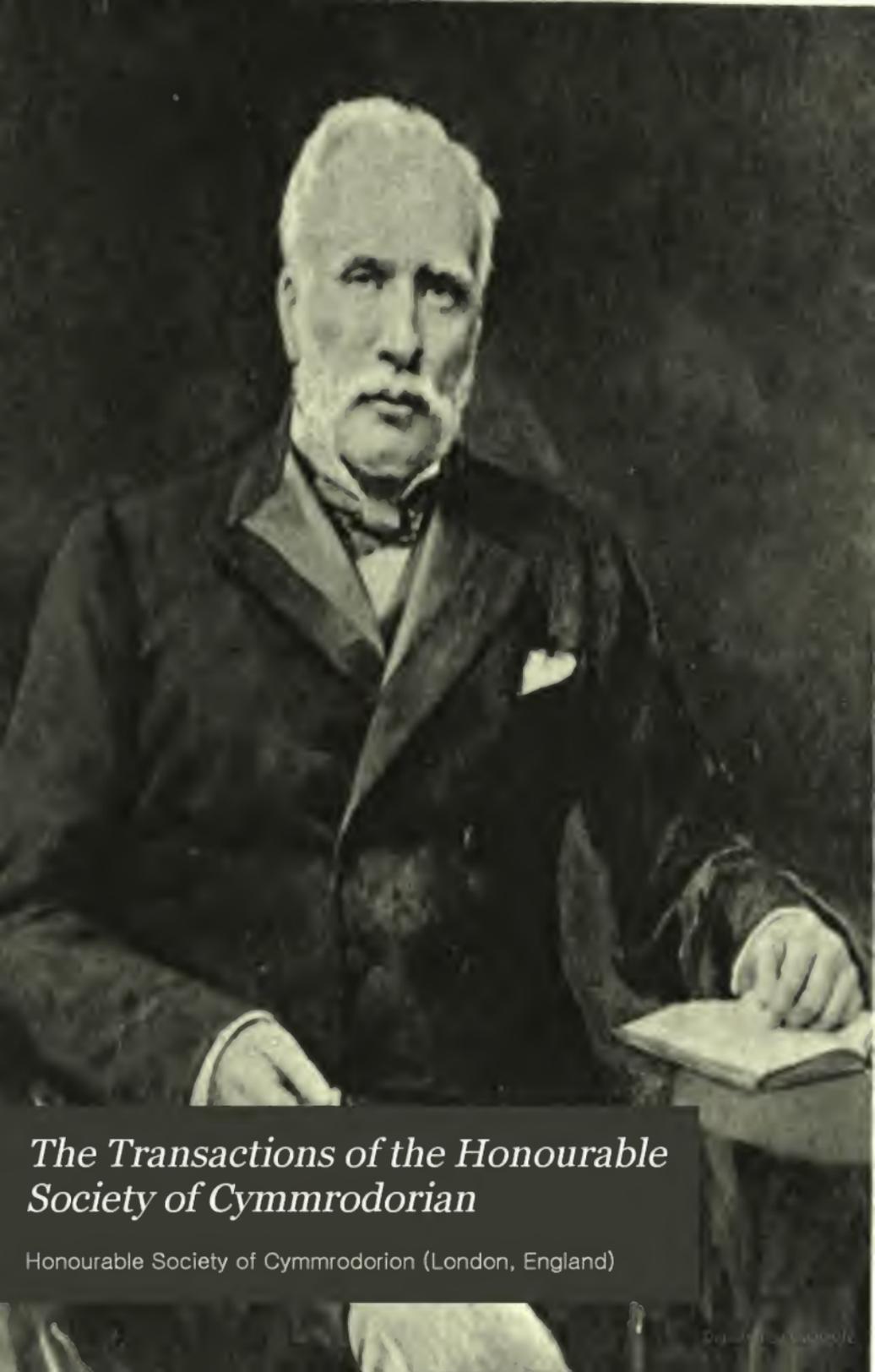


*The Transactions of the Honourable  
Society of Cymmrodorian*

Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion (London, England)



*The Transactions of the Honourable  
Society of Cymmrodorian*

Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion (London, England)



LELAND • STANFORD • JUNIOR • UNIVERSITY





THE

# TRANSACTIONS

OF

THE HONORABLE

## SOCIETY OF CYMMRODORION.

STANFORD LIBRARY

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SESSION 1904-1905

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## CONTENTS.

---

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR 1903-1904 ... .. y

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS FOR 1903-1904 ... .. x

---

Sir Henry Morgan, the Buccaneer. By W. LLEWELYN  
WILLIAMS, M.A., B.C.L. (Oxon.) (with Portrait\*) ... .. 1

Thomas Edwards o'r Nant, a'r Interliwdiau. Gan ISAAC  
FOULKES (Llyfrbryf) (gyda Darlun\*) ... .. 48

In Memoriam : Isaac Foulkes (Llyfrbryf). By E. VINCENT  
EVANS ... .. 57

Prolegomena to the Study of old Welsh Poetry. By  
Professor EDWARD ANWYL, M.A. ... .. 59

The Ideal of a Welsh National Library.

I. By Sir JOHN WILLIAMS, Bart., K.C.V.O. ... .. 84

II. By Sir ISAMBARD OWEN, M.D. ... .. 92

III. By Sir MERCHANT WILLIAMS ... .. 98

\* From the Collection of the late Mr. David Williams, Brecknock Road, N.W.

REPORT  
OF  
THE COUNCIL OF THE  
Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion,

*For the Year ending November 9th, 1904.*

PRESENTED TO THE ANNUAL MEETING HELD AT THE SOCIETY'S  
ROOMS, ON THURSDAY, THE 24TH DAY OF NOVEMBER, 1904.

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THE Council regret to report that the Society during the last year has suffered heavily owing to the removal by death of an exceptionally large number of some of its oldest members and staunchest supporters. Amongst those thus removed mention may be made of Dr. Isaac Roberts, F.R.S., of Crowborough, whose contributions to Astronomical Science have gained for him a world-wide reputation; Isaac Foulkes (*Llyfrbryf*) of Liverpool, whose services to Welsh Literature during the last forty years are acknowledged on all sides, and to whom this Society in particular was greatly indebted; Edward H. Owen of Ty-Coch, an ardent antiquary and collector of Welsh Books; William Williams of Maesygwernen, a generous supporter of the Record Series and other Cymmrodorion Funds; J. Lewis Thomas, F.S.A., one of the treasurers of the Honourable and Loyal Society of Ancient Britons; Miss L. M. Thomas of Blunsdon Abbey, Mr. Hamilton

Price, Mr. F. C. Dobbing of Chislehurst, and Sir Richard Henry Wyatt of Garthangharad.

During the year forty-four new members have been added to the Society. The Council appeal to the members generally to make known the aims and objects of the Society, with the view of filling up the gaps in the ranks, to which reference has already been made.

Whilst heartily congratulating Sir Isambard Owen, one of their colleagues, on his appointment as Principal of the Armstrong College of Science, Newcastle-on-Tyne, the Council desire to express their great regret at his removal from London, and the consequent loss of his regular attendance at the Council Meetings. They wish to place on record their sense of the inestimable service rendered by Sir Isambard Owen to the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, more especially in connection with Higher Education in Wales during the twenty-five years in which he has been a member of the Society's Council. In common with all his fellow countrymen they cordially express the hope that his services may, in the near future, be more directly retained for the Principality.

The Council also desire to express their gratification at the honour conferred by His Majesty the King on Sir T. Marchant Williams, one of the earliest of its members, and one to whom the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion and Wales are deeply indebted for services in the cause of Welsh learning and Welsh Education.

In the course of the past year the following meetings have been held in London :—

1903.

November 19.—ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MEMBERS.

December 16.—Paper on "Henry Morgan the Buccaneer", by Mr. W. Llewelyn Williams, B.C.L. Oxon; Chairman, Lord Justice Vaughan-Williams.

1904.

- January 21.—Paper on “Welsh Interludes and Twm o'r Nant”, by Mr. Isaac Foulkes (*Llyfrbryf*); Chairman, Rev. G. Hartwell-Jones, M.A.
- February 3.—ANNUAL DINNER, under the Chairmanship of the Right Hon. the Earl of Powis.
- February 17.—Paper on “The Origin of the Welsh Englyn and Kindred Metres”, by Professor Rhys, LL.D.; Chairman, Mr. J. Herbert Roberts, M.P.
- March 23.—Paper, “Prolegomena to the Study of old Welsh Poetry”, by Professor Anwyl, M.A.; Chairman, Mr. David Davies of Llandinam.
- June 28.—ANNUAL CONVERSAZIONE, held by permission of the Master and Wardens, at Butchers' Hall, Bartholomew Close, under the Presidency of Lord Tredegar.

At Rhyl, in the Cymmrodorion Section of the National Eisteddfod, meetings were held:—

- On Monday evening, September 5th, 1904, at 7.30 p.m., at the Town Hall, when Papers (followed by a discussion) were read on “The Ideal of a Welsh National Library”, by Sir John Williams, Bart., Sir Isambard Owen (Senior Deputy-Chancellor of the University of Wales), and Sir Marchant Williams; Chairman, J. Herbert Lewis, Esq., M.P.
- On Wednesday, September 7th, at 9 a.m., at the Town Hall, when the same subject was further discussed; Chairman, Lewis J. Roberts, Esq., H.M.I.S.

These meetings were particularly successful, and have given a decided impetus to the movement in favour of a Welsh National Library.

During the year the following Publications have been issued to the members:—

- The Transactions* for the Session 1902-03, containing “The Decay of Tribalism in North Wales”, by Mr. Edward A. Lewis, with Appendices; “The Rules and Metres of Welsh Poetry”, by the Rev. H. Elvet Lewis; and “Celtic Art in Pagan and Christian Times”, by Mr. J. Romilly Allen; together with the Report of the Council and Financial Statement for the year 1902-03.
- Y Cymmrodor*, Vol. XVII, containing “The Holy Grail”, by Mr. George Y. Wardle; “The Life of S. Germanus by Constantius”,

by the Rev. S. Baring Gould, M.A. ; "The Silver Plate of Jesus College, Oxford", by Mr. E. Alfred Jones, with illustrations ; "Peniarth MS. 37", edited and translated by the Rev. A. W. Wade Evans ; "Correspondence between Dr. John Davies of Mallwyd and Sir Simonds D'Ewes", transcribed by Mr. Edward Owen, and translated by the Rev. G. Hartwell-Jones ; and Notices of Books relating to Wales.

In the Record Series, Part iii of *Gildas*, edited by the Rev. Hugh Williams, and Part iii of *A Catalogue of MSS. relating to Wales in the British Museum*, by Mr. Edward Owen, are in course of preparation.

*The Transactions* for the current year are in hand and will be issued early in 1905. The volume contains Mr. Llewelyn Williams' paper on "Henry Morgan the Buccaneer", much extended and with illustrations ; the late Mr. Isaac Foulkes' paper on "Welsh Interludes and Thomas Edwards o'r Nant" ; and Professor Anwyl's "Prolegomena to the Study of old Welsh Poetry".

Principal Rhys, of Jesus College, Oxford, having placed at the disposal of the Council his valuable work on *The Origin of the Welsh Englyn and Kindred Metres*, of which he read a short extract at the Society's Meeting in February, the Council have arranged to publish it as the *Cymmrodor* Volume for the year 1905. It is already far advanced in the press and will be ready early next year.

For the *Cymmrodor*, Vol. XIX, we have contributions promised by Mr. E. Sidney Hartland, Mr. Alfred N. Palmer, the Rev. A. W. Wade-Evans, and others.

The Annual Dinner of the Society, in accordance with the wishes of some of the members, will now be held as near the beginning of each Session as may be practicable. It will be held this year on the 8th of December, at the *Hôtel Métropole*, under the presidency of Sir William H. Preece, K.C.B., F.R.S. The Council, in the name of the Society,

have invited Sir Isambard Owen to be the Society's guest on this occasion, and the invitation has been accepted.

The arrangements for the coming Session include promises of the following papers:—

“The Relation of the old Welsh Laws to the Brehon Laws”, by Mr. Brynmôr Jones, K.C., M.P.; “Sir John Philipps of Picton”, by the Rev. Thos. Shankland, B.A.; “Alawon Cymru”, by Mr. Robert Bryan; “The Welsh Epic”, by Mr. R. A. Griffith (*Elphin*).

Under the Society's Rules the term of office of the following officers expires:—

THE PRESIDENT,  
THE VICE-PRESIDENT,  
THE AUDITORS,

and ten members retire in accordance with Rule 4, viz. :—

MR. H. LLOYD ROBERTS.  
MR. R. ARTHUR ROBERTS.  
MR. RICHARD ROBERTS.  
MR. J. ROMILLY ALLEN.  
MR. HOWEL THOMAS.  
MR. JOHN THOMAS.  
MR. W. CAVE THOMAS.  
SIR T. MARCHANT WILLIAMS.  
MR. LLEWELYN WILLIAMS.  
MR. J. W. WILLIS BUND.

The audited and certified Statement of Account for the year is appended to this Report.

# THE HONOURABLE SOCIETY OF CYMMRODORION.

## Statement of Receipts and Payments.

FROM 9TH NOVEMBER, 1903, TO 9TH NOVEMBER, 1904.

*Cr.*

	<u>£</u>	<u>s.</u>	<u>d.</u>
To Balance in hand, November 9th, 1903 ...	23	3	0
" Subscriptions received ...	429	7	0
" Sale of Publications ...	46	4	9
	£498	14	9

*Dr.*

	<u>£</u>	<u>s.</u>	<u>d.</u>
By Rent of Offices, Fire and Lighting ...	89	8	7
" Publications : Cost of Printing and Distribution—			
<i>The Transactions</i> , 1902-03	£58	15	0
<i>Y Cymrodor</i> , Vol. XVII	92	17	6
	151	12	6
" General Printing ...	35	18	6
" Lectures, Meetings, and Conversazione ...	62	2	2
" Eisteddfod Section Expenses ...	9	3	2
" Library Expenses ...	1	18	11
" Stationery, Postage, and General Expenses ...	48	2	6
" Commission on Publications Sold and Subscriptions received (1903) ...	16	16	6
" Secretary's Remuneration ...	50	0	0
" Balance in hand ...	33	11	11
	£498	14	9

*Examined and found correct. Vouchers produced.*

JOHN BURRELL, } *Joint*

ELLIS W. DAVIES, } *Hon. Auditors.*

16 January 1905.

H. LLOYD ROBERTS, *Treasurer.*

E. VINCENT EVANS, *Secretary.*



S<sup>R</sup>. HEN: MORGAN



TRANSACTIONS  
OF THE  
**Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion.**

---

SESSION 1903-1904.

---

SIR HENRY MORGAN, THE BUCCANEER.<sup>1</sup>

BY

W. LLEWELYN WILLIAMS, M.A., B.C.L.(Oxon.)

---

OF the Welshmen who have played a part in the stirring drama of Empire-building, there is none so generally known as Sir Henry Morgan, the Buccaneer. His name has become a household word; his exploits in the Spanish main rival, in song and story, the heroic adventures of Drake, and Frobisher, and Hawkins. He figures as a demi-god in myths that are dear to the schoolboy heart, and his name, confounded as it has often been with the infamous Blackbeard or Teach the Pirate, and the "marooners" of a later age, has become almost synonymous with a reckless and desperate valour, joined to the baser passions of lust and cruelty and hate. Whatever be our views as to his character and achievements, there can be no doubt that he was one of the outstanding figures of his age and generation. If his deeds of derring-do are less widely known than those of Clive or Warren Hastings, the reason is not to be found so much in the lesser stature

<sup>1</sup> Read before the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion at 20, Hanover Square, on Wednesday, 16 December 1903; Chairman, The Right Hon. Lord-Justice Vaughan-Williams.

of the man as in the more limited stage upon which he acted his valiant part. His career is indelibly associated with the history of Jamaica, the first of our Crown colonies, and his moving adventures by sea and land, his prowess, his daring, his marvellous exploits against the Spaniards—even then, in the latter half of the seventeenth century, deemed to be the mightiest nation on earth—are worthy to be chronicled side by side with those of the other masterful spirits which created and fashioned the mighty structure of the British Empire.

Yet, so little is the Romance of Welsh story known, and so flickering is the interest we have taken in our famous dead, that the name of the great Buccaneer is hardly known even to educated Welshmen, and our countrymen, in spite of their anxiety to claim celebrated men for Wales, have been loath to allow to Henry Morgan a niche in the temple of their national worthies. Professor Laughton, in his article in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, has accepted without question the spurious origin which was fastened on Henry Morgan by Clark in his *Limbus Patrum*. No one knows who Henry Morgan was when he went out to the West Indies, what were his real achievements and character, and whether he was in truth such a man as Wales may justly be proud to claim as her own. In this paper I do not pretend to have solved all the mystery surrounding the birth and record of Henry Morgan; but it will be something to the good if I can brush aside the errors of Clark and Laughton, and enable the inquirer to commence his search unimpeded by the false conjectures which have hitherto been accepted as proved facts.

