erased*)] protested to me (thô I was never the nearer believing him) that he had with his own hands taken one of them out of a cock's knee¹ and named 2 or 3 others who had done the like. The Toad-stone is some peble remarkable for its shape & size, & its variety of colours. This is presumed to prevent ye burning of a house and ye sinking of a boat: and if a commander in ye field has one of them about him; he'll either be sure to win the day or all his men shall die on ye spot. The Snayl-stone is a small hollow cilinder of blew glasse, composd of 4 or 5 annulets: so yt as to form and size it resembles a midling *Entrochus*. This (amongst several others of its mysterious vertues) cures sore eyes. The Mole-stones are rings of blew glasse, annulated as ye fore-sayd snayl stones.

They have ye *Ombriæ pellucidæ*² in great esteem for curing of catle yt are elf-struck &c. and for this elf striking, their opinion is that the fayries, having not much power themselves, to hurt animal bodies, do sometimes carry away men in ye air, and employ them to shoot men, catle, &c. with bows & arrows. I doubt not but you have often seen of those arrow heads they ascribe to elfs or fairies; they are just the same chip'd flints ye natives of New-England &c. head their arrows with, at this day: and there are also several stone hatchets found in this kingdome, not unlike those of the Americans. The Elf-arrow heads are frequently found in plowing throughout this kingdome. I never heard of them in Wales and would gladly be inform'd; whether you know of their being found in any part of England. I have met with two figur'd stones near Glasgow (of each of them several specimens) totally different from all I had seen before: but having no room to describe them I onely adde yt I am, Hond Sr,

Yr most obliged faithfull servant
EDW. LHWYD

¹ See figure on page 463.

² Spherical transparent pebbles of quartz.

214. *To Dr. TANCRED ROBINSON.*

Several Observations relating to the Antiquities and Natural History of Ireland, made by Mr. EDW. LHWYD, in his Travels thro' that Kingdom. Phil. Trans. xxvii, p. 503.

Bathgate near Linlithgow, Scotland, Dec. 15. 1699.

Sir,

Your last, dated some time in July, overtook me about a month after in Ireland; whence I had returned my thanks, but that I was desirous to see somewhat more of the country, in order to some materials for a letter. But having no conveniency of dispatching letters from the Highlands of this kingdom, I find I have now so long defer'd it, that I have by me materials for several letters; which must serve hereafter, when we traverse places affording fewer curiosities.

We continued not above three days at Dublin, when we steer'd our course towards the Giants Causway. The most remarkable curiosity we saw by the way, was a stately Mount at a place called New Grange near Drogheda; having a number of huge stones pitch'd on end round about it, and a single one on the top. The gentleman of the village (one Mr Charles Campbel) observing that under the green turf this mount was wholly composed of stones, and having occasion for some, employ'd his servants to carry off a considerable parcel of them; till they came at last to a very broad flat stone, rudely carved, and placed edgewise at the bottom of the mount. This they discover'd to be the door of a cave, which had a long entry leading into it. At the first entering we were forced to creep; but still as we went on, the pillars on each side of us were higher and higher; and coming into the cave, we found it about 20 foot high. In this cave, on each hand of us was a cell or apartment, and an other went on streight forward opposite to the entry. In those on each hand was a very broad shallow bason of stone, situated at the edge. The bason in the right hand apartment stood in another; that on the left hand was single; and in the apartment straight forward there was none at all. We observed that water dropt into the right hand bason, tho' it had rained but little in many

days; and suspected that the lower bason was intended to preserve the superfluous liquor of the upper, (whether this water were sacred, or whether it was for Blood in Sacrifice) that none might come to the ground. The great pillars round this cave, supporting the mount, were not at all hewn or wrought; but were such rude stones as those of Abury in Wiltshire, and rather more rude than those of Stonehenge: but those about the basons, and some elsewhere, had such barbarous sculpture (viz. spiral like a snake, but without distinction of head and tail) as the fore-mentioned stone at the entry of the cave. There was no flagging nor floor to this entry nor cave; but any sort of loose stones every where under feet. They found several bones in the cave, and part of a Stags (or else Elks) head, and some other things, which I omit, because the labourers differ'd in their account of them. A gold coin of the Emperor Valentinian, being found near the top of this mount, might bespeak it Roman; but that the rude carving at the entry and in the cave seems to denote it a barbarous monument. So, the coin proving it ancients than any Invasion of the Ostmans or Danes; and the carving and rude sculpture, barbarous; it should follow, that it was some place of sacrifice or burial of the ancient Irish.

The Giants Causway is so well described in the *Phil. Transact.* [Nos. 212 & 241.] that nothing can be added to that account of it. We have the same stone on the top of Cader Idris, one of the highest mountains of North Wales; but ours is less elegant, and does not at all break off in joints; nor could I satisfy my self that there are set joynts (as in the *Entrochus* and *Asteria*) in the Basaltes of Ireland; but that it is the nature of the stone to break off in such a convex form. However, we could perceive no seams in these pillars, excepting on those sides that were exposed to the weather.

An other remarkable curiosity we met with, was a copper trumpet like a sow-gelders horn; having the hole for sounding near the midst, and two rings at the smaller end; above two foot long. Three of these were found in an old karn (i.e. a great heap of stones) at Balle Niwr near Carreg Fergus.

We could make nothing of the petrifying quality of Loch

Neach; but that they sometimes find stones there, having the grain of wood.

We met with some Irish inscriptions there, and others here; which none of the critics in that language we conversed with could interpret.

Near Larne in Antrim we met with one Eoin Agniw, whose ancestors had been hereditary poets, for many generations, to the family of the O Neals; but the lands they held thereby being taken away from his father, he had forsaken the Muses and betaken himself to the plow: So we made an easy purchase of about a dozen ancient manuscripts on parchment.

As to your queries: the Mackinboy is the *Tithymalus Hibernicus* (or *latifolius sylvaticus*) *Cat. Hort. Oxon.* Their Shamrug is the common Clover. The Potato is not indigenous in Ireland. The Arbutus is, for what I can yet understand, the same with the common: And for the Sabina, I doubt my friend I sent to Kerri (whom I have not yet seen) will bring me no news of it.

I have the account of the living Fossil Mussels attested and signed by the four persons present at the finding them; so that nothing but its being a singular instance makes me scruple the relation. But the labourers have such a character for veracity, that I rather incline to believe it, than to doubt. I am,

Honoured Sir, Your most obliged Servant,
E. LHWYD

215. To Dr. RICHARD RICHARDSON. *Phil. Trans.* No. 337,
p. 97 (1713) Linlithgow in Scotland, Decemb. 17. 1699.

In this kingdom our travels in the High-lands were through Cantire, Argyle, and Lorn, beside the Isles of Mac y Chormic, Mul, and y Columb Kil; and in the low-lands through Glasgow, Sterling, and Edenbrough. In the High-lands we found the people every where civil enough; and had doubtless sped better as to our enquiries, had we had the language more perfect.

We met with several inscriptions, but none of them Roman, nor indeed ancient: however, we copied all we met of two

hundred years standing, &c. for the sake of the orthography of the Irish names, which are writ differently from what is now usual.

We also took figures of some variety of their broaches, or silver and brass *Fibulae* used by the women to clasp their *Koleriv*, a garment answering our nightrails.

But what we were most diverted with, was their variety of Amulets; many of which (if not all) were certainly used by the Druids, and so have been handed down from parents to children ever since. Some of these may be render'd in English, 1. Snake-button. 2. Cock-knee stone. 3. Toad-stone. 4. Snail-stone. 5. Mole-stone. 6. Shower-stone; and 7. Elf-arrow.

1. The Snake-button is the same described in the notes on Denbighshire in Camden, by the name of Adder-beads: but there are of these great variety, as to colour and ornament; insomuch, that betwixt Wales and the High-lands, I have seen at least fifty differences of them. In Ireland, though they are tenacious enough of all old customs, I could hear nothing of them: so I conclude, that either the Irish had no Druids, or that their want of snakes frustrated their advancing that imposture amongst the people: but there were but a few places where we inquired; and perhaps we may hereafter hear of them in other parts of that kingdom. Not only the vulgar, but even gentlemen of good education throughout all Scotland, are fully perswaded the snakes make them, though they are as plain glass as any in a bottle.

[The text of paragraphs 2-5 is similar to that already printed in Letter No. 213, pages 419-20.]

6. They have the *Ombria pellucidæ* (which are crystal balls, or hemispheres, or depressed ovals) in great esteem for curing of cattle; and some on May Day put them into a tub of water, and bespinkle all their cattle with that water, to prevent being elf-struck, bewitch'd, &c. And

7. As to this *elf-stricking*, their opinion is, that the fairies (having not much power themselves to hurt animal bodies) do sometimes carry away men in the air, and furnishing them with bows and arrows, employ them to shoot men, cattle, &c.

I doubt not but you have often seen of those Arrow-heads they ascribe to elves or fairies: they are just the same chip'd flints the natives of New England head their arrows with at this day; and there are also several stone hatchets found in this kingdom, not unlike those of the Americans. I never heard of these arrow-heads nor hatchets in Wales; and therefore would gladly be informed whether you have ever heard of their being found in England. These elf arrow-heads have not been used as amulets above thirty or forty years; but the use of the rest is immemorial: whence I gather they were not invented for charms, but were once used in shooting here, as they are still in America. The most curious, as well as the vulgar throughout this country, are satisfied they often drop out of the air, being shot by fairies, and relate many instances of it; but for my part I must crave leave to suspend my faith, untill I see one of them descend.

Near Glasgow we found two fossils *toto genere* new: one resembling small joynts of a lobster's arm, but much longer; the other somewhat like large *Glossopetræ*, or perhaps like the *Mucro* of a *Pinna marina*. These figur'd stones are found there in an iron stone, though I never saw them in that kind of matter in Wales. We found both shells and *Entrochi* gone off to that substance, having changed their matter and much of their shape.

Near the same town searching for these fossils, I found in the midst of the lime-stone some *Cochlitæ* compos'd of Flint; but *Conchitæ* of Spar, gone off so far from the shape of shells, as hardly to be known, were it not from others in the same place retaining their shape more entirely.

The Principal of the college shew'd us stones, he had lately procured for the Library; having Roman inscriptions. These we copied, and several others elsewhere of the same date; whereof some are printed in Camden (tho' not very correctly) and others not yet publish'd. They keep these stones at Glasgow very carefully in the Library; and the Principal was daily expecting two or three more that had been promised him.

Mr. Southerland gave me specimens of the *Chamaepericlymenum*,¹ *Adiantum acrosticon*, and *Pyrola Alsines flore Europæo*.² I had nothing for him in exchange, but samples of the *Vitis Idæa folijs Myrtinis crispis Meretti*,³ together with some of the berries. This I found plentifully for some miles together in that — end of Mul, next to Ey Columb Kil. 'Tis very different from the common *Vitis Idæa sempervirens fructu rubro*; being a larger plant, much more branched; the leaves of a crisp'd surface, and the berries (which as they told me it retains all the year) liker unto those of holly. Going up one of the high hills of Mul we found *Rhodia Radix*; *Pes Cati*; *Cotyledon hirsut*. *Vaccinia rubra*; *Sedum Alp. trifido folio*; and (which I had never seen grow spontaneously) *Alchimilla Alpina quinquefolia*.⁴ We found in this island a curious *Fucus arboreus* with a ruff'd stalk, whereof we took a figure.

216. MS *Lister* 37 (5)

Sligo March 12. 1700.

Dear Sr

I had your most wellcome letter of Jan. ye 7. but it came not so soon to my hands as it might, had ye winds favour'd our passage from Scotland; where we were detain'd about 5 weeks at the Mull of Cantire; a place where we could find litle to doe; save ye gathering plenty of ye *Pseudocorallium pumilum Cornubiense* both white and red; and some shells I had not met with before, thô figur'd and describd in yr first book. I am heartily glad to hear of ye recovery of yr health; & I pray God continue it to the comfort of your friends & ye public good.

The season has permitted us to make no great progresse here as to Natural History: However from what we have already met with; we have good hopes these four months following may afford somewhat remarkable.

¹ Dwarf Cornel, *Cornus suecica* L.

³ Bearberry.

² *Trientalis europæa* L.

⁴ Alpine Lady's Mantle.

This Province of Connacht abounds with limestone exactly ye same with yt in Wales; and they affoord (besides cartloads of *Entrochi*) much ye same curiosities wth those I sent you draughts of from Pembrokshire, printed in ye *Phil. Trans.* The *Porpites* or *Fungites plectrum gallinaceum referens* of my catalogue is here a foot or more in length, thô seldome above an inch in England. We have diverse other curiosities under this head, additional to my observations in England and Wales. The greatest variety of shells I met with, was at a place calld Salomon's Porch near Colrain; but I belive there are very few amongst them (if any) omitted in yr tables, thô several additional to those in your first book *de Anim. Angl.*

We have some hopes of adding a litle to Mr Ray's *Synops. of Plants*, for we have already met with *Sanicula guttata*, *Sedum serratum folijs pediculis oblongis insidentibus*, *Sanicula montana minor*, *Vitis Idæa sempervirens baccis Agrifolij*; an *folijs Myrtinis crispis* D. Merret?¹ and two or three more wch I doubt of, not having seen their flower or seed.

Towards July we shall remove hence for Cornwall; and thence after six weekes stay, if all things continue well, for Britany as you advise. In ye mean time a few lines directed as your last to Mr Bulkley's on the Blind Key in Dublin, would be exceeding acceptable to, Hond Sr,

Yr most obliged humble servant
EDW. LHWYD

217. To HENRY ROWLANDS.

Sligo March 12 1699-1700.

Worthy Sir

I had not been so long silent, but for a reason I have mention'd this post to Mr. Bulkeley; for I was loath to trouble my friends till I had somewhat to say that might seem worth communicating; and indeed one half of my time, since I left you, has been spent in places quite remote from all correspondence, amongst the Hebrides, and other highlands of Scotland with whom their neighbours seem to have less commerce than they have with either of the Indies. They are nothing so barbarous as the Lowlanders and English com-

¹ Bearberry, *Arctostaphylos Uva ursi*.

monly represent them; but are for what I could find a very hospitable and civil people: and the main reasons of the contrary character I take to be their adhering too much to their antient customs, habit and language; whereby they distinguish themselves from all their neighbours; and distinctions always create mutual reflections. I have fill'd about three sheets of paper with their customs (any or all whereof you may command at your leisure) and have translated Mr. Rays *Dictionarium Trilingue* into their language, which in two thirds, or thereabouts, agrees with ours. They have also the same sort of monuments we have, viz. Kaer, Karn, Kromlech, and stones pitched on end circularly; agreeing sometimes exactly with ours, and sometimes a little varying from them. But as to the names of places, I know not whether the lowlands of Scotland may not agree more with the British than the highlands: As to instance in some names of their rivers.

Airw - - - -	} Stem no other than	}	Arw, Monm-shire.
Tay - - - -			Tawy, Glamm-shire.
Avin - - - -			Avon.
Leven - - -			Lheveni.
Teviot - - -			} Tywod.
Twede - - -			
Ail - - - -			Elwy
Esk - - - -			Wysk
Klide - - -			Klwyd.
Irwin - - -			Hurwen.
Tovi - - - -			Teivi.
Nid - - - -			Nedh, Glamm-shire.
Douglas - -			Dulas.

But indeed, most names of places throughout the kingdoms of Ireland and Scotland relish much of a British origin; though I suspect that upon a diligent comparison of the languages and customs, we shall find that the antient Scots of Ireland were distinct from the Britains of the same kingdom; but as yet I have not put my notes together, so as to be satisfy'd herein.

We collected a considerable number of inscriptions in Scotland and some in this kingdom, both Latin and Irish: But I could meet with no Antiquary, hitherto of either country, that could interpret those in the Irish. One monument I met with, within four miles of Edinburgh, different from all I had seen elsewhere, and never observ'd by their antiquaries. I take it to be the tomb of some Pictish king; though situate by a river-side, remote enough from any church. 'Tis an area of about seven yards diameter, raised a little above the rest of the ground, and encompass'd with large stones, all which stones are laid length-wise, excepting one larger than ordinary, which is pitch'd on end, and contains this inscription in the barbarous characters of the fourth and fifth centuries, In oc Tumulo jact Vetta F. Victi. This the common people call the Cat-Stene, whence I suspect the persons name was Getus, of which name I find three Pictish kings; for the names pronounced by the Britains with G were written in Latin with V, as we find by Gwyrtheyrn, Gwyrthevir and Gwythelyn, which were written in Latin, Vortigernus, Vortimerus and Vitellinus. I also met with one monument in this kingdom very singular: it stands at a place called New-Grange near Drogheda; and is a Mount or Barrow of very considerable height encompass'd with vast stones pitch'd on end round the bottom of it; and having another lesser standing on the top. This Mount is all the work of hands, and consists almost wholly of stones, but is cover'd with gravel and greensward, and has within it a remarkable cave. The entry into this cave is at bottom, and before it we found a great flat stone, like a large tomb-stone, placed edgewise, having on the outside certain barbarous carvings, like snakes encircled, but without heads. This entry was guarded all along on each side with such rude stones pitch'd on end, some of them having the same carving, and other vast ones laid a-cross these at top. The out pillars were so close press'd by the weight of the Mount, that they admitted but just creeping in, but by degrees the passage grew wider and higher till we came to the cave, which was about five or six yards height. The cave consists of three cells or apartments, one on each hand and the third

straight forward, and may be about seven yards over each way. In the right hand cell stands a great bason of an irregular oval figure of one entire stone, having its brim odly sinuated or elbow'd in and out; and that bason in another of much the same form. Within this bason was some very clear water which drop'd from the cave above, which made me imagine the use of this bason was for receiving such water, and that the use of the lower was to receive the water of the upper bason when full, for some sacred use, and therefore not to be spill'd. In the left apartment there was such another bason, but single, neither was there any water in it. In the apartment straight forward there was no bason at all. Many of the pillars about the right hand basons were carvd as the stones above-mentiond; but under feet there were nothing but loose stones of any size in confusion; and amongst them a great many bones of beasts and some pieces of deers horns. Near the top of this Mount they found a gold coin of the Emperor Valentinian; but notwithstanding this, the rude carving above-mention'd makes me conclude this monument was never Roman, not to mention that we want History to prove that ever the Romans were at all in Ireland. The Druid doctrine about the Glain Neidr obtains very much throughout all Scotland, as well the lowlands as highlands; but there's never a word of it in this kingdom, where it seems, in regard there were no snakes, they could not propagate it. Besides, the snake-stones (whereof I procur'd some variety in Scotland) the Highlanders have their snail-stones, paddoc-stones, mole-stones, hedge-hog-stones, knock-knee-stones, ey-arrows, duel-stones, &c. to all which they attribute their several virtues, and carry them about them as amulets. The Irish have many more antient manuscripts than we in Wales; but since the late Revolutions they are much lessen'd. I now and then pick up some very old parchment manuscripts, but they are hard to come by, and they do anything understand them, value them as their lives. This Province of Connaught abounds with figur'd fossils; but they are much the same with those in Wales, tho' several amongst them new. We have also met with some Alpine plants here that Britain no where

affords. At your leisure a few lines directed to be left with Mr. Richard Bulkeley, at the Blind-Key in Dublin,¹ will be exceeding acceptable to

Your most obliged, humble servant,
EDWARD LHWYD

218. To Dr. TANCRED ROBINSON, F.R.S.

Some farther Observations relating to the Antiquities and Natural History of Ireland. Phil. Trans. xxvii, p. 524

Pensans, in Cornwall, Aug. 25. 1700.

Honoured Sir,

For antiquities, Ireland affords no great variety; at least it was not our fortune to be much diverted that way. I have in divers parts of the kingdom picked up about 20 or 30 Irish manuscripts on parchment: but the ignorance of their criticks is such, that tho' I consulted the chiefest of them, as O Flaherty (author of the *Ogygia*) and several others, they could scarce interpret one page of all my manuscripts; and this is occasioned by the want of a Dictionary, which it seems none of their Nation ever took the trouble to compose. I was informed (but how truly I know not) they have lately printed one at the Irish College in Lovain; which if I could procure, I should not despair of being in a short time able myself to understand these manuscripts; tho' many of them being but insignificant Romances, it would scarce quit the pains. What I most value amongst them are their old Laws, which might give some light to the curious as to many of their National Customs; and some of their old Poems: but all are of use to any that would compose a Dictionary of their language; which was anciently (considering the narrowness of their knowledge as to Arts and Sciences) doubtless very copious.

I saw no coins found there, but the Roman gold coin of Valentinian jun. formerly mentioned; several of our old English since the Conquest; and one cast brass piece inscribed with Runic letters, which I take to have been a Danish Amulet.

Several of our old British Monuments, called Kaer, Karn,

¹ The Blind Key was Lhwyd's address until April 24th.

Cromlech, &c. we met with; and found that they distinguished them by the same names.

What were peculiar to themselves, were their high Round Towers for belfreys; their round entrenchments, commonly called Danes Rathes; and the Elf-arrow heads of flint.

About Sligo and Bali Shanon we had good success as to figur'd stones; where we met with variety of *Astropodia* and *Astrorrhizæ*, or *Modioli*, not yet figured or described, together with other curiosities in that kind; all which (together with the manuscripts) I have long since sent to Oxford.

In the same neighbourhood, on the mountains of Ben Bulben and Ben Buishgen, we met with a number of the rare mountain plants of England and Wales, and three or four not yet discover'd in Britain. Mr. Heaton's *Chamædrys Alpina*¹ is a common plant on those hills, as also on divers other mountains and heathy grounds in Connacht and Munster.

In the Isle of Arran (near Galloway) we found great plenty of the *Adiantum verum*, and a sort of matted Campion with a white flower, which I bewail the loss of; for an imperfect sprig of it was only brought me; and I waited afterwards in rain almost a whole week for fair weather, to have gone in quest of it.

In most of the mountains of Galloway and Mayo grows an elegant sort of Heath, bearing large Thyme leaves, a spike of fair purple flowers like some Campanula, and viscous stalks.² I know not whether it be any thing related to the *Cisti Ladanifera*.

In the same places *Pinguicula flore carneo minore*³ is a common plant, and a sort of *Ros Solis*,⁴ which I take to be undescribed.

*Sedum serratum foliis pediculis oblongis insidentibus*⁵ is exceeding common on all the mountainous tracts of Mayo, Galloway, and Keri.

On the mountains of Keri, *Sanicula guttata*⁶ grows in abundance; together with some other rare plants, as the

¹ *Dryas octopetala* L.

² St. Dabeoc's Heath, *Menziesia polifolia* Sm.

³ *Pinguicula lusitanica* L.

⁴ Sundew.

⁵ *Saxifraga geum* L.

⁶ *Saxifraga umbrosa* L.

Arbutus. *Cotyledon hirsuta*.¹ *Cirsium humile montanum* *Cynoglossifolio polyanthemum* R. Syn.² *Alchimilla Alpina pentaphyllos*.³ *Sanicula aizoides*⁴ *inter guttatam* & *Sedum serratum ambigena*. *Veronica procumbens maxima*, an N.D.? &c. But the Tories frustrated our curiosity here, tho' no where else in the kingdom.

*Pentaphylloides fruticosa*⁵ we found plentifully amongst Lime-stone rocks on the banks of Loch Crib in the County of Galloway; and Dr. Merret's *Vaccinia rubra foliis Myrtinis crispis*⁶ (a very beautiful plant) we found to be no rarity in this kingdom.

We have preserved of all these, and some more I have not time to mention; as also of such Marine plants as had not occur'd in Wales.

We met with some Marine Animals of the Exanguious kind, that were strangers to us; and have preserved by figures and dried patterns what we could.—I am, Honoured Sir,

Your Obedient humble Servant,
E. LHWYD

219. *Phil. Trans.* p. 527.

An account of some uncommon Plants growing about Pensans & St. Ives in Cornwall.

Sir, Pensans, Sept. 22. 1700

I have met with no birds or fish since our coming hither, that I suspect for undescribed: Only two or three *Stellae*, and some other *Exanguia marina* have occur'd which I have not seen before on our British Coasts.

We have also met with the *Capillus Veneris verus* in abundance on the sea cliffs about St. Ives. 2. Dr. Sherard's *Scrophularia Scorodoniae folio*.⁷ 3. *Blattaria lutea an lutea minor* Park?⁸ but the leaves of ours are not jagged. Also all the plants mentioned by Mr. Ray to grow here; excepting the

¹ *Saxifraga stellaris* L.

³ *Alchemilla alpina* L.

⁵ Shrubby cinquefoil, *Potentilla fruticosa* L.

⁶ Bearberry, *Arctostaphylos Uva-ursi*.

⁸ Moth Mullein, *Verbascum Blattaria* L.

² *Saussurea alpina* DC.

⁴ ? *Saxifraga nivalis* L.

⁷ *Scrophularia Scorodonia* L.

Gnaphalium marinum,¹ which should grow by this town; and two or three more, which being at some distance, we have not looked for.

We have also found some *Fuci* which perhaps may be new: And I am told the fishermen sometimes take up the *Corallina marina reticulata* by their hooks, but I have not yet seen one of them.

E. LHWYD

220. To THOMAS TONKIN² at Lambrigan in St. Piran in the Sands.

William Pryce, Archæologia Cornu-Britannica, 1790.

St. Ives, Oct. 15, 1700.

Honoured Sir,

You will receive by the bearer, (Mr. Jones) Mr. Carew's *Survey of Cornwall*, together with what else I borrow'd, with my most humble thanks. I once designed to have waited on you myself long ere this; but now it so happens, that I take the south coast, and leave the north to the bearer, to copy such old inscriptions as shall occur, and to take what account he can of the geography of the parishes. I know you will be pleased to favour and assist him in your neighbourhood; but where we have no acquaintance, we find the people more suspicious and jealous (notwithstanding we have my Lord Bishop's approbation of the undertaking) than in any country we have travelled. And upon that account I beg the trouble of you, when he leaves your neighbourhood, to give him two or three letters to any of your acquaintance more eastward. Mr. Pennick not being at home, we have been strictly examined in several places; and I am told the people, notwithstanding our long continuance here, have not yet removed their jealousy. I was forced, for their satisfaction, to open your letter to Mr. Pennick, and that proving to be just such an account of me, as I had given, we were immediately dismissed. The Monument at Burién, in the last edition of *Camden*, is somewhat erroneous, as you will find by the draught I here

¹ Cotton weed, *Diotis maritima* Can.

² THOMAS TONKIN (1679-1742), son of an owner of Tin-mines, of Queen's College, matric. 1694, aged 15, became M.P. for Helston in 1715.

send you. The true reading is—Clarice la Femme Cheffrei De Bolleit Git icy: Deu de L'alme eit mercy; E ke pur le alme punt, di ior de pardun averund. Clarice the wife of Geffrey de Bolleit lies here: God on her soul have mercy: And whoever shall pray for her soul, shall have ten days pardon. The other inscription is on a large moor-stone in a common, called Gwn mên Screpha,¹ in Maddern parish. The reading is—Rialobran Cunoval Fil. In British, Rhiwalhvrán map Kynwal; names not uncommon in our old Welsh pedigrees. I take it to be about a thousand years standing, and do not much question but the neighbouring parish of Gulval is denominated from this Kynwal, because I found many such instances in Wales. I am,

Honoured Sir,
Your much obliged humble servant,
EDW. LHUYD

221. To THOMAS TONKIN, Esq.

W. Pryce, Archæologia Cornu-Britannica, 1790.

Falmouth, Nov. 29, 1700.

Honoured Sir,

I take this opportunity of returning my most humble thanks for your late kindness to my fellow traveller; who is, I suppose, by this time got safe to Oxford. For my own part, I am desirous to spend two or three months in Brittany, before I return to my charge; and am here waiting for a passage, having failed getting one at Looe and Foy:—Since my coming hither, I understand your father-in-law corresponds at Morlaix, which is the port I am bound for. His letter of recommendation thither might do me a singular kindness; which if you please to request of him, I desire you would send him two or three lines, inclosed and directed to me at Mr. Swanson's in this town, and I'll wait on him with it. Mr. Hicks of Trevithick promised me his letter to him; but it happened that when I called there, he was very much indisposed; and so I would not trouble him, altho' he offered to write nevertheless.—I desire the purport of Mr. Kemp's may be, to acquaint his friend of my place at Oxford, and

¹ Meaning 'Down of the written stone'.

that I am engaged in composing a *Dictionary* of the British language; and that this is the main reason of my journey into that country, in regard the British of Wales and Cornwall, and that of their country, are but so many dialects of one and the same language: Requesting his favour therefore, in getting me recommended to some scholar well acquainted with the British language, and antiquities; and then I hope to shift for myself.—I have already letters to two Abbots; the one from Dr. Lister, and the other from Mr. Moyle; but these live at Paris, and I am as yet unprovided for Bretagne. I had lately a letter from our old friend, Mr. Tanner,¹ with the inclosed in it; upon presumption, I suppose, that I had not waited on you since my coming to the country. He has been searching all the libraries and studies of note in England, for materials towards his edition of *Leland de Scriptoribus Brit.* He tells me Mr. Gibson² is upon his year of grace, having got a good living in Essex. Mr. Maundril (he says) has a *Treatise* in the press, containing some account of his travels: this gentleman is Fellow of Exeter, and Chaplain to the factory of Aleppo. He adds, that Dr. Hicks's Saxon and Francic Grammar is above half done; and that it will contain 200 sheets in folio, being rather a Thesaurus of Northern Learning, than a Grammar.

I here trouble you with the oldest inscriptions we have met with, additional to the two I formerly sent you. The first Figure is of a Cross, by the almshouse at St. Blasey; but the inscription I do not at all understand. The second is the Half-Stone, which doubtless must be read as Mr. Camden hath it, tho' his letters are erroneous. The third was once the tomb-stone of a Briton, whose name was Kynadav' ap Ichdinow, but is now a foot bridge at Gulval near Penzans. The fourth is the tomb-stone of another Briton, which is known by the name of the Long-Stone, within a mile of Foy, (this is probably of the fifth or sixth century) his name in British was Kiris ap Kynvor; and in all probability, Polkiris, within half a mile of the stone, is denominated from him.—The fifth and sixth Figures are two Iron Plates of that form

¹ Afterwards Bishop of St. Asaph.

² Afterwards Bishop of London.

and size whereof several horse-loads were found about six years since.—Quere. Whether these may not be the British money mentioned by Cæsar, in these words,—Nummo utuntur parvo & aureo, aut ferreis laminis pro nummo. Fearing to lose the opportunity of sending this, I add no more than that I am, &c.

EDW. LHWYD

Dr. RICHARDSON to Mr. LHWYD.

North Bierley, December 20th, 1700.

. . . told me he met two Londoners at Boulton Coal-Pits, which is about three miles from hence: when I heard of their inquiries, I suspected they might be some of Dr Woodward's agents, but never heard any thing of them afterwards. Perhaps their ill success discouraged them from making any further inquiry in these parts. I am glad to hear those gentlemen have been so fortunate in their searches upon Pendle and Ingleborough, as to find several sorts of *Conchitæ* there. My searches upon Pendle have not been so exact as upon the other; but I should be oblig'd to those gentlemen that would shew me any of these bodies upon either. Indeed, within three or four miles of Ingleborough, viz. in the way from thence to Clapham, I have met with *Conchitæ* and *Entrochi* in the lime-stone rocks frequently; but upon the hill there is neither flint, chalk, alum, nor, I think, lime-stone: however, I am certain upon the highest hill there is none; for the stone there is a sand-stone, which rises, when dug, into thin strata about an inch thick, and is of a brown colour, and is only made use of for slates to cover houses. This mountain is composed of three hills, one upon another. If I hear any further of these Virtuosi's discoveries, I will certainly set aside one day more for a review of that mountain; tho' I am persuaded it will be to no purpose.

From Mr. RAY to Dr. HANS SLOANE

Ray Correspondence, p. 370.

Black Notley, Feb. 19, 1700.

Dr. Robinson writes me, that the undertakers for Mr. Lhwyd's *Lithophylacium*, complain that they are losers by it.

222. MS. *Ashmole* 1816, f. 78.

Amplissimo Nobilissimoque Domino;
 Domino . . . DES CLOUSSEAUX Regio in
 Britanniae Provincia
 Thalassiarçhæ Generali.