The classical source of most of our information about Henry Morgan, is Esquemeling's *History of the Buccaneers of America*, which was first published in Holland in 1684,

in Henry Morgan's lifetime, and which has since passed through numberless editions. It is an account written by one who was himself a member of the buccaneering crew, and though his animus against his old commander is open and unconcealed, so vigorous is the narrative, so virile the style, and so absorbing the adventures, that his book is imperishable, and his estimate of Morgan's personality will be accepted without question by most of his readers. In this wise does he compendiously introduce the Buccaneer to his public:—

“ Captain Henry Morgan was born in the Kingdom of England, and there in the Principality of Wales. His father was a rich yeoman, or farmer, and of good quality in that country, even as most who bear that name in Wales are known to be. Morgan, being as yet young, had no inclination to follow the calling of his father, and therefore left his country, and came towards the sea-coasts to seek some other employ more suitable to his humour that aspired to something else. There he found entertainment in a certain port where several ships lay at anchor, bound for the Isle of Barbadoes. With these he resolved to go in the service of one who, according to what is commonly practised in those parts by the English and other nations, sold him as soon as he came ashore. He served his time at Barbadoes, and, obtaining his liberty, he took himself to Jamaica, there to seek new fortunes. Here he found two vessels of pirates ready to go to sea, and, being destitute of employment, he went with them, with the intent to follow the exercises of that sort of people. He soon learnt the manner of living so exactly that, after he had performed three or four voyages, with profit and success, he agreed with some of his comrades, who had got by the same voyages a small parcel of money, to join stocks and buy a ship. The vessel being bought, they unanimously chose him Captain and Commander. With this ship soon after he set forth from Jamaica to cruise on the coasts of Campeche, in which voyage he took several ships, with which he returned triumphantly to the same island. Here he found an old pirate, named Mansvelt, busied in equipping a considerable fleet, with design to land on the Continent, and pillage whatever came in his way. Mansvelt, seeing Captain Morgan

return with so many prizes, judged him from his actions to be a man of undaunted courage, and chose him for his Vice-Admiral in that expedition."<sup>1</sup>

I have given Esquemeling's account at length because he is almost our sole authority for the early career of Henry Morgan, nor can I doubt that he is substantially accurate in his relation of the facts.

Henry Morgan, then, was born in the Principality of Wales. In his will<sup>2</sup> he refers to "my ever honourable cousin, Mr. Thomas Morgan of Tredegar." That he was a scion of that famous house—which gave to our great Welsh Bard his Maecenas and to Mary Queen of Scots her most devoted servant—there can be no doubt. In August 1672, William Morgan of Tredegar, writing in a neat hand, worthy of one who was Clerk to the Stables, to Sir Joseph Williamson, on behalf of Henry Morgan, who was then in temporary disgrace, calls him "a relation and formerly a neer neighbour".<sup>3</sup> But to what branch of that wide-spreading family he belonged is a more difficult question to answer. Clark, in his *Limbus*, sets out a pedigree which shows Henry Morgan to be the eldest son of Robert Morgan, who was the third son of William Morgan of Llanrhunney.<sup>4</sup> I do not know upon what authority Clark constructed such a pedigree, but it can be proved to demonstration that it is purely fictitious. In the first place, Robert Morgan, the putative father, is described as "of London". But Morgan of Tredegar described Henry Morgan as "a neer neighbour", while Esquemeling calls Henry Morgan's father a "rich yeoman".

<sup>1</sup> Esquemeling's *History of the Buccaneers* (Swan Sonnenschein, 1898), pp. 120-1.

<sup>2</sup> His will was proved in Jamaica, but its contents are given by Long in *Add. MSS.* 27,968.

<sup>3</sup> *Cal. of State Papers*, Chas. II, 1671, p. 437.

<sup>4</sup> Clark's *Limbus Patrum*, pp. 310, *seq.*

In the second place, Clark states that Robert Morgan's second son was Thomas Morgan of Llangattock, who died in the year 1670, *ætate* seventy-three. The second son being born in 1597, the eldest son would have been born some time before that year. Henry Morgan would therefore have been born about 1595. He would have arrived at the discreet age of seventy before starting on his piratical career; he would be in the full vigour of seventy-six when he achieved his greatest exploit, and he would have been prematurely gathered to his fathers at the green age of ninety-three! Thirdly, Henry Morgan, in his will, makes mention of several of his near relatives, including Catherine Lloyd, his sister. He makes no allusion, however, to his brother, and he leaves his property to his wife's nephew, and not to his own nephew, Sir John Morgan of Kinnersley Court, Hereford. Lastly, Clark, on another page,<sup>1</sup> asserts that Sir Thomas Morgan, the famous soldier of fortune of the Low Countries, and afterwards one of Cromwell's men, was the second son of Robert Morgan. This Sir Thomas Morgan, who was a veteran at the outbreak of the Puritan Rebellion, was therefore the younger brother of Sir Henry Morgan! Clark, in fine, has hopelessly muddled the Buccaneer's pedigree, and his inaccuracies, self-evident though they are, have been slavishly followed by the writers in *The Dictionary of National Biography*.

Beyond this negative conclusion it would be unsafe to travel, with our present information. But there is one suggestion which it may be permissible to make. Sir Henry Morgan, in his will, which was made in June 1688, mentions two properties owned by him in Jamaica, and called "Lanrumney" and "Pencarn". The reference to Lanrumney is easily explainable. His wife, Mary Eliza-

<sup>1</sup> Clark's *Limbus Patrum*, p. 315.

beth, was the daughter of Lieut.-General Edward Morgan, the second son of Thomas Morgan of Lanrumney. By Gen. Morgan's will, dated March 24, 1664-5, he leaves his house in London "with my pretence upon Lanrumney" (under his father's will) to his daughter "Maria Elisabet", who afterwards married her kinsman, Henry Morgan. But why did Henry Morgan name his other Jamaican estate "Pencarn"? Pencarn was an old mansion belonging to the Morgans of Tredegar, and situate in the parish of Basalleg, near the historic home of the Morgans. There was an offshoot of the Morgans at Pencarn in 1595, but it died out, and I have not been able to discover when a new branch of the Morgans settled there again. I venture, however, to suggest that Sir Henry Morgan may have been the son of a younger son of Thomas Morgan of Machen and Tredegar, whose will was made in 1603; and that the branch of the Morgans from which Henry Morgan sprang may have settled at Pencarn early in the seventeenth century. Henry Morgan would thus have been "a neer neighbour" of Morgan of Tredegar.

A deposition at the Board of Trade, made on Dec. 21, 1671, states that at that time Henry Morgan was about the age of thirty-six.<sup>1</sup> He was therefore born in or about the year 1635. That date is probably not wide of the mark. Before arriving at man's estate the Civil War was over, else we may be sure that an adventurous youth of loyal stock would have been found fighting for country and for king. But Henry Morgan is never mentioned as having taken part in the great Civil War.

"I sucked the milk of loyalty," he asserts in one of his rare letters, "and if I would have sold one little part of it I might have been richer than my enemies ever will be."<sup>2</sup>

The allusion is cryptic. Does it refer to some incident

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. S. P., passim.*

<sup>2</sup> *Cal. S. P., 1676, Nov., 1129.5.*

in his hot youth? Did he, when he grew to understand the strange things that were happening around him, refuse to bow to the Government of the day, and become classed as a "malignant"? Was it disgust at Puritan rule that impelled him to seek adventures abroad? Or is the allusion to some later incident,—to some temptation to cast aside his British citizenship, and either to realise Mansfeld's dream of founding a Buccaneer State or to serve under French or Spanish King? At all events, we know that he left Wales in the heyday of youth. One Richard Browne, writing from Jamaica to Lord Arlington, on Oct. 12, 1670, says:—

"I thincke fitt further to advise your Honour that Admiral Morgan hath bin in the Indys 11 or 12 yeares, from a private gentleman by his valour hath raised himself to now what he is, and I assure your Honour that noe man whatever knowes better, can out do or give so clear an account of the Spanish force, strength, or comerce."<sup>1</sup>

Henry Morgan therefore seems to have reached the West Indies about the year 1658, when he was about twenty-three years of age. In 1665 we find that a certain Captain Morgan, who having commanded a privateer from the beginning of 1663, associated with John Morris and Jackman in their expedition up the river Tobacco, in the Bay of Campeachy, when they took and plundered Vildemos. Then, returning, they went up the San Juan river in canoes as far as Lake Nicaragua, landed near Granada, which they sacked, and came away after overturning the guns and sinking the boats. Professor Laughton seems uncertain whether the Captain Morgan of this expedition was our Henry Morgan; but the direct and positive statement of Esquemeling (cited above) puts the matter beyond dispute. Morris and Jackman were the

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. S. P.*, 1670, No. 293.

two "pirates" to whom Esquemeling alludes as being the first two associates of Henry Morgan.

I am indeed disposed to think that young Morgan left his native land earlier than the year 1658. Our informant, Browne, is not precise in his statement, and obviously only gave an approximate date. The period of apprenticeship at the Barbadoes was seven years, and we are expressly told that young Morgan completed his term of service before moving to Jamaica. Esquemeling also tells us (as indeed it would only be reasonable to infer) that young Morgan performed three or four voyages before he became captain of a ship. As he got his command early in 1663, it is more than probable that the three or four voyages which he had previously made consumed two or three years. If, therefore, we conclude that he came to Jamaica about the year 1660, and that he had previously served seven years in Barbadoes, we find that Henry Morgan left his country in search of adventure and fame and fortune in or about 1653, when he was seventeen or eighteen years of age. This, I suggest, is a far more reasonable and probable conjecture than the other. A generous youth of seventeen is more likely to have run away to sea than a young man of twenty-three. In one of his letters, written in 1680, Sir Henry Morgan makes another interesting reference to his early life:—

"I left the schools too young", he said, "to be proficient in . . . the laws, and have been much more used to the pike than the book."<sup>1</sup>

I have therefore come to the following conclusions with regard to Henry Morgan's early life—conclusions, however, which are entirely based on the facts I have already detailed, and which may well be displaced by the discovery

<sup>1</sup> *Col. S. P.*, Feb. 24, 1680, No. 1304; *Col. Pap.*, xliv, 30, i-iii.

of new facts at present unknown to me. He was born at Pencarn, near Newport, in the parish of Basalleg, in the county of Monmouth, in 1635, he ran away to sea about 1653, he shipped at Bristol, and served his seven years' apprenticeship in the plantations at Barbadoes, about 1660 he obtained his liberty and proceeded to Jamaica, there he joined the Buccaneers, and early in 1663 was elected to the command of a vessel, and in January 1665, with John Morris and Jackman as colleagues, he entered upon a larger fame by his successful expedition against the Spaniards in the Bay of Campeachy.<sup>1</sup>

In June 1664, however, an event happened which turned the fortunes of our adventurer. Sir Thomas Modyford was sent out as Governor, and Sir Edward Morgan as Lieutenant-Governor of Jamaica. Sir Edward was, as has been seen, a kinsman of the buccaneer, and he seems to have been a kindly, affectionate, and well-intentioned man, with a quiverful of daughters and scanty means to bring them up on. He has given an account of his fortunes in a Memorial, which he sent to the King in February 1664-5 :—

“I was in ye yeere 49 possest of a worthy lady, of a higher quality than myselfe,<sup>2</sup> with halffe a dossen sweet babes, a beginning of o<sup>r</sup> future numerous family, and w<sup>h</sup> all had then 3000<sup>l</sup> in my purse w<sup>ch</sup> made me with my charges Live neatly, And lay up w<sup>th</sup> some other Land Rents that I had £300 a year.”<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> In the course of this expedition they took and plundered Vildemos. On their return they crossed the Bay of Honduras, took Truxilla, and further south went up the San Juan river in canoes as far as Lake Nicaragua, sacked Granada, and came away, after overturning the guns and sinking the boats.—*Cal. S. P., America and West Indies*, 1 March 1666, No. 1,142.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Edward Morgan's wife was a daughter of Baron Pollintz, of Holland.

<sup>3</sup> *Cal. S. P., passim*; *Add. MSS.* 27,968, f. 139.

His eldest daughter, Anna Petronella, was married soon after coming to Jamaica, to Colonel Robert Byndloss, a scion of a Westmoreland family, who had settled in the island. His son, Charles Morgan, we shall hear a good deal of again. He became a member of the Council of Jamaica, and was at one time Secretary to the Council. His other son died young. His second daughter and fourth child, Mary Elizabeth, was married in 1665 to her kinsman, Henry Morgan, and survived him for many years. All his other children married and settled down in Jamaica, and became the founders of many of the principal families in the island.

In the summer of 1665, Sir Edward Morgan was sent on an expedition against the Spaniards in Cuba. An engagement took place, and almost the first to fall was the British commander. This is the account of his death sent home by Sir Thomas Modyford on November 16, 1665:—

“The good old Coll. leaping out of the boat, being a corpulent man, got a straine, and yet his spirit being great, he pursued over earnestly the enemy about a mile and a halfe, in a narrow place between two hills, and in a hot day, so y<sup>t</sup> he suffeted and suddenly died, to almost y<sup>e</sup> losse of y<sup>e</sup> whole designe.”<sup>1</sup>

It was a grievous blow to the infant English power in the West Indies. Up to that time, the buccaneers, though their designs were winked at, were not recognised, nor were their doings regularised by the authorities. They did not carry the King's Commission, and if captured they were liable to be, and were in fact, dealt with as pirates. They fought for booty, not for patriotism. They attacked the Spaniards, not so much because the Spaniards were the traditional enemies of England, as because they

<sup>1</sup> *Cat. S. P.*, *passim*; see also Long's article in *Gentleman's Magazine*, February and March, 1832.

were the masters of the New World, and took care, by vigorous exclusion of foreign commerce, to isolate their colonies from the rest of the world. Such an Empire was the natural enemy of all adventurers, commercial and otherwise. The buccaneers of the West Indies were composed of men of all nations. Esquemeling was a Dutchman; L'Ollonais, Morgan's greatest predecessor, was a Frenchman; representatives of every nation in Europe were to be found in their ranks. Their very name of "buccaneers" (*boucanier*, *i.e.*, one who cures meat by the *boucan* process) was of French origin. After Jamaica had been captured by Cromwell's forces in 1654, it naturally became the rendezvous of the English buccaneers. The islanders, rough, adventurous men, who hated Spain, were glad to welcome into their midst men who made and spent their money easily. International law is not, even in our days, a fixed science. Two centuries and a half ago, especially in the wild New World, its rules were still less ascertained and observed. Since the days of Elizabeth, Spain had been either formally or informally at war with England. The treaty of peace, which was concluded in 1670, admits the existence of a state of war between the two nations up to that year. Under these circumstances it was no wonder that English buccaneers preyed on Spanish commerce, or that English colonists aided and abetted the "pirates" to gather their forces and to realise their plunder.

Though so closely related to the Commander, Henry Morgan took no part in the Cuban expedition of 1665. Indeed, this was the year that he was engaged with his two colleagues in the Expedition to the Bay of Campeachy. After the failure of the expedition, Sir Thomas Modyford was in desperate straits. A disastrous blow had been struck to English prestige, and as the safety of



Jamaica depended more on prestige than on power, something had to be done to revive our credit. In this pass, it was perhaps only natural that the Governor should turn for help to the daring spirits who had for so long been waging war on their own account against the Spaniards. In the summer of 1666, Sir Thomas Modyford commissioned a noted buccaneer named Mansfield or Mansfeld to fit out an expedition against Curaçoa. By this time Morgan had gained wide fame for his success in Campeachy, he had married the daughter of the late Lieut-Governor and was therefore in touch with the authorities,<sup>1</sup> and Mansfeld enlisted his services under him as Vice-Admiral. The expedition met with an initial disaster. Mansfeld was captured and put to death by the Spaniards,<sup>2</sup> and in the early months of 1667, Henry Morgan, by that time a man of thirty-two, was appointed to the chief command.

The following year saw Morgan engaged on a still more important undertaking. He was commissioned by the Governor to draw together the English privateers, and take prisoners of the Spanish nation, whereby he might be informed of the intentions of the enemy.<sup>3</sup> He had under him ten sail of ships and five hundred men.<sup>4</sup> With this small force he attacked, took, and sacked the two im-

<sup>1</sup> He was not married at the date of Sir Edw. Morgan's will, Feb. 1665, but later in the year Sir Thos. Modyford refers to him and Col. Byndloss as "brothers-in-law".

<sup>2</sup> That is the account given in the State Papers, America and West Indies, 1666, No. 1,827. Esquemeling, whose narrative is not trustworthy, states that Mansfeld failed to secure the co-operation or countenance of the Governor of Jamaica, and went "on his own" to the Island of Tortuga, where "death suddenly surprised him".—Esquemeling, p. 123.

<sup>3</sup> *Cal. S. P.*, America and West Indies, Sept. 7, 1668, No. 1,838.

<sup>4</sup> Esquemeling says twelve sail and seven hundred men (p. 133).

portant towns of Porto Principe and Porto Bello. In August 1668, he returned in triumph, having lost only eighteen men killed and thirty-two men wounded.<sup>1</sup>

In the following February we hear that Morgan was sent out again on fresh expeditions. The State Papers are silent as to their destination and issue, but Esquemeling gives a very spirited and dramatic account of them. Captain Morgan, it seems, went against Gibraltar and Maracaibo. He succeeded in completely baffling the Spaniards by a mixture of shrewdness and daring. He destroyed the "Spanish Armada" which had been sent out expressly to cope with the English privateers, and by a clever ruse he successfully escaped from Lake Maracaibo under the very shadow of the great fort which guarded the entrance. Before starting for home, he divided the booty among his comrades. "The accounts being cast up, they found to the value of two hundred and fifty thousand pieces of eight in money and jewels, besides the huge quantity of merchandise and slaves."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Esquemeling gives a long and detailed account of this expedition (pp. 131-149). According to him, Morgan made two expeditions. In the first, which was directed against Porto Principe in Cuba, he was aided by French buccaneers. After taking and plundering the town, he parted company with the French, and returned to Jamaica. Thence he proceeded to Porto Bello, in the Isthmus of Panama, which he took and sacked, in September 1668. When he came to divide the spoils between his comrades on the Island of Cuba "they found in ready money two hundred and fifty thousand pieces of eight, besides all other merchandises, as cloth, linen, silks, and other goods". It is noteworthy that Esquemeling treats these expeditions as Morgan's private and piratical enterprises, whereas there can be no doubt that Morgan held a commission from the Governor of Jamaica (see *Cal. S. P.*, Col. America and West Indies, *e.g.*, June 16, 1666, No. 1,216; Sept. 7, 1668, No. 1,838; Nov. 9, 1668, No. 1,867; Oct. 1, 1668, No. 1,850).

<sup>2</sup> Esquemeling, pp. 172-9. Esquemeling seems to imply (see p. 150) that the Maracaibo expedition was made with the connivance of the

A short period of peace and quiet ensued, but in the summer of 1670 the doings of a vapouring Spanish captain resulted in the biggest of Morgan's exploits. A certain Manuel Rivero Pardal, commanding a frigate of fourteen guns, descended upon Jamaica, captured some small vessels, burnt houses, and took away a good deal of booty. Before leaving the island, he added insult to injury by nailing to a tree near the west point of the island an insolent challenge to the redoubted Admiral of the privateers. It ran as follows :—

"I, Captain Manuel Rivero Pardal, to the chief of the squadron of privateers in Jamaica. I am he who this year have done that which follows. I went on shore at Caimanos, and burnt twenty houses, and fought with Captain Ary, and took from him a catch laden with provisions and a canoe. And I am he that took Captain Baines and did carry the prize to Carthagena, and now am arrived to this coast, and have burnt it. And I come to seek General Morgan, with two ships and twenty guns, and having seen this, I crave he would come out upon the coast and seek me, that he might see the valour of the Spaniards. And because I had no time I did not come to the mouth of Port Royal to speak by word of mouth in the name of my King, whom God preserve. Dated the 5th of July 1670."<sup>1</sup>

Though this was the spark that ignited the flame, it was inevitable that the Spaniard should make reprisals on the English for the countenance afforded to the buccaneers by the Governor of Jamaica. A minute of the Council of Jamaica, dated June 29, 1670, states :—

"Whereas by copy of a commission sent by William Beck, Governor of Curaçoa, to Governor Sir Thomas Modyford, from the Queen Regent of Spain, dated 20 April 1669, her

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Governor of Jamaica, though he does not state (as was the fact) that Morgan held the Governor's commission. He accuses Morgan of practising horrible cruelties on some of his prisoners, though he admits that others he treated with leniency and mercy.

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. S. P.*, Oct. 12, 1670, No. 310, ii.

Governors in the Indies are commanded to make open war against His Majesty's subjects, and that the Spanish Governors have granted commissions and are levying forces against the English, and in accordance with the last article of His Majesty's instructions to Governor Modyford "in this great and urgent necessity" it is ordered that a commission be granted to Admiral Henry Morgan to be Commander-in-Chief of all ships of war belonging to this Harbour, and to attack, seize, and destroy the enemy's vessels."<sup>1</sup>

Morgan's commission was made out on July 2,<sup>2</sup> and on the same day the Governor, Sir Thomas Modyford, instructed him

"to take St. Jago, to kill all male slaves, to send the women hither to be sold, to treat prisoners as ours have been treated, or rather, as our custom is, to exceed them in civility and humanity, endeavouring to make all people sensible of his moderation and good nature, and his inaptitude and loathsomeness to spill the blood of man."<sup>3</sup>

In August 1670 Morgan sailed with ten ships and one thousand five hundred men towards Cuba. All parties at the time in Jamaica were of one mind as to the necessity of the expedition. The Governor was supported by a unanimous Council, and Richard Browne, who was appointed Surgeon-General of the fleet, and who afterwards became one of Morgan's severest critics, writes to Mr. Secretary Williamson, on the eve of starting, that he finds Sir Thomas Modyford

"very well resented by the people for a wise, sober, honest, and discreet man, as also Lieutenant-Colonel Byndlosse."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. S. P.*, America and West Indies, June 29, 1670, No. 209.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, No. 211.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, No. 211. *Col. Pp.*, xxv, 46. Esquemeling asserts that Morgan was only induced to go upon this expedition because he and his captain had spent their money in debauchery. He terms the King of England Morgan's "pretended master" (p. 189), and does not believe that Morgan held an Admiral's Commission. This is only important as showing Esquemeling's animus against Morgan.

<sup>4</sup> *Cal. S. P.*, America and West Indies, Aug. 7, 1670, No. 227.

One of the first incidents of the expedition was of good omen. Our old friend, Captain John Morris, driven by a gale into a bay at the east end of Cuba, found Signor Pardal, "the vapouring Admiral of St. Jago," who had been sent double-manned and with eighty musketeers on land to attack an English captain, who was careening there. At the first volley the Spaniards left their guns, but Pardal, as brave as he was vainglorious, ran to bring them back. While in the act of rallying his men, the gallant Spaniard was shot through the neck and immediately died. His frigate was added to Morgan's fleet.<sup>1</sup>

For some time, however, things did not go smoothly. Morgan, with seven vessels, became separated from the rest in a gale—probably the gale that drove Captain Morris to Pardal. Browne tells Lord Arlington that without Morgan and his privateers success was impossible.

"Without Admiral Morgan and his old privateers things cannot be as successful as expected, for they know every creek, and the Spaniard's mode of fighting, and be a town never so well fortified, and the numbers never so unequal, if money or good plunder be in the case, they will either win it manfully or die courageously."

Sir Thomas Modyford kept on sending reinforcements to Morgan, and his old companions in arms flocked to the old rendezvous in Hispaniola, so that by December, when he was ready to start against Panama, he had under him a fleet of thirty-five sail and two thousand men.

No sooner had Morgan left Jamaica than divisions broke out. In September, Colonel, afterwards Sir Thomas, Lynch, came out as Lieutenant-Governor. From the start he took up a firm attitude against the aggressive "forward" policy of the Governor, and especially against

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. S. P., America and West Indies*, Oct. 12, 1670, No. 293; Oct. 31, No. 310.

his policy with regard to the buccaneers. In the West Indies the Spaniards were still "the enemy", but in England opinion was rapidly changing. One hundred years of constant warfare had broken the mighty power of Spain. She was still England's traditional enemy, and so shrewd a statesman as Cromwell regarded her as formidable. But a new generation and a new school of statesmen had sprung up, who feared the growing power of France under the ambitious direction of Louis XIV, and looked upon the Spanish Empire as a pricked bubble. In the autumn of 1670 a treaty of peace was concluded between England and Spain, and there is little doubt that Lynch was sent out to Jamaica in order to inaugurate the new policy of friendship with Spain, and breach with the buccaneers. One almost suspects that word was sent secretly to Morgan at Hispaniola of the new departure in England's policy. It is difficult, on any other assumption, to explain how Morgan was allowed to proceed on his expedition. A letter from Jamaica, dated December 15, announces the fact that "our fleet of thirty-five sail are gone to take Panama".<sup>1</sup> Sir Thomas Modyford, writing to Lord Arlington on December 18, states that before his Lordship's express had arrived, he had despatched to Morgan a copy of the articles of peace with Spain, but that the vessel had returned with Morgan's letters, having missed him at his old rendezvous. It is added that a vessel had again been sent after the Admiral, with the hope that news of the treaty of peace might reach him before he had committed any act of hostility.<sup>2</sup> It is impossible to do away with the suspicion that the Governor was not anxious to disperse an expedition which had been gathered together at such great trouble and

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. S. P.*, Dec. 15, 1670, No. 358.

<sup>2</sup> *Cal. S. P.*, America and West Indies, Dec. 18, 1670, No. 359.

expense, before it had had time to strike a blow ; and that the Admiral, who now found himself at the head of the greatest fleet that had ever sailed from Jamaica, was not so scrupulous in the means he employed to avoid the despatches, which would shatter his hopes of fame and loot. It is at all events certain that, either by happy coincidence or by design, Admiral Morgan was not recalled, and that, at a time when England and Spain were at peace, he, as bearing the King's Commission, attacked, took, and plundered the city of Panama, one of the greatest and wealthiest towns in the Spanish colonies.

When news of Morgan's expedition reached England prompt measures were taken to show the Government's disapproval. It was too late to stop Morgan, but not to visit the royal displeasure on the Governor who had failed in his duty. Early in January 1671 Sir Thomas Modyford was recalled, and Lynch was appointed Acting-Governor. The King sent a messenger to Lynch ordering him, as soon as he safely could, to arrest the Governor and to send him home under a strong guard to answer for the "many depredations and hostilities against the subjects of His Majesty's good brother the Catholic King" which were charged against him.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. S. P.*, Nos. 377, 405. It is typical of the way in which Morgan's career has been misunderstood that the latest editor of Esquemeling's memoirs (Swan Sonnenschein, 1898) should have entirely mistaken the purport of the Panama Expedition. He says that after the conclusion of the treaty of peace "a proclamation was issued . . . which greatly exasperated the freebooting community, and the direct result of which was the assemblage of the largest fleet ever brought together by the buccaneers". (Intro., xx.) As a matter of fact, the expedition was due to the activity of the Governor of Jamaica, and Morgan had started from that island in August, long before the existence of the treaty could even have been suspected or anticipated in the West Indies. Esquemeling, in order to give verisimilitude to his romance, says (on p. 191) that Morgan "weighed

Meanwhile Morgan was pursuing his victorious advance on Panama. On December 15, Colonel Bradley (or Brodely, as Esquemeling calls him) with four hundred and seventy men, took the Castle of Chagre (or Chagraw) by storm, after a gallant resistance by the Spanish Governor, who perished in the assault. Morgan followed with the rest of his forces. He left three hundred men behind at the Castle, under Major Norman, to guard the vessels, while he himself, with one thousand four hundred men, in seven ships and thirty-six boats, started up the river towards Panama on January 9, 1671. After a short journey he was forced to leave his vessels under the guard of Captain Delander and two hundred men and to betake himself "to the wild woods". On January 15 a skirmish took place with the enemy two miles from Venta Cruse. "It is," said Morgan in his Report,<sup>1</sup> "a very fine village where they land and embark all goods for Panama, but we found it, as the rest, all on fire and the enemy fled." The following day they began their march, four abreast, the enemy galling them with ambuscades. On the 17th of January they saw the enemy, with two thousand one hundred foot and six hundred horse. The buccaneers were in evil plight. Of the one thousand four hundred men that had started from the Castle of Chagre, two hundred had been left behind to guard the boats. The ten days' march through "the wild woods" had weakened the others. Their provisions had given out, and they had been reduced to eating leather.<sup>2</sup> So weakened were they that even a small allowance of wine found in a

anchor" from Cape Tiburon, off Hispaniola, on the 16th December. In fact, he had done so long before, for on December 15 Chagre was taken.

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. S. P.*, Apr. 20, 1671, No. 504.

<sup>2</sup> *Esquemeling*, 208.

gentleman's cellar so affected them that at first they thought the wine was poisoned.<sup>1</sup> Morgan's courage, however, rose with his difficulties. He was always of good cheer, and he never despaired of the issue. On December 18 he drew up his men in the form of a *tertia*. The van, consisting of three hundred men, was led by Colonel Prince and Major John Morris; of the main body, comprising six hundred men, the right wing was led by Morgan himself, the left by Colonel Collyer, and the rear-guard of three hundred men was commanded by Colonel Bledry Morgan, "a good old soldier" from Carmarthenshire. After a hot fight, lasting several hours, by three o'clock in the afternoon the city was captured. The casualties on the English side were five killed and ten wounded; on the Spanish four hundred killed. The city was fired by the Spaniards,<sup>2</sup> and by midnight only two churches and three hundred houses remained.

"Thus was consumed," says Morgan in his Report, "the famous and ancient city of Panama, which is the greatest mart for gold and silver that comes from the mines of Peru and Potozi."<sup>3</sup>

The tired troops remained in Panama for twenty-eight days and took three thousand prisoners. By February 14 they were once more at Venta Cruse,<sup>4</sup> where they remained till the 24th. On the 26th they arrived, where the plunder (which Morgan says amounted to thirty thousand pounds)<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Esq.*, 212.

<sup>2</sup> Esquemeling, with his usual unfairness, ascribes the fire to the unreasoning and unreasonable cruelty of Morgan (223), but it was not to Morgan's interest to fire the city, and it was the policy of the Spaniards to set fire to all the towns and buildings they abandoned.

<sup>3</sup> *Cal. S. P.*, Apr. 20, 1671, No. 504.

<sup>4</sup> With his habitual inaccuracy Esquemeling gives February 24 as the date of the departure of Morgan from Panama (p. 234).

<sup>5</sup> *Cal. S. P.*, Apr. 20, 1671, No. 504.

was divided, the castle fired, and the guns spiked. On March 6 they sailed for Jamaica, where they were received with jubilant satisfaction. "Many thanks" were showered on the victorious commander by Governor and Council. Sir Thomas Modyford was ignorant of the purport of the orders sent from home in January to Lynch, and doubtless he thought that the complete success of Morgan justified the expedition. There can be no doubt that Morgan had effectually pricked the bubble of Spanish prestige in the New World. As the Anabasis demonstrated to the world the rottenness of the Persian Empire, and paved the way for the adventurous career of Alexander, so Morgan's expedition showed on how weak and vulnerable a foundation the Spanish dominion stood. In the exuberance of the mafficking hour, no one thought of the political consequences or paid any heed to the grumbling of the disillusioned buccaneers. Of the two thousand who started for Panama only some seven hundred returned.<sup>1</sup> No wonder Sir Thomas Lynch wrote to Lord Arlington in July:—

"This voyage has mightily lessened and humbled them, and they would take it for a great compliment to be severe with Morgan, whom they rail on horribly for starving, cheating, and deserting them."<sup>2</sup>

It was not long before the notorious commander was loaded with abuse. Browne, who came back an embittered and disillusioned man, sent a long and railing letter to Williamson. After describing the hunger and privations of the return journey from Panama, he says that

"the commander could have prevented it, but insisted on

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<sup>1</sup> Browne states that one thousand eight hundred men received a share of the spoils at Chagre, so that only two hundred or so were lost in the expedition itself.

<sup>2</sup> *Cal. S. P.*, July 2, 1671, No. 580.

loading mules that might have brought provisions, with plate and other plunder to the value of above seventy thousand pounds, besides other rich goods, and cheated the soldiers of a vast sum, each man having but ten pounds a share, and the whole number not being above one thousand eight hundred."

At Chagre the commanders gave what they pleased,

"for which . . . we must be content, or else clapped in irons."

Many starved. Browne says that only ten out of the whole thirty-five ships returned. He cannot tell what infatuated "our Grandees" to send forth such a fleet on so slender an account. He can

"find no other cause but a pitiful small Spanish man-of-war, of eight guns, which came vapouring upon these coasts with a commission from the Queen of Spain . . . took one small vessel . . . burnt four or five houses, and took away about thirty live hogs . . . and he himself was taken with his ship."

To such small compass had the "insulting and domineering" expedition of Admiral Pardal been reduced in less than twelve months; and Morgan, who had been Browne's hero in October 1670, was now, in August 1671, a cheat, a tyrant, and a ruffian! Accusations, familiar to students of the Empire's history, were, perhaps for the first time, formulated against the Panama raid. The "trail of finance" was said to be upon it all.

"Spanish gold and silver is the only cause of the quarrel; and they can easily make a ground for the contest, for the first design is the getting of prisoners, whom they force, some by torments, to say that either at Carthagena, Porto Bello, or other maritime place, they are mustering men and fitting a fleet to invade Jamaica; and those who will not subscribe what they know not are cut in pieces, shot, or hanged; which they did to a poor Captain at Hispaniola, whom a month after quarter they hanged for not subscribing what they suggested; but what they extorted from other pitiful

Spaniards was the sole groundwork of our design. There have been very great complaints by the wronged seamen in Sir Thomas Modyford's time against Admiral Morgan, Collier, and other Commanders, but nothing could be done. But since Sir Thomas Lynch's arrival they are left to the law. The Commanders but seldom appear."<sup>1</sup>

It is only fair to Morgan, however, to say that I can find no trace of a specific accusation against him, beyond the vague general accusation of having cheated and starved his men. As to the ill-treatment of prisoners, Morgan's conduct should not be judged by the standard of a later age, but by the circumstances and the conventions of his own time and surroundings. He was the leader of a body of buccaneers, who could expect no mercy at the hands of the Spaniards if they were captured. His men were used to wild work, and a commander who was over-scrupulous in his methods would never either win their regard or succeed in his desperate undertaking. Sir Thomas Modyford was an English gentleman who had never been a buccaneer; yet he was not ashamed to give written instructions to Morgan to kill all men slaves, and sell all women prisoners to slavery. He even bade Morgan to treat his prisoners as the enemy treated Englishmen. Under these circumstances it is not to be wondered at that sometimes the buccaneers tortured their prisoners in order to extort information from them. Browne does not assert, as Esquemeling does, that prisoners were tortured for money, though that also may have occasionally been done. All that can be said is that Morgan was no worse than his contemporaries, and even Esquemeling records instances of his generous clemency to his captive foes.