Tantum virum tam multis ijsdemque maximis negotijs impeditum, hac mea supplici chartula interpellare nullatenus audeam; nisi et de illius clementia ab ijs qui comperto noverint, certior factus essem; et privata mei ipsius ut id facerem (vellem nollem) quodammodo postularent negotia. Expositas Tibi jam reor (Illustrissime Domine) omnes nostras Epistolas et reliquas chartulas manuscriptas; è quibus colligis causam nostri in Galliam & præsertim in hanc Britanniae provinciam itineris, eandem omnino esse quæ nos antea in Cambro-britanniam, Scotiam, Hiberniam & Cornubiam propulerat: Desiderium nempé antiquæ Gentis Britannicæ (quam eandem omnino cum Celticâ arbitror) monumenta investigandi; linguæque Celticæ per singulas hasce regiones adhuc partim superstitis varias dialectos invicem conferendi; et (quantum patitur anni tempestas) rariores aliquot Plantas, Conchylia et Fossilia, annotandi studium. Nec quidem in Galliam venimus absque Literis, (quamvis ut feré assolet, nimis mihi faveant istæ) testimonialibus, ad viros eruditione conspicuos: Abbatem nimirum de Drouin aliosque Parisienses; e quibus unæ adhuc inter reliquas meas chartas supersunt, ad Cl.V. Dominum, Abbatem du Bois, latine scriptæ, quæ (siquid dubij maneat) Parisios mitti possunt. Quin et, quoniam in hanc Provinciam præ alijs venire decreverim, ad cives Morlaccenses DD. Guilliattou, Gueguen, Proctor & Fellow a Mercatoribus in Anglia Cornubiensibus, literas attulimus; quæ qui simus, et circa quænam studia versaremur, eos luculenter et de Industria docerent. Rationem itaque habes (Præclarissime Domine) nostri in hanc regionem adventûs et instituti: quam si non improbas; ut é carcere quam velis citissime, liberemur; utque nobis etiam Testimonio quod hoc nostrum institutum Tibi non displiceat, favere digneris, obnixè rogat ac supplicat, &c.

[E.L.]

223. To HENRY ROWLANDS.¹

Oxford, March 10, 1701.

Dear Sir

I was heartily glad to hear by the bearer of your good health, and thought it high time to beg your pardon for my long silence; and to assure you that being now return'd hither and settled, I shall for the future be more mindful of my duty to my best friends. I came home but this week, out of Bretagne in France, which I was forced to quit much sooner than I had intended: for I had scarce been there three weeks when the Intendant [des Marines] of Brest, sent a Provô three and thirty miles, (viz. to St. Paul de Leon) to bring me before him. The messenger found me busy in adding the Armoric words to Mr Rays *Dictionariolum Trilingue*, with a great many letters and small manuscripts about the table, which he immediately secured, and then proceeded to search our pockets for more. All these papers he ty'd up in a napkin, and requiring me to put three seals thereon, added three more of his own. I told him I had brought letters of recommendation to the Theologal of the City,² who is the third person in the Diocese; upon which he went with me to him. The gentleman own'd it, and deliver'd him the letter, adding another in our behalf to his master, the Intendant, and a third to a captain of a man of war at Brest. Having secur'd our papers, he granted us the favour of going to Brest before them, a-part, that the country might not take notice of our being prisoners. Upon our appearance before the Intendant, he never troubled us with an examination, but order'd us forthwith to the Castle: and next day the Jaylor brought us word from him, that we must fend for our selves, for that we should not have the benefit of the usual allowance for the kings prisoners, which was a livre (or one shilling and eight pence) a day. Upon this we reply'd, we had no money, but only letters of credit upon merchants in some towns we design'd to travel through; and so quaril'd with our Jaylor, refusing to take any meat or wine from him on such terms:

¹ The Rev. H. ROWLANDS, when Vicar of Llanidan, wrote *Mona antiqua*, in which letters Nos. 217, 223, 237, 239, and 242 appear.

² F. de la Tour.

which we did, because we found we did not lie much under mercy, having a ground room and the conveniency of receiving thro' a window any thing that was necessary; which some Irish soldiers in the Castle would bring us for our money. Next day he brought us word, we were allow'd fifteen pence a day; and that allowance we had together with tolerable good white-wine for three pence a quart, during our confinement, which was just eighteen days. When we had been there a week, we thought it high time to draw up a petition that we might be examin'd, &c. But this being writ in Latin, the captain above-mentiond, to whom I sent it in order to be presented, desired to be excus'd, in regard the Intendant was not conversant in that language. However, next day he sent for us out, and then shew'd us our mail of papers and the seals entire; and opening it, they requir'd me to mark each particular paper and book, and also write my name on them all. After this they were deliver'd to an interpreter, who kept them about nine days, and though many of them were writ in Welsh and some in Cornish; yet he rightly concluded from the nature of the rest, they contain'd nothing of Treason, and bearing the character of an interpreter, he was loath to own himself puzl'd; so told them in general, without any exception, none of my papers related to State-matters, upon which we were dismiss'd, and had all our papers restored, but deny'd a pass to Paris, and order'd to depart the kingdom; the Provô telling us, the war was already declar'd against the Emperor, the Dutch and the English. About a fortnight before they seiz'd us, they had secur'd two other English gentlemen, both Londoners, one Mr. Taylor, a merchant, and one Keck, formerly a lieutenant in a man of war, under his present Majesty, who told me he was well acquainted with Mr. Maurice Owen of Holy Head, &c. These gentlemen (though the Provô acknowledg'd to me they had nothing against them) far'd much worse than we did; being committed to the common Town-Jail, confin'd double the time, and yet not one farthing allow'd them. So much for our coarse welcome in France, which prevented almost all the enquiries I design'd into the language, customs and monuments of that

province. For all we could do was but to pick up about twenty small printed books in their language which are all (as well as ours) books of devotion, with two folios publish'd in French; the one containing the History of Bretagne, the other the Lives of the Armoric Saints. I had been before in Cornwall during the space of three or four months; and coming hither found that the Armorican and Cornish differ'd less than the present English of the vulgar in the North from those of the West of England; but in respect of us the difference is greater. The Cornish is much more corruptly spoken than the Armorican, as being confin'd to half a score parishes towards the Land's End; whereas [Armorican is] the common language of a country almost as large as Wales. I had taken directions about antient British manuscripts in some of their convents, and some persons noted for their skill in the language and antiquities of their country, but was not allow'd time to consult either men or books, or to view any of their old monuments, so that I shall be able to say little of that country, besides what relates to their language. Dr. Lister in his *Journey to Paris*, mentions one Pezron,¹ Abbot of Charmoise, as a great critick in the Armorican language and antiquities, adding he had settled a correspondence between him and me: but I could never yet, though I writ twice or thrice, according to the Doctor's directions, obtain one line from him. I have procur'd transcripts of the only three manuscripts extant in the Cornish. The oldest is a Poem of the Passion of our Saviour, written on parchment about two hundred years since; the others contain several Opera's or Plays, all out of the Scripture. Their language comes nearest that dialect of the British, call'd in Dr Davies Gwen Nwyseg, or the Language of Monmouth and Glamorgan.

I discover'd there some old inscriptions not observ'd before, probably about a thousand years standing, viz. the tombstones of Kiris ap Kynvor, Rhiwathvran ap Kynwal, Kenadhav ap Yehdinid, and Knegwv ap Ennian: three whereof have places near these monuments denominated from them, though

¹ A copy of Pezron's Letter of 22 January 1699 to l'Abbé Nicaise on his *L'Origine des Nations*, is in MS. *Ashm.* 1820^a f. 35.

(because they could not read them) none suspected it before, or believed my reading. The places are call'd Pol (i.e. Pwth) Kiris, Gonval Church, and Man [i.e. Maen] Kneg. The modern Cornish seem to me a colony of the Armoricans from their language and habit; which is also agreeable with our British History. For one may observe from the names of places that another people once possess'd that country, as one may from the names of places in some parts of Wales gather that the Irish Nation once inhabited there particularly in Brecknock-shire and Caermarthen-shire, where the Lakes are call'd Lhychæ, and the high mountains, Bannæ; as they commonly are throughout the highlands of Scotland and Ireland. I had no opportunity (though had I been aware of what happen'd, I could have made better use of my time) of observing any remains of Druidism amongst the Bretons; but the Cornish retain variety of charms, and have still towards the Land's End the amulets of Maen Magal and Glain Neidr, which latter they call a Melprev or Milprev, and have a charm for the snake to wake it, when they have found one asleep, and stuck a hazle-wand in the centre of her spine, &c.

Cornwall affords store of those barbarous monuments we have in Wales: Some whereof are also, I presume, in all our neighbouring countries of Europe viz. Meini Gwir (or stones pitch'd circularly) Kromleich, Kryg or Gorsedh, Kaer, Karn, &c. Of these in our small progress in Bretagne, we met with only the Kryg and Caer, but were inform'd also of the circular stones. I have in Cornwall observ'd of those British towns you shew'd me in your neighbourhood, and we have draughts of them as of all things else that occur'd. I have no mind to take hand from paper, but time not permitting me to trouble you further, I only add my most humble and dutiful respects to Mr B—— and Mr. L——, and that nothing can be more welcome here than a few lines directed at your leisure to

Sir Your much obliged Friend and servant

EDWARD LHWYD

224. For ye Hon. RICHD MOSTYN Esq at Penbedw in Denbighshire North Wales. Chester post, Northop bag

Arch. Camb. 1857, 387.

Oxford. Apr. 26, 1701.

Most Hond Sr

Being after a tedious ramble of four years at length return'd to the place from whence I set out; and for what I can foresee setl'd (if it please God) for the remainder of my time; 'tis my Duty to return most humble Thanks to my best Friends and greatest Patrons, who have enabled me to perform such expensive Travails; and necessary I should entreat their farther assistance as to correspondence and Information, in case anything may occur remarkable, during the time I shall be culling out the pertinent part of my collection and digesting it for the Presse, wch (make what Hast I can) must needs be the work of some years.

I suppose JACK LLOYD has troubl'd you with some account of our Pilgrimage through the Highlands of Scotland and the Lowlands as far as Edinburgh; since which time we have visited most of the high mountains of Ireland; and rambld through almost all the parishes of Cornwall, and travaild from St Malo's to Brest in Bas Bretagne. We did not indeed design to go so near Brest for fear of being taken as Spies, being inform'd that some English merchants there (persons less lyable to suspicion than we) had been lately seizd as such; and therefore we kept about Morlaix, whither I had brought good Recommendations to ye greatest Merchants and some of ye clergy, from their Friends at St. Malo's: This was twelve legues from Brest, but such was the *Entendent des marines* (who resides in that Garrison)'s Vigilancy, that he sent a Provô and two other officers to fetch us before him. One of ye Clergymen offerd to bail us; but ye Provô had no commision to take any, and finding them demur (in French) I returnd my Thanks to ye Gentlman and told him I wd not have his name calld in the least Question on my account, but was very ready to make my appearance and glad of the opportunity of seeing Brest. The Provô had before secur'd all my Papers and Letters and requir'd me to seal the Mail he had put them

in three several places, adding so many seals of his own. Being come before the Intendent we were (tho' the Foremention'd Clergyman who was ye 3d in ye Diocesse had given me a letter to him) for fashon's sake order'd to a room in the Castle, whence after 3 weeks confinement, we were order'd to leave the Kingdome for as much as ye war was already declar'd agst England and Holland as well as the Empr and this is now above two months since. My Papers were in ye Interim examin'd by an Interpreter and (tho' some of ym were Welsh and Cornish) deliverd to us all at our going off. We had an allowance during our confinement of half a crown a day betw. me & my Fellow-Travailler; wch Fav'r I suppose we had on account of ye Theologal of St Paul de Leon's Letter, because ye Engl: Merchants were oblig'd to find themselves and confin'd to ye common town Prison. I had before we were taken sent forward Dr. Lister's Letters on my behalf to ye Abbot Du Drouin & Mr Geoffrey of Paris, and petition'd for ye King's Passe &c. but whether that ye Dr had reflected on ye Monks too impertinently in his Book, or whether these Gentlemen's Letters were intercepted; no answer at all came to my hands. So I was forc'd to take my leave of our old countrey-men, before I could settle correspondence with any Antiquary or indeed consult either men or Books to my purpose: all I did there being onely the adding of the British words to most parts of Mr Ray's *Dictionariolum trilingue*; and ye picking up about 20 small printed Books in their Language (all Books of Devotion) and two large Folio's in French; ye one ye History of the Armoricans by D'Argentré; the other the Lives of the Armoric Saints. Their Language is much ye same with the Cornish; and both so near ye Dialect of South Wales: that in a months time at farthest a Welshman may understand their writings; but as to the speaking part their affinity creates some confusion. 'Tis spoken at least for a Hundred miles, and their Gentry and Merchants speak it in their Great Towns; but much more corruptly than ours in N. Wales, and they seem to have been more discourag'd by ye Mounseieur's jeering them than those of sense and Education are amongst us. I found the Monks everywhere obliging enough, but 'twas not my Fortune

to find any amongst them anxious in my studies. They told me one John Huel and Maurice Auldren, Benedictins (at Renes) were their chiefest Antiquaries and at present engag'd in composing a History of Bretagne; but I had no opportunity of waiting on them, as I once intended. They could tel me nothing of Father Pezron mention'd in Dr Lister's Book: so I suppose he might be of the Diocesse of Venne (Brit. Gwenet) or Kemper Corentin an other part of the Province where they speak a distinct Dialect, but we had not conversation with any of them. The onely four Cornish Books remaining were communicated to me, besides many other Favours by ye Bishop of Excester, and I have copies of each of them. That countrey affoarded some ancient Incriptions like those added to Camden in Wales: and both there, and in Irland and Scotland *Caer, Carn, Din, and Cromlech* are frequent and often (allowing for pronunciation) distinguished by the same names. Its high time to beg yr pardon for this tedious scribe, and indeed I have this post time to add litle more than that I am

(Most Hond Sr)

Yr most obedient

Humble Servant

EDW. LHWYD

Sr Roger and Mr King were lately here at ye election of Mr Bromley. We have since elected a new Librarian in ye room of Dr Hyde viz. Mr Hodgson¹ of University College. I remember I told you of a MS. of Dd. ap Gwilim's *Kywydhæ* in the Hands of a Book Binder in your neighbourhood; wch you sayd you would secure to be added to Sr Roger's collections. I afterwards fd the works of that Poet (as indeed of others excepting ye very oldest) much more compleat at Glodhaeth. So if you have it, at your leasure, 'twould be very welcome here.

¹ JOHN HUDSON, principal of St. Mary Hall 1712.

VI

1701-1709

LHWYD'S LAST SEVEN YEARS AT THE OLD ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM

SOON after his return to Oxford, the University, desiring to recognize his many merits, conferred upon Lhwyd the honorary degree of M.A. (July 21, 1701).

His adventures abroad and the chronic asthma from which he suffered predisposed him to remain in Oxford for the last seven years of his life. Excepting for a visit to Cambridge, where he spent four weeks in Benet College, and copied out the *Epistles* of Giraldus Cambrensis, he does not appear to have left his home in the Old Ashmolean Museum, except for short visits to Marcham or Appleton in the winter time.

He was obviously overwhelmed by the great masses of material that he had collected for the projected *Archaeologia Britannica*, and by the very numerous letters and replies to his *Queries* that had come in during the four years of his travels. He was under contract with his subscribers to give them something for their money. Also his employers in Oxford, the Visitors of the Ashmolean Museum, insisted that, as he had been so long absent from the Museum, it was high time for him to do some work for his pay,

and they insisted on his giving lectures on Natural History. We do not know how many lectures he did actually deliver, but some notes are preserved among the *Reliquiae Luidianae*, from which the full text of one was printed by Huddesford as an appendix to the second edition of the *Lithophylacii* in 1760. It is on Star-fish and the origin of Encrinites, entitled *Praelectio De Stellis marinis Oceani Britannici, nec non de Asteriarum, Entrochorum et Encrinorum Origine: habita quondam in Museo Ashmoleano Oxonii.*

To commemorate his work on Echinoderms Edward Forbes in 1839¹ named a new genus of star-fishes in his honour. The type species was the huge *Luidia fragilissima* from the Irish Sea which attains a size of two feet across. 'I have named', wrote Forbes, 'my genus after Luid, one of the earliest and most judicious observers of the British Radiata.'

But his main work was the preparation of the first part of the *Archaeologia* for the press. To complete the whole work at once, as outlined in his Proposals of 1701 was impossible. He therefore determined to postpone the sections dealing with Natural History and the Historical and Geographical Dictionary of Wales and to concentrate his energies upon what he called the *Glossography*, or comparative study of old languages. Naturally such a plan did not commend itself to all his friends; indeed a large number of his helpers and subscribers felt that they had not had a fair deal, and a few, among them John Wynne, were so angry that they ceased to correspond with him.

¹ E. Forbes *On the Asteroidea of the Irish Sea. Mem. Wernerian Nat. Hist. Soc.* viii, 1839.

Dr. RICHARDSON did indeed try to lure him back on to the more pleasant paths of Natural Science by writing him a description of *Entrochi* and other fossils that he had recently found in Yorkshire, and by dangling the bait of a possible controversy with Woodward, but it was all of no use. Among all the letters written by Lhwyd in these seven years, only one (No. 232 of July 1702) is at all in his old style.

The University too might have had just cause of complaint. Lhwyd was using for his private hobby an Institution and an endowment which had been consecrated for the study of the Natural Sciences. Lhwyd, considering that he could do as he pleased, introduced the editing of philological and lexicographical work into the Old Ashmolean and, though Lister and a few of his scientific friends continued to write letters to him, Plot and Ashmole must have turned in their graves.

His chief correspondents, other than his amanuenses, were his ever-faithful JOHN LLOYD of Ruthin, WILLIAM JONES, GRIFFITH of Jesus College, DAVID PARRY, Rev. HUMPHREY FOULKES (240), Rector of St. George's, the BISHOPS OF BANGOR and CARLISLE, WILLIAM BAXTER, THOMAS SMITH, and THOMAS TONKIN. The manuscript of the *Glossography* was sent to the press in October 1703 but, although it was anticipated that the book would be printed by the end of 1704, the contract to print was only signed on September 14, 1705, and the first copies were not ready before June 1707. The slow progress is the subject of comment in many letters.

There is then a strange dearth of letters for nearly

two years before the *magnum opus* appeared, and after that event the letters deal principally with the circulation and sales of copies, and with getting in the subscriptions of those who desired the book. All we are told is that

‘Mr. Lhwyd frequently retires (for the convenience of private studies) some miles off. His work goes on, tho’ not with that celeritie as could be wished; some of his friends being sorry that he is so deeply engaged in antiquities and the nice prosecution of language matters, which prove very knotty.’

(*Letter of* JACOB BOBART *to* RICHARDSON, Aug. 24, 1704.)

There are several letters addressed to the learned Dr. THOMAS SMITH, who from about 1693 had been living in Sir John Cotton’s family and was peculiarly well fitted to render Lhwyd the service he is requesting. Originally a member of Queen’s College, he became Master of Magdalen College School 1663–6 and Fellow until 1692. He made a study of the history and politics of the Turks, among whom he had lived for three years as chaplain to the English embassy. He died in 1710. On leaving Magdalen he kept in touch with Oxford through correspondence with his friend Hearne, to whom he wrote no less than 168 letters in the last few years of his life. He was a fine character

‘preferring the peace of my mind and the satisfaction of my conscience before the enjoying of my Fellowship, which, for the sake of my principles I am ready to lose, and that with the same (not to say a greater) willingness and alacrity that I was chosen and admitted to it’.

To him Lhwyd communicated the more interesting items of recent Oxford news (226, 250). The great

botanist JOHN RAY wrote one last letter on July 26, 1704, not long before his death.¹ The few letters that follow are largely taken up with the description and whereabouts of manuscripts, and with plans for their transcription. The fee for copying was about 6*d.* a sheet.

WILLIAM COLE died in 1701 and his collections passed to a Mr. Kele. They were examined and valued on behalf of the Ashmolean by Abdiah Higgins, who wrote several appreciative letters about them to Lhwyd. No. 233 contains what one may term the obituary notice of William Cole's famous museum. If Lhwyd's judgement was correct, failure to secure the Cole collections, as and when offered to the University, was a mistake. Oxford had received next to nothing of scientific value from Ashmole; if she had wisely welcomed the offers of Beaumont and Cole, a further gift from Hans Sloane might have diverted the British Museum from the vicinity of Oxford Street to a street of Oxford. The apathetic Vice-Chancellor at the time was the Principal of Brasenose College, John Meare.

Letter No. 235 refers to the visit of the eminent Swedish mineralogist, JOHN ANGERSTEIN. Lhwyd had supplied him with letters of introduction to kinsfolk in Wales, which caused a storm in the family teacup. On December 1, 1702, Lhwyd's aunt, Elizabeth Pryse, who lived with her brother Simon Pryse at Ynisgrigog, described their pleasure at having been able to entertain Mr. 'Ankerstine' and Lhwyd's man, who came with him bringing the letter of introduction.

¹ There is now no signature to this unpublished letter. It had been lost among a few of Samuel Dale's letters to Lhwyd in MS. Ashmole 1814, where I recognized it by the handwriting.

Nine months later she wrote again to rebuke her nephew for his want of manners:

'I wonder and admire that you doe soe little value us, shew such slights to your nearest relations.

'This is the fourth letter which I write unto you since the gentleman and your man came to Wayels into Cardiganshire, and you recommended them unto us . . . we received them to our howse and mayd them welcome upon your account, what the countrey could afford, and lodgd with us to or 3 nights, and my brother and myself sent eatch of us a small token being Crowns apeece unto you with letters with them. . . .

I rest your loveing Aunt

ELIZABETH PRYSE'

Meanwhile the Swedish cause of the trouble had travelled as far as Bristol (Oct. 21, 1702), and on into Cornwall. He wrote from London on February 4, 1703, to say that he was leaving for Holland in a fortnight. On April 14 at Stockholm he acknowledged Lhwyd's last letter to him of July 16, 1704.

The *Glossography* came to absorb more and more of Lhwyd's time. In its preparation he received great encouragement from the Mostyns, particularly from Sir ROGER MOSTYN of Penbedw and JOHN MOSTYN, Rector of Castle Caereinion. Sir Roger even allowed him to take away books from his library. But it was Sir THOMAS MANSEL of Margam, Bart., whom he considered his greatest patron. To him he dedicated the *Glossography* volume of the *Archaeologia Britannica* in recognition of many services and unfailing support.

It was a curiously composite production, by several authors in several languages. The material was mostly assembled by 1705, but the work was not finally

published before 1707 owing to the numerous typographical difficulties that it presented. It is interesting to note that it was printed in the Sheldonian Theatre, and that while the author is described on the title-page as 'Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford', an engraving of the very part of Oxford upon which the Museum had been standing for a quarter of a century, does not show the Museum. (See page 512.)

The following is a summary of the contents:

Archaeologia Britannica, giving some Account, additional to what has been hitherto published, of the Languages, Histories and Customs of the original Inhabitants of Great Britain: From Collections and Observations in Travels through Wales, Cornwall, Bas Bretagne, Ireland and Scotland. By Edward Lhwyd M.A. of Jesus College, Keeper of the Ashmolean Musaeum in Oxford. Volume first. *Glossography*. fol. Oxford 1707.

The *Glossography* is divided into ten sections:

1. The Comparative Etymology, consisting wholly of parallel observations relating to the origin of Dialects, the affinity of the British with other languages, and their correspondence to one another.
2. A Comparative Vocabulary of the original language of Britain and Ireland, being a sort of a Latin British-Irish Celtic Dictionary.
3. An Armoric Grammar, by Julian Manoir,¹ jesuit; Englished out of the French by Moses Williams, sub-librarian at the Ashmolean Musaeum.

¹ Lhwyd's annotated copy of Maunoir's *Le Sacré Collège de la Société de Jésus*, 1659, is in the British Museum.

4. An Armoric-English Vocabulary; Englished by the same.
5. A Collection of Welsh words omitted in Doctor Davies's *Dictionary*.
6. A Cornish Grammar.
7. A Catalogue of British Manuscripts.
8. A British Etymologicon, or the Welsh collated with the Greek and Latin, and some other European languages. By David Parry A.B. of Jesus College, and Underkeeper of the Ashmolean Museum.
9. A brief Introduction to the Irish or antient Scottish language.
10. An Irish-English Dictionary; with a large preface in the Irish language.¹

Two honours came to Lhwyd in the last two years of his life when he was already too infirm to benefit by them. He was appointed to the office of Superior Bedel of Divinity of the University after a contested election, and he was elected into the Royal Society in 1708. The election was all the greater honour because he was elected in the face of the most virulent opposition from Professor JOHN WOODWARD. It was the last flare-up of a quarrel that had alternately blazed and smouldered for many years, and both protagonists had command of powerful vocabularies.

It was Woodward's last broadside. Lhwyd did not, and could not reply; he had chronic asthma and died in the Old Ashmolean Building in Oxford, aged 49, of pleurisy.

¹ For an English translation with that of the Welsh Preface to No. 8, see Bishop Nicolson's *Irish Historical Library*.

The writers whose letters were more particularly concerned with this last period of Lhwyd's life were:

	<i>Number of letters extant</i>	<i>Dates</i>
John Anstis	32	1700-9
William Aubrey	2	1701-3
John Bagford	4	1704-7
William Baxter	39	1702-9
Thomas David	5	1701-4
John Evans, Bishop of Bangor	3	1704
Humphrey Foulkes	14	1699-1706
Edmund Gibson	18	1693-1709
Hugh Griffiths	30	1695-1707
George Hickes	5	1704-9
Abdias Higgins	9	1701-9
Bp. Humphrey Humphreys	3	1701-2
Maurice Jones	20	1690-1708
William Jones	32	1698-1702
C. N. Langius	4	1705-8
Martin Lister	88	1690-1709
John Lloyd	36	1686-1707
Thomas Madox	10	
R. Myddelton Massey	2	1700-3
John Moore	5	1700-2
Rice Morgan	6	1695-1704
J. Morton	26	1694-1704
Will. Musgrave	2	1704-8
R. O'Flaherty	30	1700-8
John Parry	15	1696-1703
James Pound ¹	1	1702-3
Richard Richardson	34	1690-1708
Tancred Robinson	23	1696-1708
Henry Rowlands	23	1697-1708
Erasmus Saunders	11	1693-1703
William Sherard	4	1701
Sir Hans Sloane	4	1702-8

¹ Donor of 32 bottles of Indian Animals, etc., to the Museum.

	<i>Number of letters extant</i>	<i>Dates</i>
Thomas Smith	5	1703-6
William Stonestreet	6	1702-8
Bp. Thomas Tanner	5	1697-1703
Alban Thomas	6	1702-7
Walter Thomas	61	1696-1704
Ralph Thoresby	6	1692-1708
John Tibbotts	7	1701-7
Humphrey Wanley	3	1702-3
Robert Wynne	9	1698-1708

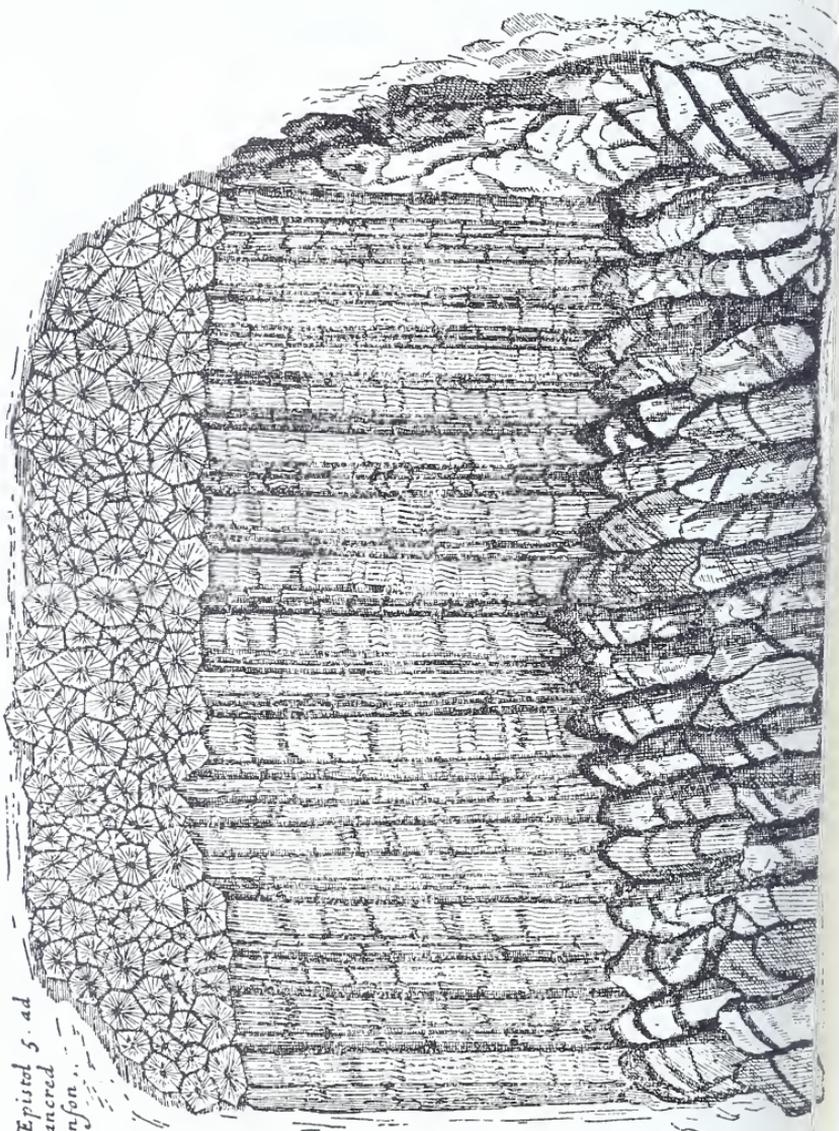
A few of his earlier subscribers disliked the postponement of his *Natural History of Wales* so much that Humphrey Foulkes strongly advised him to get on with the *Archaeologia* as soon as possible.

'I must needs tell you yt our gentry will not like your over-cautious prolonging so long the publishing of your Books.'

Tab. 23

Lithostrotion sive Basaltes minimus striatus et stellatus.

Vide Epistol. f. ad
D. Tancered
Robinson.



225. Nichols, *Literary Illustrations*, 1817.

To Dr. RICHARDSON.

Oxford June 8, 1701.

Dear Sir,

I scarce hope this can overtake you before you have entered the campagne: however, let it take its fortune. I have been in such a hurry most of my time since my return, partly in restoring the things of the Museum, which I found in some confusion, to their old places, against our Visitation, which is yearly on Trinity Monday; and partly in methodizing my own Collection of Fossils from Wales and Ireland, which is almost equal to that which is printed; but they chiefly excel in Coal-plants, *Lithostrotia*, and *Modioli* of Fossil-stars. I have turned by several for you as they came to hand: but I have not yet gone through all; and shall not, I believe, these two months; for Mr. COLE of Bristol, who these many years has promised us his Museum, is very importunate with me to visit him at his country-house for a week or fortnight, which is in Wiltshire, a day's journey hence. I hope you have received ere this, dried samples of the Irish Plants I formerly mentioned. The carrier told me, you had the few Seeds, though not in due time; I wish they had been more, and better; but we came out of Ireland too soon, and the Tories of Kil-Arni in Kerry obliged us to quit those mountains much sooner than we intended. The Northampton carrier told me he sent the Seeds by one Arthur —; and I believe the Plants might be delivered to the same. I need not say any thing about their names; however, having sent the same to Dr. SHERARD,¹ the notions he returned me of the rarest of them (which, it seems, he had also met with beyond-seas) may be of some consequence.

Sir, I heartily wish you good success on Ingleborough, &c.; and at your return, when you are at leisure, nothing can be more welcome than a few lines (with specimens of any Northern Plants, Wales and Ireland have not yet afforded) to, most honoured Sir, your ever obliged humble servant,

EDWD. LHWYD

¹ Sherard at Badminton May 24, 1701, had identified 13 of Lhwyd's plants from Ireland.

Dr. RICHARDSON to Mr. LHWYD. *Richardson Corr.* xiv.

North Bierley, June 25th, 1701.

. . . Though all the rocks about Settle are lime-stone, they afford nothing I could meet with save *Entrochi*; tho' probably some few shells may be found there. The country about Clapham, (which is at the foot of Ingleborough,) is all lime-stone; but after you ascend a mile or something more from the town, the stones you find are a coarse grit, containing nothing but some spar-like pebbles. When you reach the top of the first hill, there is plenty of sand-stone, which is made much use of for covering houses. In this quarry I spent some time, but found nothing different from the stone. On the highest peake which affords all the variety of plants, on the east side the rocks are all of the same coarse grit with those on the middle; and also on the north; but upon the south-west part there are some few lime-stone rocks, which also abound in *Entrochi*; and, upon diligent search, myself and three more friends found two *Pectines*, both of the same sort—one a good specimen. I perceive by my friend, Mr RALPH THORESBY¹ of Leeds, that we were more successful than Dr Woodward's missionaries, who shewed what they so much boasted of to him. He is not certain whether one or two shells were found there; but he told me they must have a stronger fancy than he had to make shells of them. I should be very sorry to oppose a matter of truth for dispute's sake, and therefore do acknowledge myself to have been in an error; but still do affirm that the fifth part of the hill at most being but lime-stone, and the other remaining four being as full of rocks as the other, upon my diligent search afforded neither *Entrochi* nor shells of any kind. And farther, for a confirmation that shells and other marine bodies are not to be found in all rocks, (which the Doctor affirms,) I will confidently affirm, that, tho' our country abounds in stone, yet they afford no marine bodies within three or four miles compass from my house; unless the great quantities of *Conchites leviter rugosus compressior*, &c. in coal-mines, iron-stone, and a marble quarry; and this I will make good to the Doctor or any of his confederates, who will take the pains to come hither.

¹ RALPH THORESBY, F.R.S., *b.* 1658, *d.* 1725, was the learned author of the *Ducatus Leodiensis*, the second edition of which is prefaced by his biography. He resided in Leeds and lived in intimacy with Dr. Richardson.

226. *These to ye Revd Dr. THO. SMYTH. MS. Smith 51. 13.*

Revd Sr

Oxford, June 26th, 1701.

Finding there are some Welsh manuscripts & collections in other languages relating to Wales in the Cotton Library; some of which may be pertinent to an undertaking I am engag'd in: I humbly request your favour (if it be not unseasonable) of granting Mr. Jones ye bearer access therunto. He is very well skill'd in the British be the manuscripts never so ancient; and if there be any old ones in that language that you have not a full account of, he may possibly inform you of their contents. Be pleas'd to excuse this Boldnesse & trouble: & what favour you shew us herein, shall be always gratefully acknowledg(d) by

Revd Sr. Yr most obliged humble Servt
EDW. LHWYD

227. [*Name of addressee missing*].¹ *Arch. Camb.* 1858, 225.

Dear Sr,

Oxford July 20, 1701.

'Twas long after ye date yt ye Anglesey carrier delivered your obliging Letter of May the twenty ninth & since I had it I have been most of my time in Wiltshire with an old Vulpone,² who has talked these seven years of contributing a very large Colection of natural Rarities to ye Museum and of settling some small salary upon't; but what he'll do time must shew. I have had an opportunity of discoursing with Mr Simon Loyd, on my return some months since through Oxf'd, about Hengwrt study but he assured me Mr Vaughan had left an Injunction in his will that no Book should be lent any one til his son came of age, and I have lately applyd myself to Sr Wm Williams but he (though one of my subscribers and otherwise my good friend) is not willing to have anything transcribed out of his Manuscripts; but offers the reading of them in his

¹ Perhaps the Rev. HENRY ROWLANDS of Anglesey. This seems to be the draft of a letter written in a hand similar to, but not the same as, Mr. Lhwyd's.

² This is the very last news we have of W. COLE, who died soon afterwards. He had moved from Bristol at the end of March and had settled at Bradfield, about 3½ miles south-east of Malmesbury, Wilts., by April 22, 1701, as shown by the dating of his letters to Lhwyd.

house provided I'll promise him on my word not to transcribe anything out of them; but to tell you the truth (under ye Rose) tho I should live under the same Roof with him I should be loath to spend my time so idly. I desire you not to mention this to any one, for I have since writ to him desiring the perusal of any one he pleased of four or five Books wch I nam'd, and perhaps he may a little alter his Resolution. I hope you took some account of Hengwrt study. I once had a sight of it, and took account of as many of ye old Parchment Books as Mr Grif. Vn,¹ Mr Howel's unkle, shew'd me: but had not time to run over the paper manuscripts. By Mr Wm Maurice's Catalogue of those manuscripts I find there should be a Cornish one amongst them: but whether it be different from those three or 4 Books we have of that Dialect I know not unlesse I could see the Initial and final words. Mr Howel Vn¹ was often talking of printing his Grandfather's Dictionary, which was that of Dr Davies improved. This being a printed Book I suppose would be lent any one in the House; and in one day I believe the notes might be transcribed. You are to expect no performance in that kind from me as being otherwise so much engaged, but suppose you undertook an Edition of Dr Davies yourself? I am sure you are at least as well qualified as I am, and no doubt 'twould sel very well, provided nothing of the Doctor's own be retrenched, and some considerable additions made. There was a little or nothing material in Mr Parry's *Dictionary*² but what there was I think I have copy'd. That of Pair Dadian (*sic*) I had transcribed before in the Mabinogi, in Llyfr Coch yr Hergest wch wee copyd in Glamorganshire. I should be very glad of a Transcript at your leasure of the additional words, to the Dictionary, as also of the French ones you mention. As to the Proverbs I am lesse curious, unlesse for the very old ones, in regard they may illustrate the sense of some obsolete words. There is a large Collection of Proverbs at Hengwrt, paralleled or at least interpreted with English and Latin. I thank you for your conjectures about Kegidva and Kegidiog; 'tis what never came

¹ Vn is evidently a contraction for Vaughan.

² DAVID PARRY, *A British Etymologicon*.

to my thought, but seems very probable. I have some thoughts of printing my *Archæologia* before ye *Dictionary* as thinking it may meet with more buyers, & having a tolerable apparatus for it: but 'twill be some years ere eighter (*sic*) of them is published: Ile make what hast I can. Will Jones is now at London a transcribing some things for me out of the *Cotton Library* and the *Tower*: in the former he has met with *Vocabularium Latino-Wallicum* written on Parchment about 200 years since wch yet is not Welsh but Cornish and so much a greater rarity but 'tis but brief. I have no thing to adde; hearty service to all friends, as you meet with them from Sr

yr affectionat humble servant

EDW. LHWYD

I shall be glad to continue our correspondence as long as we live.

228. For ye Rev. Mr. JOHN LLOYD¹ at ye Free School at Ruthin Denbighshire North Wales. (Copy, apparently in handwriting of Miss A. LHWYD, of Rhyl.) *Arch. Cambr.* 1858, 347.

Dear Sr

August 13. 1701.

I heartily beg your pardon for not returning sooner my thanks for your letter by Cadwaladr with the enclosed guinea from Mr. Salusbury and your transcript of Mr Roderic Evan's paper. When you see him pray give him my hearty service and thanks: and acquaint him that I have two Welsh MSS. I borrowed from his Father which he shall have when he pleases; unless he would accept of some new Book in consideration of them. One of them is old Kywydhae and the other is a Welsh Vocabulary which I borrowed on account of some examples on the words which Dr Davies has not: thô I find he had the perusal of it when he composed his Dictionary.

I have lately requested the favour of Sr Wm. Wms. of the perusal of some of his manuscripts: viz. one or two at a time: and then others when I return'd them: but the answer he sends me in his letter is in these words: 'You are heartily welcome to see and read any of my Books usefull to your design at Llanforda; but I'll not by any means lend any book out of my

¹ JOHN LLOYD matr. Jesus 1676; scholar of St. John's, Cambridge, 1681; Headmaster of Ruthin Grammar School 1691-5

house nor admit there or in any other place coppies to be taken of any of them; neither shall any part of my manuscripts be transcribed; if I should comply therein the Books now only in ye custody of Cosen Vaughan and myself would be dispersed; which I hope to prevent; and I suppose no reasonable person will blame my rejecting your request being (as I hinted before) very willing you should read any of them in my house: you promising on yr word not to transcribe any part of them &c.[†] Na dhanghoswch hwn i nêb, o herwydh nis gwydthom na dhaw ef yn fwynach etto. Ef a ddwedodh gynt (yn amser ei dad) nad oedh gantho (*sic*) bris yn y byd arnunt, ag na roede ddeg punt am yr holh *study*.

I must entreat you to put Mr Humfreys in mind when you see him; and to receive both my money and Ned Cozens' for his diet: which I engaged for, as being absolutely necessary: and by the directions of both his Brothers.

I was glad to see the letter you enclosed from H. Jones. I think I formerly told you how Petiver and Doody pillaged a cargo of stones he has sent me from Maryland; since which time I never could hear a syllable from him.

Dr Fowlkes (*sic*) returned hence to the Bath yesterday morning: he came hither with a gentleman in your neighbourhood, Mr S. Roberts, to see ye University and stayd two or three days. Our Oxford scholars wish all their visitants were such, for they treated us all the while they were here, and accepted of nothing.

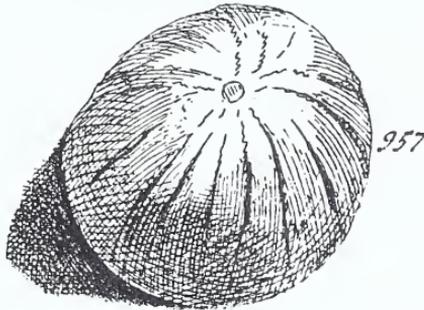
I formerly writ to you about Sr Richard Middleton's Welsh MSS.; some account whereof Mr Price of Wrexham has promised me, but I fear he has forgot it. I was going thither from Mr Lloyd's of Pen y lan: but a servant of Sr Rd told us he was just gone from home. Nothing can be more acceptable than hearing from you as oft as you have anything to communicate; and in whatever you would have done here you will (I hope) freely command

Dear Sr your most affectionat friend & humble Servt

EDW. LHWYD

[†] Were these MSS. part of those that perished at Wynnstay?

My respects to all friends. 'Tis hard the 10 shillings lent H. Maesmore should be lost. I writ to Sr Wm Wms yt you would receive his subscription money &c. and send it hither: Will Jones is at London transcribing some things for me out of the Cotton Library and the Tower; he is in Deacon's orders and in hopes of Bettws Gwervyl Goch: for the Bishop has promised it him in case the Bishop of Bangor approves of him, and I had before written to my Lord of Bangor.



Cock's knee Stone. *Echinites pileatus* (957), Chalk, Gravesend.
Lithophylacium, Pl. xii.

229. To Mr. SAMUEL DALE¹ of Braintree in Essex from Mr. EDWARD LHWYD, Keeper of the Ashmolean Repository in Oxford. *Phil. Trans.* xxiv, No. 291, p. 1566 (1704).

Oxford Sept. 19, 1701.

The state of these Bodies is quite different in your parts from what it is in Wales and Ireland. In those countries the Shells are generally crystalline, but with you (and sometimes hereabouts) they are testaceous. Which difference is doubtless to be attributed to the soil, and particularly to your Chalk and Flint, which all those countries want excepting a small part (I know not by what chance of Diluvian Dissolution) got into the North part of Ireland. But there 'tis remarkable that their Chalk is absolutely petrify'd: I mean, whereas the Flints are here imbodyed in Chalk, they are there in a chalk-white Limestone. And as your chalky countries only afford those *Echinitae* I have stil'd *pileatus*, *galeatus*, and *cordatus*,

¹ SAMUEL DALE (1659-1739) was a close friend of Ray, whose executor he became. His *Pharmacologia* passed through three editions.

so I could never find them in all my travels but at that place, from whence in the time of Paganism the Druids procur'd them and sold them amongst our Northern Britons for Stones of Miraculous efficacy against perils by fire and water; persuading the vulgar they were generated in *Cocks' knees*, as thousands in the Highlands believe at this day. And one fellow had the impudence to tell me (finding me a little hard of belief) that he himself had taken one, that his master had shew'd me, out of a Cock's knee with his own hand. . . .

[EDWARD LHWYD]

230. To ROBERT DAVIS *Esq of Llanerch*. *Camb. Reg.*, 1796.

Hon. Sir,

Oxford, Sept. 22, 1701.

Mr. Babington's obliging letter came safe to hand; but I have been much out of town since, or I had sooner returned my most humble thanks. I am glad the book came safe to your hands—I thought they had been all disposed of before my coming to Llanerch, or you had been troubled with one sooner; but finding unexpectedly Mr. Walter Thomas had reserved five or six of them, I directed him to send you one because you had been pleased to mention you were desirous of one of them. I beg your acceptance of it as a small token of gratitude. Perhaps I may not live to make you a better acknowledgment for your generous contribution towards my travails. And now these being over, I would not be troublesome to any gentleman for the remainder of their subscriptions, till I have at least my book in the press, which I cannot hope for yet a good while.—The glass-bead, and the stone, came here safe, and were very welcome. I do not know whether the former be Roman, or referable to our Glain Neidrs, whereof I have now a tolerable collection picked up in Wales by the name of Glain Neidr,¹ in the Highlands by the name of Crap an Aithreach, in the Low Lands by that of Adder-Sten, and in Cornwall Milpreve; these are as celebrated amongst the vulgar in Scotland as in Wales; but in England there is no talk of them, excepting in the west of Cornwall. I am fully satisfied from Pliny's account of the *Ovum Angui-*

¹ See No. 177.

num that these were also Druid Amulets, and am apt to suspect that they had even in those barbarous times, the art of making and staining glass; and that that was the art called *Celfyddyd fferyllt*, which Dr. Davies in his dictionary interprets *Chymia*:—I may hereafter trouble you Sir about transcripts of somewhat in your Welsh manuscripts, but not yet this good while; and what I do, my friend Mr. Foulke may get one to do it for me in the country well enough.

I have now a tolerable collection of such old matters; but I am still infinitely short of Sir William Williams, and that of Hengwrt, though I have many things from the Cotton library, the Tower, and elsewhere, which they want, and should be very willing (if they durst trust me so far) to make exchange. I am told Sir Richard Middleton has some Welsh MSS. which Mr. Price of Wrexham promised formerly he would peruse. I shall be very glad of an account from him or Mr. Foulkes, or any other of them. I am glad the seal came safe. I had not Mr. Thelwall's commission to part with, but I doubt not you had to call for it: I must confess I understood he had given it me, because when he first left it with me to read, he bade me keep it, and when I restored it him a twelve-month after, he bade me keep it again.

The copper plate Mr. Babington describes, I can make no guess at, having seen nothing of the kind—some of those copper or brass axes, found at Gloddaith, and elsewhere, so frequent in Wales and England, are also found in the bogs of Ireland, so that probably they are not Roman but British; and I have some suspicion that Dr. Davies has misinterpreted the British word *Gwefr*, when he renders it *Succinum*, because I had observed the Britons of France to call copper *Gweor*:—I take *Maen Kanhawen* to be no more than the stone of a man so called; as *Llech Gynfelyn*, *Llech Gynvarwy*, *Llech Ylched*, and at least 500 more. I know the people have a story of *Cant awen* (a hundred bridles) but I have observed that our vulgar are whimsical in nothing more than etymologies of places. I hope Mr. Williams sent you Dr. Langbain's letter, with the account of the Roman inscription you desired might

be transcribed out of Ashmole's library¹—and that you will be pleased if there be any thing else you are curious of here, to lay your commands on, most honoured Sir,

Your ever obliged Humble servant,

EDWARD LLWYD

I thought of your Scotch traveller when I met with a printed account of Macduff's Cross at Edinburgh, and produced ten copies of it, one to be sent you; but I have not yet received my box out of that country, though I hear 'tis now come to London.

Petrifactions at Harwich

231. To Mr. SAMUEL DALE of Braintree in Essex. *Phil. Trans.* xxiv, No. 291, p. 1567 (1704).

Oxford, Nov. 10, 1701.

. . . We were surpriz'd here to find so many Fossils, scarce distinguishable from Sea-Shells: for as I mention'd before to you, the case is otherwise in those places I searched. We have indeed in these parts one or two Fossil Shells of a testaceous substance; but in colour they recede farther from those of the sea than yours. I find by those sent me that you sometimes find them imbedded in solid Stone: which takes off any objection some might offer, of their being an accidental scattering of Gulls, Crows etc. on the Harwich Cliffs.

Looking upon this occasion into Cambden's *Britannia*, I find in the last edition a note concerning a Petrifying Spring at Harwich, which reduces clay and wood into Stone, of which I should be glad of some particular account from you at your leisure: as also of the place where these are found, particularly how far the furthest from the Sea.

[EDWARD LHWYD]

[In Mr. DALE's reply, dated February 1703, twenty-eight species of fossil shells are distinguished, and a letter from JOHN MORTON of Oxenden dated August 4, 1699, is quoted.]

[There is now a gap of nearly a year in the correspondence. But we do know from a reply that LhwYd wrote to Thomas Molyneux on 24 May 1703.]

¹ MS. *Ashmole* 854, ff. 294-7. The inscription was found at Chester in 1653.

232. To Dr. RICHARDSON. *Richardson Corr.* xxiii

Oxford, July 17th, 1702.

Dear Sir,

This hopes to find you in perfect health, and begs a few lines of account of it, &c. at your leasure. Not hearing from you when I was in Gloucestershire, I concluded you would return through Cambridge before the time I mentioned; so have put off my going thither myself; this being the main harvest-time at the Museum. In the mean while, Mr VERNON has been to visit us here; with whom, amongst other friends, we took occasion to remember you several times. You found, I suppose, that both he and all the virtuosoës of the south are fully persuaded that the marine fossils and coal plants are the effects of the deluge: so I should be glad to know whether they shew'd you such specimens and propos'd such arguments, as have convinced you of it likewise. I know not whether I ever recommended to your curiosity the examining of the *Stalactite* or *dropping-stone* of the lime-stone caves, for *Entrochi*, &c. I do assure you that I have found large and small *Entrochi* in it in Ireland; which, with me, is little less than demonstration that some of these bodies are form'd in the ground, where we find these; and, if some be, we may bid fayr for the rest.

You have heard, I presume, ere this, that our friend, Dr SHERARD, is made Commissioner for the Exchange of Prisoners and for the Care of the Sick and Wounded, which places, Mr Bobart tells me, are worth about £300 per annum.

I suppose Mr PETIVER has sent you the ten first tables of his *Gazophylacium Naturæ*: I suppose there are more of them done; but as yet we have not receiv'd them. He writes me word that his sixth figure of tab. 4, is from China; which I took at first sight not to differ from my *Stella rubra geniculata Cornubiensium*, *quinis radiis pinnatis, ab exortu bifidis*, wherof I think I sent you a pattern; but, on a further view, I find his has thirteen *radii*. I hear nothing of Mr Ray's *Supplement*;¹

¹ This appeared two years subsequently, under the title of *Historiæ Plantarum Tomus Tertius, qui est Supplementum duorum præcedentium*. It was the last of Ray's works published in his life-time. His *Methodus Plantarum*

which I am afraid Smith and Walford will be very slow in undertaking; nor of his *Methodus nova reformata*, which, Dr Sherard told me long since, was a printing in Holland. We are come to no issue yet with Mr Cole of Bristow's Executor;¹ tho' the Vice-Chancellor keeps him still in suspence; but in the meantime the collection, I fear, is daily diminished. I expect Mr. STONESTREET² here this night, with a cargo of what fossils he guesses may be acceptable here, and some *Echini* and *Sea Stars*. He makes but a short stay; and, as soon as he is gone, I design for Cambridge, where I shall probably continue three weeks or a month, and then return hither, where I hope to be welcom'd with a letter from you, to,

Honor'd Sir, Your most obliged humble servt,
EDWD LHWYD

P. S. I should be glad to hear from you at Cambridge; but Mr Vernon will be out of town, and I know no body else; so that I cannot give you directions.

Itinerary to Cambridge

[MS. *Ashmole* 1815, f. 55v. has a note on the length of 6 stages between Oxford and Cambridge totalling 52 miles. When there, Lhwyd was the guest of W. VERNON in Peterhouse, and had been given introductions to various Cambridge men by his great friend W. NICOLSON, Bishop of Carlisle.]

233. MS. *Lister* 37, 24.

Cambridge Aug. 4th 1702.

Hond Sr

This hopes to find you in perfect health and congratulates your return to London. I have been sent hither by our late printed *Catalogue of MSS.* in quest of Giraldus Cambrensis's maps of Britain and Ireland; but find that what is call'd so in that catalogue, deserves no such title: tho' it be certain that he did make a map of Wales, wch Mr Wharton saw in ye library at Westminster; but they say its burnt since. However being

reformata et aucta was published at Leyden, in 1703, under the care of Dr. Hotton.

¹ There are several letters among the *Reliquiae Luidianae* referring to Mr. KELE, the executor.

² Rev. WILLIAM STONESTREET, M.A. Cantab. 1681, rector of St. Stephens, Walbrook 1689. A good botanist.

here; I resolve to continue about 3 weeks longer; for I find 'm very obliging; and very easy access to their libraries. If in ye mean time I can doe any service by looking out any manuscript, be pleasd to direct yr letter to Mrs Wray's near Trinity College. I despair of finding any copy of *Apicius*; at leastwise they have none in their catalogues.

Our Vicechancr demurr'd so long about Mr Cole's museum; that 'tis at last bought (as ye Dean of Bristow informd me) by one Dr Lane a physician in the town. We might have had it scandalously cheap: for about 60li. and ye cabinets boxes and glasses were worth half the money. I am Hond Sr

Yr ever obliged humble servant
EDW. LHWYD

I use ye old directions, thô uncertain whether right.

234. MS. *Lister* 37, 25

Oxford Sept. 2. 1702.

Dear Sr

I searchd ye MSS. of Peter House, Bennet College, Trinity & St John's, but found no *Apicius* nor any manner of curiosity of that sort. Thô their collections be considerable otherwise. I likewise perusd all the manuscripts in their Publique Library, but in vain. I met with three or four printed copies; but all were of the Basil edition.

I had a very kind reception from Dr Cowel ye Master of Christ College, who shewd me the onely collection of gold coyns of the later Greek Emprs I ever saw: besides others ancient and valuable. Also a paper of red perl, of ye size & form of hazle kernels taken out of *Pinnæ* in ye Isle of Lemnos.

He has engagd the lime-kiln men of Cherry Hinton, &c. to save all the remarkable fossils they meet with; by allowing some of their children their schooling, and has got a great parcel, but not yet digested; so I had no view of them. Their greatest rarity is a sort of *Siliquastrum corrugatum*; but as yet they have met with but few of them. Mr Vernon and one Mr Antrobus of Peter House have neat collections of ye insects of ye Leguminous kind (if I may so call them) but they seem to have neglected ye rest; saveing that Mr Vernon has a good box of beetls. This Mr Antrobus is an excellent

scholar and a man every way valuable: and one from whom we may hope for good observations in this subject. The occasion of my directing to you at London, was upon Mr Stonestreet's telling me, he was glad you were chosen one of her Majesties Physicians, on account he should have sometime your conversation at London. He was pleas'd lately to visit us at Oxford: and I was glad of an opportunity of obliging so excellent a person with the best of my duplicats of fossils.

I am, Hond Sr

Yr ever obliged humble servant

EDW. LHWYD

235. To THOMAS TONKIN at *Lambrigan in St. Piran in the Sands*. *W. Pryce, Archæologia Cornu-Britannica 1790.*

Honoured Sir,

Oxford, Oct. 1, 1702.

I take this opportunity (which I must confess is a very late one) of begging your pardon for not writing to you, neither out of France, nor since my return; which, as you have heard I suppose long since, was five or six weeks after landing; whereas, when I went thither, I propos'd not to return in seven or eight months. I am very sensible, and shall always continue so, of your singular civility, both in Cornwall, and in procuring and giving us letters of recommendation thither; where we found a kind reception from all we conversed with, excepting the Intendant of Brest; who, having a little before received a check from Court for some negligence, was pleas'd, by the way of making amends, to exercise his double diligence on me, and several other English then in this neighbourhood.

Sir, Mr. ANKERSTEIN, the gentleman that brings you this, is come into England, purely to improve his experience as to mines; and having been already at the (reputed) silver mines of Cardiganshire, he comes now to see your tin works of Cornwall. His father and himself (as I take it) have some considerable places in the King of Sweden's copper works: and in order the better to qualify himself, he has already seen most of the celebrated mines of Europe. Finding, by experience, that strangers, when they come to the remote parts of any country, are often suspected, at least by the common

people, I have presumed to recommend him to your favour, as a very honest gentleman; and very knowing in that study he has applied himself to: which is all at present from,

Worthy Sir, Your's, &c.

EDW. LHWYD

236. MS. *Lister* 37, 26.

Mus. Ashm. Oxford Oct. 16. 1702.

Dear Sr

I have this day by my frd Mr Madox (of ye Augmentation Office) sent you a transcript of all that Barthius has left us upon *Apicius*. I can not find Humelbergius here; but you'l find Barthius somtimes corrects him, thô he allows him to be a man of learning. I desired Mr Madox to leave the papers with Dr Robinson; but they are seald and directed to your self at Epsome.

Dr Hudson, our publique library keeper, is publishing Nicander's *Theriaca et Alexipharmaca*; wch he has desir'd me to acquaint you with, and would be glad of some notes upon him; for he is concern'd as to his own part, onely in the Greek.

He also gave me ye inclosd paper to send to you, containing a catalogue of such of your books, as they have in the Publique Library. He is an importunat beggar for the publique; but I told him you were so great a benefactor to this place that it was not proper for me to trouble you about any other.

We have here amongst Mr Ashmole's manuscripts a very fayr book of old English cookery written about 300 years since on parchment. It begins thus *Potage. Hic incipit Kalendarium de diversis Potagijs Lang wortys de chare* 1. *Lang wortys de pesoun* 2. &c. with the manners of preparing about 200 dishes; and concludes with *Convivium dium Henrici Regis quarti, in Coronatione sua apud Westmonasterium*; where the names of the dishes are all French. I am Hond Sr

Yr most obliged humble servt

EDW. LHWYD

237. To HENRY ROWLANDS.

Oxford, Nov. 1. 1702

Dear Sir

I was this summer, for about three or four weeks, at Cambridge; being invited thither by a false title of a manuscript in their late printed Catalogue which promis'd me a map of Britain and Ireland, by Giraldus Cambrensis; though the book when consulted, afforded nothing but the out-lines of two islands; with the word Britannia in the midst of one of them, and Hibernia in the other; and the Orchades placed betwixt both, instead of the Hebrides. I had several other manuscripts to consult; but receiv'd no great instruction. However, being there I copied *Giraldus's Epistles*; and linger'd out my time betwixt the Publick Library, that of Bennet-College, and Trinity.

In the Publick Library I happen'd to meet with a very antient manuscript of Juvencus, a Spanish Priest, who turn'd the Gospel into Heroick Verse in the time of Constantine. 'Twas written upon very thick parchment, in that character we call the Irish, but was indeed antiently the British; whence both they and the Saxons receiv'd it. Turning the leaves over, I observ'd here and there, some words gloss'd or interpreted by other more familiar Latin words; and sometimes by British; whereby I learn'd that the Britains pronounced the letter (m) in the midst and at the end of words, as we now pronounce (v) consonant; which accounts for the name of Cadvan, being written Catamanus at Lhan Gadwaladr. I learn'd several other notes as to their orthography, with the signification of some few words; but I am at a loss to know the British of what country it was; for it seems so different from ours, that I should rather suspect it either for the language of the Picts, or that of the Stradelwyd Britains; as perhaps you will own upon reading the three following Englyns, which I found at the top-margin of three successive pages in the midst of the book [these Englyns he hath printed in the letter which he found them written in, and may be seen, with his reading of them, in his *Archæologia*, page 221.]

I have sent it to one Mr. . . ., a Shropshire Welshman, and

a famous linguist and critick; but he return'd me such an interpretation, as I shall not now trouble you withal.

Sir, I hope towards the latter end of spring to begin to print my *Archæologia*; what information you can contribute in the *interim* (particularly as to antient customs, &c) will be very acceptable to Worthy Sir,

Your most Obliged Humble Servant,
EDWARD LHWYD

238. MS. *Lister* 37, 27.

Hond Sr

Oxford Nov. 17. 1702.

I was about six miles hence (where I now spend much of my time because of some unnecessary interruptions at the Museum) when your present came. I carried yesterday to Dr Delaun (the President of St John's College; who is now our V. Chanclr) a catalogue of the books, and he has orderd me to return you his most humble service and thanks, as did also Dr Hudson; to whom I just now deliverd the parcel directed to him. I am glad the notes out of Barthius were acceptable. In any thing I can be serviceable, you will constantly & for ever find the same readinesse in (most Hond Sr)

Yr ever obliged humble servant
EDW. LHWYD

239. To HENRY ROWLANDS.

Dear Sir

Oxford, Dec. 20. 1702.

I receiv'd your obliging letter of the seventh. I am well satisfied, much of your reading is true; but that of Mr. — will, I believe, surprise you, as well as it did me, when you will see it.—As to the letter *z*, 'twas till of late the only letter the Armoricans and Cornish us'd both for *dh* and *th*, and a Priest of Quemper Diocese in Bretagne taught me to read Brezonec [*Linguâ Armoricanâ*] Brethonæg; whereas those of the Diocese of St Paul de Leon, who pretend to be the refiners of the British, had directed me to read, as we should in England, Brezonek; but you must know that almost all foreigners pronounce the *z* as *ts*. In an old Cornish manuscript I have on parchment, the word for Father is written Tays, and so I found it always, but they pronounce their *s*

as we do z.—I am afraid we shall hear no more of the Hebrew coin,¹ 'tis now so long since 'twas lost. I shall long heartily to read your archæological observations, and am very glad to find you have considered that subject. 'Tis the happiest temper a man can be master of, not too tenacious of his conjectures; and I hope, I am not of their number, who frequently recommend this doctrine, and yet are very indulgent to their own fancies; of which disease, I know none more sick than Dr. [Woodward], who makes his hypothesis a demonstration of what Moses (says Mr. Harries²) hinted at; and is much displeas'd at every one who do not believe it as much as Gospel.

Amongst your other archæological observations, I should be glad of your thoughts of the signification of British proper names of men and women, ex. gr. what the word Mael, so common with them, might imply; which was of frequent use with them both in the former and later part of names, as Maelgwn, Kynvael; Maeldrew, Dervael; Arthvael, Maelarth; Brychvael, Cadvael, Caranvael, Dymwal, Tegvael, Tydvael, Fermael, &c.

I find divers places (whose names are now obscure) named in antient times from mens proper names; as Y Glwysig, in Denbigh-shire, from Eliseg; Koed Marchan, near Ruthin, and Keven Varchen, in Caermarthen-shire, from Marchen; Pant y Polion, in the same county, from Paulinus. For I have found monuments of these persons at each of them, the latest whereof, viz. Eliseg, was great grandfather to Kyngen ap Kadetch, Prince of Powys, who dy'd about the year 840.

Sir Your real Friend and humble Servant,
EDWARD LHWYD

240. *For the Reverend Mr HUMPHREY FOULKES Rector att St George's. Arch. Camb. 1859, 246.*

Oxford Decem. 20 1702.

Dear Sr

I had been long conscious of my desperat dept. (*sic*) and was resolved upon writing the very post I received yours. The French words paralleled with British (*sic*) were very acceptable: and I intreat you to send the remainder att your

¹ See *Mona*, p. 318.

² Dr. J. HARRIS refers to Lhwyd in his *Remarks on the Deluge*, 1697.

leasure together with what Greek you have additional to Dr Davies's. I understood the additional British in your dictionary were but very few, els you had been teisd for them long since. I have no thoughts (because no time) of a second edition of that work: but I design in my archæologia a large etimological vocabulary of the Irish, and a lesser of the Cornish: which I hope may contribute something to the better understanding of our language, and may be acceptable att least to the curious of our nation, as well as to the lovers of antiquity elsewhere. As for Moriadoc, Carew in his survey of Cornwall makes him a prince of that country. D'Argentre in his French H. of Bretagne Armorique follows G. of Monm. as to his coming out of this isle, but pretends not to distinguish whence. I shall not pretend to moderate betwixt you and Mr Carew; and can only inform you that on the one hand the Cornish language is tolerably intelligible to the Armoricans, and vice versâ: but the Welch (*sic*) to neither of them; which should imply their going out of Cornwall Devon &c. and on the other hand there is in his Bretagne a very considerable city and country called by the Bretons Gwenett, by the French Vannes; which we came not nigh, being prevented as Mr Taylor can particularly informe you. I am of opinion we never had the whole Bible in British before your present translation. Some pieces we might have as well as the Saxons, and other nations; but I do not know that any nation had it in their vulgar tounge till of late ages. The oldest I have anywhere seen is an imperfect copy of the B. of Genesis in Irish wch a Priest near Slego (*sic*) bestowed on me. He told me 'twas the opinion of one of their chiefest antiquitys, (*sic*) that that very fragment was little later than the first planting of Christianity in that Island. So that 'twill be an old piece tho we allow him 300 or 400 years mistake. One of the oldest Latin Gospels in England is that imperfect one att the Cathedrall Library in Lichfield which they call Textus Sti Ceaddee; but we have lately discovered it to have come anciently out of S. Wales and that it belonged to the Church of Llandaf about 900 years ago, from some donations to that Church mentioned in the margin. And, now I mention Llandaf, I should be glad to know what book

Dr Davies should mean by Lib. Land.¹ so often quoted in his Dictionary: since the manuscript of that name cited by Usher, Goodwyn and Dugdale, and now in Mr Davies of Llanerch's library contines (*sic*) but few of those words which agree very well with the Cornish and Armoric. As to the customs you mention we find some of them in Howel Dha's laws, which were not only retained but improved by the English, because they served their interest, thô they abrogated his other laws because dictated by the Devil, as the A. Bp. told our last Prince Lhwelyn; who itt seems was ignorant the (*sic*) had confirmed them. I know no more of the Welch Convocation man than what you mention out of Morris Kyffyn, nor is his memory worth much enquiry. I never saw Mr Baxter's notes on Horace. I have lately begun a correspondence with him; and I take him for a person of learning and integrity, thô, I fear me, too apt to indulge fancy: wch I gather from his interpretation of those three Englyns wch I found this last summer in the margin of a very ancient Latin MS. at the publique library in Cambrige (*sic*). The book seemed to me about 1000 years old and the marginall Englyns not much later. I have this very post sent them in the originall hand as near as I could imitate it to Mr John Lloyd of Ruthyn, but have not time to insert them so here. I should be glad to know your thoughts of them and so shall forbear inserting Mr Baxter's reading least it should prejudice you, only tell you in generall that he declares it is to him a very plaine prediction that our gracious Queen shall have another prince who shall reign after her. The words are thus,

niguorcosam nemhennaur
 henoid mitolu nit gurmaur
 mi am franc dam an calaur
 ni camwiguardam nicusam
 henoid cet iben med nouel
 mi am franc dam an patel
 namercit un nep ceguenid
 henoid isdiscir mi conedid
 don nam ricens imguetid

¹ *Liber Landavensis.*

As to our old British orthography you must know that *a* was sometimes pronounced *e*; *b* sometimes as *f*; *c* sometimes as *ch*, (*sic*) sometimes as *g*, but generally *k*; *D* commonly as now, and after it served for *dd*; *g* often superfluous in the middle for the word *pedwar* the (*sic*) wrote *petguar*: *ll* was expressed by a single *l*; *m* often in the midst and att the end as *f* (or *v*): *p* att the end of words for *b*; and *b* at the end was always as *v*; *t* supplied *th* and *nw*.