The accusation of bad faith against his comrades I regard as more serious. The charge of cheating

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. S. P.*, August 21, 1671, No. 608.

depends on the amount of the booty. Morgan himself says it was thirty thousand pounds; Browne puts it at seventy thousand pounds. Esquemeling does not give the value, but says that the spoils of Panama were carried to Chagre by "one hundred and seventy-five beasts of carriage, laden with silver, gold, and other precious things, besides six hundred prisoners, more or less, between men, women, children, and slaves".<sup>1</sup> That there were loud complaints at Chagre about the division of the spoils may be taken for granted. Browne's account is corroborated by Esquemeling. The latter recounts how Morgan insisted on every one of the adventurers being searched "very strictly, both in their clothes and satchels, and everywhere it might be presumed they had reserved anything. Yea, to the intent this order might not be ill taken by his companions, he permitted himself to be searched, even to the very soles of his shoes." Esquemeling commends the wisdom of this course, "Captain Morgan having had experience that those lewd fellows would not stickle to swear falsely in points of interest." Even at Panama a large company of the buccaneers had planned to put off surreptitiously in a ship laden with the best of the spoils. It was only the vigilance of Morgan that had defeated the project. Having now had to disgorge their private loot, the adventurers no doubt formed extravagant expectations as to their share from the common stock. Esquemeling states that at Chagre

"the dividend was made of all the spoil they had purchased in that voyage. Thus every company, and every particular person therein included, received their portion of what was got; or, rather, what part thereof Captain Morgan was pleased to give them. For so it was, that the rest

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<sup>1</sup> *Esq.*, 234.

of his companions, even of his own nation, complained of his proceedings in this particular, and feared not to tell him openly to his face, that he had reserved the best of the jewels to himself. For they judged it impossible that no greater share should belong to them than two hundred pieces of eight *per capita* of so many valuable booties and robberies as they had obtained. Which small sum they thought too little reward for so much labour and such huge and manifest dangers as they had so often exposed their lives to. But Captain Morgan was deaf to all these and many other complaints of this kind, having designed in his mind to cheat them of as much as he could.<sup>1</sup>

It is, of course, impossible now to apportion the rights and wrongs of the matter. All that can be said is that, though the adventurers were disappointed and indignant, there is no evidence that Morgan dealt with them in bad faith. Before starting on the expedition Morgan had taken the precaution to get the officers to sign an agreement as to the rate of division of booty.

“Herein,” says Esquemeling, “it was stipulated that he (Morgan) should have the hundredth part of all that was gotten to himself alone. That every captain should draw the shares of eight men, for the expenses of his ship, besides his own. That the surgeon, besides his ordinary pay, should have two hundred pieces of eight, for his chest of medicaments. And every carpenter, above his common salary, should draw one hundred pieces of eight. As to recompences and rewards, they were regulated in this voyage much higher than was expressed in the first part of this book. Thus for the loss of both legs, they assigned one thousand five hundred pieces of eight or fifteen slaves, the choice being left to the election of the party; for the loss of both hands, one thousand eight hundred pieces of eight or eighteen slaves. For one leg, whether the right or the left, six hundred pieces of eight or six slaves; for a hand, as much as a leg; and for the loss of an eye, one hundred pieces of eight or one slave. Lastly, unto him that in any

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<sup>1</sup> *Esq.*, 237.

battle should signalise himself, either by entering the first any castle, or taking down the Spanish colours and setting up the English, they constituted fifty pieces of eight for a reward. In the head of these articles it was stipulated that all these extraordinary salaries, recompences, and rewards should be paid out of the first spoil or purchase they should take."<sup>1</sup>

These articles were well known, and the officers of the expedition signed them before starting on behalf of all. Esquemeling does not suggest that the "extraordinary salaries, recompences, and rewards" were not duly paid. It may be that the buccaneers did not realise how the matter would work out, but Morgan was undoubtedly within his rights in insisting on the observance of the terms of the agreement. If Browne's estimate of the value of the booty is correct, then the men were cheated. But Browne's estimate is the mere guess-work of a disappointed adventurer. The booty of the Porto Bello and the Maracaibo expeditions amounted to two hundred and fifty thousand pieces of eight. No doubt Panama was a much richer city, but Esquemeling describes how much of the wealth of the town escaped Morgan. In the first place, the burning of the city destroyed a good deal of the plunder. In the second place, the inhabitants had had timely warning of the expedition, and had hidden away a great portion of their valuables. Esquemeling tells also of a

"certain galleon, which miraculously escaped their (the buccaneers') industry, being very richly laden with all the King's plate, and great quantity of riches of gold, pearl, jewels and the most precious goods, of all the best and richest merchants of Panama."<sup>2</sup>

When all this is taken into account it may very well be that the sack of Panama was not as profitable as it had been anticipated. If the plunder was three times as

<sup>1</sup> *Esq.*, 189.

<sup>2</sup> *Esq.*, 226.

valuable as that of Porto Bello, it would amount to seven hundred and fifty thousand pieces of eight. If that estimate is correct, then according to the agreed rate of division, two hundred pieces of eight to each of the one thousand eight hundred private adventurers were probably the right proportion. It was natural that the buccaneers should complain, and should accuse Morgan of "cheating". At the same time, it is only fair to point out that Morgan seems to have acted within his strict rights, that there is not a particle of evidence that he acted unfairly or dishonestly, and that large though his own share may have been, in comparison, it was the sum which he stipulated for before starting on the expedition, and which he had well earned by six months' hard toil, sleepless vigilance, and unflinching courage.

The charge of starving his men comes to still less than the other. No doubt the expeditionary force suffered many privations on the return journey, but it should be remembered that the whole country had been devastated by the Spaniards, who burned the towns and villages and carried away all they could. Yet, according to Browne, at least one thousand eight hundred men participated in the division of the spoil at Chagre, so that only about two hundred men perished in the expedition. Morgan seems to have departed from Chagre, accompanied by only ten out of the thirty-five ships. But, on Esquemeling's own showing, the fact can hardly be placed to Morgan's discredit. The expedition upon which they had embarked had been brought to a close, the spoils were divided, the body of adventurers was dissolved. Morgan was assailed with fierce abuse and insults by the French and some of the English buccaneers. Under such circumstances he was entitled to part company with them, and proceed to Jamaica with those who were still loyal to him.

Esquemeling brings other charges against Morgan, which cannot be easily passed over. The buccaneers at Panama, he says

“spared, in these their cruelties, no sex nor condition whatsoever. For as to religious persons and priests, they granted them less quarter than to others, unless they could produce a considerable sum of money, capable of being a sufficient ransom. Women themselves were no better used, and Captain Morgan, their leader and commander, gave them no good example in this point.”<sup>1</sup>

He then goes on to relate the story of Morgan’s behaviour to a “beautiful and virtuous lady”. Even if the story be in all respects true—which the innumerable inaccuracies of the narrator in matters where his statements can be tested by independent evidence make one doubt—Morgan offered no violence to her, and the way in which he at last released her—on finding that she had been victimised by some of the buccaneers—is all to his credit. Esquemeling has deliberately set out to damage Morgan, and for that purpose he uses all the advocate’s art in order to heighten his charges. He brings no other specific accusation, though he would an he could, and therefore the testimony of Browne, prejudiced and envenomed as he was against Morgan, is entitled to great weight.

“The report from England is very high, and great deal worse than it was. What was done in fight and heat of blood in pursuit of a flying enemy, I presume is pardonable. As to their women, I know or ever heard of anything offered beyond their wills. Something I know was cruelly executed by Captain Collier, in killing a friar in the field after quarter given, but for the Admiral, he was noble enough to the vanquished enemy.”<sup>2</sup>

These words, it should be noted, were written in August 1671, when Sir Thomas Modyford was in disgrace, when

<sup>1</sup> *Esq.*, 229.

<sup>2</sup> *Cal. S. P.*, Aug. 21, 1671, No. 608.

Morgan was out of favour, and when Lynch and the "peace" party were triumphant. Anything that could be said to the discredit of the Panama expedition would have been doubly welcome at such a time. The fact that even Browne was constrained to bear witness to Morgan's magnanimity to "the vanquished enemy" is surely a circumstance which is entitled to outweigh the vague invectives of Esquemeling.

On August 22, 1671, Sir Thomas Lynch put his power into execution, and despatched Sir Thomas Modyford a prisoner to London on board a merchant vessel.<sup>1</sup> Morgan was not long to remain immune. By January 1672 Lynch had received orders to send the "hammer of the Spaniards" a prisoner to London to answer for his offences against the King, his crown, and dignity. Among the King's vessels in the Indies was the *Welcome*. "She is," said Sir Thomas Lynch, "an old vessel, and if taken in any distress of weather would be lost and all her men."<sup>2</sup> But she was good enough to send the conqueror of Panama on, a prisoner to London. She sailed from Port Royal on April 4, 1672, and arrived at Spithead on the following 4th of July.

<sup>1</sup> It is perhaps hardly worth while mentioning another inaccuracy of Esquemeling, but in order to demonstrate his habitual laxness, his account of Modyford's recall is worth giving. Morgan, he says, meant to start a Pirate State. "But he was soon hindered in the prosecution of this design by the arrival of a man-of-war from England. For this vessel brought orders from His Majesty of Great Britain to recall the Governor of Jamaica, there to give an account of his proceedings and behaviour with the Pirates whom he had maintained in those parts, to the huge detriment of the subjects of the King of Spain. To this purpose, the said man-of-war brought over also a new Governor of Jamaica, to supply the place of the preceding" (p. 257). But, as we have seen, Sir Thos. Lynch, the new Governor, had been in Jamaica since September 1670, and the orders to recall Modyford had come in January 1671.

<sup>2</sup> *Cal. S. P.*, July 2, 1671, No. 580.



"The two prisoners," wrote Captain Keene to Lord Clifford, "are still on board, but very much tired with their long confinement, especially Colonel Morgan, who is very sickly."

Morgan, like all men of strong and masterful character, had many foes and many friends. If Browne—whom Lynch, though no friend of Morgan, accused of perjury<sup>2</sup>—railed against him, there were many to intercede with the King on his behalf. On March 30, for instance, Major Banister writes from Jamaica to Lord Arlington that he knows not what approbation Admiral Morgan may find in England, but in Jamaica he received

"a very high and honourable applause for his noble service therein, both from Sir Thomas Modyford and the Council that commissioned him."

He adds that he hopes he may say, without offence, that

"he is a very well-deserving person, and one of great courage and conduct, who may, with His Majesty's pleasure, perform good public service at home, or be very advantageous to this island, if war should again break forth with the Spaniard."

Soon after his arrival his kinsman, W. Morgan of Tredegar, wrote to intercede on his behalf to Sir Joseph Williamson :

"as he has had a very good character of him, and in the management of the late business in Panama he behaved with as much prudence, fidelity, and resolution as could reasonably be expected, and at his return his services were approved of by the then Governor and Council, and thanks ordered him, and all good men would be troubled if a person of his loyalty and consideration as to his Majesty's affairs in those parts should fall for want of friends to assist him."<sup>3</sup>

Friends Henry Morgan was never likely to lack. His blunt and manly carriage, his genial good fellowship, and

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. S. P.*, July 4, 1672.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, March 30, 1672, No. 789.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, Aug. 1672.

his fame as a victorious adventurer, paved an easy way for him to exalted circles in London. He became a social "lion",<sup>1</sup> a favourite at Court,<sup>2</sup> and His Merry Majesty presented him with a snuff-box with the royal portrait set in diamonds.<sup>3</sup> By January 23, 1674, we find that His Majesty had appointed Lord Carlisle Governor of Jamaica, and Colonel Morgan his deputy. On March 23 John Locke, the philosopher, in his capacity as Clerk to the Council of Trade and Plantations, delivered draft instructions to Colonel Morgan, and in the following June Colonel Henry Morgan was also appointed Lieut.-General of the forces, as well horse as foot, in Jamaica.

News of Morgan's favour at Court reached Jamaica, to the great scandal and disgust of Sir Thomas Lynch. He wrote to Williamson that the Spaniards were greatly increasing their armaments in the West Indies.

"One of their reasons . . . is the noise of Admiral Morgan's favour at Court and return to the West Indies, which much alarmed the Spaniards, and caused the King to be at vast charge in fortifying in the South Sea."<sup>4</sup>

By this time Lord Carlisle had found it impossible to accept the Governorship, which was offered to and accepted by Lord Vaughan. The new Governor and Lieutenant-Governor on January 8, 1675, weighed anchor in the Downs, with the intention of sailing together to their command. But fate or design willed otherwise. Morgan

<sup>1</sup> Evelyn's *Diary*, Sept. 21, 1674: "At the Lord Berkeley's I discovered with Sir Thos. Modyford, late Governor of Jamaica, Col. Morgan, who undertook that gallant exploit from Nombre de Dios to Panama."

<sup>2</sup> *Cal. S. P.*, Nov. 20, 1674, No. 623.

<sup>3</sup> Long, in *Gentleman's Magazine*, February and March 1832, states that the portrait was at that date in the possession of a descendant of Lady Morgan's sister, Mrs. Byndlosse.

<sup>4</sup> *Cal. S. P.*, Nov. 20, 1674.

—now Sir Henry Morgan—says that his anchor was so fast in the ground that Lord Vaughan “was got about the Foreland” before he could get away, and he never saw him afterwards. Lord Vaughan, a suspicious and difficult man, whose prim preciseness of manner ill accorded with the boisterous nature of his lieutenant and still less with his own scandalous character, gives a different version.

“In the Downs I gave him orders, in writing, to keep me company, and in no case to be separated from me but by distress of weather; however he, God knows by what fate, coveting to be here before me, wilfully lost me.”<sup>1</sup>

Whatever may be the rights of the matter, it is certain that Sir Henry Morgan arrived in the West Indies before the Governor of Jamaica, and that on February 25, 1675, he ran ashore on the Isle of Vache (Vaca)—one of his old rendezvous—where “we had all perished, had I not known where I was”, says Morgan.<sup>2</sup>

In spite of this mishap, Morgan arrived early in March at Jamaica, and we may conjecture with what zest he ousted his old opponent, Sir Thomas Lynch, from the Lieutenant-Governorship on March 7. For a while he was in supreme command—a position which he greatly coveted and enjoyed. But in another week Lord Vaughan arrived, and Sir Henry was relegated to a secondary place. Dissensions soon broke out between the pragmatist Governor and his undisciplined Lieutenant. Lord Vaughan became very friendly with Sir Thomas Lynch,<sup>3</sup> and we need not doubt that Sir Thomas gladly added fuel to the fire of his lordship’s wrath against his popular subordinate. As early

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. S. P.*, May 18, 1675, No. 566.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, April 13, 1675, No. 521; *Hist. MSS. Com., Dartmouth Papers*, vol. i, p. 25.

<sup>3</sup> *Cal. S. P.*, No. 566.

as May 18, 1675, Lord Vaughan sent home a querulous letter against Sir Henry condemning his

“particular ill conduct and wilful breach of his positive and written orders (in the Downs) and his behaviour and weakness since at the meeting of the Assembly, which with other follies have so tired me that I am perfectly weary of him, and I frankly tell you that I think it for His Majesty's service he should be removed, and the charge of so useless an officer saved.”<sup>1</sup>

He ends up by asking to be allowed to nominate his successor in the office of Governor, in case of his own sickness or death.

On September 20 still more complaints reach Williamson from Lord Vaughan. He wants to know what His Majesty thinks of Sir Henry Morgan's “miscarriage”.

“I am every day more convinced of his imprudence and unfitness to have anything to do with the Civil Government, and of what hazards the Island may run by so dangerous a succession. Sir Henry has made himself and his authority so cheap at the Port, drinking and gaming at the taverns, that I intend to remove thither speedily myself for the reputation of the Island and the security of the place.”<sup>2</sup>

In December the prudent Williamson only writes to say that he regrets these misunderstandings, and ends by giving the significant hint, “it will be prudent to make them up the best that can be.”<sup>3</sup>

On February 26, 1676, Sir Henry writes one of his unfrequent letters to Williamson, regretting his inability to answer Williamson's queries, “for the little share I have in the Government makes me incapable of giving any perfect account of the state of the Island which his Excellency has not as yet been pleased to give me leave to see.”<sup>4</sup>

By the end of the month the division between the

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. S. P.*, May 18, 1675, No. 566.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, Sept. 20, 1675, No. 673.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, Dec. 6, 1675, No. 733.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, Feb. 2, 1676, No. 807.



Governor and his deputy was notorious, though the exact subject matter in dispute was unknown.<sup>1</sup> In May 1676 Lord Vaughan begins to formulate a more definite charge against Morgan. He complains

“of the great ingratitude and disingenuity of the same person in having written so many false and malicious stories of the Governor,”

and he accuses him further of conniving at privateering, and especially of his conduct in the matter of one privateer named Deane. He suspects that the old buccaneer, instead of carrying out Lord Vaughan's orders against the privateers, gave warning to his old friends.<sup>2</sup> On May 3 he writes to Lord Anglesea, the Lord Privy Seal,

“I detected him of most gross unfaithfulness in his trust, and a wilful breach and disobedience of my orders, only because they have obstructed his design of privateering. . . . Since the trial of Deane he has been so impudent and unfaithful at the taverns and in his own house . . . .”

He is roundly accused of returning to his old trade of privateering,

“and has, with his brother Byndlosse, encouraged the King's subjects to take French commissions, fitted them out to sea, and been concerned with them in their ships and prizes. I know his imprudence and weakness lead him a long way, but believe his necessities do more, which would prove of sad consequence to the Island if there should be any devolution of Government. . . . His brother Byndlosse agitates him in all he does, and I have therefore given him no authority or any civil or military commission. He is a turbulent fellow, some years since was surgeon of a ship, but can never be easy in any Government. It would be a good thing if the Governor had a private instruction to put him out of the Council.”<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. S. P.*, Feb. 20, 1676, No. 823.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, May 2, 1676, No. 912.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, May 3, 1676, No. 916.

Sir Henry Morgan was not the man to take such accusations "lying down". He was speedily justified in his conduct towards Deane. In July the Lords of Trade and Plantations condemned the trial of Deane, and ordered him to be released.<sup>1</sup> In the following November the Lords considered the charges made by Vaughan against Morgan and Byndlosse.

"If ever I err in one tittle," says bluff Sir Henry, "then let me ever be condemned for the greatest villain in the world."<sup>2</sup>

His unhappiness is that he serves a superior there that is jealous of all his actions, and put himself to study Sir Henry's ruin "for what reasons I know not". Sir Henry's secretary deposes to the innocence of his principal in the matter of communicating with the privateers.<sup>3</sup>

The investigation of the charges stretched over a lengthened period. Twelve months later, on October 28, 1677, the journal of the Lords of Trade and Plantations testified that their lordships "do not come to any resolution regarding Sir Henry Morgan and Byndlosse, until they have proceeded to a further examination of the whole matter".<sup>4</sup> In the meantime Sir Thomas Lynch was busily intriguing and making mischief. Seven of the Councillors had backed Sir Henry against Lord Vaughan. It would be hazardous, says Sir Thomas, to remove all seven "who have affronted and dissented from Lord Vaughan", but the new Governor—who, he hoped, would be himself—"might have a dormant order to remove the principal, and make him incapable of all other employments and sitting in the Assembly". He goes on to say, in words almost identical with those already used by Lord Vaughan,

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. S. P.*, July 20, 1676, Nos. 993, 1,093.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, Nov. 1676, No. 1,129 (4).

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, No. 1,129 (15).

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, Oct. 28, 1677, No. 461.

"The present Lieutenant-Governor is incapable of such a trust, he is governed by his brother-in-law, Colonel Byndlosse, "a very ill man", against whom there were many complaints before the Council. Last Session he struck Lord Vaughan's secretary, to justify which the Lieutenant-Governor and another brother-in-law challenged the Secretary."<sup>1</sup>

Sir Henry was too popular in the colony, and too high in royal favour at home, to be displaced by a jealous superior and a dispossessed rival. By the end of 1677 Lord Vaughan was recalled, and Lord Carlisle was once more appointed Governor. Almost immediately after his arrival in Jamaica, in July 1678, Lord Carlisle writes home in terms of high commendation of the "diligence" of the Lieutenant-Governor. Everything went smoothly for some years.<sup>2</sup> Sir Henry's energies were fully employed in the work of Government. To the end of his term of office Lord Carlisle remained on terms of cordial friendship with his subordinate. His admiration for him breaks out in every letter. He loyally defends him against his enemies,<sup>3</sup> and when he left for England in 1680, knowing Sir Henry's "generous humour", and fearing it would land him in beggary,<sup>4</sup> he allowed him six hundred pounds per annum out of his own salary, in addition to the six hundred pounds which Sir Henry drew as Lieutenant-Governor.<sup>5</sup>

But though he was on cordial terms with the Governor, Sir Henry was not free from troubles. In February 1680 he condemned, as Judge-Admiral, a certain Captain Francis Mingham, "a very ill man", for smuggling. Mingham appealed to the King in Council, and in April 1681 Morgan's conduct was held to be unwarranted.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. S.P.*, No. 465.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, No. 1,302.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, May 4, 1675, No. 537, at p. 217.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, July 31, 1678, No. 770.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, April 18, 1681, No. 85.

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.*, Apr. 15, 1681, No. 77.

In the following June Sir Henry again came under the censure of the King's Council. Mr. Secretary Leoline Jenkins was ordered to prepare a letter to Sir Henry, bidding him to execute the pirates he had pardoned.<sup>1</sup> In the following September a still worse blow befell him, when his commission as Lieutenant-Governor and Lieutenant-General of Jamaica was revoked.<sup>2</sup> By this time his old rival and enemy, Sir Thomas Lynch, was on his way out to take up the duties of Governor. From this time forward Sir Henry's star waned. In October 1682 he demanded in vain the sum of five hundred and thirty-three pounds six shillings and eightpence from the Council of Jamaica, which he averred was due as arrears of salary.<sup>3</sup> In September 1683 he was guilty of a still worse offence.

Captain Mingham, whom Sir Thomas Lynch is constrained to call "a virulent, base-natured fellow", was still at Port Royal. Some squabble broke out between Mingham's first mate, a man named Flood, and a naval officer, Captain Churchill of the *Falcon*. Flood was ducked in the bay by Captain Churchill for his insolence. By mishap he fell sick of fever, and incontinently died. The people at Port Royal—with whom the name of Churchill, the friend and protégé of the Popish Duke of York was not popular—were greatly exasperated, and an inquest was ordered to be held on the body. Sir Henry was bidden to attend the inquest by the Governor. A long investigation took place, and the jury retired for seven hours before agreeing on a verdict that the deceased had died from fever and natural death. The rest of the story is succinctly told by the Governor:—

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. S. P.*, June 16, 1681, No. 144.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, No. 192.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, Oct. 26, 1682, No. 758.



"As soon as the inquest was over, the foreman (one of the famous Forths, of London), and three others, came to me to complain that Sir Henry Morgan was in the house . . . that the evidence was transposed and not fairly taken, and that fifteen were impanelled and sworn, and three afterwards discharged."<sup>1</sup>

The populace was still further incensed at this development. The news was bruited abroad that Sir Henry Morgan, a member of the Council, had packed the jury and interfered with their verdict. A serious riot broke out at the Point, and a Mrs. Wellin deposed that she heard Sir Henry say one night, "God damn the Assembly".<sup>2</sup> The Council was called together, and ten of the members assured the Governor of their loyalty.<sup>3</sup> Colonel Byndlosse, however, was charged with disrespectful carriage towards the Council, in striking Thomas Marshall Martin and using provoking language, while discussing the late riot, towards Colonel Molesworth. He was tried by the Council, and without a dissentient voice he was suspended from his membership.<sup>4</sup>

Two days later Sir Henry was attacked. The question was put in the Council, "whether the passions and irregularities of Sir Henry Morgan did not disqualify him from continuing in his offices under the Government". His friends did their best to save him, but in vain. The Governor nourished an old grudge against him, and he was wroth with him for forming a party of his own in opposition to the Government. The Government calls it a "little, drunken, silly party" of five or six, which met at a special club

"where, especially when the members are drunk, the dissenters are cursed and damned. The whole country was

<sup>1</sup> *Cat. S. P.*, Sept. 12, 1683, No. 1,249.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, Oct. 3-9, 1683, No. 1,294.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, Oct. 9, 1683, No. 1,302.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, Oct. 9, 1683, No. 1,302.

provoked by their taking the name of the Loyal Club, and people began to take notice that it looked as if he hoped to be thought head of the Tories, consequently I must be of the Whigs."<sup>1</sup>

The club, continued the irate Governor, as it had neither sense, money, nor sobriety, began to die, and the actors themselves grew afraid and ashamed of their parts, when the unlucky incident of Flood and Churchill occurred. The Loyal Club immediately took Churchill's part against the partisans of Flood, and accused the people of being "Duke-killing rogues". Sir Henry Morgan, Byndlosse, and Charles Morgan were at the head of this factious opposition, and on October 12, 1683, all three were finally deprived of their offices.<sup>2</sup> In February of the following year, the King in Council approved of the action of Sir Thomas Lynch. Charles Morgan, Sir Henry's brother-in-law, went to London, armed with depositions from Jamaica, to fight the battle of the Loyal Club; but on June 27, 1684, the King's Council, after hearing counsel on both sides, confirmed their previous decision, and Sir Henry and his friends were dismissed.<sup>3</sup> In the following August Sir Thomas Lynch died, and the chances of the Morgans of restoration to favour and office brightened once more. On October 20, 1686, the Duke of Albemarle, the new Governor, included in his proposed list of the Council of Jamaica, the names of Sir Henry Morgan, his brother-in-law, Colonel Byndlosse, and his two devoted friends, Sir Francis Watson, and Colonel Ballard.<sup>4</sup> In November the Duke formally proposed the restoration of Sir Henry, and on December 19, 1686, he wrote to the Lords of Trade and Plantations:—

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. S. P.*, Nov. 3, 1683, No. 1,348.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, Febr. 29, 1684, No. 1,565.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, June 27, 1684, No. 1,777.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, Oct. 20, 1686, No. 920.

"I have written to tell you that the whole Council have asked me to recommend the re-admission of Sir Henry Morgan to the Council, which I earnestly do."<sup>1</sup>

For over a year more the home authorities remained obdurate, and it seemed as if the most famous man in Jamaica was permanently shut out from royal favour. In the summer of 1688 he was, however, restored to his seat in the Council, but it came too late. He was at the time ailing and known to be in a parlous state. In the following August he died, at the age of fifty-three, and was buried in St. Catherine's Church, Port Royal. His wife survived him for eight years, and when she died, in 1696, she was laid to rest at her husband's side in the island where she had dwelt for thirty-four years.

There are extant two engravings of Sir Henry Morgan, both of which seem to be genuine. They portray a broad, burly man, of an open countenance and a keen eye. It is the face of a man of action, of strong character, of masterful will and fierce energy. It is genial, though not weak: human, but full of decision. These portraits have often been reproduced. One of them was first published by F. H. van Hove, the other was prefixed to Esquemeling's *History of the Buccaneers* in 1684. Some have taken it for granted that Sir Hans Sloane (who was a member of the suite of the Duke of Albemarle) referred to the Buccaneer when he said, in his Introduction to his work on *The Productions of Jamaica* :

"Sir H. M., aged about 45, lean, sallow-coloured, his eyes a little yellowish, and belly a little jutting out or prominent, much given to drinking and sitting up late."

But the description can hardly apply to Sir H. Morgan. So unheroic a figure could scarcely be even the wreck of

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. S. P.*, Dec. 19, 1686, No. 1567.

the bold adventurer. Sir Henry was at least fifty when Sir Hans Sloane first went to Jamaica, and unless his portraits are spurious, the description can hardly apply to him.

“I have seen,” says the author of the *New History of Jamaica*, published a century after Sir Henry’s death, “a curious picture of Sir Henry at length, and there appears something so awful and majestick in his countenance that I’m persuaded none can look upon it without a kind of veneration.”<sup>1</sup>

This can scarcely be the same person as the grotesque little man, limned with such a subtly malicious pencil by Sir Hans Sloane. It is far more likely that the “Sir H. M.” of Sloane was Sir Hender Molesworth, who lived in Jamaica at the time, and died in 1689.

Henry Morgan the Buccaneer was no “plaster saint”. His weaknesses, his follies, his errors are writ large on his record. He was rash, impulsive, reckless of speech, and oftentimes unscrupulous in action. He was a good hater and a firm friend. To those who trusted him he was unswervingly loyal. He served Sir Thomas Modyford with singleness of mind, and in his fall he stuck to him manfully. His relations with Lord Carlisle were unclouded and did credit to both. In his will (dated Jan. 17, 1688, and proved Sept. 14, 1688) he remembered every favour done him, every service rendered to him. His memory has been badly served, because his enemies were powerful either at Court or with the pen. Esquemeling has done him a double service. He has raised him to the dizzy heights occupied by the villain of an Adelphi melodrama. He has invested him with the halo of romantic crime. Few know, or remember, or care to hear that Morgan’s greatest exploits—the capture of Porto Bello, of Maracaibo, and of Panama—were undertaken under commission from

<sup>1</sup> *New History of Jamaica*, p. 159.

the Crown. Few regard him as anything but a pirate, and he has even been confounded with the Marooners and Blackbeards of a later age. Lord Vaughan and Sir Thomas Lynch between them destroyed his credit at home; but even here time has brought its revenges. The historian of Jamaica says that

“the memory of Lord Vaughan is very odious here, and they date their decline from his Government. They charge him with unbounded avarice, that he sold his own domestics, and laid intolerable imposts on all kinds of goods.”<sup>1</sup>

But while the memory of Lord Vaughan, the fiscal reformer, was execrated in the colony which had once been under his rule, and the name of Lynch was forgotten, the fame of the Buccaneer was reckoned the chiefest glory and pride of the island. He is the one great man, the one figure of heroic proportions, in the history of Jamaica. The passions which he aroused in his lifetime have long been laid, and a fair estimate of the man and his work can be struck. When we consider his early training, or lack of training, his hard “apprenticeship” in the plantations of Barbadoes, his association with the desperate fortunes of the Buccaneers, and the absence for a long period of the refining influence of home, of civilisation, and of culture on his life, his later career becomes indeed amazing. The fact that he rose so conspicuously above his surroundings, and retained, after such a career, so many kindly and loveable qualities, shows that he was a man built on the grand scale. He was a born leader of men, a daring and resourceful captain, a capable and energetic administrator, who only erred when he had too little work to do, and he was withal a thoroughly human and engaging character.

<sup>1</sup> *New History of Jamaica*, p. 156.

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EDWARD HARRINGTON

*Unus virum, illam quae, tuam,  
q. Regis honorat, et, tuam, sit*

THOMAS EDWARDS O'R NANT, A'R  
INTERLIWDIAU.<sup>1</sup>

GAN

MR. ISAAC FOULKES (*LLYFRBRYF*).

YR ystyr gyffredin a roddir i'r gair *Interlude* yn y geiriaduron Seisnig, ydyw chwareuawd cydrhwng, neu i lanw bwlch; a dywedant mai o'r Lladin yr hana, sef, *inter* = *between*, a *ludus* = *a play*. Nid yw, meddir, yn air hên yn Saesneg; John Heywood, tua 1521 a'i defnyddiodd gyntaf yn rheolaidd, er y gwelir ef yn gynarach fel enw ar bob math o chwareuon, ac yn gynarach fyth ar y moeschwareuon, neu y *Morality Plays* fel eu gelwir.

Ond atolwg, beth oedd yr *Interlude* o ran ei natur? Etyb bron pob hanesydd y ddrama mai darlun cywir ydoedd, neu nifer o ddarluniau, o fywyd syml; cyfansoddiad garw, bás, ac anghoeth o ran ansawdd; a byr o ran maint. Dysgai foesoldeb mewn dull ac iaith digon anfoesol yn fynych. Ni phroffesai fod yn ddigrifol nac yn addysgiadol, ond yr oedd yn dipyn o'r ddau. Portreadai y natur ddynol yn ei gwendid a'i gwaeledd—yn noeth lymun megys; dywedai y gwir hyll, y caswir, am ddyn neu am gyndeithas o ddynion na feiddiasid ei ddweyd o bulpud nac oddiar lwyfan gyffredin. Rhaid ini gydnabod eu bod, y goreuon ohonynt, yn Gymraeg cystal ag yn Saesneg, yn llygredig mewn manau, ond fel y llunia'r crydd y gwadn

<sup>1</sup> Read before the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion at 20, Hanover Square, on Thursday, the 21st of January, 1904. Chairman, the Rev. G. Hartwell-Jones, M.A., Rector of Nutfield.



fel bo'r troed, felly lluniai yr Interliwdwyr eu gwaith at chwaeth eu gwrandawyr a'u darllenwyr.

Oferedd fyddai i ni geisio profi pa bryd y daeth y math yma o lenyddiaeth i arferiad yn mysg cenedl y Cymry. Fe geir, beth bynag, yn mysg gwaith Taliesin a Llywarch Hên, yn y *Myfyrian Archaiology*, rai deuaudau a fwriadwyd yn ol pob golwg i'w hactio, megys yr ymgom rhwng Arthur a Gwenhwyfar ei wraig, a'r "Ymdidan" rhwng Myrddin Wyllt a Thaliesin. Yr oedd hyn, mae'n debyg, ryw bryd yn y bumed neu'r chweched cant, pan nad oedd gan y Saeson lenyddiaeth o gwbl. Ganrifoedd wed'yn y dechreuwyd chwareu y "Chwareuon Crefyddol" yn Lloegr, ac yn ddiweddarach fyth yn Nghymru. Digwyddiadau a golygfeydd yn mywyd Gwaredwr y Byd, oedd y *Passion Plays* fel eu gelwir gan y Saeson.

Daethant i fri yn Lloegr, cyn belled ag y gellir casglu, yn y bymthegfed ganrif. Y mae'r cyfansoddiad Seisnig hynaf hyd y gwyddis yn awr, yn perthyn i gyfnod Harri VI. Parhausant yn eu bri hyd yn mhell ar ol y Diwygiad Protestanaidd. Nid y Diwygiad hwnw ychwaith a'u lladdodd. Yr oedd amryw o'r diwygwyr yn ffafwr y Ddrama a'r Interlude. Y mae'r gair i Luther ddweyd fod y chwareuon crefyddol hyn yn gwneud mwy o les na phregeth; a phriodolir un ddrama o leiaf i Hugo Grotius. Ond yr oedd yn wahanol yn Nghymru. Oherwydd y sylwadau breision a geid ynddynt yr oedd amryw o'r brodyr culion yn methu gweled y daioni arall oedd ynddynt; ac y mae y ddrama yn Nghymru wedi ei chilgwthio hyd yn hyn, er fod y wawr ar dori arni eto. Rai blynyddau yn ol bu cryn adrodd ar Ddadleuon John Roberts (*J. R.*) a beth oedd y dadleuon hyny ond math o ddrameuon crefyddol; a bu cwmni yn actio darnau o *Rhês Lewis*, gan dynu torfeydd lluosog ar eu holau. Diau hefyd y gellid dramaiddio llawer o'r *Mabinogion*.