I once supposed from the last line of these Englyns that they alluded to St Peter's denying our Saviour: but I can not make it out. As for Dr Leigh one difference betwixt him and Mr Baxter¹ is that Baxter understands severall languages, but Leigh never a one: nor indeed (as an author) scarce common sense or civility.

Cunobalus might very properly be rendered *Kynhaval*, and so might *Cunomalus*; as K. Kadvan at Lh. Gadwaladr in Anglesey is written *Catamanus*. I have observed that the Romans and ancient Britans (*sic*) expressed *Kyn* in the British names by *Cuno*, but towards the 8th century both the Britans and Irish rendered it *con*; for the British name *Kynvelyn* was written by the Romans *Cunobelinus*; and I found it on an old crosse in Glamorganshire *Conbolini*; and that (according to their skill in Grammar) in the nominative case. So *Conmarch* and *Concen* on the monument (of the 9th century) att Vale Crucis: but in Penbrokeshire *Cunotamus* for *Kynodha*;² and in Cornwall *Cunoval* for *Kynwal*, which is probably the same name with your *Kynhaval*.

The Triades, quoted by Camden and others, are not the same with those you mean; *thô* in some lesser copies those morall Triades you mention are added to them. Their Triades is called (*sic*) *Trioedh Ynys Brydyn*; but 'tis above a sheet or two in all; written as Mr Vaughan of Hengwrt concluded about a thousand yeares since, or little lesse; but the transcribers in every age commonly added something. Mr Vaughan

¹ WILLIAM BAXTER (1650–1723) had been a Schoolmaster teaching at Tottenham High Cross and later in the Mercers' School in London for 20 years. He wrote some 250 pages of closely written letters to Lhwyd after 1702.

² The St. Dogmael's Ogham Stone.

was prevailed upon by Primate Usher to write a large comment upon it, wch some body after the author's death conveyed out of Hengwrt study, as his son Mr Griff. Vaughan assured me; who was much concerned att the losse of it. The oldest copy of Trioedh I have begins thus

'Porth a aeth ygan yrp Lluydauc 'hyt yn Lhychlyn, ar gur hvnnv a doeth yman yn 'oes Gadyal y byry y erchi dygyfor or ynys honn——ar rei hynny un tri aryanllu ynys Brydein——Tri goruchol garcharwr ynys Brydein Lhyr Lhedyeith a Mabon Glochydh vab Modron a Geir vab Geiryoed &c.'

The last words are

'ar drydyd calain verch idon uab ner ygan uaelgvn.'

I have but just room to add that I hope you will for ever favour me with your correspondence, wch is ye hearty request of

Sr Your reall friend

& Servt ED. LHWYD

241. To HUMPHREY WANLEY.¹

Cambro-Briton, ii, p. 158.

Apleton, Jan. 6, 1703.

Sir,

Being retired, for this winter season, (when there's little or nothing to do at the Museum), about six miles out of town, it falls out to be sometimes a week before I have letters from Oxford, and, perhaps, as long ere I can send my answers thither; you had else sooner received my thanks for your most acceptable and obliging letter of December 24th.

I knew nothing of Macgregol's Gospel, till you directed me, but, have gone since on purpose from hence to see it, and was well satisfyed with the journey. As to your *quære*, whether the names of the two interpreters (Fermen and Owen) be British, I can only say, that Owen is common to the Britans and Irish, both as to modern use and in their oldest books of genealogy; but Fermen is peculiar (for what I have yet observed) to the Irish, which, according to the propriety of that language, varies into Herman and Herimon, a custom, which the old Spaniards seem to have had once in common with them,—seeing, we find, they have turned the Roman *facere* to

¹ He was librarian to Lord Oxford, and arranged the famous Harleian Collection of MSS., now in the British Museum.

hazar, fabulari to *hablar, fumare* to *humear*, so *faba, hava*,—*fatur, hado*,—*fermosus, hermoso*,—*fascis, hacha*,—*fagus, haya*, &c. Macgregol is also, in all likelihood, an Irish name; so that upon the whole, these old Scots seem to have a greater claim to this valuable monument, notwithstanding its Teutonic interpretation, than either Saxons, Danes, or Britons.

I heartily thank you for your promise of communicating, for the future, an account of such British and Irish MSS, as shall occur, and desire you would please to number me amongst the rest of your friends, as you examine any library of old MSS. I am but a stranger to the Cotton Library, as, indeed, to most others.

My lord of Carlisle sends me the welcome news, they are likely to elect you Keeper; but, I have not learned what the profit of the place may amount to, and, I hope, if you should accept of it, that you will not be thereby confined to reside there.

I find my Lord of Carlisle had an imperfect account of the reputed British history in the Gresham Library; for you tell me 'tis Irish, and, he says, 'tis onely a Latin treatise (written in Irish characters) of logic, ethicks, and physicks. No doubt, but the Picts used the same character with the Scots and Britains, and, probably their language could not be much different; so, we know not, but some of the very ancient Irish MSS., still extant, might have been their's. For, that language has been so much neglected these later years by all scholars, that I dont know of any vocabulary of it (much lesse of any dictionary) ever published, except a small one printed at Louvaine, all Irish. This want of a dictionary has made almost all the Irish parchment MSS. unintelligible, and little regarded; insomuch, that I could not, though I made it my business, find one scholar or gentleman in Ireland, that could give me any tolerable account of the few old MSS., I had bought of some of the heirs of their country poets and genealogists. Thus, having no dictionary nor teacher, I have not been able, though very desirous, to acquire any skill at all in the Irish MSS, though I understand their printed books tolerably well. If any living person interprets the MS. you mention (though 'tis

not probably worth much inquiry), it must be some of the Irish or Highland clergy of foreign education, or at least some curious Highland gentleman, who has been particularly conversant that way.

I find, by your censure of Kolum Kil's Gospel, you have acquired a more critical skill in distinguishing the dates of our oldest MSS. than I thought attainable, in regard they are so few; but it seems, and I am glad to find it so, we are not so poor as I imagined.

You have probably, ere this, perused that MS. of the bishop of Norwich's I mentioned in my last. If you have copied the few marginal entries in it, I should be glad of them at your leisure, as also of the few Irish words you say there are in one place of the Cambridge Psalter now by you; because, they may, perhaps, prove British. Pray, do you take the Durham Gospels to be Saxon or British hands? and are there any glosses or marginal entries? It has long been my opinion, that the Irish received their letters from the Britans, and the Saxons from both, which I grounded on the several MSS. we have in that character in Wales, and the number of old Irish MSS., either as to language or character, still extant though very much dispersed. The oldest I have met with, with any assurance of date, is the inscription of Kadvan, king of North Wales, who was at the famous engagement against Æthelfrith, *anno* 617, according to the Saxon Chronicle. We have diverse others, that look old enough, but no certainty of the time.

I am, Sir, your obliged friend and humble servant,
E. LHWYD

242. To HENRY ROWLANDS [*later Vicar of Lanidan, Anglesey*]
[*On the Etymology of British Names. Mona antiqua, p. 327.*]

Sir

[Feb. 1702-3]

I return you most humble thanks for yours of Feb. 5. I am so much satisfied with your observations about our British names, that I have no objections to offer, but recommend the same to your farther improvement, at your leisure, in other examples, which our old pedigrees may abundantly supply you with: and I am so much the more bold herein,

because I design to consider that subject in the first Book of the *Archæologia*—I thank you for your note about Catvalda, Prince of the Suevi, and Catamelus and Hymelus. Not only the Latin but also the Northern M was, we may safely conclude, equivalent to our F, V or W. And we (as the Irish do still) used either M or B where we now use F, &c. till about the time of the Norman Conquest. That the Teutonick M and our [modern] (*sic*) F are the same, appears from diverse words. Thus their Summer (which I know would startle some philologers) is undoubtedly the same word with our Haf; for in old Irish parchments, I find it written Samh, and their modern word is Samhradh. As for our using the H in the beginning of such words as the Teutonick languages, and the Latin begin with an S, we agree therein with the Greeks and Spaniards. I know not whether any critick has offer'd any reason for this diversity in reference to the Greek and Latin languages, wherein 'tis vulgarly known, as ἡμι, Semi; ὑπέρ, Super; ἥλιος, Sol, &c. But from the Irish language we may plainly see, how we and the Spaniards came by that pronunciation; viz. from our antient custom of varying the initial letters; for the Irish do not only vary those initial letters that we do, but do also change their initial F, S and T into H; D into G; and G into Gh. Thus Salhadh is the Irish word for Thrusting. Do halhadh se. He did thrust. Saladh. To defile; Do halurdh to. Thou hast defiled. Sarruadh. To oppress; Ni haireochatu. Thou shalt not oppress. So. Sean, old; Seabhoe, a Hawk; Silog, a Willow-Tree; Siol, Seed; Salen, Salt; Seith, a Swarm, &c. must, as the syntax requires, be pronounced sometimes Hean, Heavok, Hilog, Hil, Halen and Heilh. And as the Teutonick Summer is the same with our Haf, so is their Saxon Hrcompsa or wild Garlick [now Ramsons] the same with our craf: for we are to note that the old Teuton pronouncing the initial C very gutturally, as we of North-Wales and the Armorick-Britains do still, did by degrees soften it to an H, as the South Wales men now do, who say, Hwain, Hware, Hwilio, Hwerthin &c. When I speak of barbarous nations altering their letters, I mean only such potestates as we now ascribe to those letters; for I am

satisfied that all such like variations came by the ear of the multitude, and not from writing, which very few, if any at all, understood. This variation of C into H, seems to me manifest from these following and such like examples: Sax. Haenep [now Hemp] Cannabis: Sax. Heafod [now Head] Caput, Horn, Cornu; Hart, Cervus; Heart, Cor; Hose, Cavea; Hund, Canis; Hus or House, called by the Italians, Casa; Hwa [now who] Qui; What, Quid: Sax. Hwegol, a Cycle; a Hundred (by the Cantabrians or old Spaniards, Ehun) Centum &c. From these and other such like observations, it appears to me, that all our neighbouring tongues, might be demonstrated to be of one origin; as for the Slavonian and others more remote, I have no knowledge of them, and so can say nothing.

I am not averse to publish in this first Book of the *Archæologia Britannica*, such a collation of the principal words of the several British dialects, as you recommend; but the Irish would fall much short of the rest. And I know not whether the large Irish and the Cornish vocabulary, I have made for this Tome; together with grammatical observations about their agreement with our British, may not in great measure answer the ends you propose. In your next be pleas'd to insert your notion of the use of such an index, more at large, that I may further consider of it.

I suppose your friend that parallel'd the British words with the Irish, was Mr. E. F. who has been so kind as to impart to me also an Alphabetical Catalogue of such words, before ever I had any thoughts of the design I am now engag'd in: I suppose he has made large improvements since: and indeed it seems to me that the Irish have in a great measure kept up two languages; the old British and the Scottish which they brought with them from Spain: for notwithstanding their histories (as those of the origin of other nations) be involv'd in Fables; that there came a Spanish colony into Ireland, is very manifest, from a comparison of the Irish tongue partly with the modern Spanish, but especially with the Cantabrian or Basque: and this should invite us to have something of more regard than we usually have, to such fabulous histories. They have also (I think) a greater allay of the Teutonic than

we: as Sneacht, Snow; Dorchadus, Darkness; Folamh [or Holav] Hollow; Bir and Burn, Brook and Water, &c &c.

I have as yet had but little time for the perusal of your antiquities of Anglesey. I shall ever remain sensible of my obligations for your communicating a piece which seems all I have hitherto met with.

I am Sir Yours entirely

EDWARD LHWYD

243. To THOMAS TONKIN at Lambrigan
W. Pryce, Arch. Cornu. Brit. 1790.

Honoured Sir,

Oxf. Feb. 8, 1702-3

It was but three day since that Mr. THOMSON¹ shewed me your letter about the Cornish MSS. &c. Those two I formerly gave him an account of, are all the books here in that language.—One of them (which is the more valuable) is a small folio, written on parchment, in a court hand, about 200 years since. This has formerly been copied, and Mr. ANSTIS² has (I suppose) the only copy that ever was taken from it. Having compared Mr. Anstis's copy (which he was pleased to lend me) with the original, I find it has several small errata. The Bishop (Sir Jonat. Trelawney) was pleased to communicate to me Mr. Keigwyn's translation, and transcript of Mr. Anstis's copy, which I have also transcribed for my own use; but comparing this book of Mr. Keigwyn's with the Bodley original, I find the old gentleman did not always keep to his text, but varied sometimes as he could make sense. 'Tis therefore, as you truly conclude, the best course to transcribe from the originals.—Mr. Thomson tells me he can get the Taberdars to transcribe by turns: and one Griffith of our College (who has transcribed mine, and is well acquainted with the hand, and partly understands the language) offers his service to copy both, at sixpence a sheet; so be pleased to write to either of us your orders, and they shall be observed. This book consists of three plays; and the other which is on paper, written about 100 years since by one W. Jordan, contains I think but one. If you are for Mr. Keigwyn's translation, it shall be also

¹ JOHN THOMSON, in 1700 fellow of Queen's College, where the scholars are termed Taberdars.

² JOHN ANSTIS b. 1669, d. 1744-5.

transcribed; but I must acquaint Mr. Anstis with it: or if you would have the English in a book apart, with the same figures, number of lines in a page that the Cornish hath, &c. it may be done without mentioning, though for ought I know, you and Mr. Anstis are intimate friends.—Four-pence a sheet will be enough for transcribing the English, but the Cornish you know will be twice as tedious.

Sir, I am sorry the Swedish gentleman neglected to leave my letter behind him, wherein I begged your pardon (as I now heartily do) for not returning my thanks at our coming from France. My Cornish verses have I doubt so many Wallicisms, that they are not worth your enquiring after. I sent the printed copy by the Swede to Mr. Moor; and 'twas left with his widow: and it had been sent them before in writing, with a translation of them. Those few things that occurred to me in Cornwall, which are chiefly Inscriptions, and a Vocabulary as copious as I can make it, I design to insert (God willing) in my *Archæologia Britannica*; which I hope to print some time this next summer. I am, &c.

EDW. LHWYD

P.S. The parchment MS. consists of 41 leaves, and was given to the Bodleian Library by one James Button of Worcestershire, Esq. anno 1615. I am heartily glad to find you curious (amongst your other studies) in your own country language and antiquities; and must recommend to you the taking in of the Armorick antiquities and language, which will much illustrate your own.

244. To THOMAS TONKIN

Honoured Sir,

Oxford, March 16, 1702-3.

The Cornish Verses (since you must have them) are here sent you; though they are not worth the trouble of reading, much less the sending so far. I aimed at imitating the Book Cornish, rather than the Cornish now spoken; for, as you'll find when you receive your manuscripts, it has been much corrupted this last age or two. Mr. Thomson tells me you were pleased to acquaint him in one of your letters, that you have an old man in your neighbourhood, that understands the present Cornish; if so, I should be glad of any such riddles,

or rhimes, you can pick up from him, as also to know how much he understands of these of mine.

This sort of verse was, for what I can yet find, the oldest, if not the only verse amongst the ancient Britons: for 'tis the oldest in our Welsh books, and I have heard an old fellow repeat one of them in the highlands of Scotland; and had another from the Clerk of St. Just, viz.

An lavar koth yw lavar gwîr,
Na boz nevra dôz vâz an tavaz re hîr;
Bez dên heb davaz a gollaz i dîr.

The old saying is a true saying,
A tongue too long never did good:
But he that had no tongue, lost his land.

Amongst our old British Elegies, whereof a good number are still preserved in parchment MSS. (though I was refused access to the two studies, where they chiefly are) I find one on Gereint ab Erbyn in the same kind of verse, which I design to print with some others in my *Archæologia*. This Gereint ab Erbyn, according to our account, was a Prince of your country, and cotemporary with King Arthur: and I observed that you have places called yet Gerens, and Trev Erbyn, denominated for ought we know from this Gereint, and his father. The Elegy celebrates his valour at the battle of Lhongborth, where he was slain. Camden tells us London was called Longport, by an old British bard; but I am apt to think the place meant here, must have been somewhere in the West.

Mr. Thomson has already got Jordan's MS. copied for you, by the Taberders; which being a late plain hand, they have done I hope well enough: but he did not design to set them upon the other, because it is a large task, and an old court hand; so I'll put either Griffith, or Parry, about that, and the other writings, as you desire. Be pleased in your next to inform us, whether you would have Keigwyn's English translation written on the opposite pages, or these pages left blank for your own Latin or English translation hereafter; and have Keigwyn's translation by itself. The reason I pro-

pose this is, because Keigwyn's English make the Cornish poems appear very ridiculous to strangers; in regard he has been scrupulous in placing his English words according to the Cornish, throughout all his work. Be pleased to favour us with two lines at your first leisure, and it shall be done as you order; and sent you as you shall direct, either in loose sheets, or bound.

The subscriptions I took were towards my travels, which are now over. I have had but few subscribers; but all I have, excepting some few of our country (who were brought in by example) are gentlemen of learning, and curiosity. All the return I can make them, will be copies of what I shall print, and the mentioning in the title page, that 'twas done at their command and expences, &c. with a catalogue of the subscribers, and the book dedicated to them in general. They have subscribed according to their quality, some more, some less, from twenty to fifty shillings; but some only have made punctual payments. I have only four from Cornwall, viz. my Lord Bishop, Sir Joseph Tredenham, Mr. Moyle, and Mr. Hicks, of Trevithig. Mr. John Tredenham has also subscribed, but amongst our countrymen. I would by no means put you to unnecessary charges; but if it be your pleasure, let the sum before hand be as small as you please, and 'twill be gratefully accepted by, &c.

EDW. LHWYD

245. *To* THOMAS TONKIN.

Oxford, May 4, 1703.

Honoured Sir,

Your Cornish MS. is at last transcribed; and your copy is the only true one that I presume was ever taken; for Mr. Anstis's transcriber, being wholly a stranger to the language and the hand, has committed innumerable mistakes, and then never collated it with the original, which Mr. Griffith has done; but his hand is not so good as could be wished, though legible enough. Mr. Keigwyn finding it erroneous, transcribed it himself, so as to make his sense of it; but neither of them agree with the original: so I believe Mr. Keigwyn must sometimes have mistaken his author.—The English is not yet all written, but will be finished about a fortnight hence. The

writing of the English and Cornish, at the rate I mentioned (which I think enough, and not too much) comes to thirty shillings; for the note I had taken of the size of the book, proved a mistake, it being much larger.

You need not at all despair of learning the sense of the Cornish names of places: but for the better avoiding mistakes therein, I recommend to you the making a catalogue of all the Christian names you find in the oldest Cornish pedigrees, if you have any very ancient; if not, you may be supplied out of our Welsh books. But as for that part, if you please at your leisure to send me a catalogue of such names, as you are desirous should be interpreted, (out of deeds, or other ancient records) I can promise you a translation of many of them, without the least straining: for most of our British names of places, are as intelligible to us, as any other part of our language. And for such as appear obscure, I shall take care to distinguish the doubt, or leave them alone.—Almost every word that follows—*Tre*—is a man's name, once proprietor of the place; which not being adverted by Mr. Carew, and others, has put them on several mistakes.

The word—*Pol*—signifies not, a head, in Cornish, or any other dialect of the British; but, a pit, or hole, and, sometimes, a pool.

I have just now given your service to Mr. Tanner, who is married to the Bishop of Norwich's daughter, and is Chancellor of that diocese.

As you have leisure and opportunity, I would desire you to collect and procure all the variety you can hear of, of the Tin ores: for though I thought I was tolerably well furnished, yet I find by the Swede, who was last winter in your county, that I have but a poor collection. I am in no haste at all for them; but willing to make use of all occasions of improving my collection of English fossils, since the Museum is so proper a place to reposit them in. We met with no fossil shells, or other marine bodies in Cornwall; but if you should hear of any, they would be no less acceptable to,

Your humble servant,
EDW. LHWYD

246. To THOMAS TONKIN.

Oxford, July 26, 1703.

Honoured Sir,

I received the former of your's, of June the 10th, and thought then to have had the MSS. ready to be sent you by this time. The copies of the two Cornish books have been ready since the time mentioned in my last, but it falls out, that my own copy of Jordan is lost: so that we cannot add the English here; but that you may as well get done in the country, where there are several copies of it. As for the old MS. (or *Ordinale*) I find that Keigwyn, when he transcribed it, altered it as he pleased where he did not like it, or understand it, and then translated it: on which account his translation does but sometimes agree with the old copy. I have therefore ordered it to be written by itself; and so the alternate pages are left vacant, where perhaps you may in time insert a Latin translation of your own. I shall send the two Cornish MSS. the first opportunity, which I hope will be soon: perhaps by Mr. Paget of Truro, if he be not already set out. The English of the *Ordinalia* is not yet finished; the person first employed having left us on a sudden: when 'tis all writ, which will be about a month hence, I'll take care to send it the first occasion; and as for all charges, 'twill be but just what I mentioned in my last.

Sir, I make bold to trouble you with a paper of proposals, towards the printing the first Volume of my *Archæologia Britannica*, which I desire you to communicate to such friends, as you shall guess likeliest to further this design; and in case any shall subscribe, to return their names, some time before the 10th of September, to, &c.

EDW. LHWYD

Mr. Thomson gives you his most humble service. One Mr. Moor comes down shortly to your county, to collect plants, insects, &c. He was recommended to me by our friend Mr. Tanner, and I have made bold to give him a letter to yourself, and another to Mr. Moyle.

247. For the Revd Mr JOHN LLOYD at the Free School at Ruthin, Denbighshire. *Arch. Camb.* 1859, 249.

Oxford Michalm. day 1703.

Dear Sr

I recd both your kind letters, and am glad to hear of your recovery. I shewed the Bearer your former and he has payd me 8 shillings and brought to me one that deals with him for stockens, who promises to pay the two and thirty shillings upon demand; so you may venture to pay him unlesse you hear from me to the contrary within a fortnight space.

I have ventur'd to put my Book into ye presse the time specifd in the proposals: thô I have not as yet above 200 subscriptions besides the former. London being now very empty I have had as yet very few thence; but about a hundred and forty have subscrib'd in our colleges, and the Bishop of Carlile has sent me twenty out of his countrey, Jack Edwards of Lhan Vylhin 18; Dr Davies of Birmingham 12; Jack Lloyd and Mr E. Griff. the schoolmaster of Nottingham ten &c. I shall receive shortly 1 lb 7s. as subscription money for Mr Edw. Samuel. If it be your fortune to pick up subscriptions, I desire you to pay him 1 lb 2s.

The Bearer's hast permits time onely to beg your pardon for this hasty scribe and to subscribe myself.

(Dear Sr) yours as always

E. LHD

I suppose Dr Foulks is in Staffordshire: my hearty service to all other friends, and to him at his return.

One Abbot PEZRON, an Armorique Britan, has lately published his *Antiquité de la Nation et de la langue Gauloise*; wherein he has infinitely outdone all our Countreymen as to national zeal. He proves that they and we are the onely nations in the world that have the honour to have preserv'd the language of Jupiter and Sadurn, whom he shews to have been Princes of the Titans, the progenitors of the Gauls, and to have had an Empire from the Euphrates to Cape Finister in ye time of Abraham. He makes the Curetes, who had the care of Jupiter in Crete &c. to have been Druids & to have 1st

introduced the Olympique Games amongst the Lacedemonians; where he observes the British nations are stil the most noted for ye exercises of running wrestling &c. The Romans, he says, borrow'd their week days from the old Umbri of Italy, a Gaulish nation. The true name of Jupiter, he tels us was *Iou*, to which the Romans added *piter* i.e. *Pater*, as they sayd *Marspiter*, *Dispiter* &c.

In ye close of his book he adds 3 large catalogues of words; 1st of those the Æolians and other Greeks borrow'd from our ancestors the Titans; 2ly of those the Romans borrow'd from the Umbri; & 3ly of those the Germans had from ye several Gaulish colonies planted in their countrey.

248. *To Mr. BABINGTON.*

Cambrian Register, 1796.

Oxford, Oct. 14, 1703.

Hon. Sir,

I return most humble thanks, for your last favor, by Mr. Davies; his subscription which I have received, was besides my expectation, who always knew that I was indebted for books to those gentlemen who were at the expence of my travels.

The brass rings being such antiquities as I am endeavouring to collect, I will gladly add them to the rest, unless the person from whom you had them, be desirous they should be returned: and if so I shall take care to send them, the first opportunity. These and the two golden or gilt things you mention, are in all probability Roman; but at present I can give no account of them; my next volume will take in all things of this kind, and then upon consulting books, and the few English antiquaries we have, I may possibly inform myself as to these and several other things I have by me, at present unaccountable. Be pleased in your next to add further reference to the conjecture about the name of the river Clyde, though at present there seems but little in it, for they have also in Scotland, Tay, Twy, Tau, Twee, Nid, Nith, Alway, &c. which are the same, or but a variation of our Tawy, Teifi, Taf, Tywi, Nidd, and of our Elwy. Indeed not only the names of the rivers in Scotland are almost all British, but even most of their towns

and mountains, especially in the low-lands. The Highlands have also mostly British names, but different from ours; for you must know I am troubled with an hypothesis of C Britons and P Britons, the C B B would begin no word with a P, and therefore for pen a head, they said cian or kean; for pren a tree, cran; for plant children, cland, and now of late clan; for pedwar, four, cathair, &c. &c. &c. insomuch that I cannot find the Irish have a word (purely their own) that begins with a P, and yet have almost all ours, which they constantly begin with a C. I must indeed recall myself when I said they could not pronounce P, because they may as well say we corrupted theirs. Whatever the reason was, I shall make it appear (God willing) in this first volume, now in the press, as also in many other such instances, with the Greeks, and sometimes with the Goths, and they with the Latins and French; these C Britons, or as we may now call them, Irish Britons, seem to have inhabited Britain before us, for (to trouble you at present with only one instance) I cannot learn that ever the word Uisge, was in use either amongst the Welsh, Cornish, or Armorique Britons for water, and yet we find rivers of that name all over England, which are now called Asc, Esc, Isc, Ax, Ex, Ux, and that Ex, Ux or Uisce is not one and the same name appears from the Isca Damnonicorum, now Exeter, and Isca Silurum, or Legionum, now C'Leon upon Usk, in Monmouthshire. From this, and other such observations, I have been led into a suspicion, that they were the first Gaulish colony that planted Britain, and that we were another Gaulish colony that came afterwards and forced them northwards, from whence either out of constraint or curiosity some of them planted Ireland, and that still more went over upon the Roman conquest, but, that a number of them continued in the Highlands, and are there still incorporated with the Scots that came afterwards over out of Ireland, who were at that time a mixt people of Britons and Spaniards, as I shall make out from their language: but I have tired your patience, and add no more than, that

I am, &c.

EDW. LHWYD

249. To R. MOSTYN. Copy in Arch. Camb. 1858, 344.

Oxford. Nov. 8, 1703.

Dear Sr

I forgot to tell you that Pezron's book is out: but so scarce that I can hear but of one copy in England which I borrow'd some time since from Dean Hicks. If that book were put into Welsh it would certainly sel very well and contribute much to the preservation of the language amongst the Gentry; unless somebody (as is not unlikely) should translate it into English; but Mr Davies, when you see him, will give you some account of it.

[This letter is not in Mr. LHWYD's handwriting.]

250. For ye Revd Dr. SMITH at his house in Deanestreet Soho London. MS. Smith 51, 15.

Oxford. Nov. 12. 1703.

Revd Sr

I recd the favour of yr obliging letter, & discoursd Griffiths about ye papers you had orderd him to transcribe. He told me he had done it long since, but having taken no directions, he was at a losse how to send them.

You will be sure to receive them next week by a private hand; to whom you may please to pay three shillings which he has disbursd to Griffiths for the transcribing.¹

I put ye first Tome of ye *Archæologia* a month since into the presse, but no Dictionary having been ever printed here, they are at a losse for want of capital letters, so yt 'tis like to be a month longer ere they can proceed, & a twelvemonth ere the book can be printed off.

There was no Oration nor Sermon at Dr. Wallis's funeral nor any remarkable solemnity at all. I suppose you have heard ere this, that Dr. Gardner the Warden of All Souls succeeds him as Keeper of the Archives; but you can best guesse at London who is to be Savilian Profr. [Halley]

Sr Wm Whitlock is discoursd of here, as the likeliest to be elected Member of Parliamt. I hear Mr. Clerk² of Aston

¹ Smith did so. MS. Ash. 1817a, f. 464.

² FRANCIS CLERK, son of Sir J. Clerk of Weston, co. Oxon.

who I suppose you are acquainted with, as having been once Fellow of your College, designs to stand.

I have nothing adde (*sic*) but the subscribing my self
Your most obliged Humble Servt
EDW. LHWYD

251. *To the Rev. JOHN MORTON.*

Cambro-Briton, i, p. 56.

Oxford, Nov. 22, 1703.

Dear Sir,

I received your kind letter, and have altogether the same reason to make an apology for my neglecting to write. I have nothing to plead for it, but that I have been busy about the first tome of my *Archæologia*, which is at last got into the presse, as you'll find by the inclosed. I print about 200 above the number, that have hitherto subscribed. So, if any friend of yours should be curious in antiquities of this kind, it's not too late yet to subscribe; tho', the subject being so foreign, I am sensible few, if any, can be expected.

As to your queries I have little to say. *Tripontium* might have been as well Latin as British: and, if the latter, rather as you say from *Tre'r bont* than *Tair pont*, except the nature of the place favours this latter, by its having a confluence of two or three brooks, which might render three bridges usefull. But it seems the place is in doubt.

The Romans generally took the names of places they found in the countreys they conquered, giving them onely a Latin termination. For in Wales they called *Conwy*, *Kevny* and *Wysc*, which are mere British words, *Conovium*, *Gobannium* and *Vidum*, &c. Yet sometimes they may be allowed to give names themselves; but of this I have hitherto discovered very few instances. As for the Saxon names, many of them were also half British with Saxon terminations, some of them translations of the British and a great many of their own. I should derive *Triago* from *Tre Iago*, i.e. Jamesbury or Jameston. Both *tre* and *town* were antiently but single houses, or, at best, but a kind of fort or rock of defence.

Ardberry may be partly British and partly Saxon, viz. *Ard*, Brit. *Altus* and *Berry*, Sax. *Tumulus*.

The 4th I can say nothing to. When you write next to Mr. Baxter,¹ you may put it in.

I was just going to tell you, I had not heard from Mr. Ray for some years. But, just as I was setting pen to paper, I received a letter from him, wherein he tells me he is preparing his three *Physico-Theological Discourses* for the presse. I have but just time to beg your pardon for my scribble, which comes from,

Worthy Sir, your affectionate friend and humble servant,
EDW. LHWYD.

252. To THOMAS TONKIN at *Lambrigan in St. Piran in the Sands*

W. Pryce, *Arch. Cornu-Brit.* 1790.

Oxford, Dec. 8, 1703.

Honoured Sir,

The manuscripts had been sent by Mr. Paget, but upon enquiry, one of Pembroke College told me he was gone out of town, which, as I guess by your's, was a mistake. I have, since my last, met with Keigwyn's translation of Jordan's play, which I then told you I had lost; and Mr. Thomson has got it transcribed for you, and will send it you the first conveniency. The translation of the old plays is writ out: but I must desire to keep these old plays, and their translation, a little longer, because it is a much truer copy than mine, and I am now upon the Cornish Vocabulary promised in the proposals. I thank you for your own subscription, and the other two gentlemen's you mention: I was sensible the subjects were too singular to have many subscribers; however, I hope to have a good number yet out of your own county, seeing the Bishop of Carlisle has returned twenty out of Cumberland.

Our latest news here is the death of Dr. Wallis, who is succeeded in the place of keeper of the Archives by Dr. Gardiner, the Warden of All-Souls: and 'tis discoursed, the place of Savilian Professor will be offered to Dr. Hally. Dr. Hicks's *Thesaurus Linguarum Septentrionalium*, will be pub-

¹ The author of two lexicographical Treatises on Roman and British Antiquities. He also published editions of Anacreon and Horace. Mr. Baxter was a native of Shropshire, and died in 1723, in his 73rd year. See p. 477.

lished about the Christmas holy-days. I am in no haste for the ores; so I desire you would keep them, till you have what variety you suppose the country may afford: and then send them by water to London, directed to be left with Mr. Griffith Davies, next door to the Golden Ball, in Monmouth-street, St. Giles in the Fields, and he'll take care to send them to, &c.

EDW. LHWYD

253. *To Mr. HUMPHREY WANLEY.*

Cambro-Briton, i, p. 14.

Apleton, February 8, 1703.

Sir,

Your first letter being at Oxford, I could return no speedier answer to the last: nor can I indeed yet a satisfactory one. As for the names of Fœrmen and Owun, if you find the Saxons used them, there's no more to be said:—but, because you ask'd me whether they were not British names, I thought you took it for granted, or at least suspected, they were not Saxon.

I thank you for your transcript of the barbarous words in the Cambridge Psalter, some of which I know to be Irish, and conclude the rest, which I understand not, to be so, because in just the same hand. The papers enclosed were very acceptable, and are here returned as you desired. That the Irish received their alphabet from the Britons is the opinion of a learned and judicious author of their own country, Sir James Ware, in his *Disquisitiones de Hiberniâ*, &c., where he says, 'Porrò ut Hiberni olim utebantur linguâ antiquâ Britannicâ, ita etiam á priscis Britannis accipiebant alphabetam ceu literas, uti fortè Saxones postea ab Hibernis, dum ad scholas Hibernicas discendi gratiâ confluunt.' The same we find to be the opinion also of Bolandus, for which Flaherty is much displeas'd with him, in the third part of his *Ogygia*. As for letters among the Britans, you know (whatsoever they had before the Roman Conquest) all are agreed, they became partly civilized upon that conquest. But, if there be any authentique proof, that the Anglo-Saxons (who, you know, came not in til about 400 years after) had the use of letters at their coming, 'tis, I must confess, what I am ignorant of.

I communicated a copy of the monument of Prince Kadvan¹ (which is a rude stone above the church door at Lhan Gadwaladr, in Anglesey), to Mr. Hicks, of Trevithic, whom you formerly mentioned, which he shewing with some others to Dr. Musgrave, of Exeter, the Dr. beg'd copies of them, and sent them to Dr. Sloan, who has printed them in the Philosophical Transactions. I did not, I think, mention in my last, that the monument was dated anno 617, but onely that Cadvan, whose monument I conclude that to be, was one of the British commanders at the battle of Bangor, which, according to the Chron. Sax., was that year. It's so plain and barbarous, that it contains nothing at all but 'Catamannus Rex Sapientissimus, Opinatissimus Omnium Regum.' I knew not at first there was such a word as *opinatissimus*; but 'tis a classical word, and the same with *celeberrimus*. The stone is, perhaps, but a piece of what it was at first.

I thank you heartily for your information concerning the lections out of Scripture in the MS. NE D. 2.—19; for I had neglected your having observed (that I now remember) no British words interlined, which were the maign notes I looked after. When I have spare time I hope to renew my acquaintance with that valuable monument. I found several British words in Eutex; for so the prefacer will have us read that name. He begins his preface in *honomati sumitonantis*, &c., which countenances your reading of the small paper sent in your last, which I now return, being able to adde nothing to your conjecture: nor could I, indeed, have read so much of it myself. The book is, no doubt of it, British;—but, whether you can call it Cambro-British may be scrupled. However, 'tis but leaving out the former part of the word, and you are safe.

My Irish vocabulary of obsolete words is but a transcript of the small one given to the Bodleian Library by Dr. Hyde: but I have also the old MS. ones, out of which that was printed, as I guesse. I mean not the same copies, but others antient and on velom. I have the Irish Catechism, both the Popish

¹ Cadfan, son of Iago, was prince of North Wales in 603. In 613 he succeeded to the nominal sovereignty of Britain, and died in 630.

and Protestant. But the Highland Grammar and Lexicon, which you say the Duke of Argyle has, is what I never heard of, and shall therefore be heartily obliged if you can procure me the use of them, especially the latter.

If you write to Man, I should be glad of a copy of the eleventh chapter of Leviticus in Bp. Philips's Translation of the Bible; which, as I take it, was never printed, but is there in MS. I never saw any Welsh writing near so old as that you sent me out of the Lichfield MS., excepting three verses I lately sent to the Bp. of Hereford, who is so curious in our language and antiquities, that I am sure he would be very glad to see the Lichfield MS.

I know not the books you mention in the publique library written *litteris Hibernicis*, unlesse you mean those also in that language amongst Abp. Laud's. But I am at no great losse as to the reading part; but have far to seek for the old language as well as (I fear me) even all their own nation.

As to the older entries, you know they are all maim'd except two: nor are they indeed entire. The former I read thus:—
'Ostendit ista conscriptio quòd dederunt Rhesus et Hirv
Brechfa usque ad Hirfaen Gwydhog, á solitudine Gelhi Irlath usque ad Camdhw. Emolumenta ejus sunt sexaginta panes et vervex et *gworthewyr* butyri. Deus omnipotens testis est. Sadyrnwydd, Sacerdos, testis; Nywys, T.; Gwrgi, T.; Cwdhwlv, T.—De Laicis Cynwern, T.; Colhwyn, T.; Kyhyrged, T.; Ermin (ceu Ewyn), T.—Qui custodierit benedictus erit, et qui franxerit maledictus a Dō.' The other, though best preserved, is not intelligible to me. The beginning seems plain, viz. 'Surrexit Tydvwlch, filius Tinctoris, et Januarius Eremita, ut postularent terram Teliavi, quæ erat in manu Elevii, filii Gelhig et'

I am, Sir, your obliged friend and servant,

E. LHWYD.

254. *To Mr. BABINGTON.*
Cambrian Register, 1796.

Oxford, March 2, 1796 $\frac{3}{4}$.

Hon. Sir,

This brings my most humble thanks for the favour of your last. The measure of the stones you are pleased to mention, would be a singular curiosity, could it be retrieved. The growth of stones has been a thing generally believed by the labourers of mines, quarries, &c. but is ridiculed by some of our late virtuosos, though maintained by others of them. That stones in caves do increase in bulk by the droppings of the water from the roofs and sides of them is most certain; but that stones lying on the ground in the open air, should do so, is, I must confess, to me very surprising. What you have met with, in Mr. Hales's sermons, is also affirmed by Mr. Carew, in his survey of Cornwall, who adds, that they are nevertheless very copious in curses and abusive nicknames: in some Cornish plays I have, I find, *Re nthas* i.e. by my father, to be their common asseveration; and Mr. Martin, in his late account of the western isles, tells us, 'tis common amongst the Highlanders to swear by their grandfather's hand. I find there should be a Cornish manuscript amongst those of Hengwrt, which I am endeavouring by a friend in that neighbourhood, to borrow, seeing it can be of no use to any one, excepting in what I am now upon. I humbly thank you for the brass rings &c. which are a considerable addition to my collection. I presume you have heard no more of the things you were pleased formerly to mention, as found at Kaer Sws. You left with me a small Welsh chronology of the kings of England, by Jones, of Gelli Lyfdy: be pleased to mention in your next, whether you would have it returned by the carrier, and your orders shall be observed by

Hon. Sir,

Your most obliged

Humble servant,

EDWARD LHWYD

255. To THOMAS TONKIN Esq of Lambrigan

Oxford, March 3, 1703-4.

Honoured Sir,

The reason I did not sooner return my most humble thanks for your generous contribution, was because Mr. Thomson and I could not agree on a time, for the consumption of the remainder of the five pounds (which was seven shillings) according to your orders. We have now lately drank your health, together with Mr. Thwaites, and one or two more of the fellows of Queen's. The transcript of *Dooms-Day Book*, as also of the *Taxatio Beneficiorum Angliæ*, 20 Edw. I. has been done ever since your first orders, being but a small business. The old *Cornish Glossary* is also copied a month since; and I have now done with the old plays I desired the use of in my last: so that I only wait for your orders how I shall send them, whether by the Devonshire carrier? and if so, where they shall be left for you? the Cornish MS. in the Publick Library, Arch. B. 31. is only Wm. Jordan's play, which is one of the books transcribed for you; but there is not a word therein of the glass-windows of St. Neot's: so that Mr. Gibson (or whoever sent him that note) must mean, that the customs of the Jews are well described in that MS. which if omitted had been no great loss to the reader. I am, &c.

EDW. LHWYD

[That there are no letters to Tonkin extant for the next four years is explained by destruction during Tonkin's absence from home during these years.]

256. To the Rev. T. SMITH. MS Smith 51, 19.

Revd Sr

Oxford March 35 170-4.

I here send you a copy of the Catalogue you sent down, & beg your pardon for so long deferring it. I am sorry for the mischance of transcribing more than you desired: but such blunders will frequently happen; when things are copy'd by young clerks at a distance from their directors. I onely gave them your letter and bad them look out the books and

follow your orders. I sent Dr. Lister what notes I found on Apicius in *Humelbergus* and one or two other authors, long since; so I hope its now in the press. Its well this book is in Latin; otherwise we should have it ridicul'd by snobbish buffoons as the journey to Paris, was, because of the subject &c.

My compositor is now on the eleventh sheet of my book: He does but one sheet a week but it's a small letter and contains almost as much as two of such print as Dr. Plot's *Histories* &c. I would put two upon't but they have not letters enough of the sort; especially not capitals, no Dictionary having been ever printed at the Theater excepting the Saxon, which as you know was done without capitals & in continued lines, &c.

I am.

(Worthy Sr) Yr most obliged humble Servt
EDW. LHWYD

257. MS *Smith* 51, 21.

Oxford May 29. 1704.

Revd Sr

I had not so long neglected my thanks for the favour of your last, but that I expected some other occasion of writing. I find the disposal of the Natural Philosophy Lecture,¹ was unexpected news to several here as well as your self: I presume you know by this time, that 'twas wholly in the gift of three persons viz. the Vicechancr, the President of Magdalen & the Warden of All Souls. We generally say that Mr. Keil was inexceptionally worthy of it; not onely as being exceedingly well qualify'd; but also on account he had actually discharged the place, for several years to general satisfaction: as for the other person you were pleas'd to mention, he justly attributes your thinking of him on that occasion more to your favour and goodness than his merits.

I here send you inclos'd a copy of an *Account of Dr. Wallis*, intended to be inserted in the Supplement to Mr. Collier's *Dictionary* now a preparing to be publish'd. 'Twas written by Dr. Gregory, and I therefore send you this copy; because you were pleas'd to enquire after his funeral, &c; and for that

¹ Perhaps in succession to Millington as Sedleian Professor.

we find you alone have a greater regard than all others to the memory of our late Ornaments of this University; and may perhaps have a note or two to add or alter. My printer has been this month upon finishing Dr. Hicks's noble *Thesaurus Linguarum Septentrionalium* which he tels me will be compleatly printed off next Wednesday.

I am Revd Sr

Yr most Obliged humble Servant
EDW. LHWYD

258. MS *Smith* 51, 23.

Oxford Aug. ij. 1704.

Revd Sr

I lately acquainted Mr. James Smith I would trouble you with a letter the same time I should send him a paper he had desired hence: but not being able to procure a paper I then design'd to send you, I take this opportunity by a friend of his. Hearing Dr. Bathursts will much commended I was desirous of a copy of it to be sent you, as supposing it might not be unacceptable wch haveing at last procur'd I now trouble you with; thô excepting for the form of the Preface; I know it's insignificant: but I could not tell what it might be til I had it. We doe not yet hear who will most likely succeed Dr. Halton: Dr. Mills & Dr. Lancaster are most talk'd of; but 'twill be a long time ere they proceed to election. Dr. Hicks's *Thesaurus linguarum septentrionalium* continueing still in the press, my printer has been necessitated to leave mine as often as he should receive more copy of that: However there are now 22 sheets finish'd of my *Irish-English Dictionary* which brings it to the beginning of the letter S, and makes about a fourth part of the book. There was lately a very noble collection of coins presented to the Bodley Library by Mr. [Wm.] Raye formerly Consul of Smyrna, which I am told had been collected in those parts by his cook. I have not yet seen them but am told they are in number about 2000.

I am Worthy Sr

Your most obliged Humble Servt
E. LHWYD

259. To Dr. HANS SLOANE S.R.S. *Phil. Trans.* xxiv, no. 295, p. 1804 (1704).

An Account of very large Stones voided per Urethram

Oxford, Sept. 22, 1704

I make bold to trouble you with a copy of a paper I received from Dr. BULLEN, a physician in Cheshire together with a figure of the Stones he mentions. They are much of the same size and shape; and being joyn'd together, the circumference one way is above $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and the other $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches. The person that voided them took an excessive quantity of honey during his pain, to which alone he attributes his deliverance; how probably you can best judge.

[*Dr. T. BULLEN's letter in Latin follows.*]

260. MS *Ashmole* 1816, f. 71.

Oxf. Nov. 12 1704.

Hond Sr

It's high time to return thanks for yours of the third. I trouble you with the inclos'd to Mr Elstob, not knowing my self, how to direct to him. If you happen to meet with Mr Leibnitz's Letter; I should be glad of a Transcript of what he says in relation to the British or Irish. I doe almost give over Lagadec's *Catholicon*, as no where extant in England; unless the Studies of some of our curious English Antiquaries of the former Centurie were stil kept together. I have seen ye draught of the Silver sheild you mention; and 'tis far from being any thing Irish. Mr Urry has showd me the Dr Epistle to you about it. When you favour me with the next Letter; whether the three first words be as plain on the Sheild as the rest, particularly whether the word *Gage* may not be Gate. There's no doubt at all of its being Teutonic; and 'twas my randome conjecture til Mr Urry shewd me Dr Hicks's Letter; that 'twas the ij. verse of the 27. Psalm.

I am (Hond Sr)

Yr most obliged humble Servt
EDW. LHWYD

261. *For the Revd Mr JOHN LLOYD at the Free School in Ruthin. Arch. Camb. 1859, 252.*

Dear Sr

Oxford Dec 17. 1704.

This hopes to find you in perfect health: and begs a renewing of our correspondence: at least now & then a few lines as occasion offers. The Bearer hereof Morys ab Evan told me some time since, as from you, that you had recd some subscription money for me, over and above what you payd Mr Samuel. Perhaps it's the Fellow's blunder: but if there be any such a summe in your hands as twenty seven shillings wch I owe Mr Samuel for his books, I desire you'd please to pay it him; or if there be not yt you would lay out so much because I understand a speedy payment would be very acceptable. I am afraid my book is expected by this time; and truly when I put it in the press I propos'd the same myself: but so it falls out that there is not much above a third part of it as yet printed: thô I can safely say (and 'tis sufficiently known here) that the press has never stayd an hour on my account for want of work or payment; and that the delay is wholly owing to the printers, who will always have several irons in the fire and also keep holyday when they please.

You perhaps remember who it is we called formerly the frigid Friend: he has lately, as indeed he had done several times before (for reasons I thank God utterly unknown to me) appear'd my fervent adversary.¹ My fellow-travailer David Parry² had occasion this last week to stand for a Cardiganshire Scholarship, to which he had a singular title as a Relation of the Founder's, who had left it so limited. I had gone long before to our frigid friend and mention'd it to him; but he sayd immediately the Principal had had such a vile character of him that he was affrayd he would not hear of it. I reply'd I knew of no manner of ill character he deserv'd: and added I was therefore resolv'd to propose to the Principal; upon which he encourag'd me to doe it. When I went to the Principal he having recd a letter (as I presume) from the Master of

¹ Dr. JOHN WYNNE, principal of Jesus, Bp. of St. Asaph, disapproved of Lhwyd's neglecting the Natural History for the Archaeology of Wales.

² Son of WILLIAM PARRY of Cardigan.

the Rolls² in his behalf, receiv'd the proposal with all the marks of favour and good will; and not onely soe but told the Society at their next publique meeting that Parry had a just title to this Scholarship: and that he had a good character for speaking Latin occasionally with Foreigners at the Museum; and some knowledge in Natural History and Coins &c. The onely person that objected to it, was the frigid Frd and all he had to say was that his belonging to the Museum was a hindrance to his pforming his Exercise &c.: whereas he's just Batchlrs standing this term. Ever after I found the Principal quite alter'd; in so much that he refus'd to look at his pedegree, and sayd they were not at all to regard &c. After all Parry, being very well belov'd, had certainly been elected had not the Fr. Fr. convened the fellows to the tavern, after his usual manner, the night before the Election, and represented Parry as uncapeable (*sic*) of the Scholarship on Acct of deficiency in Philosophy &c. so that thô the majority of the fellows sayd before, and stil say, they were for him; they were so over aw'd that not one man voted for him.

My most hearty respects to Dr Foulks concludes this hasty scribe from
Dear Sr Yr. ever affectionat as oblig'd Frd
E. LHWYD

262. *For the Reverend Mr HUMPHREY FOULKES Chapln to the Right Revd the Ld BISHOP OF ST ASAPH.*

Arch. Camb. 1859, 250.

Oxford. July 28. 1705.

Dear Sr

I heartily beg your pardon for so long deferring my thanks for both letters. You say well that writing vocabularies is a tedious employment; but it is well known to some here that the book has been in the press above 18 months, and has not, all that while, stayd three days upon my account for want either of pay or employment. Yet such is the tediousness of the compositor that he prints but one sheet a week: Dr Hicks's *Thesaurus Linguarum veterum Septentrionalium* continuing (thô with frequent intermissions) a twelve months under his hands longer than we expected, he has as yet printed but

¹ Sir JOHN TREVOR.

48 sheets; so that he'll scarce have done till about Easter or Whitsuntide, and there are not letters enough of the sort to employ two compositors. The additional words to Dr Davies's dictionary came safe and shall be printed (with some others) in the Armoric and Cornish vocabulary, distinguish'd with an asterisk or some other marke. We are now upon a sort of Latin-Celtique vocabulary: viz Latin Welsh Cornish Armoric and Irish; and it will be about the middle of November ere we begin ye Armc Vocaḅ. If in the interim you meet with any more primitive Brittish words, for we have not room for compounds, I shall afford them place and mention them in the preface whence received.

I must intreat you to return the subscription money you have received by the first conveniency: for I find the expence of printing a great deal too heavy for my small stock; and it was therefore that I printed it by subscription. I am now (notwithstanding my date) six miles out of town, and have not Dr Powel by me; but suppose the booke he mentions was not of his own writeing, but of Giraldus's; viz. his tract *De illaudabilibus Walliæ* published with a great many other pieces of his by Mr Wharton in his *Anglia Sacra*. The History of the Lords Marchers I have seen in MS. but have not myself: but, as I take it, Mr Dodsworth the author has printed it. Kynan was in all probability surnamed from yr Meriadock: however, that the Armoriques Britans and Cornish are the same, you'll find by their language: but they told me they had two dialects, yt of the Diocess of St Paul de Léon & Kemper Corentin; and that of Vennes called in their language Guenet (*sic*). The former (like our N. Wales dialect) has got the upper hand in books, and I never conversed with any of the Guenet (Gwynedh) where peradventure Konans people must have seated. But after all what shall I not say to Heylyn and almost all modern Engl. and French historians, who deny that ever there went any colonies hence to France.

I intend not any catalogue of our printed Welsh Books; *nam pauperis est numerare pecus*. The collector of the catalogue you mention is I suppose is (*sic*) one Thomas Davydh, a Cardiganshire Day labourer about London; who (like

myself) has the misfortune to be troubled with the Itch of Curiosity, tho he never was att School so much as to learn Welsh or English. He obliges me now and then with a Welsh epistle, always about some Welsh booke he meets with, or hears to be intended for the publisher.

I have with some difficulty gon through, and printed, a comparative Etymologicon, which will be the first tract of this volume. Mr Wm Baxter being looked upon as the greatest Critique in England that way, I have (having a long time corresponded with him) submitted it to his perusall: and received his approbation: but we must in such cases make large allowances for complement.

The most difficult subject I shall have to do with in this volume will be the interpreting our British proper names of persons. As for those of places I shall manage it much easier, for I beleeve our places are more intelligible to us than to any nation in Europe, and tho there are a great number too difficult for us, yet there are so many intelligible that they'l suffice to draw a scheme of the method of nameing places &c. What occurs to your thoughts occasionally on these subjects, may give hints.

I know not whether you have seen our last catalogue of the Bookes in the press. It contains,—1st An Exposition of Daniel's prophesy of 70 weeks &c. by the Bishop of Worcest. 40.—2ly Josippon, sive Josephi Ben Gorionis Hist. Judaicæ Libr. VI integri hactenus inediti, nunc primum ex Hebræo in Lat. translati, et notis illustrati operâ et studio Joan. Gagnier A.M.—3ly Jo. Ern. Grabe dissertationes tres de versione LXX interpretum.—4ly Athenagoræ Athen. opera, suas notas qualescunque adjecit Edw. Dechair, A. M. é Coll. Linc.—5tus Sophoclis Ajax flagellifer et Electra Gr. Lat. cum Schol. Antiqu. et Annot. per T. Johnson Etonensem.—6tus Introductio ad veram physicam, seu lectiones physicæ habitæ in Schola Nat. Philosophiæ Acad. Oxon. accedunt Christiani Hugenii theoremata de vi centrifugâ et motu circulari demonstrata per Jo. Keill AM et Reg. Soc. Socium. Edit. 2d emendatior et auctior 8vo.

Our Sr Charls Cotterel and noise-monger A. C. has divided

the catalogue now into three parts¹—1st Qui sub prelo sunt—2ly Qui nuper ex eodem Typographeo prodierunt—3ly Qui prelo parantur; in which last he inserts anything (whether ever likely to be printed) if he thinks it will meet with a publike applause. In this last catalogue prelo parantur—1st Geogr. Græcorum minorum Vol. 1mum 80.—2ly Apollonei Pergæi libri duo *περὶ λόγον αποτομος* ex Arabico in Latinum conversi per E. Halleium quond. Prof. Savil.—3ly Versio LXX viralis juxta exemplar Alexandrinum cum var. lect. annot. & loc. parallel. Fol. per Jo. Ernestum Grabe—4ly Livii opera cum var. lect. chron. et not. accurante T. Hearne AM. 5ly Sr Jo. Spelmans life of K. Alfred from the originall copy, with severall additions from MSS. by Mr Hearne. 6ly Quintiliani Inst. oratoriae et Hermogenis Rhet. cum not. et var. lect. 2 vol. 8vo.

I have but just time to subscribe myself

your most affectn friend and humble Servt

E. LHWYD

[On 14 September 1705 a Contract to print Lhwyd's *Archæologia Britannica* was signed by EDM. BUSH and PIETER LA MOUCHE in the presence of David Parry and three other witnesses. MS. *Ashmole* 1820.]

262 a. *To* [TANNER?]. MS *Ballard* xiv, 78. Sept. 28, 1705. [About a Bible-clerk's place for Moses Williams.]

263. [*To* C. N. LANGIUS.] See Letter No. 286. MS *Ashmole* 1816, f. 73. Oxonij d. 22. Jan. 1705.

Accepi (Vir ornatissime) pergratam, quam ad me scribere dignatus es epistolam; citiusque gratias eo nomine remissem, nisi eam nimis curiose alicubi repositam, postea reperturum, sed frustra hactenus, sperassem.

Quod ad Historiam (cujus in ea mentionem facis) Lapidum Figuratorum Helvetiæ attinet, quàm optimè ejusdem Idea quam pro humanitate Tuâ singulari huc miseris, mihi placeret, paulò antea ad Te Scripseram; multò vero magis ipsam Historiam arrisuram, nullus restat dubitandi locus. Imo quidem hoc datâ hacce occasione, non possum non profiteri: quod

¹ The proposer A. C. was ARTHUR CHARLETT.

nullus unquam hac Tuâ Historiâ, ad manus meas magis optatus accesserit Libellus. Nec quidem hoc mirandum cum adeò pauci simus, hoc seculo quantumvis aliàs Naturæ Curioso, marino-terrestrium Fossilium cultores. Commercio Literarium cum Viro tanti candoris et de Lithologiâ Plasticâ quàm egregie merito, nemò certe meipso magis unquam exoptavit. Sed quibus medijs hoc fiet, nisi a Clarissimo Lavatero juniore qui modo Londini agit edoctus fuero, nullo apud Batavos amico fretus, plane ignoro: At fortuitas utcunque occasiones per itinerantium quandoque amicorum manus uterque inveniemus. Cum fusius nuper scripserim, nihil jam occurrit adjiciendum, nisi quòd (ut ab amicis Londinensibus hodiè accepi) Wodovardi opus magnum in Geographiæ Physicæ specimine toties promissum ab Authore tandem absolvitur; an verò typis mandabitur necne, dubitare videntur. Sed de hac re in proximis certior scripserit

Suorum integerrimus

E. LUIDIUS

264. *For the honoured WILLIAM POWEL Esq at Nanteos near Machynlleth. [Printed by permission of Mrs. Powell of Nanteos]*

Hond Sr,

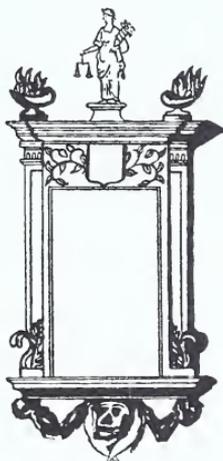
Oxford March 6 1705.

I here send you at last a draught of a monument, & its wholly owing to my Friends neglect that you had it not in due time. It's very plain by the inscription I sent, that Sr Thomas was one of the Justices of the Kings bench before & until K. Williams coming to the Crown & also that he could not comply with the Revolution. As to the word Regi &c. you may please to observe his REGI which is to be read Regij. For the long I wherever it occurs in monuments is equivalent to ij, and is so also frequently in printed Books; the not taking notice of which may occasion more mistakes in the reading the inscription.

I have at last with some difficulty got Mr. Herbert entered servitor of Trinity College; where about 4 months hence, he is like to serve in the Hall, & for the Future have most of his diet free til he takes his degree: I hope his father will not scruple in the Interim to send him whatever money he shall

have occasion for. He has as yet a very good character; wch I hope he'll take more care of, than some others I have formerly enter'd; wch has almost spoild my credit.

I have just now shewd this draught to one Tounsend who has put up several monuments; & he tels me he'd undertake to doe in white marble & to be at the charge of carriage and



Monument to Sir Thomas Powell in Llanbadarn church, Aberystwyth.

putting it up for 6oll. wch seems to me so cheap that I fear (thô I can pretend to no judgement in the matter) he'll scarce stand to his word. He says it shall be 7 foot high besides the figure at top; and that he'll also insert the arms in the scutcheon.

I am Hond Sr,

Yr most oblig'd Kinsman & Humble Servt.

EDW. LHWYD

265. MS *Smith* 51, 25.

[August 1706]

Revd Sr

Finding by some Epistles of Dr. Bernards given one William[s] the Librarian at the Museum to be transcribd for you, that you probably design the publishing a collection of some epistles, I acquainted Mr. Hern I had pickd up in Wales a

collection of Epistles of one Josephus a monk of Esam, but that I had never lookd much into them. I was very willing to communicat them to your self or any other worthy gentleman in case they should contain any thing worth notice, but having lately lookd into them for the space of some hours, I find them to be onely familiar letters of mere pastime and correspondence. There are some hundreds of them & possibly upon reading the whole some few notes might be pickd out by the curious. How ever to testify my due respects I here trouble you with copies of two of them; by which if you guess the rest may contain any thing worth perusal, you may at your leisure command as many as you please of them from

Revd Sr, Yr Obligd Humble Servt
EDW. LHWYD

You have doubtless heard of the death of yr President Dr Bayly.

My book has been long in the press; but putting all the hours together I am sure 'twas not detain'd one fortnight all this while for want of copy or pay. They have printed just 90 sheets but I must adde about a douzen more, which are long since written, but they print but a sheet a week.

[Dr. SMITH replied to this letter on 27 August 1706.]

266. (*No address to this copy of a letter.*)¹ *Arch. Camb.* 1860, 181.
Oxford May [1707].

Dear Sr

This hopes to find you in perfect health, and brings hearty thanks for your constant kindness. I beg pardon for not answering your last which I can not now find, but shall be hereafter fully at leasure, and very desirous to correspond with you. You have seen I suppose ere this by the postman that the 1st volume of the *Archæol. Brit.* is printed; and that 'twill be disposed of to the subscribers here next week. I have put myself in some debt by the printing; and, therefore, the sooner the subscribers send up the remainder of there (*sic*) money,

¹ Possibly to the Rev. HUMPHREY FOULKES; cf. 262.

the greater will be there (*sic*) kindness and my encouragement on another volume notwithstanding the disappointment I have had from a great many of the subscribers towards my travels. The Welsh words you were pleas'd to communicate are printed together with a great many others out of an old glossary from Hengwrt study, communicated by Mr. William Baxter, and out of Henry Salusbury's manuscript *Welsh-Latin Dictionary*; distinguished with D for Davies, V for Vaughan &c. And having received some Scotch verses out of the High Lands on the *Irish English Dictionary*, which I had sent thither for their correction I have inserted Robin o Ragad's amongst them in the old British, (or as now commonly call'd Saxon letter.) There is before the book, besides the English one, a *preface in old Welsh*, but new orthography; for both which I must expect to be censur'd in your country. To your judgment and that of other scholars I willingly submit the reasons I have given for this orthography. That *Preface* contains what is not touch'd on in the Book; viz. 1. An account of the letters most anciently us'd by the Britans, where is a censure on Mr Wanley in his Preface to the *Catalogue of Northern MSS.* and on Dr Hicks, which very few will apprehend, because I believe that book is hardly come into Wales. 2. Arguments for the old Irish nation's being a mixt people of Guydhelod (*sic*) and Skuydied. 3ly That the Guydhelod were anciently the inhabitants of England and Wales, and forced thence by our ancestors to North Britain and Ireland. 4ly That the Guydhelot (*sic*) or (as the Irish would pronounce and anciently write the word) Cælot were a colony of the old Gauls, whom therefore Cæsar calls Celtas. 5ly That the Skuydied or Scoti came from Spain. 6ly Observations on a passage in the British Triades relating to a British colony in Gascoigne. All the arguments us'd is the agreement of languages, viz. the Irish with ours, and that it agrees with the Celtic rather more than ours does. Another part of the Irish with the Cantabrian or Biscay-Spanish; and a comparison of ours with the Gascoigne. I am

Dear Sr

Yr affectionat friend and humble servant

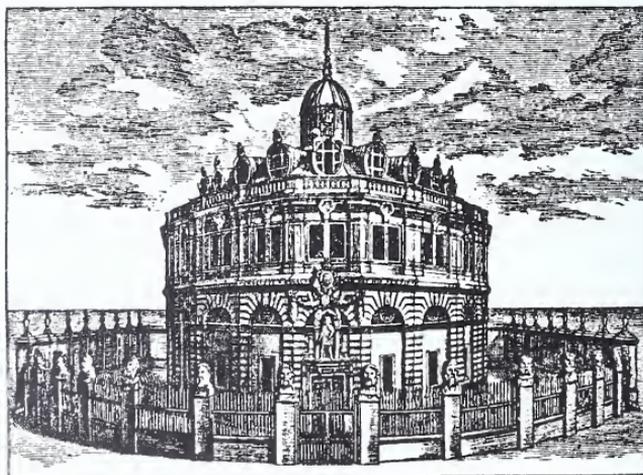
E. LHWYD

Archæologia Britannica,
GIVING SOME ACCOUNT
Additional to what has been hitherto Publish'd,
OF THE
LANGUAGES, HISTORIES and CUSTOMS
Of the Original Inhabitants
OF
GREAT BRITAIN:

From Collections and Observations in Travels through
Wales, Cornwall, Bas-Bretagne, Ireland and Scotland.

By EDWARD LHUYD M. A. of *Jesus College,*
Keeper of the ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM in OXFORD.

VOL. I.
GLOSSOGRAPHY.



OXFORD,
Printed at the THEATER for the Author, MDCCVII.
And Sold by Mr. Bateman in *Pater-Noster-Row,* London: and *Jeremiah Pepyat*
Bookfeller at *Dublin.*

TITLE-PAGE OF 'ARCHÆOLOGIA BRITANNICA'

267. MS Cardiff 4, 1.

*A Translation of the Welsh Preface to Mr. Lhwyd's 'Glossography' sent to Mr. Anstis, corrected by his own hand.*¹

To the Welsh.