Mae'r enw yn dangos mai planigyn tramor oedd y math yma o chwareuawd yn Nghymru; mai o Loegr y daeth i Gymru, ac mai o Rufain, mwy na thebyg, y daeth i Loegr. Yn Nghymru plentyn drwg y *Passion Play* ydoedd; a'r ffurf olaf ar y chwareuon crefyddol yno ydoedd *Mari Lwyd*, yr hon a chwareuid yn y Deheudir mor agos atom a chanol y ganrif ddiweddaf, ac a ddesgrifir ini gan y Parch William Roberts (*Nefydd*) yn ei lyfr dyddorol *Crefydd yr Oesoedd Tywyll*. Nid oes le i gasglu ddarfod i *Mari Lwyd* gael fawr iawn o afael yn Ngogledd Cymru, nac yn wir ar y Deheubarth ychwaith ond Gwent a Morganwg a rhanau o Sir Gaerfyrddin. Y Saesneg am *Mari Lwyd* ydyw *Holy Mary*; a thra crefyddol o ran ei ansawdd oedd y chwareu hwn ar y dechreu. Rhoddir disgrifiad manwl ohono, gan Hone yn ei lyfr rhyfedd, *Ancient Mysteries described*. Ond yr oedd wedi dirywio yn fawr cyn ei dranc; a phan drengodd, rhoddodd ei le i chwareuon yn perthyn yn agosach i'r bobl.

Yn y Gogledd, *Dawnsio Ha'* oedd eu prif chwareu. Yr oedd hwn hefyd o'r un teulu a'r chwareuon eraill: a ffynodd, yn benaf yn siroedd Dinbych a Fflint tua chyhyd ag y parhaodd *Mari Lwyd* yn y Deheudir, neu yn mhell ar ol rhoi yr Interliwd i gadw.

Prif gyfansoddwyr Interlidwiau ydoedd John Cadwaladr o'r Bala, Dr. Lodwick Williams, Elis y Cowper, Dafydd Jones o Drefriw, Huw Jones o Langwm, Jonathan Huws o Langollen, William Roberts clochydd Llannor, ac amryw eraill llai enwog. Nid oes lawer yn nghynrychion y cynfeirdd hyn, ond ambell ergyd go darawiadol, a blodeuyn yma ac aew sydd yn ymddangos i ni yn yr oes gonsetlyd hon megys yn tyfu ar domen. Y garwaf oedd Elis y Cowper, yr hwn a fflangellwyd mor ddirugaredd gan Oronwy Owen. Cyfansoddodd Gwallter Mechain yn nechreu ei yrfa awenyddol "anterliwt" neu ddwy:



y chydig iawn o'r enciniad oedd arnynt, ac yn ffodus gwelodd ef nas gellid interliwdir onohaw, a newidiodd ei grefft. Thomas Edwards o'r Nant oedd y cyntaf, a'r unig un mewn gwirionedd, a roddodd fri ar yr Interliwd. Y mae gwaith y lleill wedi myn'd i e bargofiant naill ai ar ol ei argraffu, neu cyn cyrhaedd hyd yn nod yr oedran hwnw ar fywyd llenyddiaeth; a'r manau y ceir hwy erbyn hyn, os clywir am rywun yn ymofyn am danynt, ydyw yn Llyfrgell Caerdydd, neu yn nghasgliad Mr. Davies, Cwrtmawr, neu yn Macpela fawr llenyddiaeth yr oesau, y *British Museum*. Ond y mae gwaith Bardd y Nant yn aros; yn ystod y deugain mlynedd diweddaf, cyhoeddwyd o leiaf chwech argraffiad ohono neu o ranau ohono. Yn mhellach nid oes yr un hen fardd Cymraeg, ac ond dau neu dri o feirdd newydd, y mae cymaint galwad am dano heddyw yn y farchnad lyfrau. Daeth y chwech argraffiad hyn allan o'r un wâsg; nis gallaf ddweyd i sicrwydd beth yw nifer yr argraffiadau a ddaeth o wasgoedd eraill.

Yn ystod y ddeunawfed ganrif, ni fyddai Dy'gwyl na Gwylmabsant yn gyflawn heb antarliwt, mwy nag y byddai ffair yn ffair yn y bedwaredd-ganrif-ar-bymtheg heb *show* pryfed gwylltion. Yr oedd rhif y chwareuwyr yn dybynu ar drefniad y chwareu; weithiau byddai gynifer a deuddeg yn cymeryd rhan, a phryd arall dim ond tri neu bedwar, gan wrth gwrs gynwys ffidler a thelyniwr. Byddai eu gwisg yn gweddu i'r caritor a gynrychiolent. Gwelais yn rhywle na fyddent yn arweddu ffug-wisgoedd o gwbl. Camgymeriad ydyw hyny. Un o anhawsdarau eu dull o gyflwyno y chwareu yn gymhwys ydoedd darpar yr hyn a adwaenir fel *green-room*. Bu côt o frethyn glâs, botymau melynion, ac iddi goler fawr a chynffon hir, yn ein teulu ni am flynyddau, a'r traddodiad yn ei chylch ydoedd mai hen gôt Twm ydoedd, a wisgai pan yn chwareu rhan y Doctor yn *Pedair Colofn*

*Gwladwriaeth.* Ei diwedd fu i lygoden wneyd ei nyth yn un o'r pocedi; creodd hyny ragfarn yn ei herbyn, ac er mwyn heddwch, cymerodd fy nhad hi i wneyd bwgan-brain; daeth rhyw dramp heibio ac ai dygodd, gan adael ei gôt ei hun yn ei lle, ac ni welwyd y lleidr na'r lladrad byth wed'yn.

Mewn papyr dyddorol a ddarllenodd Mr. (yn awr Syr) Marchant Williams yn Nghymdeithas Genedlaethol Gymreig Lerpwl, flwyddyn neu ddwy yn ol, dyfyna o waith tramp llenyddol, o'r enw Joseph Cradock, yr hwn a gyhoeddwyd yn 1776, ac a gynwys ddesgrifad o'r chwareu antarliwt a welodd ef yn Ninas Mawddwy. Dyma ddywed:—

“The stage consisted of some boards fixed at the end of a barn; beneath it was the green-room, for it was a small inclosure made up of furze. The play that was acted was King Lear, but so mutilated and murdered, that I was told it had scarce any other resemblance to the play written by Shakespeare, than the name. It was not unentertaining to see three brawny ploughmen act the characters of Lear's daughters. . . . The two principal characters, which they never fail to introduce into every play, are those of the Fool and the Miser.”

Ac mewn cyfrol arall o waith yr un awdwr a gyhoeddwyd yn ddiweddarach, dywedir:—

“The theatre at Dinas Mawddwy is held in great repute. I had the pleasure to be present at one play which is here called Anterlute. . . . The piece was said to have been written by a celebrated Mr. Evan something, who lived at Bala, but from the actions, gestures and emblems, I conceived it to have been modelled from before Shakespeare's time.”

Barna Mr. Williams wrth y byddent yn arfer galw Twm o'r Nant yn ei ieuencyd yn Tomos Evans, mai ei waith ef welodd Cradock yn cael ei chwareu yn Mawddwy. Yr oedd Twm ar y pryd yn 34 mlwydd oed, ac yr oedd wedi gwneyd antarliwt dros ugain mlynedd cyn hyny.

Nid yn hollol yr un modd ag yn Mawddwy, a chymeryd hefyd fod desgrifiad Cradock o'r hyn a welodd yn gywir, y chwareuid yr antarliwd yn Nyffryn Clwyd. Clywais hên ffarmwr parchus o Lanbedr y Dyffryn yn dweyd iddo pan yn ieuanc weled Twm o'r Nant a chwmmie yn chwareu anterliwt ar brydnawn Sul yn muarth y Plas Isa'. Yr oedd yno fagad mawr o bobl wedi hel yn nghyd o'r cwmpasoedd; a wagen wedi ei gosod o flaen drws yr ysgubor, a byrddau drosti, yr hyn atebai bwrpas chwareufwrdd neu lwyfan. Defnyddid yr ysgubor a'r cowlas fel *green-room* gan y chwareuwyr; yno yr ymwisgent, oddiyno y deuent allan i gyfarfod crechwen y dorf o edrychwyr, ac yno y dychwelent drachefn ar ôl gorphen eu llith, i newid gwisg er cyfateb i'r cymeriad nesaf; canys byddai pob un, ebe'r hen wr, yn cymeryd mwy nag un caritor yn y chwareu. "Dull annuwiol iawn o dreulio'r Sabboth," medd rhywun! Ie'n ddiau, ond yr oedd yn welliant ar ymladd ceiliogod, baetio teirw, ac ymladdfeydd creulawn rhwng plwy a phlwy, a dyn a dyn.

Pan fyddai Bardd y Nant wedi syrthio i dlodi, trwy yr amrywiol anffodion a nodâ yn ei Hunan-Gofiant, troi at yr Antarliwt y byddai, yna myn'd hyd y wlad i'w chwareu, a bwriai yn fuan ei henflew. Cyfeiria at un o'r cwmpidiadau yn yr hanes a ddyry ohono ei hun yn y *Greal*:—

"Ond ni waeth tawi, adref y daethum i o'r Deheubarth heb na cheffyl na gwagen; ac nid oedd genyf ddim i droi ato oddieithr gwneud Interlute; a hyny a wnaethum. Yn gyntaf, mi aethum i Aberhonddu, ac a brintiais Interlute, *Y Pedwar Pennaeth; sef Brenin, Ustus, Esgob a Hwsmon*, a dyfod at fy hen bartner (gyda'r gwaith o gario coed, wrth yr hwn mae'n debyg y dywedodd tan amgylchiadau neillduol yn hanes y ddau, 'os partners, partners') i chwareu hono a gwerthu fy llyfrau. . . . Ac yn ganlynol mi a wnaethum Interlute *Pleser a Gofid*, ac a chwaraesom hono; a thrachefn Interlute y'ngghylch *Tri Chryfion Byd; Tylodi, Cariad, ac Angeu*."

Ac fel hyn yr oedd yn gallu cadw ei hun, cynull arian a rhoi addysg fel *milliner* i'w ferch ganol yn Nghaer. Ond, a barnu oddiwrth sylw neu ddau o'i eiddo, gellid meddwl nad oedd yn credu fod cyfansoddi na chwareu antarlwiwd yn tueddbenu at ei wneud yn well mewn ystyr ysprydol.

A *phwy oedd yr Arch-Intertidwr Cymreig?* Gan ei fod yn "nyffryndir hen ffrindiau" ers yu agos i gân mlynedd, y mae hwn yn ofyniad digon naturiol. Y mae'n rhywbeth i'w goffadwriaeth fod ei oloeswyr yn teimlo digon o ddyddordeb yn ei waith gân mlynedd ar ol ei farw, fel ag i ymholi yn ei gyleh, tra enwau cynifer o'i gydoeswyr wedi diflanu "fel nifwl nos i fòl nant".

Ganwyd Thomas Edwards yn 1739, mewn ffermdy o'r enw Penparchell-Isaf plwyf Llanefydd, sir Ddinbych. Yr oedd ei fam yn hanu o Brysiaid Plas Iolyn, a'i dad o linach Iolo Goch, arglwydd Llechryd, a bardd Owen Glyndwr. Thomas oedd yr hynaf o ddeg o blant, a thyfodd rhai o'r deg, heblaw efe, i'w llawn oedran. Yr oedd iddo un brawd o'r enw Edward yn byw yn Llundain, ac yn llanw swydd lled bwysig tan y Llywodraeth; a theimlai Tomos ei hun yn ddigon moesol i'w gynghori a'i rybuddio o'i beryglon newn geiriau fel hyn:—

Oni newidi di, Nedi,  
Eiddo'r d...l a fyddi di.

Symudodd y rhieni yn fuan o Benparchell i ffermdy bychan o'r enw Coed Siencyn, ac yna i'r Nant, yn mhlwyf Nantglyn, ond ar derfynau plwyf Henllan. Tua phum milldir o Ddinbych, ar y ffordd yr elych i Bentre Foelas, deuwch at hafn, neu nant fel y dywedir ffordd hono, ac ar lechwedd y nant gyferbyn a'r ffordd, y mae tri ffermdy, dau ohonynt yn dwyn yr enw Nant, ac yn y canol o'r tri ty hyny, sef y Nant Isaf, y treuliodd Tomos ei fywyd tra yn ymddadblygu o'r bachgenyn i'r lleneyn.

Nid yr un ty sydd yn y Nant Isaf heddyw ag oedd yno

E



gant-a-thri-ugain o flynyddoedd yn ol. Tai darfodedig sydd yn y parthau hyny; y mae'n amheus a oes ty anedd yn holl blwyfi Nantglyn a Llausannan oedd ar eu traed ddau can mlynedd yn ol; ac y mae'r anedd lle preswyliai y bardd yn Nant Isaf a'i tho gwellt, a'i llysiâu pen tai, a'i chyrn simddeuau o goed, wedi ei hysgubo ymaith ers llawer dydd, a'i lle wedi ei gymeryd gan ffermdy gwyngalchog, golygus, yn torheulo ar yr allt laswerdd. Pan oedd y cyw interliwdiwr yn clegar ar hyd y llechwedd acw, odid fawr nad oedd yno wedd o ychain, neu hwyrach darw cryf, yn tynu'r aradr gerllaw, gan grafu tipyn ar wyneb y ddaear hesp a difaeth. Efallai hefyd y gwelech gâr llusg, hen ysgrubliad afrosgo, diolwyn, yn cerdded ar ei sodlau, ond yn ddiogelach o gryn dipyn na' i olynnyddion y drol neu'r wagen. Bychain a duon oedd y gwartheg, a hirflew a garw y ceffylau. A phe genym amser i fyn'd i'r ty, gwelem bobpeth yno lawn mor hên-ffasiwn ag oedd yr allanolion.

Yr oedd yr ysgol agosaf at y Nant yn Nantglyn, yn dair milldir o bellder, a'r ffordd ati yn arw a blin, ac ychydig bach o addysg gafodd y bardd. Yn wir casbeth rhieni fel rheol ydoedd rhoi dysg i'w plant; credent fod dysg yn eu hanghymwyso at enill eu bywioliaeth, yn eu dysgu i fod yn ddiog, ac yn ol tystiolaeth y bardd ei hun, y mae lle i gasglu nad oedd ei rieni yntau yn eithriad; canys dywed yn un o'i gywyddau:—

Byddai mam yn drwyngam dro,  
 Ran canwyll 'roedd rhinc hono;  
 Fy nghuro'n fwy anghariad,  
 A baeddu'n hyll, byddai'n nhad.

Felly chwech wythnos o ysgol Nantglyn a gafodd y bachgen talentog, a hyny ar ddwywaith; a pythefnos wed'yn yn Ninbych yn dysgu Saesneg.

Ond nid yw athrylith yn disgwyl wrth addysg, nac yn llwyr ddibynu arni. Médd Thomas Edwards yn ei Hunan-

Gofiant; "mi a gyfansoddais lawer o gerddi, a dau lyfr Interlude cyn fy mod yn naw oed." Fath rai oeddynt, nis gwyddis, ac ni chawn ganddo gymaint a'u teitlau. Yn fuan wed'yn, gwnaeth chwareuad arall, math o aralleiriad o *Briodas Ysprydol* John Bunyan: a chyn bod yn ddeuddeg oed, yr oedd wedi gorphen Interlude arall, a chlywodd ei dad a'i fam am dani, a mynent iddo ei llosgi, ond yn hytrach na hyny y bachgen a'i rhoes i'r prydydd Huw Jones o Langwm. Drachefn cyfansoddodd ddwy Interlude; un ar *Wahanglwyf Naaman*, a'r llall ar *Hypocrisia*, at wasanaeth llanciau o blwyfi cyfagos; a thestynau dwy eraill o'i chwareuawdiau bore oedd *Jane Shore* a *Cain ac Abel*, ar gyfer pedwar o chwareuwyr. Ymunodd yr awdwr i wneud un o'r pedwarawd. Yna daw yr ymadrodd a ganlyn, yr hwn a ddyfynwn am y teifl oleuni ar un agwedd ddyddorol yn nghymeriad y bardd:—

"Ar ol hyny daeth euogrwydd cydwybod, ac hefyd am fy mod yn caru merch ag oedd yn tueddu at grefydd. Wrth i mi ddyfod o le a elwir y Roe Wen, gerllaw Talycafn, mi a deflais y cap cybydd tros ochr yr ysgraff i afon Gonwy. Ac yn bedwar-ar-hugain oed, mi a briodais fy ngwraig ar y 19eg o Chwefror, yn y flwyddyn 1763. A merch ini a anwyd yn yr un flwyddyn, Rhagfyr 26ain."

Fe welir oddiwrth hyn mai dyn moesol dros ben oedd Bardd y Nant, a'i fod yn awyddus i bawb wybod hyny!