In regard I have in this book written to the inhabitants of Cornwall in ye Ancient Cornish, and also to those of Ireland, and the High Lands of Scotland in ye Irish; I find my self oblig'd (not out of any necessity, but as a due respect) to address my self to the Welsh in our own mother tongue, and to acknowledge with the Ancient Druids *that after all countreys have been view'd the native soil yields ye best prospect.* But lest the unusual letters and the unaccustom'd Orthography should too much interrupt you, be pleas'd before you proceed any further to observe ye pronunciation of the letters at this mark² and seeing I do not at all assume any authority of teaching others their alphabet, but leave all to their own orthography; so I desire but ye same liberty; and I hope no men of learning will think me rash or imprudent for choosing my alphabet that's no greater liberty than what every Welsh author has taken, who has written on ye same subject; and there's no other written language, but has often changed either its letters or the pronunciation of its letters or both.

You will read in ye beginning of ye book, that 'twas not out of an humour of finding fault with ye common orthography of ye Welsh Irish etc. that a particular alphabet has been used therein, for the ancient languages: but because ye words when so written are easier and more familiar to the English and other strangers, than their learning the severall alphabets of the Welsh, Armorick and Irish. For there are a great many learned men thro'out England, the kingdom of France, and among ye Germans and Goths,³ who may be desirous to know ye affinity of the Welsh with other languages, tho' not so willing to learn (like school boys) various alphabets a new, and retaining constantly in memory the mutable pronunciation of the letters. So although there be a necessary reason for that orthography in a book of this nature, there is no occasion at all of using it in a book entirely Welsh, where each writer may either retain ye common alphabet or that of the learned

¹ Printed by courtesy of the Librarian of the Cardiff P.L.

² X, χ, ch; ð, dh; ƿ, ff; ͛, ng; ı without a prick as y in ye word Fydhlon, etc.; λ, ll; ƿ, rh; ƿ, s; τ, th; u, w in the word wastad v, f.

³ The Welsh word Lhyxlyn comprehends Denmark, Norway, and Sweden; as does also ye Irish Loxlyn.

Dr. DAVID DEE of Hiradhig; or any of these used by Dr. GRIFFITH ROBERTS, Dr. JOHN DAVID RHYS, Mr. HENRY SALSBURY, etc. As for this present orthography, my reasons for choosing it are 1st, the restoring of ye letters anciently us'd by the Britans and thereby rend'ring ye oldest British manuscripts, somewhat more familiar and legible to posterity. Secondly, on account of assigning a proper and unalterable pronunciation to each form of letter or character. Thirdly, for the sake of writing nearer to ye pronunciation of the words as is necessary and customary almost every age in each other living language. Fourthly, for taking off the objection made by the English and others for our doubling initial letters; and for nearer to yt orthography wch is most general, and lastly, on account of alleviating ye expence in printing such Welsh books as may hereafter be publish'd in Oxford.

First, the old letters which are here restor'd are δ , γ , ξ , ι , (without a point or title), ρ , τ , z , and u for w . And these I have often met with, not only on stones in divers places of Wales; but also in old books written on goatskin parchment; as I have showed more particularly in the beginning of the Cornish Grammar, and at ye end of page 221. But although these are ye same letters, yet they are not used here, but in one pronunciation constantly, whereas in the old books each of them have two, or three, or more; as you find made out by examples in the same Grammar. Secondly, *by the proper and inseparable sound of each form or figure of letter*; my meaning is, that there ought to be a distinct character for every distinct sound, and that therefore ye alphabet of the Greeks in that they have the letter χ , ϕ , ρ , and θ is preferable to that of ye Romans and others, who instead thereof use *ch*, *ph*, *rh*, and *th*; because 'tis more congruous to say or write in Grammar, that we change one letter for another of ye same class as *kany*, *χany*, *telyn*, *zelyn* etc. than that we change one letter into two, by writing *chany* and *thelyn*. Thirdly, to write nearer the pronunciation of the words; is when we write (for example) *αχε* [or *αχα*] instead of *achau*; *δεχρε* for *dechrau*; *krigmor* for *crucmaur*: *kadualadar* for *Cadwaladr* etc. I am not ignorant that some learned men have writ against this method, but seeing they have no other argument, than ye keeping up ye common, and, as they suppose, old manner of writing; every one may do as he thinks fit: for the common orthography is not that which was anciently us'd by ye Britans; which (as I have particular shown in ye Cornish Grammar) has been variously alter'd. neither would be commendable were it old, to continue any orthography very disagreeable to

the receiv'd pronunciation of the words and for this reason, the French have of late, tho' they had a long time accustom'd themselves to their old orthography, found it more usefull to write nearer to their pronunciation; and ye same may be said of the English and severall other languages. Fourthly, neither is the doubling of *d*, *l*, and *u*, a very old custom; and 'tis an eye sore to such as be unacquainted with our language, I should think it more proper to write (according to ye method of Mr. HENRY SALSBURY) distinct single letters for each of them; using Greek λ for *ll*, in regard, there was but one sort of *l* in the old Britishe Lattin, for where letters are wanting, nothing seems more natural than to borrow them out of that ancient language that is of ye nearest affinity, and I do not know that ye British and Irish come nearer any of ye old languages than they do to ye Greek, I chose also to write *u* for *w*, according to ye oldest Welsh and Scotish alphabet; and also according to ye general pronunciation of *u*, vowel in ye Latin, amongst all Foreiners. fifthly, these old letters being already at ye Oxford Print House, it would be considerably cheaper, printing thus than wth letters of the same magnitude according to ye common orthography; every sheet containing thus a great many more words, etc.—[See Mr. Baxter's *Lr Phill. Fran.* N. 311] and this is all I have to say att present about ye ancient letters of ye Britans. The next apology which probably will be expected from me is that, for ye tediousness of the time, since my first journey into Wales and yet no book publish'd except one Latin tract of natural history in 8vo. I have but little to say herein, but that 'tis common in all countreys and at all times, to run down such as publickly engage themselves in any unusual enterprise, unless they finish it with more than ordinary expedition and also that sometimes even worthy genteel men judge rashly either through ye wrong suggestion of others, or for want of a due notion of the undertaking. It was not my design, neither did I promise when I began travelling, to traverse ye countreys so particularly as I have done nor thro' all those I have been at; nor for near so long a time. Neither was it then my design or promise to write a book so large, as this with God's assistance is like to be when finish'd; nor indeed to spend ye tythe of the pains I have taken with this foundation or first volume.

Now if I have spent more time and money in my travels for ye sake of more experience and knowledge, and if I have taken more time and pains to instruct my self in those languages required; and to publish an account of them for the information of others, and use

of posterity then I promis'd I was in expectation, and am still, that if I had not the thanks of the gentry of Wales, I should not however have much of their displeasure as for ye time, whoever will look into ye first leaf of the Preface of ye learned Dr. DAVIES *Dictionary*, and reflect withall on what small helps, I could have from others books excepting his alone, towards this work: he'll acknowledge I presume, that I have had no great time to be very idle. ye first four years after my return from Lhydaw [or Bretayne] in ye Kingdom of France. If ye printer has since that, been too tedious, because he had others mens works in hand the same time, that fault cannot be laid at my door because I had no authority over him. their custom is (without acknowledging what they have in hand already) to undertake all they will be entrusted with, least work or money fail, least other workmen be admitted into their printhouse, and to neglect any work where ye authors are the undertakers rather than that of the London booksellers, unless they are threatened by those who have authority to turn them out of ye print-house. And if others complain to those, they'll spare no sort of untruth to excuse themselves: an 'tis their profit and interest to be all in ye same story.

I am very sensible that it had been less expensive to ye common people of *Wales, Cornwall, Ireland* and *Scotland*, if I had given an account of these languages, in so many distinct books, and do also acknowledge yt such a work had been usefull in each countrey, but yt would have been one piece of service, and unless my self and ye learned gentlemen I have consulted, have been much mistaken; ye Collateing of ye original languages of ye Isle of Britain is another For by ye placing together and comparing of ye words, we require often often [*sic*] a clearer notion of their origin and acceptation in ye old MSS and this method is much nearer and readier for ye use of any that may hereafter be disposed to write a learned copious Dictionary of their languages moreover as you find by ye catalogue of their names, this book was never intended for ye use of ye common people but was written at ye command of some of the greatest persons of Wales, and for no small number of ye learned nobility and gentlemen of England, who have a curiosity of comparing with other languages, ye Irish, Cornish, and Armoric as well as ye Welsh.

As for ye inhabitants of Cornwall and Armoric Britain, altho' they live amongst English and French, their language shows as you see plainly by this book that they were antiently Britans but you will doubtless be at a loss for that Infinite number of Exotic

words which (besides ye British) you'll find in the Irish of Scotland and Ireland. There are for this as seems to me two reasons. I say, as seems, because we have no authority of histories or other means that may lead us into ye truth but the comparing of languages. In ye first place, I suppose that the antient colonies of Ireland were two distinct nations coinhabiting *Guydhels* and *Scots*; that the *Guydhels* were ye old inhabitants of this island and that *Scots* came out of Spain. So far therefore as their language agrees either with us or the other Britains, ye words are Guydhelian and for ye rest they must be also either Guydhelian lost by our ancestors or else antient Scottish so the second reason for their having so many unknown words, is for yt ye Welsh, Cornish and Armorica Britans have lost some part of their language (in regard they were for ye space of almost 500 years viz. from ye time of J. Caesar to Valentinian ye 3d under ye Government of ye people of Rome) as I have shew'd more particularly in ye first section of this book. And thus 'tis possible a great many of those words which seem to us exotic, may be old British tho' we do not know them, according to those examples I have instanced in P.7.c.1. nor was it only North Britain that these Guydhelians have in the most ancient times inhabited, but also England and Wales; whether before our time, or cotemporary with us or both, is what cannot be determined, but to me it seems most probable that they were here before our coming into the Island and that our ancestors did from time to time force them northward; and that from the Kintire [or *Foreland*] of Scotland where there is but 4 leagues of sea; and from the country of Galloway and Isle of Man they pass'd over in Ireland: as they have that way return'd backwards and forward often since. Neither was their progress into this island out of more remote country than Gaul: now better known by ye name of ye Kingdom of *France* ye *Low Country's* and *Low Dutch*.

Having now related what none have hitherto made mention of: viz. First, that ye old inhabitants of Ireland consisted of two nations Gwydhelians and Scots. Secondly, that the Gwydhelians descended from the Ancient Britains, and the Scots from Spain. Thirdly, that ye Gwydhelians lived in the most antient times not only in North Britain, (where they still continue intermixed with *Scots*, *Saxons* and *Danes*) but also in *England and Wales*. and fourthly that ye said Gwydhelians of *England and Wales* were inhabitants of *Gaul* before they came into this island. Having been so bold, I say as to write such novelties and yet at the same time to acknowledge that I have

no written authoritie for them, I am oblig'd to produce what reasons I have and that, as ye extent of this letter requires, in as few words as may be.

I have already prov'd at large in ye first and second sections of this book that our language agrees with a very great part of theirs, and in ye Irish Grammar you'll also find that ye *Genius* or nature of their language in their changing the initial letters in ye same manner etc. is also agreeable to ye *Welsh*. and as by collating ye languages I have found one part of ye Irish reconcilable to the *Welsh*, so by a diligent perusal of ye New Testament and some manuscript papers I rec'd from ye learned Dr. EDWARD BROWN written in ye language of the Cantabrians, I have had a satisfactory knowledge as to ye affinity of the other part with ye old Spanish. For tho a great deal of that language be retain'd in ye present, yet much better preserved do we find it amongst ye Cantabrians. Now my reason for calling the British Irish Gwydhelians, call ye Picts *Fichtid Gwydhelians*, and ye Picts were Britans without question, as appears not only by ye name of them in Latin and Irish but by ye names of the mountains and rivers in ye Lowland of Scot Land where they inhabited and there probably they are yet (tho' their language be lost) intermixed with *Scots*, Stratelyd Britans old Saxons Danes, and Normans. As for ye entitling ye Spanish-Irish-Scots, there wants no authority ye Irish authors having constantly call'd the Spanish colony *kinskuil* or the Scotish Nation. No more therefore need be said to prove the *Gwydhelians* ancient Britans and as to the Scots, its only necessary we should produce examples of the affinity of the old Spanish with ye present Irish, which we have not room to do here, but in these few words following, where the Scotish-Irish words lead and ye Cantabrian (which is ye Old Mountain or Pyrenaean Spanish) are written after ye English interpretation. . . .

Much more might be added to these; not only out of ye Cantabrian but also out of ye present Spanish, notwithstanding ye great alteration of that language by the Latin and Arabic. Seeing then 'tis somewhat manifest, y^e ye ancient inhabitans of Ireland consisted of two nations; that ye Guydhelians were Britans; and that Ninius and others wrote many ages since an unquestionable truth, when they asserted ye Scotish nations coming out of Spain. Ye next thing I have to make out is that ye part of them call'd *Guydhelians* have once dwelt in England and Wales. there are none of ye Irish themselves that I know of, amongst all the writeings they have publish'd about ye history and origin of their nation, that maintain they were

ever possessed of England and Wales and yet whoever takes notice on a great many of ye names of ye rivers and mountains throughout ye kingdom, will find no reason to doubt, but ye Irish must have been ye inhabitants when those were impos'd on them. There was no name anciently more common on rivers then *Uysk* which ye Roman write *Isca* and *Oscā* and is yet as I have elsewhere observ'd, retain'd in ye English in ye several names of Ask, Esk, Usk and Ax, Ex, Ox, etc. Now altho' there be a considerable river of that name in Wales and another in Devon, yet ye signification of the word is not understood either in our language or in the Cornish. Neither is it less vain labour to look for it in ye British of Wales, Cornwall, or Armorica Britain: than t'would be to search for *Avon*, which is a name of some of ye rivers of England, in ye English: ye signification of ye word in Irish is *water*. and as ye words *Coom*, *Dore*, *Stour*, *Tame*, *Dove*, *Avon* etc. in England confess that they are no other than the Welsh *Kûm*, *Dûr*, *ysdûr*, *Tav*, *Divi* and *Avon* and there by show the Welsh to be their old inhabitants, so do ye words *Uisk*, *lux*, *Kimuy*, *Ban*, *Drim*, *λεχβια*, and several others, make it manifest that the Irish were anciently possessed of these places. for as much as in their language ye signification of ye words are *Water*, *Lake* a *Great River* a *Mountain* a *Back* or *Ridge* a *Gray Stone*. As for ye words *Uisg* (or *Uisge*) it's so well known, that they use no other word att al for Watter and I have formerly suspected that in regard there are so many rivers of that name throughout England; ye word might have been anciently in our language but haveing look'd for it in vain in ye old *Loegrian* British still retain'd in Cornwall and Bas Bretagne; and reflecting that t'was impossible had it been once in ye British that both they and wee should lose a word of so common a use and of so necessary a signification, I could find no place to doubt but ye *Gwydhelians* have formerly liv'd all over ye kingdom, and that our ancestors had forc'd ye greatest part of them to retire to ye north and to Ireland in ye very same manner that ye Romans afterwards subdu'd us and as ye Barbarians of Germany and Denmark, upon ye downfall of ye Roman Power have driven us one age after another. to our present limits. We see then how necessary the Irish language is, to those who shall undertake to write of the antiquity of the Isle of Britain; and by reading ye first section of this book 'twill be also evident that 'tis impossible to be a compleat master of ye ancient British, without a competent knowledge of ye Irish besides ye languages of Cornwall and Bas Bretagne. Nor is it necessary for a satisfaction herein to look farther than our

common names for a *sheepfold* and *milch-cattle*. for who should ever know ye reason of calling a sheepfold *kor* altho' he knows *lam* ye latter syllable of ye word signifies a yard or fold, unless he also knows that ye Irish call a sheep *Caor*? or why it is yt we call milch-cows *Gwartheg blithion* unless he knows that *Blathuin* in ye same language signifies to *milk*. and so for a great many words which we have neither leisure nor room to take notice of at present nor indeed occasion, in regard they are obvious to all observers in the following book. The next thing prov'd is that those ancient *Gwydhelians* were a colony of those nations whom ye Romans call'd Galli or Celtæ and this will also appear evident from a comparison of both the languages. I have observed to you how that might be done in ye English Preface; and have no room to insert here but ye four examples following, where ye leading words are Celtic collected out of old Latin books. . . .

. . . Vergobretus saith Caesar signifi'd a chief magistrate in ye language of ye Aedui: *Liscus qui summo magistratui præerat quem Uergobretum vocant Aedui qui creatur annuus et vitæ necisq. in suos habet potestatem*, *Caes. de Bello Gallico. L.S.* Now *Fear gobreath* signifies a Judge: *verbatim ye man that judges*, and 'twas by taking notice of this word, that I first suspected the *Gwydhelians* to be ancient *Gauls* a thing I see at present no reason at all to doubt of. Seeing then wee find by ye ancient language of the Celtæ and by a great number of ye old *Gwydhelian* words that are still extant in ye present French that ye *Gwydhelians* came originally out of France. Some will wonder how it came to pass that we find so many Teutonice or German words in ye Irish: but ye reason for that was these people of ye old Gauls, call'd Belgæ, spoke ye Teutonice as they do yet, and besides ye Celtæ that came hither and pass'd some ages afterwards into Ireland some of ye Belgæ came also and these (as seems probable also to the learned Irish Antiquary Mr. RODERIC O FLAHERTY) were ye very men they call'd *Firbolgi*; who came according to their tradition into Ireland long before ye Scots. Now in regard that neither ye Irish themselves, nor any one else that I know of have taken notice of the Northern words in their language, it seems not impertinent to collate some of them with the English. In regard ye Irish is one of the Teutonic languages tho' it has anciently borrow'd some words from ye British and ye latter ages a great number from ye Latin and French. We have no room for supposing (unless it be in a very few examples) that ye Irish has borrow'd those words from ye English, because they are extant in

ye old Irish MSS. written before ye union of the two nations, and moreover they have several Teutonic words that are not at all in ye English. In ye following examples ye leading words are Irish and ye English those written in *Italic*: An, *At*; allod, *of old* Aoide, *Youth*; as *is*; Atan [a garland]; *Hat*, Baiter, *water*. Beirim *to Bear*, Beit *both* Beithir, *a bear*. Buidhe, [yellow], bry *Briar* [a prickle] Bryar Broke [a badger] *a brock* Buidhean *aband*, Ceachter, either Ceaddaoine *Wednesday*. Ceart *right*, + Cing, *king*. Clet, *Quill*, *Quillet* Kinaib *Hemp*. Belg Kennep Cnap, + *Knap* [i.e. a Button] Coinne [a woman] *quean*. Colbtha *ye Calf* [of the leg]. Craos, *to Carouse*. Cruadh *Hard* Cruth *Curd* Cuar, *a haven*, Scil *Caven*, *chaven*, *haven*. Cuivet *cheat*, Quin, *when scil quen* *χύον* huon. Culoidh *Cloaths*. Da *to*, Dal, *dole* and Dailtha, *dealt*. Daor, *dear*. Dath, [colour] *a die*. Deor *a tear* Divrim, *to drive*, Do bam, *to daub*, Don, Dun, Dos, *distle*, *thistle*. Dorcha *Dark* Dre *a Dray* Easog, *Weesel*. Eadan [The Forehead]. *Head*: Faileog, *Hillock*: Folav, *hollow*; Failte *health*. + Faol, *wolf* feadan Grem [*sic*]. *Pfief*, Fovar Forradh *Harvest*, foil *while* fuil Fuileadh *Bleud*. for *before* Frag Grem *Fraw*, [a woman, a wife] fuath fuathradh, *a hate*, *hatred* Gave *to go* Gavuum *Calf* Geaian *a groan* Gonte *wounded* Gort *hurt* Gre Gray Gordhiar *an Iron* Growsiagh [an Island] Ey: as Bardsey Iodars *towards* Is *is*. Layim Laighim, *to lie*, *to lig*. Leagh *a leech* [vz a Physician] Loch *black*. Log, a pool or a pit germ. Loch dan *Loch* Luaidle, *lead* Lumhan, *a lamb*. Magadh, *mocking*, meis *a mess*. Min. *Fine*. Moid, *oath* Muirin, *a burden* Nochduidhe *Naked*. Ocras, *Hunger*. oir *for olam* [*to drink*] *ale*. Olan, *woole*, *woollen* Pock, *a Buck* Readan *a Read*. Readh *Ready* Sadal *a Saddle* saiv *sweet*. Sar [exceedingly] Germ. sehr. Skian *ys knife* Sceive *shape* + skib *a ship* seachan *shun* seadha, *a saw*. seal, *white* seith a Hide Siavraye *Fairies* Sioc *Ice* Sligean *a shell* Sneachd and sni *snow* smearadh, *Besmearing* Soiuskeal Gospell Sread *a herd* srang *String* Sreamh *stream* Tachailt *to dig*. Tairisim *to Tarry* Tairngtheoir *a drawer* Tairsigh *a Threshold*. Teango *a tongue*. Tirm *dry*. Toirseach *tired*. Tiugh *tough* [thick]. Uavan, *an Oven* Uaillgim, *to howle*.

I have nothing else at present to say further of ye language and origin of ye Irish. and in regard this much as little as 'tis offers several notions never yet propos'd; I have chosen to publish it first in Welsh. If some of ye learned gentlemen of our country shall approve of them, twill be no difficulty to write them more at large in a more general language. as for ye nation of the Britans, some better knowledge than I have of it hitherto would be requisite and

also room to trace it to its springs than ye narrow compass of this epistle permits. But lest we come to the end of this Preface, without saying anything att all of it, take what follows relating to one of the dialects of ye kingdome of France, on ye borders of Spain. Reading the *Triades* of ye Isle of Britain, which according to Mr. VAUGHAN of *Hengwrt* were written about a 1000 years since, I could not but take notice of these words. *the third silver army of Britain went off with Kasuax on ab Beli and Gwenwynwyn and Gwanar ye sons of Aiau ab Nuivre & Arianrhod ye daughter of Beli and these men came from Erch and Heleth; and follow'd ye Cesarians with their Uncle Kasua λ on on ye place where ye men now are is Gasgoigne their number was one and twenty thousand of ye two other silver armies the author had nam'd before; the first went of with Irp Lyidog to Norway in ye time of Gaidhials Biri [an Legendum] G. vab Iri? and ye 2d with Helen Lyedhog and Maxon [i.e. Maximus] Wledig to Bas Britain and because that's known to have been about ye year 384 and that it should therefore seem that the 3d army went off still later and consequently not very remote from ye time of the author, I imagin'd he had either mistaken ye name of ye general or that there was another Caswalhon ab Beli besides ye Prince that engag'd Iulius Caesar but in regard he calls the Romans Cesarians he might possibly (tho' ye order be confus'd) mean Caswalhon ab Beli maur ab Minagan. Be that as twill, since part of his relation is undoubted truth: namely that an army of Britains went out of this Island into Britain Armorica and since ye Gasgoignes use a mixt language of French and some other I imagin'd 'twould prove neither wholly lost labour, nor foreign to my purpose to look a little into their language some Welsh and Guidhelian words I found in it; but generally speaking 'tis ye *Lingua Romana*, or Roman Tongue anciently corrupted and intermixt with Spanish and Gaulish of the many Welsh or British words I took notice of in it these following seem'd the most remarkable. G. Ach, alas. W. Och. Aco, there, *acu*. Adoutzilha to bore; tylhy atty lly, to pierce again Amagat, Hid, *mugut*, *mugut ir ieir* etc. Amuy, more *muy*. Aro, ar'on, now *yru'an* Arreire Behind; in ye Gwydhelian Do reir W. ar'ol. Ascla to cleeve Gwydh. Scolt Asgo [an olim Aisgo?]. Water; Gwydh. *Aisge*, *oisge Uisge* and 'tis highly probable that from this word came the Latin *aqua*. Barga, to dress Hemp or flax *Bragio* Blutoire a meal Coffer. Blaud, meal Baysadur del Pabise'au: *marque* [saies the French Interpreter] *qui est à cote du pain lors quil a esté presse au four*. so that Pabiseau is the *Pebez* of the Cornish, or our Pobydh,*

a Baker, Bern, [vern] An alder tree *Guern, vern*; Guydh. Fern. Bernard pescaire, Bernard ye Fisher Is *i. piscur B. Bisgadur*. Tis ye Gasgoigne name of a Hern. Berret, Bonnet; Guydh. *Beired* from Bar, which in the Armoric is the head or top in ye Cantabrian Burua. Bigara brieze or Horse Fly. Pigur, anything that pricks or stings. Briou, an ox, cow, etc Bey, Boy, byuch, byah. Brama to bellow; *Brevy*, which according to the old orthography was *Bremi*, and *Brema*. Brassat, an armful; Breichiad. Briana, a mite a hand worm. *Brivyn, Privyn* and *Privyn* any little worm. Budel, ye post to which cattle are ty'd in a cow house; *Bydel* or *Budhel*. Cabirou rafters; *keibr* Corn. and Arm. *Keibrou Keibrow*. *Cadeno*, a chain; *Cadwen* Cagal Cagaillou sheep dung etc. *Cagal Caglen*; in ye plural number, according to the Cornish and Armorica *Caglou*. Cayre a barber *Cur* Cayssal [ys Caysal scaysar] A Tusk, a fang, etc. *skythyr* Caillhols: nous en caillhols, we are undone *Ni yn golh* oll, we are all lost. Cap ye head top, or summit of any thing; cop'a. They use it for ye end or extremity of any thing, a pen in the Welsh, Cap da'm the end of the year, *Pen i vluydhyn*; and hence that Wallicism in Nennius, I *capite Anni* speaking of ye wood of Loch Neach. Carrado a dragful; *Carred* Chiu chiu, ye noise of a chick; *kiu*, a chick. Chi, a dog; *Ki*: in ye plural with ye Armoric British saying chichou and *chichet*. Claba to lock; cloi [cloiv + cloib] Clapa to beat, Clapio. Cranc a crab *cranc*. Creze, to believe; Corn. *Crez*. W. *Credy* Crida to groan; *Grydhvan*. Cunh, before; *Kyn*, or *Cun* Cura, to dress or prepare, *cueirio* also to beat *Kyro* or *Curo* Cura, *les lugres*, to beat ones; *Curo sliged*. Daban away; piece i *Darn*. Dibendres [Divendres] Friday; as if we should say *Diuener*. instead of dyð Guener and so Dijaus Thursday, *Diviau* Dimars, Tuesday, *dy-maurz*; Dimeres Wednesday *dyumerxer* Dom, a man, *Dÿn* Paure dom, a poor fellow. [but perhaps this may be only Dom for Dominus by way of irony]. El, an eye + sel and sil in ye old British whence our Welsh *sidy*, and Armoric *sellat*, to behold. In ye Guydhelian ye common words for an eye is sul: and as their sùl occasionally chang's into *hul*, so was doubtless our *sel* and sil into hel and hil. Estan, Tin; *Isten*. Fay a Beech-tree *fay*, as we find by ye compound word *Fawyð*. i.e. Guys *fay* Beeches: for 'tis a vulgar error to call Deal *Fawyð* as is usual in N. Wales. Fenno, a woman. i *veniu*. Flac *weak*, *lac* Flairou a smell *fleirio* to smell offensively. Fu gairou game fire so they call the bonfire on midsummer eve: a custom as well known amongst them and the Armoric Britains as in S. Wales: *Tan guare* Foura, to provoke a dog when barking or

baiting, etc. *Herra*, *herio* Garro and Garrow a leg of mutton also a leg of a fowl etc. *Gar* is a leg in ye Cornish and Armoric but signifies a ham only in ye Welsh. Gourgourial excellent Rhagoral: Gorgoral would also signifie ye same thing in ye Welsh from *gor* valde and *goral* optimus but that 'tis not in use. Gourret A dilling pig, Arm. Gudoret in Cardiganshire *cardid* and *cardydwyn*. vid. Fig. 283. Gous a bitch: Arm. *Kies*. W. gast Grapos to crawl, etc. *Kropio*. Graupinnia to scratch. *skrifinio* Grougnant ye smallest fry of fish + *Gurayiaut* Guerlhe, squint ey'd an q.d. Guyrlhyg crooked-sighted? Guigna to wink Guinkio q. whether from Guingo to wag or shake. Langousto, a lobster Corn. Legest. Laura, to labour, to plow. *Lhavyro*? Whether in most ancient times, ye Latin Labor, Labor, etc. might not come from Lhavr or La'r which in ye Celtic signified ye earth and whether we might in after ages when subject to the Romans borrow Flower de Liz. *Elester*. Louga, to hire: Lhogi and Logi Lugas ye eyes Corn. Lagas. Manat a handfull + *minait* Mandro a fox + *madin* and *madrin*. In ye Irish *madre-ruadh* [i.e. red dog] is a fox and in ye French. *madre* a subtle fellow. Mano, a sheep; *manlhuyn* an go Chudum man? Marra a ram, *maharen* mémé ye bleating of a lamb so in Welsh me and me bach a little lamb mé-mé a lamb or mutton so call'd by ye children; and so in Wales as also Be-muda, to migrate or remove; *mudo* or *mydo* mujol yellow apply'd only to ye yolk of an egg and for a sort of yellow mushroom. Pic, a beak, bill. Pig, peg, pitch: *Pyg* popou, a bugbear, *bubaç*. Qui a field. *Kae* rascaud embers. Rhysed rastel a rack; *Rhosel*. trexo, a sow; Turç a hog. So ye French + Truis and Truie which is but ye same word used for a sow Triga, to stay to dwell long. *Trigo hir drigo*. Trouneire, Thunder, Tranu.

One other affinity they have with the British is that the infinitive mood of their verbs ends in a; as Barra, to betray, *barbeça* to shave, *Barreça*, to mix; after ye manner of the Cornish who say *Perna*, to buy; where we say Pryny; and Krena to shake for Kryny; Owna to fear for *ovni* and not r as in ye French. In an Heroic Poem written on an expedition of ye nobility of that country into Spain in ye year 1365 some of ye names of the men are also so very like those formerly used by ye Welsh and other Britans, that theres little room to doubt that they are ye very same. Ex. gr. Mouric Meyrice and in S. Wales *Meyric*. Cenon, *Cynan*. Talayran *Talhaiarn* Geyrans, Corn. Gerens; W. *Gereint*. Ganelu *Kyndelu* & *Kynhehu* G. leon [& Leon] *Guallon*, Guytrad Guerlhydh, etc. neither can GOUDELYN ye most celebrated poet of those who have written in that language,

be any other than our Guydhelyn; tho' both are probably no other than the same with ye Latin *Vitellinus*. But as to ye word *Dab* which they commonly use in compound proper names as *Dab-Joan d'Ambres Dab Guesclin* etc. in regard I am ignorant of its signification, I shall not insist on the conjecture that 'tis the same with our *ab* or Davyth 'ab—such readers as are better acquainted with their language and manuscripts may soon satisfy themselves therein. Moreover not more remote are ye names of men from those of our nation, than are some names of places yt occur in the Poem. as Chabanos Kevne+Kebne Garrgue Karreg Kerrig Buel *Buallt Vinnes Uynedh* [Dial Corn. *Uynez*]. Blainaco, Blainiig. Montaudram *Minydh Aedhren*—Montesquiu, *minydh Ishaw*. Carabodas, *Cae'rbedw ne GaerVodach*. and, whoever would consult ye writings of their monasteries and ye Lives of their Saints, would doubtless meet with a great many more. I have now little to add but that 'tis necessary to caution ye reader, that no man is oblig'd to regard any censure against this book, unless ye gentlemen that offers it understands besides English and Latin either Welsh Armoric, British, Cornish or Irish. I offer'd it to several of ye London Booksellers in order to their publishing it if they thought fit, but in regard they would not undertake it I have printed it at my own expence. Now all that have been conversant at London know very well that a book is constantly run down when it appears by ye Title-page that 'twas printed for ye author himself and not for any of ye booksellers in so much that 'tis very common not only in booksellers shops but also in some coffee-houses to hear men disparage new books tho' they neither understand ye nature nor use of them none can be competent judges of this but gentlemen of Wales or ye High Lands of Scotland or of Ireland: and in ye censure of scholars out of these countries, provid'd that besides their knowledge of others languages they continue masters of their own, I shall allways readily acquiesce, but for others that pretend to find fault themselves or to offer ye objections of absent persons, all lovers of reason and equity will acknowledge, that there is neither necessity nor occasion to regard them.

It may save some expence of time to such as have frequent occasions of perusing ye Latin, Welsh vocabulary if they remember that 'tis more copious after ye H and yt twill therefore be best, where there are synonymous Latin words to consult some word that begins with any letter thence forward as for the defect in ye preceding letters you'll find how it hapn'd in ye second page of ye English Preface. Tit. ii.

Reading over when 'twas too late, ye Catalogue of ye Names of ye Gentry, before ye English Preface; I find myself oblig'd before I conclude this letter to acknowledge that I have omitted ye Hond SR. GRIFFITH WILLIAMS of Marl Bt. and also ye names of ye Seats of some gentlemen in Anglesey, and Carnarvonshire because not written in ye paper I recived; but 'tis possible I may have another opportunity of supplying that defect.

As for the remainder of ye work all I can say is that 'tis my design (by God's permission, who has been pleas'd to vouch safe ye finishing this) to publish at least one other as large as it, containing partly a Dictionary of ye History of ye Kings Princes, Ancient nobility ye Towns, Castles Churches and Saints and of all other very remarkable men and places of ye British nation mention'd in ancient records. But as for ye time I have been already so often decid'd in ye Print house; and also by wrong calculating my self ye labour required in ye writing such books, that I have learn'd 'tis in vain to name any time for publishing. In ye meantime whoever is pleas'd to favour my endeavours by giving notice of any such old inscriptions as they shall suppose I have not seen already, or to communicate ye use of some old Welsh manuscript or parchment (or copied from parchment) containing any subject not mark'd with the letter L. in ye Catalogue of ye Welsh manuscripts, he may do a public service by communicating what may be fit to be preserv'd from oblivion; however he will at ye least show a civility to be gratefully acknowledg'd ye remainder of his days, by

Your faithful Servant

E. L.

268. *For the Honourd RICHARD MOSTYN of Penbedw, Esq. This is to be left with Mr. Lloyd at Ruthin. Arch. Camb. 1847, 94.*
Most Hond Sir Oxford, June 22, 1707.

It's high time to let you know I am stil amongst the living, and notwithstanding my long neglect as to correspondence, as sensible as ever of my best patrons. You will receive herewith the first volume of the *Archæologia*; for I make that word now more comprehensive than the 1st design. I heartily wish it may in some measure prove satisfactory to those of my subscribers, who are curious and acquainted with books. For if so, there's no doubt but others will acquiesce also in their approbation. Dr. Hicks, Dr. Gibson & Mr. Baxter have in their pri-

vate letters to myself expressed their being not displeas'd with it; but such letters (tho' I have very little acquaintance with the first and last of them) are, generally speaking, but too civil and complementary. The carrier being no better provided could not bring down this first time above half a dozen books; neither have I yet learned who of my subscribers are at present in the country; but he promises to return again in a fortnights space. Mr. H. Foulks had order'd me to send yours bound onely in past board; but this I send, being one of the few I printed on large paper, and bound on purpose to be sent you the 1st opportunity, may I hope doe as well. Be pleas'd to look at the bottom of the 1st page of the *Welsh Preface* before you begin reading it; because the new letters I have made use of, are a little puzzling & perhaps too many to be introduced into an alphabet at one time. I design for London very speedily to see what I can doe with the impression, where if you please to honour with a line or two 'twill be the greatest encouragement that can be wish'd by

Most Hond Sr

Yr ever oblig'd

Humble Servant

EDW. LHWYD

I know not where I shall lodge, but my letters may be directed to be left with Mr. Grif Davies at the 7 stars in Monmouth [Street.

269. MS *Smith* 51, 29.

Revd Sr

Oxford June 26. 1707.

Mr. Parry the bearer hereof will deliver you the 1st volume of the *Archæologia Britannica* you have been pleas'd to subscribe for, the remainder of the payment is 9s. & 6d. according to the printed proposals at 1d- $\frac{1}{2}$ a sheet. I heartily wish that it may in some measure prove acceptable to you; & am sensible 'twould be much more to my advantage if but one in seven of my subscribers were such competent judges of the use of preserving such antiquated languages & the labour required therein. The bearer receives the remainder of the subscription for the use of

Reverend Sr

Yr much oblig'd Humble Servt

EDW. LHWYD¹

¹ The only signature noted in which, Lhwyd uses 'u' and not 'w'.

270. To Dr. RICHARDSON. *Richardson Correspondence* xxxvi

Oxford, June 27th, 1707.

Most Honour'd Sir,

It's high time to let you know I am still amongst the living, and heartily as much yours as I am capable. I ought (tho' I have inserted it in the *Postman* and *Gazette*) to have given you earlier notice of the publishing the first volume of the *Archæologia Britannica*.¹ I present those who have contributed twenty shillings or above annually towards my travels, with a book. I have printed before it the names and quality of the subscribers towards those travels; but your own, and Mr Thornton's,² and some others being accidentally omitted, they were afterwards printed, and pasted in about half the impression, which serves as well, till the next volume, when, God willing, the catalogue may be reprinted. You have been pleas'd to subscribe for six more, which in all makes eight books; and, if Mr Thornton be curious to look a little into the nature of these Celtique Languages, a ninth shall be added with hearty thanks from, Honour'd Sir,

Your ever obliged humble servant,
E. LHWYD

P. S. If you'd have the books sent from Oxford, be pleas'd to write to Mr William Lloyd at the Museum; and, if from London, to myself at the Seven Stars in Monmouth-Street, London. The additional payment on each of the six books is nine shillings and sixpence, besides binding and lettering, which is two shillings and threepence a book.

271. For Mr. ROCHE at his Chamber in Grays Inn, London

MS *Ashmole* 1816

Oxf. July 27, 1707.

[Lhwyd's instruction that Mr. Williams is to be paid.]

¹ This first volume of a very valuable work was, in the language of the author, devoted to *Glossography*, and contained *Some account, additional to what has hitherto been published, of the Languages, Histories, and Customs of the Original Inhabitants of Great Britain. From Collections and Observations in Travels through Wales, Cornwall, Bas Bretagne, Ireland, and Scotland.*—The author did not live to publish a second volume.

² RICHARD THORNTON of Leeds.

272. To Dr. RICHARDSON. MS. *Ashmole* 1816, f. 74.

Hond Sir

Oxford July 27. 1707.

It's high time to let you know that I am stil (not withstanding the tediousness of our Oxford Press) in the Land of the Living; and that our Printers have at last finishd that wch was put into their hands three years since; which if it had been their Good Will & pleasure they might have dispatched in half the Time. My countreyman the Bearer will deliver you the Book you have been pleasd to subscribe for; and has also with him an other for Capten Lumbard if stil at London. You will find before it a copy of Verses by Mr Rodr. O Flaherty, which includes his Approbation of the Irish Part. I heartily wish the Irish Preface may prove intelligent. I could get none in England to correct it, so I sent some Part of it to a Professor of the Language at Dublin, who made it more obscure to me than 'twas; however I have often complied with his correction because I hoped 'twould be the clearer to others. In the comparative etymology you'l find the constant agreement (as to Origin & Propriety) which the Irish has with the Welsh. The Price you may remember to subscribers was three halfpence a sheet, & the Book consisting of 116 sheets the remaining payment is 9s 6d. which if you please you may pay Mr Williams the Bearer. Mr Flaherty & a great many other Gentlemen of Ireland & Scotland having been well pleasd wth the Irish part of it, I doe not at all despaire of the Approbation also of a Person of your Judgement & Candour. And because there may be a great many other Gentlmen of your Acquaintance & Countrey now at London; its my Humble Request you would shew some of them the Book as soon as you have opportunity and to others the inclosd Title; which my Fellow Traveller Mr. Parry will call for about a fortnight hence or sooner if you send him word by the Penny Post, to the 7 Stars in Monmouth Street London. The London Booksellers as you know, I presume, much better than I, make it their Business to run down or damn (as they term it) such Books as they have not themselves a hand in, notwithstanding the Impression has been 1st offerd them. But (under the Rose) I have given

such hints thereof in the Irish as also in the Welsh Preface that I believe their artifice will prevail but little with those Nations and I am sure none else can be judges. Pray pardon this hasty tho tedious scribe, from

Sr Yr most obligd Humble Servt
EDW. LHWYD

Be pleased to take your choice the Book in Quires or that bound wch comes to two shillings more.

273. [*Name of addressee missing. Perhaps H. FOULKES*¹].

Arch. Camb. 1858, 227.

Dear Sr

Lond. Aug. 2, 1707

This comes to acquaint you that I have this day sent you by Bosomes Inn Carrier according to your directions 7 Books bound here; where each Book costs half a crown the Binding. The words noted with a D were all sent by you. In one Letter sent many years since you inserted severall words out of the margin of Dr Davies's own Dictionary and I took these to be then (*sic*) thence likewise I missed indeed the word, Pair Dhadian ym mha yn yr arvere r Gwyddelod veruy Kyrph meirw &c. The other words you then sent were so few yt the loss is not much: unless what you sent was onely a small specimen. '*Coylio Buccifero*' &c is a blunder owing to Mr Williams our Librarian, whom I employ'd to transcribe those words. I took *bymiste* to be an error of H. Salusbury. However he is to answer for it: and one may back what he says, by adding that the Cornish *Felen* (wormwood) comes also from the Latin Fel. *Toreth* may be Fruit very well, as well *Toradh* in the Irish, but *Didoreth* is also us'd for *of short duration*, as *Bara didoreth* &c. but those words being of other mens collecting I am not accountable for them, as I am for those in the Cornish Grammar. I rec'd a Welsh epistle in my own orthography from Mr Rowlands of Anglesey about the W. preface: where he maintains that we and the Irish came to Brittain at once. Mr Baxter has sent an Acct of this Book in a

¹ The Rev. H. FOULKES, Prebendary of St. Asaph.

Letter to the Secretary of the R. Society, wch I hear will be printed in the next *Phil. Transaction*. Pray acquaint me, as soon as this comes to hand where Mr Davies of Lhannerch is; & whither I am to send B B [bound books] to Sr R. Most[yn] & Sr John Conwy.¹

yrs entirely

E. LHWYD

274. *For the Reverend Mr JOHN LLOYD at the Free School in Ruthin Denbighshire, Chester post. Arch. Camb. 1860, 14.*

Lond. Aug. 8. 1707.

Dear Sr

I have been in a Hurry since my comming (*sic*) to this Town else I had long since returnd my thanks for your obligeing letter. I have heard nothing from my good friend Mr Mostyn of Penbedw since he recd my Book thô I had requested the favour of a line upon his receiving it. However I hope there's nothing in the Book that may displeas. The Master of the Roll's Gentleman excepted against the person to whom 'twas dedicated. The truth is I should never have thought of Sr THOMAS MANSEL but that he had been so constantly active in procuring subscriptions and payments, and so much the author of the undertaking from the beginning; that I must have shewed too much ingratitude if I had dedicated it to any one else. I have orderd Mr Parry to send the Books you mention by the Hosier Morys ab Evan, wch I presume he'll not neglect. As for Mr Young's proposal, the Ten Shilling subscribers are enterd amongst my patrons according to Alphabet without distinction from those of Five Pounds annually. But considering the expense I was at in travelling, I had once no thoughts of presenting them with Books, but he having subscribd voluntarily and made due payments without any dunning, I am very willing he may have a book in quire with hearty thanks: and shall send him one hence to be left with Mr Godfrey Lloyd of Wrexham, the 1st conveniency (*sic*). I pay half a crown here for the binding each Book, which I desire you'd please to receive from him when you meet. As for the Amanu-

¹ Matric. Christ Church 1679. M.P. for Flint.

ensis mentiond in my last; you must know that two of them being offerd about three months before, out of Cardiganshire, I had orderd one of them should be sent up upon tryal; but receiving no answer in two months space, I concluded he was to be otherwise disposed of, and therefore writ to you: but, the very day I set out from Oxford, or the next, the young man came thither himself; and, finding I was gone, followed me hither. I don't question but one of your choosing would have proved fitter for my Turn, and a better scholar. However he seems as yet an industrious and sober youth, and there's some hopes he may doe very well. Sr Robert Owen's paper of Subscribers would not be communicated when I was in the country. However Sr Wm Williams payd for the time then past, which was three years, and so did Mr Lloyd of Aston and Mr [J.] Bridgeman of Lhan ym Mlodwell. I hope they have ere this payd the remaining two years to my order. If Mr Roberts and Mr Mostyn are pleasd to contribute still what they once design'd, 'twill be equally acceptable and a very seasonable encouragement towards the next volume, wherein, if it please God I may live to publish it, their Subscription shall be gratefully acknowledgd amongst the Subscribers publishd before this.

The Linguists and Antiquaries in these parts are so well satisfied with this volume that it sels much beyond what could be expected of a book so forreign. I dispose of all constantly at the same rate, which is Sixteen shillings in quires to those who have not subscribd; and nine & sixpence to those who have payd their crowns. Mr Baxter whom you may perhaps have a notion of from his Edition of Horace, had written an account of it to the Secr. of the R. S. who, I am told, designs to print it in one of the Transactions.¹ I have but just room to add respects to all friends and to subscribe myself worthy Sr

Yr most oblig'd Frd

& humble Servt

EDW. LHWYD

¹ Baxter's review appeared in *Phil. Trans.* Sept 1707.

275. MS. *Ashmole* 1816, f. 75.

Aug. 26. 1707.

To Lord ——,

Finding your Lordship's Name amongst those who have been pleas'd to encourage my Travels, by an Annual Subscription, for the space of five years, I gave Orders a Book of the Large Paper should be presented to your Lordship, which I hope has been done. I have now sent by the Bearer my receipt and acknowledgement of your Lordship's Generous contribution, which will be always gratefully remember'd by

My Lord

Yr Lordship's most oblig'd & most Obedient Servant

EDW. LHWYD

Your Lordship will find by the Book wherein you were pleas'd to subscribe that the person employ'd neglected waiting on you for the Three last payments, wch if your Lordship please to order it, the Bearer will receive.

276. To Dr. RICHARDSON. *Nichols Literary Illustrations*, 1817.

Sept. 9, 1707.

Honoured Sir,

I found your kind letter at my return hither, for which I ought to have sooner sent my most hearty thanks. There is no haste at all for the money; and it is equal whether they be paid here, or returned by bill to Mr. Griffith Davies, Monmouth Street.

I have, since my sending you the books, ventured the sending half a dozen to York, directed to be left at Dr. Fall's,¹ for Mr. Oswald,² a Scottish Clergyman, who was my acquaintance about four years since at Baliol. I writ to him then by post; but, hearing nothing from him, I would desire you, in case you have any friend at that city, to write a line to him of inquiry whether any such books have been disposed of. Scheuchzer's *Itinera Alpina* will doubtless prove very acceptable to

¹ JAMES FALL, D.D. Præcentor in the Cathedral of York 1691; and Prebendary of Cleveland 1700. He died June 13, 1711; and was buried in that Cathedral.

² JAMES OSWALD, of Balliol College, M.A. 1700; incorporated from Edinburgh.

us Alpine Naturalists. Dr. Thorpe,¹ of your College, who publishes it, told me it will be out next Term. Mr. William Baxter, who is reputed one of our best Linguists and English Antiquaries, has sent Dr. Sloane a very favourable account of my book, which will be published in the next Transaction.

I am, honoured Sir, &c.

E. LHWYD

277. *For the honoured RICHARD MOSTYN Esq at Penbedw in Denbighshire Chester post. Arch. Camb. 1860, 15.*

Oxford Nov ij 1707.

Hond Sr

I should by no means have so long defer'd my thanks for the favour of your letter by Dr Wyn, but that I thought myself oblig'd to peruse first the translation of Dr Well's Epistles which you had mention'd as sent by Dr Stratford. The Dr's answer the 1st time was that the box was not come; and this morning he sayd he had searched for those papers, but could not find them; but added, stil there's a box or two not yet open'd. I am told there's an other translation of them done by one Mr Jenkin Lloyd, a Glamorganshire clergyman; but in all probability your neighbour's is the fitter for the publick. It's the greatest encouragement to me that could ever happen, to find yr self, the Bishop of Hereford² and some others to approve in some measure of this 1st volume. Some leading men of our own nation were pleas'd to take private occasions of talking slightly of it, whilst 'twas in the press, which has done it no small prejudice; and I have been told since the publishing that the same mean notion of it is stil retain'd. But when several agree in an approbation we have no reason to be discourage'd at the contrary sentiment of a particular person or two, who, thô they may talk notably in general, have yet given the world no proof of their talent in such studies. As to the sale I know not what to say til I hear

¹ JOHN THORPE, M.D. the learned Editor of the *Textus Roffensis*; of whom see the *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. III, p. 509.

² HUMPHREY HUMPHRIES to whom Lhwyd addressed a letter introducing David Parry's *British Etymologicon*.

out of Ireland and Scotland; having sent 100 to Dublin and ventur'd 50 amongst the novantique northern Britans (*sic*). Dr Mollineux of Dublin had, before I sent over the book, got ten of their Bishops and thirty of the gentry to subscribe on the back of a title-page that they would take books; several of them having seen the Irish-English Dictionary, which being 1st printed had layn at a Bookseller's shop two years before the whole book was publish'd. I have had the honour of an obliging letter from the Primat; but know not as yet how it takes in general in either of those kingdoms.

I return most humble thanks for your kind invitation; and shall most thankfully accept of it, if ever it be my fortune to come again into North Wales. Dr Wyn has given me a further account of your artificial caves, which I take to be the only curiosity extant of the kind. I receivd the curiosities you were pleas'd to send by Mr John Mostyn, and most heartily beg pardon, I had not sooner return'd my most humble thanks; which, being then a litle (*sic*) busy, I deferrd and afterwards quite neglected. As for the remainder I know not well what 1st to set upon; but I am sure I have materials for three or four volumes. Dr Aldridge has been talking some years about publishing a *Cæsar's Commentaries*; and has expected some notes on the names of persons and places from the Bishop of Hereford. If he would goe on with it, I should be willing to add to it an *Onomologia Britannica* (or *Celto-Britannica*), or a dissertation on the method of nameing persons and places, us'd amongst the Gauls and Britans. There has been nothing of that kind, that I know of, as yet attempted: and perhaps the learned part of my subscribers would think that part of my time as well bestowd as any.

I am Most Hond Sr

your ever oblig'd humble servant

E. LHWYD

All the subscribers have books presented to them excepting such as have not payd &c. Some have paid nothing, as particularly the E. of Carbury; who was pleas'd to deny his handwriting, and appeal to his man, who seconded him.

278. *For the Reverend Mr JOHN LLOYD Schoolmaster at Ruthin Denbighshire. Chester post. Arch. Camb. 1860, 16.*

Dear Sr

Oxford Nov. 23. 1707.

This comes with hearty wishes to find you in perfect good health and brings you the unfeignd service of a sincere veteran friend. I hope that by this time the subscribers have been pleasd to send you the remaining payments. If so, I would desire you to send it by Morys ab Ievan, or else to return it to London to the hands of my scribe Alban Thomas, who lodges at one Popins in the middle row in St Giles's in the Fields. The Book has been now so long amongst you that you are able by this time to acquaint me with the several objections that have been made to it; which I should be very desireous to be told of, that I may endeavour either to avoid the like faults, or to make some sort of amends in the next volume. I have promisd to pay off some remains due to my paper man before Christmass, which is the reason of this rude Dun. Dr FOULKS has been pleasd long since to order me to take up his money from Mr Harry Clements; but I know not what books he has had, beside that which was due to him as a generous contributor; and therefore I desire either himself or you to satisfy me at your 1st leasure. I can think of no news worth sending; so shall add nothing but humble and hearty respects to the Doctor from

His and yr much oblig'd

Friend & humble servant

E. LHWYD

P.S. Pray learn, as much as you can, in whose hands the Grants or Charters of the Religious houses in Denbigh shire and Flintshire may be. Sr Thomas Mansel has sent me lately all those of his Abbey of Margam, which are 205; & they give me much more instruction than I was aware of. I suppose no Gentlman that's any thing a scholar would scruple to lend them; but for those that are in other hands we are not to expect them. You acquainted me, a great many years since, that there was an authentic Record extant that a servant of

St Patric's was the 1st Rector of Kerig i Druidion. Whatever that record be, I should be very glad of a copy of it; thô there may be a mistake of the sense of the words; because *Guás Patric* might have been onely a Christian name of one much later; as 'tis certain *Kospatric* amoungst the Cumbian Britans was (*sic*). And, amoungst those who granted charters to the Abbey of Margam, I find one calld *Was-meir* and an other *Waf-Mihazel*. If any such old records are communicable I would gladly have them transcribd by Mr Samuel, since I am like to have nothing else for thirty shillings I layd out for a gown for him about three years since. I would get this frank'd, but that I know not who of my friends are at present at Parliament. However you may venture the inclosing yours to Browne Willis Esq. Member of Parliament at Westminster. I suppose you have heard that Mr [Th.] Smith of Brasen Nose is Principal of Hart Hall in the room of Mr Thornton¹ decaesd.

279. *For the honoured RICHARD MOSTYN of Penbedw Esq. Denbighshire. Chester post. Arch. Camb. 1860, 18.*

Hond Sr

Oxford Dec. 6. 1707.

Having since my last receiv'd the translation of Dr Wells's letter, I gave it Williams the translator of the Armoric Grammar &c in my Book; being one whom I knew to be much more conversant than I in printed Welsh. I have here inclosed a specimen of his corrections, referring to the 1st thirteen pages; thô the author can not altogether understand him, til I have an opportunity (if it may seem *tanti*) of returning the original. I told Williams that there were but few of his corrections anything material; and that some of them were onely such words as he was ignorant of, on account of his Cardiganshire dialect; so that his exceptions signified nothing when compared with the good consequence of publishg the translation. His answer was that what he did was onely because I desird him &c. and that he was willing to refer the matter to the author of *Bard Kûsk* (*sic*). So, finding him an irrefragable

¹ WM. THORNTON fellow of Wadham 1667; principal of Hart Hall 1688-1707.

Mazorite, I had no more to say. Upon the whole matter, if it be to be printed here, I think 'twould not be amiss to make him corrector of the Press; allowing him some small matter extraordinary, for such emendations. I sent Sr Roger Mostyn a book of the large paper from London, being told Mr Parry had neglected to send one hence, as I had orderd. But I find since that he had also sent one by our Oxford Carrier about the same time. If he has receiv'd both, I wish he should meet with a chapman for one of them. I had two guineas for one of them in quires, of a London Booksellers; which was the onely one of that paper, I have sold; and that was because a certain Lord of our Countrey, for whom 'twas design'd, had forgot his handwriting¹ when the subscription book was shewd him. I am

Most Hond Sr yr ever obligd humble Servant

ED. LHWYD

280. *To Dr. RICHARDSON. Richardson Corr. xxxvii.*

Dear Sir,

Oxford, December 6th, 1707.

I know not whether a letter² I sent you upon my return from London ever came to hand.—I acquainted you therein that I had ventured the sending six books to York, to an old acquaintance of mine, one Mr Oswald, curate to Dr Fall of York. I had paid the carriage of these books at London, and have been all this while in expectation of a letter from Mr Oswald. The grounds I had then for sending them thither was, that the Bishop of Carlisle had taken off twenty for Westmoreland and Cumberland; and that made me hope that six might go off at York, which, hearing nothing all this while from Mr Oswald, I now begin to conclude was a mistake. I know not whether I told you before that Mr Baxter³ (who

¹ See Postscript to No. 277.

² No. 276, dated September 9th, 1707.

³ For an account of this very learned scholar and his writings, see *Nichols' Literary Anecdotes*, i. p. 163. (*Note.*)—There are few men who deserve to be held in higher esteem as judicious critics than W. Baxter. For myself, though just arrived at the age of sixty, I well remember how much I was indebted, as a schoolboy, to his excellent edition of Horace, which still preserves its

is the same that has publish'd Pindar and Horace) has written an account of the book to Dr Sloane, which is to be inserted in the *Philosophical Transactions*, either now in the press or just printed. Scheuchzer's *Iter. Alpinum* will be, as I am told, published in a week or two. My Amanuensis, Alban Thomas, at Mr. Popin's in the Middle Row at St. Giles's in the Fields, will receive any money for my use; and his receipt suffices. I have but just time to save the post, when I have subscrib'd myself, Most honour'd Sir,

Your ever oblig'd humble servant,

EDW. LHWYD

281. *For the Rev. Mr. H. FOULKS, Rector of St George.*
Arch. Camb. 1860, 12.

Oxford. Jan. 18. 1707.

Dear Sr

Yours of Dec. 27. came safe and I have also since received ye 5l. 7s.; for both which I return my hearty thanks.

I over looked the Book *De Gravioribus Cambriæ incommodis*; because, to tell you the truth, I then look'd upon it as onely a mistake for Giraldus's tract *De illaudabilibus Walliæ*; but, consulting now the place you refer to, I have nothing to say but that I never heard in my travells &c of any such treatise. The Doctor, as I take it, was your countryman, and I know none more proper to recommend that research unto than yourselfe. Wherever his papers are, if not scattered or partly condemned to mince pies, they would probably be very usefull and instructive; and I should expect to find amongst his printed books a Dictionary I have been long in quest of, entitled, *Joannis Lagadec* (Legonidec?) *Catholicon Armorico-Francico-Latinum* printed at Tréguier Ao 1499. It's mentioned in the preface to Du Fresne's Glossary, and I have formerly sent to France about it, but received no answer. The vocabu-

high character, notwithstanding the recent labours of Doering and so many others. The paper here alluded to on Mr. LhwYd's work appeared in No. 311 of the *Philosophical Transactions*.

lary published at Paris by Yvon Quilliver, perused by Dr Davies, seems to have been but a trifle (*sic*) to it, the word Catholicon being, as I take it, used (in the barbarous Latin) for copious Dictionaries onely. The Manks Catechism I miss'd to have a copy of, being out of town when the Bishop was here and enquired for me.¹ Their language is not onely a dialect of the Irish, as the Cornish of the British, but is also (what we cannot say of the Cornish) as intelligible to the people of Ireland as a Scottishman is in South Britain. I hope the Bishop took care to have the Catechism read to 3 or 4 people in manuscript before he put it in the presse, and so to adapt the orthography to their pronunciation with extraordinary care. 'Tis certain that whoever perus'd, never read a page of Irish or Manks, for he uses not onely the English orthography, for which I should never find any fault, but often makes 2 or 3 words of one, and as often unites as many.

You desired formerly an account of 15 Lhwyth Gwynedd. All that I have to say at present I here send you, which are some notes of Mr. Vaughan of Hengwrt's collecting.

1. Braint Hir of Isdulas in Rhos, flourished according to Powel of Ednop (who made Latin verses on 'em all) Ao 650; but according to Gytty Owen 876.

2. Bran ab Dyfnwal 1170.

3. Ednowen Bendew Arglwydd Tegeingl, now Flintshire 1015, at 1079.

4. Ednowen ab Bradwen 1194.

5. Edwyn ab Gronw, Brenin Tegeingl 1041.

6. Gwerngwy 1175.

7. Gweryd.

8. Hwva ab Kynddelw in Anglesey 1150.

9. Hedd Molwynog of Uwch Aled; whence the Lhwyds of Havod unos, Lhwyn y Maen, Lhanvorda, Drenewydd, Blaen y Ddôl &c. 1170. He was descended of Lhywarch hen and so to Koel Godebog.

10. Kilmyrn Droedty Ao 843 is supposed to have lived (at) Lhivon Carñshire.

11. Kolhwyn ab Tagno (*sic*) 877. was Lord of Ardudwy,

¹ A marginal note in the original—'Wilson Bp. of Man.'

Evionydd, and Lhŷn, and lived at Harlech, called then Caer Kolwhyn.

12. Marchydd ab Kynan of Uwch dulas, Lord of Abergele, lived at Bryn Fanigl 846 at 913.

13. Marchweithian Lord of Is Aled in Rhyfoniog owner of Karnedd vynydd, Din Kadvael &c 913.

14. Maelog Krwm 1175.

15. Nevydd hardd o nan Conwy (*sic*).

Mr. Vaughan and others commonly call these men 'Tribes' as when they write 'Hwva ab Kynddelw, one of ye 15 tribes of N. Wales &c' not reflecting (it should seem) that by *Lhwyth* was meant the descendents from such a person, and not the person himselfe.

Tydyr Trevor was father of ye Tribe of the Marches Ao 940.

I am yr most oblig'd friend and

H. Sert

E. LHWYD

I had almost forgot to acquaint you that I sent books to Sr R. Mostyn, Sr J. Conway, and Mr. Davies, all directed, as you had advised, to . . . at Denbigh. Mr. Davies I find has had his book: but I find Sr R. & Sr J. Conway had books sent hence the same time I sent those from London. If you are acquainted with Sr Paul Pindar's heir &c.¹

282. To THOMAS TONKIN

Oxford, March 7, 1707-8.

Honoured Sir,

I ordered the books (*Archæologia Britannica*) to be sent from London, according to your directions, to Mr. Bishop of Exeter, and I hope you have long since received them. The reason I did not write sooner was, because I have thus long waited for an answer about the family of Carn, from a Glamorganshire Herald; who has at last sent me the following account out of his manuscript of the Glamorgan families, &c.

¹ This letter is not in the handwriting of Mr. Lhwyd, but is a copy of the original. Of nearly the same date is another paper in the same collection, consisting of extracts of letters from E. Lh. to Mr. H. Foulks; and the two are probably in Mr. F.'s own writing.

Sir EDWARD CARN, ambassador to Rome for Queen Mary, was a younger son of Howel Carn's, son of John Carn, 'ab Howel Carn, 'ab John Carn, 'ab Thomas, 'ab Sir John Carn, 'ab William, 'ab Thomas, 'ab Charles, 'ab Sir Devereux, (alias Kywras) 'ab Thomas, second son of Ithel Brenin Gwent. The word *Brenin* is used at present for King; but 'twas formerly, a tributary Prince, and many of them had but small territories: for in our annals we often find mention of Brenin Pegeizt, i.e. Flintshire; Brenin Dived, by which is meant Pembroke-shire; Brenin Karedigion, or King of Cardiganshire, &c. As for the country of Gwent, 'twas only that part of the old Morgannug, called now Monmouthshire. For though Morgannug be at present used only for Glamorganshire, yet it signified anciently the countries we call now Monmouth and Glamorgan; as appears by the red book of Hergest. Ithel King of Gwent was (according to George Owen Harry) the son of Ivor, 'ab Howel, 'ab Kradock, 'ab Jestin, 'ab Gurgent, Lord of Morgannug, in the time of William Rufus. The said Gurgent (according to an old manuscript I met with at Gwidir, in North-Wales) was the son of Ithel, 'ab Kadualon, 'ab Gurgant, 'ab Artmor, 'ab Owen, 'ab Howel, 'ab Rys, 'ab Artvael, 'ab Rys, 'ab Ithel, 'ab Morgan, 'ab Artnes, 'ab Meurig, 'ab Teudrig, 'ab Peitie, 'ab Ninian, 'ab Irb, 'ab Erbig, 'ab Ninnis, 'ab Beli Maur, the father of Kassualon, or Cassibellanus, the British General against Julius Cæsar. Ithel, King of Gwent's eldest son, was Meirick, whose daughter Morvidith, was married to Gronu 'ab Ednived Vixan. This Gronu was father to Tydyr, father to Gronu, father to Tydyr, father to Meredydh, father to Owen Tydyr, (for his name was Owen 'ab Meredydh 'an Tydyr) grandfather to King Henry the VIIth. Ithyn in Ant. Wood, must needs be an error of the press for Ithel, there being no such name as the former ever used by the Britons.

The same friend (whose name is Mr. Philip Williams, of Diffryn near Neath) acquaints me, that one of the said Ithel, Prince of Gwent's seats, was called Pen-Karn, whence the name of Karn: and if Le was ever prefixed to it, 'twas done in imitation of the Normans, among whom they lived. The

word *Karn*, *Kairn*, or *Karned*, signifies a heap of stones, and there are hundreds of places so named in Wales, Scotland, and Ireland: there are not a few in Cornwall likewise. A continuance of your obliging correspondence, would always be esteemed as one of the greatest happiness of the remainder of his days, by, &c.

EDW. LHWYD

283. To THOMAS TONKIN

W. Pryce, Archaeologia Cornu. Brit. 1790

Honoured Sir,

Oxford, Sept. 1, 1708.

This hopes to find you in perfect health and prosperity, though not so much at leisure for correspondence as formerly. The four books were sent immediately to be left with Mr. Philip Bishop, bookseller, at Exeter: (I received soon after three of them, and no more.) But having not received any letter from you since, I begin to question whether he took care to forward them, as you then acquainted me you had writ to him. Meeting lately with a Cardiganshire pedigree book, I took notice that the Carns, of Glamorganshire, were descended likewise, according to that copy, from Ynir, Prince of Gwent, or as now called, Monmouthshire. I know not whether I told you in my last, that Ynir, Enir, and Henir, is the same name with the Roman Honorius; and was so written sometimes in our old Latin MSS. I hope your friend, if living, has by this time finished his Cornish Latimar; which was what I hinted at in the English preface. It is a thing I would much rejoice to see, either in manuscript, or print. You were pleased several years since to acquaint me, that you had got together a considerable collection of ores, stones, &c. which I should be very glad, at your leisure, to hear some further news of— This place affords but little worth sending. Exeter College flourishes so well, that they are about another building, having received as I am told a thousand pounds from the Lord Primate. Mr. Thwaites¹ of Queen's, you have heard, I suppose, is our Greek Professor; and has had lately a grant of that 100l. per annum, which of late years, was usually conferred on the Proctors. I am, &c.

EDW. LHWYD

¹ Matric 1689, fellow of Queen's 1698.

284. For the Reverend Mr JON LLOYD at Blaen i ddol Merionethshire. Arch. Camb. 1860, 18.

Oxford 7ber 1. 1708.