Y mae saith o Interliwdiau Bardd y Nant ar gael; efallai ragor, ond dyna'r nifer yn y Casgliad diweddaf o'i waith, sef,

(1.) *Tri Chryfion Byd, sef, Cariad, Tylodi ac Angeu.* Ei phrif gymeriadau ydynt, *Y Traethydd, Tom Tell Truth, y Widdanes Tlodi, Rhinallt Arianog* y Cybydd, *Lowri Lew* ei fam, *Ifan Offeiriad* ei frawd, *Cariad ac Angeu.* Hen greadures erchyll o fydol oedd Lowri, a gadawyd hi yn weddw gyda dau fachgen, sef Rhinallt gybyddlyd o'r un ddelw a'i fam, ac Ifan yr hwn a ddygwyd i fynu yn



offeiriad, ac a briododd Saesnes. Hi aeth yn ffrae enbyd rhwng Rhinallt a Lowri am ei bod hi yn rhoi gormod o ffafrau i'w frawd, a symudodd yr hen wraig oddiwrtho i fyw at ei mab parchedig, lle y bu hi farw, gan wneud yn ei hewyllys ei holl eiddo i Ifan. Dygir y newydd am ei marwolaeth i Rinallt gan Tom Tell Truth pryd y cymer ymgom le rhyngddynt yn yr hon y darlunir Lowri Lew yn finiog fel y canlyn :—

Gwrandewch ar alarnad, neu farnad a fernir,  
Oer larwm am Lowri, mewn cyni ddatcenir,  
Hen wreigan rywiogaidd wych agwedd i'w chegin,  
Fu'n cadw ei mab Rinallt cyn laued a brenin,

Gwraig daclus, foddus, fuddiol,  
A drwsiai glosau'n glysol,  
Gwnae sanau yn gysonol, a nyddai lin olynol,  
A chribai'n bleidiol wlan a blew,  
O newydd iddi Lowri lew.

Hi weithiai'r nos wyth awr neu naw,  
Hi godai'r boreu i mgydio a'r baw ;  
Ni fu â llaw a'r gosyn mwy hollawl am ei henllyn,  
Hi driniau laeth ag undyn.

A holldai 'n fanwl fenyd  
A gadwai flwyddyn gyda'i flew ;  
O newydd iddi, Lowri Lew,  
Maen chwith i'r 'nifeilied ; mewn dwned am dani,  
Ieir, hwyaid, gwyddau a moch sydd yn gwaeddi ;  
Ar lloiau bach anwyl sy'u drwm eu hochened  
A phrin iawn y pora pob buwch nesa'r pared.  
Ac mae'r ceffylau mewn coffad,  
A'r ychain oll yn chwerw eu nâd,  
A'u brefiad yn abl brifo'r calonau clau a'u clywo,  
Trem galar trwm ac wylo, wua i gŵn a chathod chwitho,  
Wrth aruthr deimlo'r anrhaith dew,

A gaed yleni am Lowri Lew.  
Hi aeth i'r nefoedd am wn i,  
Ac onide, gwaie i'w henaid hi,  
'N iach iddi wedi'n wydyn,  
Fyth unwaith gael llaeth enwyn,  
Na dwr i oeri ei duryd, os aeth i gôl y gelyn,  
A'i chorff yn rhodyn fel y rhew ;  
Ffarwel am dani Lowri Lew !

(2.) "*Cynadledd Ymresymeg rhwng Pleser a Gofid.*" Y prif gymeriadau yn yr Interlude hon ydynt, *Mr. Pleser, Mr. Gofid, Traethydd, Rowndol Roundun y Cybydd, Sian Ddefosionol ei wraig, Madam Rhagluniaeth, Mr. Rheswm Natur, Madam Bodlondeb, Anti Sal o'r Sowth*, y ddewines. Yn y chwareuawd y mae ymgom ddigrifol dros ben cydrhwng Rondol y Cybydd a'i briod sych-dduwiol Sian Ddefosionol ond mae'n rhy faith i'w doddi i mewn yn y fan hon.

(3.) "*Cybydd-dod ac Oferedd*", ydyw yr antarliwt nesaf yn nghasgliad 1889 (Lerpwl). Ni chrybwyllir ei henw ymysg chwareuon ei ieuentyd, a chredwn mai gwaith blynyddoedd diweddaf y bardd ydoedd, gan y cyfeirir ynddi at ddigwyddiadau a gymerodd le pan oedd efe ei hun mewn oedran. Y mae hefyd yn fwy mesuredig a dôf na'i chwirydd. Nid oes sicrwydd iddi ymddangos trwy y wâsg cyn 1870, pan y cafwyd hi mewn llawysgrif yn Lerpwl, ac yr argraffwyd hi yn ystod y flwyddyn hono. Y mae hanes y modd y caed hyd i'r *manuscript*, a'r modd y collwyd ef wed'yn, yn mysg helwriaethau mwyaf dyddorol llenyddiaeth. Ychydig ydyw nifer y cymeriadau sydd yn yr anterliwt hon; *Tafarnwr, Cybydd-dod, Oferedd, Alis'ch Elwa* gwraig y Cybydd, *Nimble Dick* mab y Cybydd, *Arglwyddes Chwantau Natur*, a *Cariad*. Nodweddiion athrylith wedi blino sydd i'w ganfod yn amlwg yn Interlude, "*Cybydd-dod ac Oferedd*".

(4.) "*Y Farddoneg Fabilonaidd: neu Weledigaeth Cwrs y Byd.*" Y mae hon wedi ei sylfaenu i raddau mwy neu lai ar y *Bardd Cwsg*. Ei chymeriadau ydynt y *Traethydd, Syr Caswir, Bardd, Balchder, Pleser, Elw, Sion Llygad-y-geiniog, Gwallco* mab y Cybydd, *Zidi Drwsiadus* gwraig Gwallco, *Gwas y Person, Rhagrith, Offeiriad Pabaidd, Gwas y Bragwr*, a *Beili*. Ystyrir yr antarliwt hon y fwyaf aflednais o'r cyfan, ond y mae ynddi hefyd ranau godidog, lawn cystal a dim a gyfansoddodd yr

awdwr. Deuawd led ddyddan ydyw hono rhwng Gwas y Person a Sion Llygad-y-geiniog, ynghylch talu degwm, a dyledsdydd yr offeiriad sydd yn ei dderbyn.

(5.) "*Bannau y Byd, neu Greglais o Grogloffft, goruwch magwrydd y Ddinas Ddihenydd; sef ychydig sylwadau ar Gwrs y Byd a'r llygredigaeth sydd ynddo.*" Gwelir mai yr un testyn sydd i hon ag i'r *Farddoneg Fabilonaidd*. Nid hawdd credu iddi erioed gael ei hactio; y mae yn rhy undonog ac ar fesur hwydrwm a musgrell. Dyma ychydig linellau er dangos y mesur, a natur y cyfansoddiad:

Mi es ymlaen at rhyw dy, lle'r oedd gwr, gwraig a theulu,  
A pharsel o hogiau ar y llawr yn chwareu,  
A phlant rhyw gymydog oedd a rheiny yn rhanog,  
A rhwng y rhai hyny hi aeth yn gwerylu;  
A'r gwr yn y gornel yn swero'r ymrafel  
Ac yn tyngu yn filen, Diawl! dyna i chwi fachgen,  
Mae hwn y'mhob triniad yn debyg i'w dad!

Anhawdd credu, meddwn, y gallasai bagad o bobl wrando am awr neu ddwy ar ddau yn cynadleddu fel hyn. Deuawd, neu yngom rhwng dau, dan yr enw Bardd a Gwirionedd ydyw'r deryn ar ei hyd.

(6.) "*Y Ddau Ben Ymdrechgar, sef Cyfoeth a Thyloidi,*" a dyma'r cymeriadau, *Iement Wamal y Ffwl, Hywel Dordyn y Cybydd, ac Esther Wastad ei wraig, Capteniaid Cyfoeth a Thyloidi, Diogyn Trwestan, Lowri Dlawd, a Mr. Angau*. Cynwysa'r chwareu hwn ranau cystal a dim a gyfansoddodd Bardd y Nant. Cymeriad wedi ei bortreadu yn gelfydd ydyw Hywel Dordyn. Dyn bydol, caled, didostur ydyw Hywel, ac y mae Esther os yr un, yn waeth nag yntau tan ei thrwch tew o ragrith a ffalsedd. Gwrandewch ar Hywel yn son am y farchnad pan oedd *protection* mewn bri, a'r ffarmwr yn cael y pris a ofynai am yr *yd*:

'Roedd yn hyfryd gan fy nghalon,  
Pan oedd yr yde yn ddrudion,  
Eu gwel'd yn ynwthio ac yn rheibio i'r rhes,  
'Roedd hyny ar fy lles i'n burion.

Pe dalïase hi beth yn rhagor,  
 Mi wnaethwn i fusnes propor :  
 Cael pumtheg swllt am hobed o haidd,  
 Cyn imi braidd mo'i agor.

Cael ynte 'Nhreffynon yn hoff heini,  
 Am yr hobed gwenith, bunt neu gini :  
 A pheder-ar-ddeg y phioled am frithyd mân,  
 Ond hi ymgrogodd yn lân eleni.

Ni ches i yn Ninbych am frithyd odieth,  
 Ond peder a dime gan ryw gydymeth :  
 A bod gyda hyny ar fy ngore glas  
 Yn ei stwffio fo i'r siabas diffeth.

\* \* \*

Mi gadwaf flawd ac yde  
 Hyd loffydydd ac mewn cistie,  
 Tan obeithio 'n ddigon siwr,  
 Gael myn'd. ag e i'r Dwr yn dyre.

\* \* \*

Mae genyf fi wenith gartre',  
 Pe cawn i bris am plesie ;  
 Mi werthwn drichant, ni fyddwn dro,  
 Neu bedwar o hobeidie.

Mae genyf ynte haidd ddigonedd,  
 Mi werthwn i'w fragu beth difregedd ;  
 Ond hi aeth eleni, gwae fi o'm byd,  
 Yn llawnach o yd na'r llynedd.

\* \* \*

(7). "*Pedair Colofn Gwladwriaeth, sef Brenin i Ryfela, Ustus i Gyfreithio, Esgob i Efengylu, Hwsmon i Drefnu lluniaeth.*" Hwn yn ddiau ydyw'r cyfanwaith goreu fel Interlude yn y Gymraeg. Ei chymeriadau ydynt *Rhês y Geiriau Duon, Brenin, Arthur Drafferthus y Cybydd, Gwenhwyfar Ddiog, Doctor, Madam Duwioldeb, Crefydd ac Angau.*

Fe welir mai cybyddion sydd yn cael y sylw penaf gan y "*Cambrian Shakespeare*", chwedl y coegion yspeitlyd ; sef *Rhinallt Arianog, Rondol Rowndun, y Cybydd yn "Cybyddod ac Ofereidd", Sion Llygad-y-geiniog, ac Arthur Drafferthus.*

Pe buasai Thomas Edwards wedi efrydu ei gymeriadau eraill mor drylwyr, a'u portreadu mor gywir ag y darfu y ganghen hon o ddynoliaeth syrthiedig, galledid ei ddyrchafu i blith dosbarth uwch o feirdd. Ond gyda hwy y dechreuodd, a chyda hwy yr arosodd; ac ychydig iawn ydyw'r gwahaniaeth hefyd sydd ganddo rhwng y naill gybydd a'r llall. Efallai nad allasai Bardd Avon ei hun, ddarlunio cybydd yn well nag y gwnai Bardd y Nant; ond yr oedd ei gymeriadau ef yn aneirif bron. Yr oedd Twm yn fardd natur, ac yn canu ar gyfer ei oes a'i genhedlaeth. Pe canasai yn goeth fel y darfu Shakespeare, ni ddeallasid ef gan ei gydwladyr. Cydoesai beirdd Cymreig penigamp ag ef y rhai a ganent yn orchestol, eithr beirdd i feirdd ac i uchelwyr llenyddol oeddynt hwy; ond efengylu i'r werin yr oedd Bardd y Nant, yn siarad yn eu hiaith, a thrwy eu cymhariaethau syml eu hunain.

Gadawsom dreigliad ei fywyd pan yr oedd newydd briodi. Cymerodd y ddefod dda hono le yn Llanfair Talhaiarn, a'r bardd enwog Ieuan Brydydd Hir yn ei gweinyddu, ynghyda Sion Powell, Rhydeirin, Dafydd Sion Pirs, a beirdd eraill y Llan yn bresenol, ac yn helpu i gadw'r neithior. Arferai Talhaiarn ofidio llawer na fuasai fyw y pryd hwnw, i fwynhau yspeddach y beirdd doniol. Bu y ddau—Thomas Edwards a'i wraig—fyw yn bur gytun, a chawsant oes faith. Bu iddynt dair o ferched; yr hynaf a briododd Dr. Arthur Jones o Fangor, ac a fu farw yn ieuanc, yr ail oedd y fwyaf talentog a ffefryn ei thad.

Cadw gweddoedd i gario coed y bu y bardd y rhan fwyaf o'i oes, a chyflawnodd wrhydri gyda'r gwaith; a phan ddaeth y grefft hono yn anfuddiol trôdd i feddyginiaethu simddeiau myglyd, a rhoi ysprydion i lawr. Yr oedd hefyd yn arfer tori ar geryg beddau. Ceir enghraifft yn y ffordd olaf, yn y gareg sydd ar ei fedd yn mynwent Eglwys Wen ger Dinbych. Yr oedd wedi dechreu tori ar feddfaen

rhywun arall, a myn'd cyn belled a'r geiriau "Llyma y claddwyd" pan y cymerwyd ef yn wael o'r clefyd y bu farw ohono, a'r gareg hono sydd yn awr ar ei fedd yntau. Cafodd lawer o helbulon, rhai ohonynt a dynodd arno ei hun, eraill a ddarparwyd iddo fel y barnai ef ei hunan, pan y dywedai fod gan Ragluniaeth "dwrnel yno i bobi iddo fara lefeinllyd". Gwir iawn ydyw un englyn yn ei feddagraff, a chyda hwnw y terfynwn. Dyma fe :—

Geirda roi i gywirlebl—yn benaf  
Ni dderbyniai wyneb,  
A rho'i sen i drawsineb,  
A'i ganiad yn anad neb.

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ISAAC FOULKES (*Llyfrbryf*) : IN MEMORIAM.

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Isaac Foulkes, the writer of the foregoing paper, better known to his compatriots under his Eisteddfodic title, *Y Llyfrbryf* (the Bookworm), died before seeing his contribution through the press. The Cymmrodorion Society is indebted to him for several papers of special interest, notably for his "appreciation" of *Ceiriog*, the greatest of modern Welsh lyric poets; his criticism and his defence of *Talhaiarn*; his collection of folk stories from the Vale of Clwyd; and his reminiscences of old Welsh printers, publishers and booksellers. Mr. Foulkes was himself a printer, and a seller, as well as a maker, of books. Wales is indebted to him for a long series of useful and valuable publications, including cheap editions of the Welsh poets from the days of *Dafydd ab Gwilym* to those of *Elfed*, and reprints of many scarce books, including the *Mabinogion*, the *Iolo Manuscripts*, and the *Royal Tribes of Wales*. To his own pen we are indebted for *Cymru Fu*, an excellent collection

of the traditional tales of the Principality; *Rheinallt ab Gruffydd*, a Welsh romance of considerable merit; the Biographies of *Ceiriog* the poet, and Daniel Owen the novelist, and other popular works. His *Welsh Biographical Dictionary*, published some thirty years ago, is the best yet obtainable. At the time of his death he was engaged upon a new edition of *Dafydd ab Gwilym*, from the Morrisian copy in the British Museum, and he was preparing a Biography of the two noted brothers, the Rev. Henry Rees and the Rev. William Rees (*Gwilym Hiraethog*). In 1891 he started *Y Cymro*, as a Welsh literary newspaper, and until his death enriched its pages with some of his best work. As a publisher, he brought out *The Cefn Coch MSS.*, containing many of the *Cywyddau* of Tomos Rhys, of Plas Iolyn, Rhys Cain, William Llyn, Sion Tudur, Dafydd Nanmor, and other bards, under the editorship of the Rev. John Fisher, B.D., the *Registers of the Parish of Llansannan*, edited by the Rev. Robert Ellis, LL.D. (*R. ap Cynddelw*), and published at the expense of Mr. John Morris, of Liverpool, as well as other works of literary and antiquarian interest. Mr. Foulkes was born in the Parish of Llan Fwrog, on the 9th November 1836; he spent fifty years of his life in Liverpool, and he died on the 2nd of November 1904, at Cilgwyn in his native Vale. To him, upon his death, Principal Rhys applied in appreciation the lines of Dafyd ab Gwilym after his uncle and master Llywelyn; and with those lines this note may fittingly close.

Doe wywdymp yn dywedud  
Hyddawn fodd, a heddyw'n fud!

Gwae fi geli bob golud,  
Gwael fy nghyflwr am wr mud!

Pob meistrolrwydd a wyddud,  
Poenwyd fi er pan wyd fud!

Nid diboen na'm atebud,  
Nid hawdd ymadrawd a mud!

VINCENT EVANS.

# PROLEGOMENA TO THE STUDY OF OLD WELSH POETRY.<sup>1</sup>

By PROFESSOR E. ANWYL, M.A.

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It will probably be readily admitted by those acquainted with Celtic studies that the most difficult subject in the sphere of Welsh literature is the critical interpretation and translation of the oldest Welsh poetry, and this is a problem of interest not only to Welshmen, but to a wider circle, as part of the larger question of the origins of the vernacular literature of Western Europe. The difficulty referred to is due in no small degree to the obsolete character of the vocabulary, but it is also due to the difficulty of correcting the text on the one hand, and that of classifying and interpreting the allusions to persons and places on the other. Much work has been done by students of Celtic in these various directions, but, in the absence of some short introductory treatment, the novice often fails to appreciate the problems for solution, and the significance of the various scattered pieces of research that are intended as answers to them. Further, the progress of these studies has been hampered in the past by an inadequate study of the historical grammar of the Welsh language, and of the peculiarities of the earlier syntactical constructions as distinguished from those of later times. The great work of Zeuss, though of abiding value, needs supplementing, especially on the poetical side of old Welsh grammar.