Dear Sr

I have but just time (for want of better fore cast) to acquaint you that I sent you several months since a long scribe by the post, which I hope came safe to hand. Mr Baxter's letters, I then mention'd, you will now receive. If you send here and there one of them to a subscriber, perhaps they'll entertain a more favourable opinion than they have had hitherto. I assure you I sould very lately a douzen of them to some Cambridge gentlemen at 18 and sixpence a book bound; and that I have not sold one of them, excepting to subscribers, under 16s in quires. You'll receive by the bearer Dr Scheuchzer of Zurich's *Itinera Alpina tria*,¹ which I beg your acceptance of. I design'd one bound, but could get none and had not time to bind that I send. My hearty respects to our old Frd Ned Humphreys when you see him; and acquaint him that I have thretnd (*sic*) the Carrier if he does not bring up Coriander seed for the book which Mr Simon Lloyd return'd him. His subscription was but ten shillings; and he had made onely three payments. You know my proposals for a Sallary (*sic*) towards the expence of travelling &c without any promise of a book; thô in gratitude I was willing to present all who had fully (*sic*) according to their subscriptions. If you please to direct your letters inclosed to the Hond John Pugh Esq.² Membr of parliament at his chamber in the Inner Temple 'twill come free to the hands of

Dr Sr Yr affectionat friend & humbl servt

E. LHWYD

¹ The first edition of this very instructive and entertaining work, containing three of his tours, was published this year at the expense of the Royal Society: the editor, Dr. JOHN THORPE, was a Physician at Rochester, and author of several works connected with the History and Antiquities of that City, where he died 1750. An account of him is given in the *Literary Anecdotes*, III. p. 509. Of SCHEUCHZER himself, Haller tells us, in his *Bibliotheca Botanica*, that he was 'Physices universæ, Geodesiæ, et Historiæ studiosus: vir laboris indefessi'.

² 1691-1739. Son of William Pugh of Mathavern, of Jesus College.

285. To Mr. WILLIAM BAXTER at his House in Totnham High-cross near London MS. Llanstephan 33.

Worthy Sir,

Oxford Sept. 7. 1708.

I neglected so long the returning thanks for your account of the Ancient Inhabitants of Spain, that I thought 'twas necessary to add something. If any of the Irish Antiquaries had been acquainted with Strabo, they might have been better provided with arguments for that prerogative they pretend to, above the other European nations of haveing books in their own language many ages before Christianity. For since he tels us that not onely the Turdetani, but even the rest of the nations of Spain used Grammars for their several languages, I see no reason for scrupling to allow (granting them to be a colony from Spain) that in all probability, they had also Grammars, written poems & laws when they came first to Ireland; which considering they have never been compelled to quitt their language, they might have retained (in that rude manner they had them) and so handed to the mismanagement of posterity. It is not to be questioned but several of the Primitive Christians had mistaken zeal as well as our reformers; and twas but 50 year ago that the Jesuit, JULIAN MANOIR, being a missionair in Basbretaign, obtained an order from his superiors to burn what British manuscripts & other books he should meet with, excepting such as tended to devotion and were approv'd of. There is still a considerable number of Irish manuscripts; tho' no man living understands them, and no care is taken to get them nor copies of them into libraries. I have myself ten times more Irish manuscripts on parchment, than all Wales can shew of British; but must leave the perusal of them to posterity.

Wt I here send you is Lhuarp hen's Elegy on Guén and the rest of his sons. By our pedigrees and this elegy on Uryen Reged, we find he was Uryen's cousin German, and Uryen according to Mr. Vaughan of Hengwrt was Prince of Cambria in the sixth century. The copy I here send you is out of *Lhivv Kox o Hergest* which was written about 400 years since; and the Orthography is that of that Age. I have scarce room to seal this when I have subscribed my self.

Yr most oblig'd humble Servt. E. LHWYD

286. To Dr. RICHARDSON. *Richardson Correspondence* xxxviii.

Oxford, October 8th, 1708.

Honoured Sir,

This hopes to find you in perfect health, and brings you the humble and hearty respects of an old friend.—I writ to you some months since, and sent, as I remember, some of Mr Baxter's letters with it, but perhaps you never receiv'd either; tho', if you did, there was nothing that requir'd any answer, further than that I should be glad to hear of your health. You would oftener hear from me, but that I seldom have any thing worth writeing. Those papers should have come by Mr Nevill, junior, who, altering his design of going into the countrey, told me, some time after, that he had sent them by another hand. I had before that another disappointment of sending you an account of *Scheuchzer's Itinera Alpina*, having receiv'd it from Dr Thorpe,¹ the publisher, in quires, some time before 'twas published. In the mean time I had letters from Dr Thorpe and Dr Robinson, to desire me to draw up an account of it in my own name, to be inserted in the *Phil. Transactions*; upon which I review'd the book, and made it much larger, Dr Robinson acquainting me they wanted materials very much for their *Transactions*: so I suppose they'll print it in the next. The Doctor tells me that Mr BUDDLE² hath drawn up a new *Synopsis Plant. Brit.*; but that he doubts whether he can get it printed;³ tho' he supposes it a very considerable improvement of Mr Ray's, who, he says, wanted many things to compleat his. He adds that he improves the method by the help of Tournefort, Rivinus, &c. and that he often refers to figures and corrects vicious ones.

Mr RAY's observations upon English insects, &c. are lately given to the Royal Society; as also some other fragments

¹ J. THORPE of Ormond Street wrote five letters to Lhwyd, between April and November 1708, which are preserved in *Reliquiae Luidianae*.

² Rev. ADAM BUDDLE, of Catherine Hall, Cambridge, B.A. 1681; M.A. 1685; Reader of Gray's Inn. He was an eminent Botanist, and had then recently had a living given him by Lord Keeper Wright.

³ The study of Natural History must have been at that time at a low ebb in England; for even Ray, as we have before seen, had been obliged to send his works to Holland to be printed. For this book of Buddle's we must presume no publisher could be found.

observ'd in England and abroad, as inscriptions, descriptions of animals, minerals, &c. which 'tis hoped they'll soon publish. I had news last post that *Langius's Historia Lapidum Figuratorum Helvetiæ*¹ was just come to London; but as yet onely two copies, directed for me, one whereof I am to send to the Royal Society. Mr Dyer and Mr Bobart are well and hearty. A few lines at your leasure would be exceeding wellcome.

The first thing I design to publish will be only an 8vo. in Latin, containing an account of the method observ'd by the ancient Gauls and Britons, in the naming of persons and places:² perhaps you may supply me with some names of Mountains and Rivers of Yorkshire, not to be found in the Maps, some of which might illustrate or confirm other observations. I am, honour'd Sir,

Your most obliged humble servant,
EDW. LHWYD

P. S. Are there no Irish or British Manuscripts to be heard of in all your countrey; or any barbarous Manuscripts?

287. To THOMAS TONKIN Esq.

Honoured Sir,

Oxford, Dec. 22, 1708.

You may be always assured, that whenever your letters come to my hands, I am as glad to see them as any I ever receive. That of October the 28th had the misfortune to come a little too late to London, to find Mr. Pugh there; whence (after a considerable delay, I suppose) it was sent into North Wales, and from thence it came to my hands just now.—I was here when the books were sent from London, and gave orders for four books; but whether my man, who is also now here, blundered, I cannot say.—I am very glad the Cornish Latimar goes on, however; and should be very glad of a copy of one letter, or else of two sheets, for specimen. He ought to exemplify all the uncommon words, or at least all that are not common, in those few Cornish writings remaining; and also now and then to confirm and illustrate their signification, by

¹ *Caroli Nicolai Langii, Historia Lapidum figuratorum Helvetiæ, pagg. 165, tabb. æneæ 52. Venetiis. 1708. 4to.*

² This never appeared.

the help of our dialect.—If the specimen be inclosed for me to the Honourable Sir Jeffery Jefferys, M.P. at his house in St. Mary Axe, London, it will save postage; and in regard he lives generally in London, if you please to direct your's so hereafter, they will be likelier to come in due time. When you favour me with your next letter, I should be glad to know whether old Keigwyn be yet living; and if so, whether either he himself, or your neighbour, can make a shift to understand the preface to the Cornish Grammar. There are some words in it, I own, that I have not read in the Cornish, and were therefore borrowed out of the Welsh, but they are very few; and if they please to send me a catalogue of all that are not understood, I will readily explain them.—I am encouraged to stand for the place of Divinity Beadle, which is represented to be somewhat better than 100l. per annum.¹—If yourself or friends could favour me with a speedy recommendation to Mr. Verman, it might perhaps prove very serviceable to,

Yours, &c.

EDW. LHWYD

P.S. If any one write to Mr. Verman, I would gladly deliver it myself.

288. *To Dr. WOODWARD MS. Ashmole 1816, f. 76.*

Mus. Ashm. Jan. 17. 1708^o.

Reverend Sr

I receivd your Expostulatory Letter, and shall answer it as particularly as it seems at present to require. In the first place, you tel me *it comes from the person whose true Character is suppos'd to be given in my Preface.* Who it is that supposes it you doe not distinguish, but say in an other part of your Letter that *'tis generally applied to you by those who may reasonably be supposed to be admitted into my privacies.*

To this I answer that I think it had been proper to have clear'd three points in this very Angry Epistle before you had

¹ There were four aspirants for the post of Superior Beadle in Divinity, worth £100 a year, which became vacant when Caswell became Savilian Professor of Astronomy. Mr. Hatchett of Merton died; Hearne withdrew in favour of Lhwyd who was elected with a majority of 20 votes above the third candidate.

sent it: First that the General Character in that Preface, notwithstanding that the Plural number is altogether us'd, was design'd to expose onely one particular Person. 2ly Those who you say *may be supposed to be admitted into my Privacies*, and have affirm'd that you are that person, ought to have been name'd; and thirdly supposing any have said so, it should be made appear that 'twas not from any surmises of their own nor others that they asserted it, but from my own Declaration. I assure you Sr whatever [grounds] suspicions any Gentlemen may entertain, my Design in that part of the Preface, was no other than the shewing in General the disingenuity of such as decry any work of the Press before 'tis publish'd; and the cautioning the less circumspect and inexperienced against too much regarding such Reflexions thô they come from persons of never so eminent a Character. You are therefore nearer the Truth in your Politely express'd Hypothesis, that *Possibly 'twas onely a phantom that started up in my own Brain, which sat when I drew that Picture*; than when 'tis your pleasure to tel me, that *you are sure I have done you an Irreparable Injury*.

As to the Italic Words you refer to, they agree in the main with what was at that time a common Talk; thô I was not much concern'd at it, til reprimanded by some Persons of Distinction. Whether you had a hand in't or no, is not there express'd, & 'tis what should be best known to your self. However I find you speak tenderly of them, when you say that *Whoever spoke them they doe not discover any ill Intention towards me*, and indeed seem to own them in the main when you tell me that *some of them you are confident were none of yours*.

The next thing that seems worth takeing notice of in your Letter, is your Assureing me (thô I doe not remember I ever charged you with any) that *you have never done me the least Injury*. Whatever credible Informations I might have many years since receiv'd in that kind, it never enter'd my Thoughts, (as not haveing the least Design of ever expostulateing) to keep memorandums of them. But because in your own need-less Vindication, you insist so much on your fair carriage towards me, give me leave to mention one or two Late

Passages, which if you are unwilling should be call'd Injuries seem yet to me not so bright as to add any luster to your Character & Quality. One was when you refused the paying Forty Shillings return'd by Mr. Pryse of Gogerthan thô his Letter was shew'd you; alledging as a sufficient reason, that

[The draft of this letter ends here]

APPENDIX A

A CATALOGUE

OF THE

PUBLISHED WORKS OF EDWARD LHWYD

ARRANGED CHRONOLOGICALLY

1694

Account of Locusts lately observed in Wales. *Phil. Trans.* xviii, 45.

Account of the burning of Hay ricks, etc. *Phil. Trans.* xviii, 49.

1697

Some account of a fiery exhalation in Merionethshire. *Phil. Trans.* xviii, 223.

A note concerning an extraordinary hail in Monmouthshire. *Phil. Trans.* xix, 579.

1698

Concerning some regularly figured stones lately found, and observations on ancient languages. *Phil. Trans.* xx, 279.

1699

Lithophylacii Britannici Ichnographia, London, 1699. 8vo.
On a figured stone found in Wales. *Phil. Trans.* xxi, 187.

1702

On Roman, French and Irish inscriptions and antiquities lately found in Scotland and Wales. *Phil. Trans.* xxii, 768.

1704

Account of some fossils. *Phil. Trans.* xxiv, 1566.
Account of very large stones voided by the urethra. *Phil. Trans.* xxiv, 1804.

Observations in natural history, made in travels through Wales. *Phil. Trans.* xxvii, 462, 466, 500.

Account of some uncommon plants growing about Penzance and St. Ives, in Cornwall. *Phil. Trans.* xxvii, 527.

1707

Archæologia Britannica, Oxford, 1707. Folio.

1712

Observations on the Antiquities and natural history of Ireland. *Phil. Trans.* xxvii, 503, 524.

1713

Observations in Natural History and Antiquities, made in travels through Wales and Scotland. *Phil. Trans.* xxviii, 93-103.

On an undescribed Plant [*Tubularia indivisa*, Linn.] and other particulars observed in Wales. *Phil. Trans.* xxviii, 275.

1719

De Fluviorum, Montium, Urbium, &c., in Britannia Nominibus Adversaria. Published in W. Baxter's *Latin Glossary of British Antiquities*, 1719, London. 8vo.

1738

Letters to the Scots and Irish. Translated by D. Malcolm. Edinburgh, 1738. Published in 1744.

1760

Lithophylacii Britannici Ichnographia. New edition, by W. Huddesford, 1760.

APPENDIX B

EDWARD LHWYD'S MANUSCRIPTS

In the following note Mr. HUGH THOMAS lamented the singular fatality that seems to have hung over the posthumous works of Edward Lhwyd, and which has occasioned to Welsh literature a severe and irreparable loss.

'Our greate friend, Mr. Edward Lhuyd of the Museum, died very suddenly the 29th of last June, 1709, and left all his labours imperfect, of which the learned part of the world have had a great loss. He was certainly the greatest philosopher and linguist, that ever our islands bred: he intended to have seen you, if he had lived, with a desire to dedicate a small book in octavo to a brother of your master's, which will now be lost.¹ He is succeeded in his office by one Mr. David Parry, whom he brought up to his business and who is certainly capable of publishing his labours, if he could spare time from his pots and companions; but out of the tipling house he cannot spare one minute even to common civility, or to any learned man, or friend of Mr. Lhuyd's, so that one paper of his cannot be seen.' (*Cambro-Briton*, ii, p. 369.)

The Editors of the *Philosophical Transactions* in particular endeavoured to secure any of Lhwyd's writings that were suitable for publication; and in this quest that judicious collector Sir Hans Sloane was especially active. From Dr. Richardson he received the following reply:

Dr. RICHARDSON to Sir HANS SLOANE. Richardson Corr. xlv.

North Bierley, November 29th, 1712.

Worthy Sir,

I am very sensible of the great honour the Royall Society have done me, in electing me a Fellow; and particularly of the favourable character you was pleased to give of me to that learned body, which I heartily wish I could in any respect answer, that I might be usefull to yourselfe, the publique, or to any particular member of your Society, which to my power I wil endeavour to be, by communicating such observables as at any time occur to me. So many

¹ It does not appear from the original, which is no more than a fragment of a letter, to whom this account was addressed.

of Mr Lhwyd's letters as I have now by me I have inclosed, and sent them by such a hand as I am certain wil deliver them safe to you. I doubt not but you wil be very well satisfied with the perusall of them, and be sensible of the great loss natural learning has sustained by his death. You wil find in one of them, that the great crime Dr Woodward lays to Mr Lhwyd's and my charge, in relation to the abstracts of some of the letters printed in the *Lithophylacium Britannicum*, by adding the letters, *Dr W.*, was done by Dr Robinson, contrary to either of our knowledge, which might as well have been left out, tho' the matters of fact therein are true.

Your obliged servant,
RIC. RICHARDSON

P. S. The letters are at your service: I do not expect them returned.

The fate of his Welsh Manuscripts was investigated in detail by a writer whose article in the *Cambro-Briton*, vol. ii, preserves a good account of their contents. It is as follows:

It is well known to the readers of Welsh literature that the Rev. Edward Llwyd, the celebrated author of *Archæologia Britannica*, had formed a valuable and extensive collection of Welsh MSS. These consisted as well of ancient MSS as of others of his own writing, which had a more immediate reference to the great plan, he had in contemplation, of publishing a second volume of his elaborate work, and which the want of adequate encouragement seems to have prevented him from accomplishing. In some observations on the present state of Welsh MSS, prefixed to one of the volumes of the 'Archæology of Wales', it is stated, that Mr. Llwyd '*left* this collection to Sir John Sebright'. This, however, was not strictly the fact; for it appears from some letters, preserved amongst the Harleian MSS in the British Museum, that the collection in question was, in fact, *sold* to Sir THOMAS SEABRIGHT, for the benefit of Mr. Llwyd's estate. This happened in 1713, four years after Mr. Llwyd's death: and we are also informed by the same documents, that this sale was not effected until both the University and Jesus College had refused to become purchasers, a circumstance, which is the

more remarkable, as it was well known at the time, that, had Mr. Llwyd's affairs permitted him, it was his intention to bequeath his collection equally between Jesus College and the University. What the motives were that occasioned the rejection of so favourable an opportunity for preserving these valuable remains, it would now, perhaps, be vain to enquire; but it has, unfortunately, become a matter of serious regret, that the learned bodies alluded to were not actuated, on the occasion, by a more zealous spirit, considering the untoward fate to which these MSS have since been consigned.

It farther appears from the documents above quoted, that, after the contract with Sir Thomas Seabright had been completed, Lord Oxford, ignorant of the circumstance, made overtures for the purchase of all these MSS¹, which, if they had fortunately become his property, would, no doubt, have now formed a part of the famous Harleian collection. But a singular and mortifying fatality seems to have, altogether, attended Mr. Llwyd's labours in this instance,—excluded, as they were, from Jesus College, the Bodleian Library, and the British Museum, in either of which depositaries they would have found a secure asylum. The MSS, thus bought by Sir Thomas Seabright, were afterwards sold, and became the property of different purchasers, among whom were Mr. JOHNES of Hafod, and Sir W. W. WYNN. Such, as had fallen to the lot of the former gentleman, were consumed in the fire, which unfortunately destroyed his elegant mansion about twelve years ago; and most of those, purchased by Sir W. W. Wynn, met subsequently with a similar fate at the house of a

¹ It seems that Lord OXFORD was particularly anxious to acquire the *Red Book of Hergest*, and negotiated through his agent Humphrey Wanley. The Red Book had however been given to Jesus College by the Rev. Thomas Wilkins of Llanblethian (cf. J. G. Evans *Report on MSS in the Welsh Language*. Hist. MSS Commission ii, pt. i). In the correspondence that ensued, it was explained that Lhwyd had been in debt at the time of his decease, and to satisfy his creditors Dr. John Baron of Balliol College obtained a decree from the judge of the Chancellor's court for the sale of his books and MSS. The former were adjudged to the University to discharge what became due for printing, and the MSS were sold to pay what Llwyd owed to Mr. Lewis Thomas, the printer, and some other private persons. A full account is contained in letters of Drs. Baron and Gardiner in the *Wanley Correspondence* for March and April 1715 in *MS Harley 3777, 3778, 3780*.

person in London, to whom they had been sent for the purpose of being bound. The writer of this account believes also, that some catastrophe has befallen another portion of this collection; but he has no precise remembrance of the particulars, nor is he aware, if any of these ill-fated MSS still remain, where they are to be found.

The following details, relating to the MSS purchased by Sir W. W. Wynn, with the accompanying remarks, cannot fail to be interesting, affording, as they do, the only consolation now left,—that of knowing the value of one portion at least of the literary stores, thus irretrievably lost. The catalogue comprises, likewise, it will be seen, some other part of the Wynnstay collection unhappily involved in the same calamity: and it must enhance its interest to mention, that it was the work of that learned individual, the late Rev. Peter Roberts, whose memory must ever be dear to the admirers of our national literature.

Some Account of MSS, which lately belonged to the valuable collection of Sir W. W. Wynn, Bart. and were unfortunately destroyed by the fire in Covent Garden.

The loss of MSS is one, which, though its more immediate estimation must regard the personal property in them, must also be considered as affecting the public interest, according to their importance to the literature of the country. It is, therefore, with great regret in both respects that another loss, similar to the one at Hafod, is recorded, which will be deeply felt by all, who are interested in the antiquities of Wales or Ireland.

The collection of MSS at Wynnstay is undoubtedly one of the best in Wales, and particularly as to the number of Welsh MSS; and it had lately been enriched by a large number from the collection of the celebrated Lhwyd, the author of the *Archæologia*, purchased at the sale of the Seabright MSS. The principal part of this addition, and several of the MSS of the previous collection being in want of new binding, it was judged expedient to send them to London for that purpose. The misfortune, that has befallen them there, has left little more to

alleviate the regret for the loss than the power of stating generally what they contained, which is the more to be lamented, as it is well known to have been the intention of their liberal owner to have had some of the most important published, and that he is indulgent in permitting every person the use of his collection.

The collection included eight volumes of Mr. LHWYD'S NOTES, taken in his tour through Wales. [The general substance of these notes was given to Bishop Gibson for his edition of Camden.]

Eleven volumes of his NOTES, taken in his travels in Ireland and part of Scotland, marking his progress and whatever he met with worthy of observation as to local or natural history. [In one of these it was mentioned, that it was in consequence of his desire, that the curious Barrow of Grange, in the county of Lowth, was opened; and the description of it was very correct.]

Eight volumes of DRAWINGS taken in these travels of Mr. LHWYD, which appeared to have been taken with great care and correctness.

It is known, that Mr. Lhwyd intended to publish a second volume of the *Archæologia*, which, whether from want of encouragement or from other causes, he never accomplished. Singular, indeed, has been the fate of this portion of his labours. Suppressed by himself for want of encouragement to publish them, neglected for a century through ignorance or misconception of their value, and destroyed by accident, when they had just come into the possession of one, sensible of their value and ready to give them to the world. (*Cambro-Briton*, ii.)

LHWYD'S LIBRARY

In the *Gentleman's Magazine* (vol. lxxvii, p. 419) there is an account of the sale of Lhwyd's library, which consisted chiefly of works of antiquarian interest.

APPENDIX C

LHWYD'S SCIENTIFIC COLLECTIONS

The fate of Lhwyd's Scientific Collections is not less distressing than that of his manuscripts, and all the more so because the materials upon which his discoveries were based were well-nigh indestructible. They had survived the hazards of countless aeons of sepulture underground; but the dust of a few months, or perhaps the need of cupboard space, induced one of the Keepers of the Museum to condemn them as of no value.

His more perishable Botanical discoveries were well remembered for a time. In 1726, nearly twenty years after Lhwyd's death, Richardson in a letter to Dillenius¹ was still quoting discoveries on the Welsh mountains, e.g. *Adiantum acrosticum Thali* (*Asplenium septentrionale*) on Cader Idris; *Vulneraria flore coccineo* (*Anthyllis Dillenii*); *Chamaefelix pedicularis rubiae foliis* (*Woodsia*) found on June 3rd in full growth; *Potamogeton Lapathi acuto folio* (*Potamogeton polygonifolius*) found in Phaynon Vrach; *Bistorta alpina pumila varia* Park. (*Polygonum viviparum*) on steep pastures of Crib Goeh; *Nasturtium petraeum* (*Arabis petraea*); and *Plantago alpina angustifolia*? J.B. (*Plantago maritima*). Specimens of his collecting were treasured among the Richardson plants, and this leads to the thought that they may be still extant in the Dillenian Herbarium at the Oxford Physick Garden.

In the Museum, Whiteside in 1721 was occasionally asked to show the Lhwyd collections to distinguished foreigners. But by 1925 only two specimens of his historic collection of Fossils were known to the Oxford Professor of Geology to have survived. They are both from the Carboniferous Limestone; one is an *Orthoceras* sp. from Bristol, the other *Actinocrinus polydactylus* Miller from Caldey Island. They were figured in Lhwyd's *Lithophylacium* on pls. 22, fig. 4, and on pl. 25, fig. 1661, and again in *Early Science in Oxford*, iii, pl. facing p. 375.

¹ Druce, *Dillenian Herbaria*, 1907.

Two specimens only, out of some two thousand fossils, is a poor monument to the industry of the Founder of British Palaeontology.

The reader may therefore imagine my delight when I discovered in an oaken cabinet in the library of Oriel College a number of small fossils wrapped up in separate papers inscribed with names, localities, and serial numbers, all of which I found to agree with the details printed in the *Lithophylacii Britannici Ichnographia* of 1699. The writing is in Lhwyd's hand.

This newly found collection is therefore the oldest collection of British Fossils known, and of correspondingly high historic value. The *Annual Report* on the Lewis Evans Collection for 1931 assumed that they were a part of his original collection, which long ago had been abstracted from the Old Ashmolean Museum, and had never been returned. But several references in the letters now published indicate another possibility. This collection of small fossils may have been one of those collections of duplicate specimens that was assembled by Lhwyd himself for sale to persons interested in Geology. Letters Nos. 38 and 197 indicate a price of £5 as the cost of such a collection, the money being devoted by him to the payment of collectors of fossils, and as a subsidy towards his own travelling expenses.

In Oriel College, RICHARD DYER was the one Fellow who would have been exceedingly likely to have desired to assist Lhwyd by purchasing one of these collections of Formed Stones. The special present value of the collection lies in the fact that the specimens have been selected and inscribed by Lhwyd himself, with numbered references to his published Catalogue. So, not only have they the scientific value of co-types, but in some cases the fossil appears to be the very specimen from which the published figure has been engraved.

Dr. Arkell of New College has called attention to the type specimen of *Ornithella digona* from Witney which Lhwyd was the first to describe and figure under the name of *Sacculus minor vulgaris* (No. 873, Tab. 10).¹

¹ Arkell, 'The Upper Great Oolite', *Quart. J. Geol. Soc.*, lxxxviii, p. 589.

The greater part of the collection, including labels without specimens, as put up in small glass-topped boxes in the original Dyer cabinet, is figured in the photographs on pages 560 to 570. The modern scientific names are sufficiently legible to make it unnecessary to reprint them here.

Note on Lithostrotion

The fine Rugose Coral figured by Lhwyd in 1699 (see p. 456) under the name of *Lithostrotion sive Basaltes minimus striatus et stellatus*, is now to be known as *Lithostrotion vorticale* (Parkinson), deriving its specific name from the *Madrepora vorticalis* figured in J. Parkinson's 'Organic Remains' 1803, and retaining Lhwyd's generic name published in J. Fleming's 'History of British Animals' in 1828. Yet a third synonym is *Astraea basaltiforme* of W. D. Conybeare and W. Phillips, 'Outlines of the Geology of England and Wales', pt. 1, 1822, p. 359.

We are indebted for this information to the work of Miss D. Hill on Carboniferous Rugose Corals shortly to be issued by the Palaeontological Society, and kindly communicated by Dr. C. J. Stubblefield.



Orthoceras sp.
Lith. No. 1661

Actinocrinus polydactylus Miller
Lith. pl. 22, fig. 4

LHWYD FOSSILS IN OXFORD UNIVERSITY MUSEUM

From Gunther, *E.S.O.*, iii, p. 375



Cl. XIII. Anomala 1666-1766



Cl. I. Lapides Crystallini 1-90



95. Entalopora *sp.*
 Farinon



103. Radiopora *multitima*
 Farinon



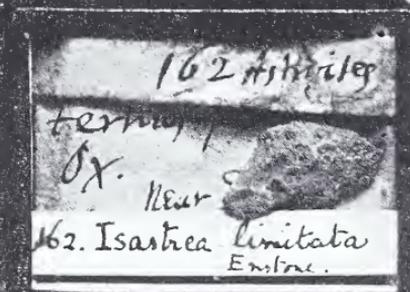
105. Syringopora



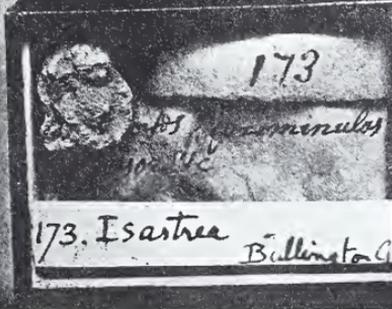
110. Corynella *foraminosa*
 Farinon



111. Burlingtonia



162. Isastrea *limitata*
 Entree



173. Isastrea *Billington*



179.

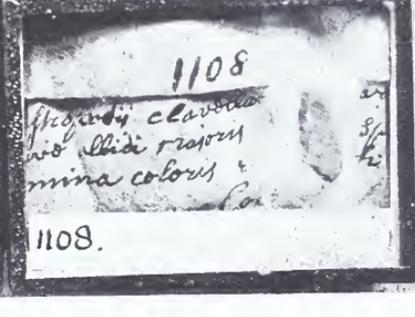
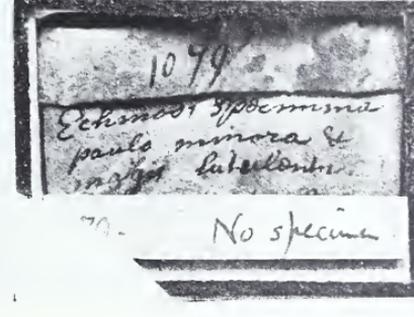
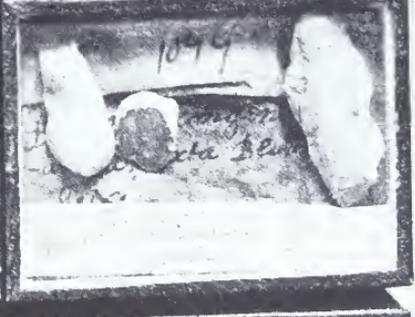
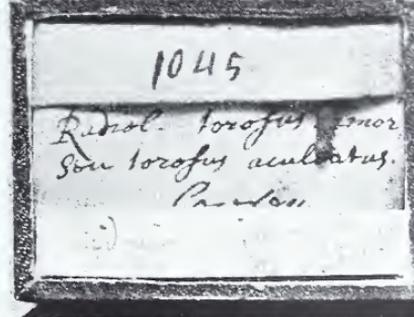
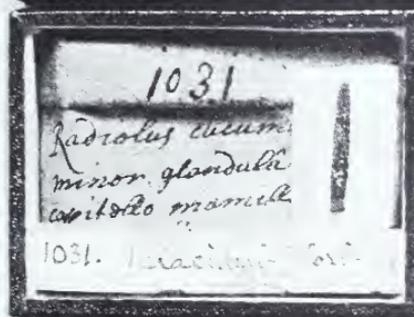
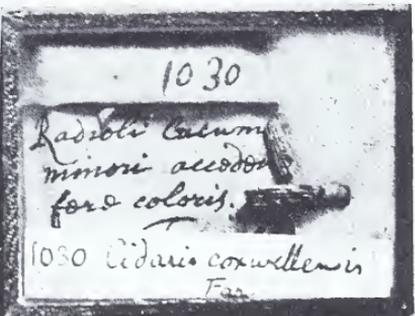
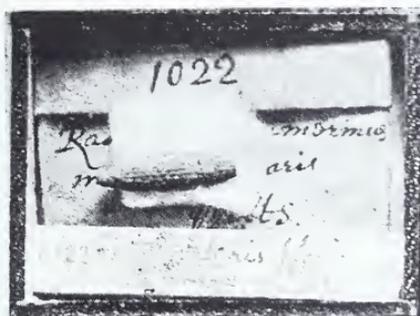


Cl. IV and V. Turbinata and Bivalvia





Cl. v and vi. Bivalvia and Crustacea punctulata



Cl. VI. Crustacea punctulata 910-1200



Cl. VI. Crustacea punctulata 910-1200



Cl. ix. *Ichthyodontes cuspidati* 1257-1358

Cl. x. *Ichthyodontes scutellati* 1359-1513



Cl. x. *Ichthyodontes scutellati* 1359-1513

Cl. xii. *Ichthyospondyli* 1605-1665

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- Corn y carw (Buck's-horn Plantain, *Plantago Coronopus* L.)
Crach helyg (Dwarf Willow, *Salix herbacea* L.)
Gruglys (Heath berries, ?*Empetrum nigrum* L.)
Llus cochion (Red Whortleberries, *Vaccinium Vitis-Idaea* L.)
Llus duon bach (Bilberries, *Vaccinium Myrtillus* L.)
Llus duon y mynydd (Crake berries, *Empetrum nigrum* L.)
Mwswgl y Cypreswyd } (Club Mosses, *Lycopodium* spp.)
Mwswgl y ffynodwyd }
Mwyar y mynydd ('Mountain brambles', *Rubus* spp.)
Troed y blauidh (Wolf's-bane, *Aconitum Napellus* L.)

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Môr-gelyn (Sea Holly, *Eryngium maritimum* L.)

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