<sup>1</sup> Read before the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion at 20, Hanover Square, on Wednesday, 23rd of March, 1904. Chairman, David Davies, Esq., of Plas Dinam.

The present writer has given a preliminary statistical account of several of the older verbal forms in an Appendix to *Welshmen*, by the Rev. T. Stephens, but it would be well if all the grammatical forms could be similarly tabulated. Another important line of research which is indispensable to the elucidation of the older poetry, is a close study of the older prose remains of Welsh in order to determine, if possible, their structure, literary affinities, and topographical relations. The present writer has also contributed a preliminary discussion of some of these points, especially in relation to the "Four Branches of the Mabinogi", to the *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*. The present paper is a development of the same study, and is the outcome of a consideration of the inter-relations of the oldest prose and poetic writings of the Welsh people.

In dealing with these subjects, again, it has to be borne in mind that, whatever may be the origins of these forms of literature, they come to us in what may be termed a mediæval dress. Just as the "Four Branches of the Mabinogi" in their present form reflect the ideas of the Feudal System, so, too, many of the poems attributed to Taliessin and others reflect the monastic studies of the Middle Ages. Hence, in order to elucidate them, it is not necessary merely to guess at the underlying fragments of ancient mythology and legend, but also to study the medium through which these are presented. It is necessary, also, to form some idea of that conception of poetry and of the poet which made them possible. Celtic studies are here in special need of correlation on the literary side with researches into the origins and early developments of the other literatures of Western Europe.

Again, apart from the comparison of Irish and Welsh literature, it is important that, as far as possible, the various stories commonly called "Mabinogion", the older

body of poetry, Gildas, the chronicle called "Nennius" in its various recensions, the lives of the Welsh saints, and Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History of the Kings of Britain*, should be studied together. Along with these should also be closely investigated the oldest genealogies. These investigations may give us a clue to the families from whose spheres of influence portions of the older literature emanated, the districts where they were originally evolved, or to which they were transferred, and the probable literary centres of the ancient Welsh. Already very valuable and suggestive work in this direction has been done by Professor Zimmer in his *Nennius Vindicatus*, whereby he has brought into view the probable existence of old British or Welsh centres of literary activity in the North at Dumbarton or Carlisle, in Gwynedd, and in the Builth district.

In dealing with the old stories and old poems of Wales it is important to discover, wherever possible, the motives that appear to have led to their formation and development. It is from this point of view that the genealogies deserve careful study, in order to see what compositions may conceivably owe their origin to family or ecclesiastical pride. In the elucidation of the old genealogies a great debt of gratitude is due especially to Mr. Egerton Phillimore and Mr. Anscombe. A single name may at times prove an invaluable clue in these intricate and delicate researches.

The body of Welsh poetry here dealt with is commonly known as that of "The Four Ancient Books of Wales", being *The Black Book of Carmarthen*, *The Book of Aneirin*, *The Book of Taliessin*, and *The Red Book of Hergest*. The inter-relations of most of the poems contained in Skene's edition are sufficiently clear to reveal the fact that they represent in many respects a common tradition; nor does it require much research to show that, within the collection

as a whole, there are various strata, which may often be distinguished with respect to their place of origin and their time of composition. The historical allusions, for example, of the "Hoianau" poem (contained in the *Black Book of Carmarthen*) make it clear that it belongs to the twelfth century; while the orthography of "Gorchan Maelderw" in the *Book of Aneirin* makes it quite clear that that poem, together with the analogous parts of the "Gododin", is earlier, at any rate, than the *Book of Ilandav*. Again, the occasional lapses into an older mode of spelling, as in Poem xxiii of the *Book of Taliessin*, called "Trawsganu Kynan Garwyn m. Brochwel Ysgythrog", where we have trefbret for trefret, pymþont for pymhont, dymet for dyuet, suggest that the poem was copied from a manuscript in which the spelling was uniformly of an older type. Again, the reference in l. 885 of the "Gododin" to the death of Dyvynwal Vrych (Donald Brec), who died in 642, shows that the line, at any rate in the form there found, is subsequent to that date. Similarly, in l. 934 of the same poem, the reference to Gynt (=gentes, i.e. the Scandinavians) shows that, at least in that form, the line is subsequent to the Scandinavian incursions. We know, too, from the existence of a verse of the same series in an eleventh century MS. of St. Augustine's "De Trinitate", which is in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, that verses of this same series of stanzas were known at that time. We have another instance in the *Book of Taliessin*. Even if we had no other reasons for forming that opinion, the existence of a reference to Bede in poem xvi, l. 38, would be a proof that the poem containing the reference was later than his time, that is, unless the line or the reference was interpolated. Again reverting to the "Gododin", the references to Elfin (l. 376) and to Beli (in l. 385) make it suspicious that they refer by an anachronism to Elfin,

King of Alclud (Dumbarton), who died in 722 A.D., and to Beli his son. If this be so, then the other verses in praise of Eithiyn, such as those beginning "Kywyrein ketwyr kywrennin" and those of corresponding characteristics, must have been written, at least, during the lifetime of Beli, the son. Moreover, it is obvious from the rhyme alone that all the old poems were composed after the old declensional and conjugational endings had been entirely lost.

If, again, we consider topographical allusions, we note that the numerous references to places in Powys and the neighbouring parts of England in the so-called "Llywarch Hen" poems, make it highly probable that we have here a body of poetry which, in its nucleus and its imitators, flourished in the literary centres of Powys. A few allusions, such as those to Llyn Geirionydd, Nant Ffrancon, and Dyganhwy, in some of the Taliessin poems, create a presumption that the poet who wrote them was not unconnected either with the court of Gwynedd or with some Carnarvonshire or Anglesey monastery. We are tempted also to suspect that the body of old poetry, which forms the nucleus of the *Book of Taliessin* and the similar poetry of the *Book of Aneirin*, was either itself preserved in Dyganhwy, Bangor Deiniol, Bangor Seiriol, or Clynnog, or was based on some annals, containing references to events in the North, which we do not now fully possess. The reference in the Welsh Laws to the preservation of "Breiniau Gwyr Arfon" by Bangor Deiniol and Bangor Beuno makes it not improbable that, in these and kindred monasteries, there were preserved brief annals and records, which afforded material to the bards and monks. There is extant in the Welsh Laws an interesting specimen of such a record, giving an account of the relations between the men of Arfon and the men of Strathelyde in the time

of Rhun, son of Maelgwn Gwynedd. These brief annals were probably in close relation to the genealogies of the ruling families, and these families in the Cunedda districts, as well as those of other "men of the North", may in some cases, owing to intermarriage, have comprised the names of some of the earlier inhabitants.

Professor Zimmer has suggested in his *Nennius Vindictatus* that in the original work of Nennius and in the North Wales recension, older annals from the North have played a part, notably in the account of the struggles between the Britons of the North and the men of Deira and Bernicia; it is highly probable, too, that chronicles of similar type have supplied the personal and local names which have been incorporated in the poems of the *Four Ancient Books*. As we shall see presently, these poems are not merely historical in character: they are an attempt at artistic treatment of historical themes which would be of special interest to certain Welsh families.

It is probably in brief annals such as these, too, combined with oral narrative, that we are to look for the materials which have been combined into the form of triads. These triads have obvious points of contact with the old poetry on the one hand, and with the prose narratives on the other. These chronicles need not by any means have belonged in all cases to the North; some of them may equally well have been evolved in the courts or in the leading monasteries of Gwynedd, Powys, Gwent, and Dyfed, or even in the smaller territories of local dynasties. It is not improbable, too, that the pedigrees and the chronicles associated with them were the channels through which the names of ancient gods and goddesses, from whom certain families claimed descent, passed into later legend in association with historical names, as we find them for example in the "Four Branches of the Mabinogi."

The identification of the Northern localities of the old poetry has been ably prosecuted by Mr. Skene, Mr. Egerton Phillimore and others, but many names are still unidentified. Nor do Mr. Skene's identifications in all cases carry conviction. In spite of his valuable service in bringing into prominence the Northern local background of many of the poems, he has often been too hasty in identifying place-names owing to a superficial similarity of sound. The great merit of his work consists in the fact that it enables us to realise dimly how long the descendants of "Gwyr y Gogledd" regarded themselves, while in Wales and of Wales, as belonging to a larger Wales and to Britain as a whole, regarded not in mere isolation but as a part of the civilised world of the Roman Empire. It was probably this underlying and unsuppressed imperial instinct that made them dwell with evident delight on such imperial figures as Maccsen, Helen, and Arthur. The Welsh narratives scarcely ever confine the scenes of the exploits of their secular or ecclesiastical heroes to Wales, and the Welsh ruling families long regarded themselves as the survivors of Roman civilisation. The after-glow of the Roman Empire long lingered in Britain. Evidence of the impression which Rome and the Latin tongue had made on Wales is afforded, not only by the number and quality of Latin words in Welsh, by the frequency of Latin names, but also by the attempts of Welshmen in remote corners of Wales to write the inscriptions of tomb-stones in Latin, in spite of their manifest ignorance of Latin spelling and grammar. There were probably men in Wales over a thousand years ago who expected a speedy end to the Welsh language.

In dealing with the early literature of Wales it is well to remember that ecclesiastical documents such as the Lives of the Welsh Saints, and more secular documents

such as the *Mabinogion*, should be studied together. The ruling families of the monasteries and the ruling families of the courts were most closely related, and it is difficult, if not impossible, to separate the ecclesiastical literary centres of early times from the secular. In both these types of centres there was an equal pride in the exploits of the ancient families to which the saints and the ruling dynasties belonged, and the perpetuation in song of the exploits of the "Men of the North" and others would be as natural for a monastic as for a courtly bard.

No one who studies early Welsh history and literature can fail to remark the prominence of families and traditions from the North in post-Roman times. It is not improbable that when Cunedda came into Wales from Manaw Gododin, he came by the express invitation of the Brythons, who found themselves in need of experienced military support against the incursions of Irishmen from the West and the recrudescence of activity on the part of the mixed Goidelic and pre-Celtic population. After the withdrawal of the Roman fleets from the British seas, Britain was exposed to inroads of Irish pirates from the West as well as of Teutonic pirates from the East, alike eager for the plunder of one of the finest provinces of the Roman Empire. Except in the North, Britain at the time of the departure of the Romans was, from all indications, in a state of profound peace and quiet civilisation. Hence the Brythons of Wales, in the face of invasion from the West, naturally turned for aid to the experienced military Brythons of the North, and gratefully accepted their continuance at the head of affairs in Wales. Though the Elegy on Cunedda Wledig in the *Book of Taliessin* (poem xlvi) is undoubtedly much later than his time, as is shown, for example, in the rhymes Cunedaf and góynaf, yet it may possibly be modelled on some older composition, or may be based on

some annalistic document. In dealing with the early vernacular literature of Wales we have always to bear in mind its aristocratic character, and its relation to the ideas and traditions of the ruling families, who long preserved their interest in the district from which their fathers had come.

Behind the heroic traditions of the Northern families, however, we are driven, by the parallel study of the old poems and the *Mabinogion*, to consider whether some of the traditions of still older families may not have survived, linked it may be with their genealogies. Through inter-marriage with the older strata of the population the men of the North would enter into the inheritance of these legends, which would in course of time be incorporated with theirs, though still regarded as belonging to an older epoch. It is possibly this distinction that is perpetuated in the apparently scrupulous care taken in the "Four Branches of the Mabinogi" and, indeed, throughout the *Mabinogion*, to draw clear lines of demarcation between the various legendary periods, in accordance with a tendency discernible in Nennius and even in Geoffrey, in spite of his anachronisms. It looks as if there were a kind of traditional framework, into which the narrative of early British events was supposed to fit. The literary men of the courts and of the monasteries were doubtless equally assiduous in filling in this framework with all kinds of local stories, now attributed to this hero, now to that, largely derived from the never-failing staple of aetiological myth. Nor must we forget the possibility that even the men of the North may have brought with them some such tales as, for example, stories of Manawydd or Manawyddan, the eponymous hero of Manaw Gododin, or that places in Wales, according to the wont of settlers, may have been re-named after places in the North or after the heroes of

the Northern legends. The difficulty of tracing the topographical relations of these legends is increased when we remember that the geography of legends tends to expand with the expansion of men's ideas and territorial interests, a tendency of which we have a conspicuous example in the Arthurian geography of Geoffrey of Monmouth. It is not improbable that this phenomenon is an important feature even of the "Four Branches of the Mabinogi" as we have them in their present form.

Another point which should always be borne in mind in dealing with Welsh as well as other legends is, that to historical names non-historical stories may become attached, and that the stories so attached may be far more ancient than the names. In dealing with the old stories of Wales, whether in prose or poetry, it would be well to reduce them to their simplest terms, thus bringing to view their typical plots. If this were systematically done with the stories of the other branches of the Celtic family, and, indeed, over a wider area, it would be easy to institute a kind of synoptic comparison of these plots. The writer is well aware how much admirable work has already been done in this direction by distinguished students of Celtic, such as Principal Rhÿs, and other students of folk-lore, but it would nevertheless be a great convenience if the various types of stories could be succinctly tabulated for the purpose of comparison, according to their characteristic plots, expressed in the briefest possible terms. Such a concise treatment would be of great value in comparing the ancient stories of Wales with those, for instance, of Ireland.

If we now turn to the older poetry of Wales, we see that much of it reflects the period of heroic struggle against the English. This is the case in the *Book of Aneirin*, in a few poems of the *Book of Taliessin*, in one or

two poems (notably that in praise of Geraint) in the *Black Book of Carmarthen*, and in some of the Llywarch Hen poems of the *Red Book of Hergest*. While the *Book of Aneirin* and the poems of the *Book of Taliessin* mainly commemorate the Northern struggles against the men of Deira and Bernicia, those of the *Red Book of Hergest* and the corresponding portions of the *Black Book of Carmarthen* commemorate the struggle in the Severn Valley and the adjacent districts. Some of the heroes of the conflict in both cases belong to the same cycle, and, whatever may be the age of the actual compositions as we have them, they are probably based on older annals and lists of famous battles, but they are unfortunately much too vague to supply us with definite historical information. It must be remembered, too, that a critical analysis of the "Gododin" shews it not to be one poem, but to be composed of portions of several poems. An analysis of the "Gododin" (which itself contains repetitions) side by side with "Gorchan Maelderw" shews clearly that these two poems consist of more or less identical portions of one and the same series of poems. In the greater part of the "Gododin" and the Gorchanau of the *Book of Aneirin* ("Gorchan Tutwlech", "Gorchan Adebôn", "Gorchan Cynvelyn" and "Gorchan Maelderw") the copyist changed the orthography of the MS. from which he was copying into that of the early part of the thirteenth century, but, fortunately, he has, here and there, been careless in the performance of this task, and, in a large part of "Gorchan Maelderw" he has left the spelling of the MS. before him practically unaltered, thus revealing a part of the poem in its pre-Norman dress, and even in a form which comes very near to that of the glosses of the eighth and ninth centuries. It is evident, too, that what was here copied was merely a string of fragments, so that the original poems from which they are taken, and

which were the originals also of the larger fragments that are now in the "Gododin", were older still, though how much older it would be difficult to say. It is interesting to note that "Gorchan Maelderw" is attributed in the MS. to Taliessin, whereas the very same portions in the "Gododin" are attributed in the same manuscript to Aneirin. It should also be observed that in "Gorchan Maelderw" and in certain portions of the latter half of the "Gododin", the account of the battle of Catraeth, with which the poem deals, differs somewhat from that of the earlier portion. In "Gorchan Maelderw" and its cognate portions of the "Gododin", all the Britons are represented as being killed, except one, and he appears to be Cynon ab Clydno Eiddin. In the earlier portion of the "Gododin" those who are represented as escaping out of the general slaughter are said to be Cynon, together with "deu gatki aeron" (Kyndilic and Kynan) and Aneirin, into whose mouth the narrative of the battle and the praises of the warriors (living and dead) who fought at the battle, are put. Moreover, Aneirin, where he is represented as escaping, is so represented in two ways: one way is that after being wounded ('om gwaetffreu') he escapes through the power of his song; the other, where he is represented as being freed from an underground dungeon by Ceneu son of Llywarch. It is clear from both the "Gododin" and "Gorchan Maelderw" that the leading theme of these two poems is the praise of Cynon ab Clydno Eiddin, probably a much more important personage in early Welsh history and legend than his present fame might lead us to suspect. Of his early fame it may be noted that there is some reflection in Owain and Luned. Some indication, too, of this earlier prominence is given by the number of Englynion on him in "Englynion y Beddau". We should probably not be far wrong in regarding this group of poems as being one

section of the poetry composed in honour of the Coel family (Coeling) and especially the "Cynverching" (family of Cynvarch) branch of that stock, the branch to which Urien Rheged belonged. It should be borne in mind that it was the duty of a family bard not merely to glorify the living, but also to preserve and to enhance the fame of the dead ancestors of his living patrons, and this he could hardly do better than by amplifying and embellishing in verse the chronicles of the battles in which they showed their prowess. Owing to the close relationship, too, between the families of the Welsh saints and those of the princes, the above-mentioned motive would operate even among the monastic bards. The importance of the Coel family is well illustrated in a statement made in "Bonedd Gwyr y Gogledd" (*Hengwrt MS.* 536). "Trychan cledyf kynuerchyn a ttrychan ysgŷt kynnoŷdion a ttrychan wayŷ coeling pa neges bynhac yd elynt iddi yn duun. Nyt anethei (hon) honno."

As the "Gododin" is now given in the *Book of Aneirin*, the verses have, in several cases, been transposed from their original order, so that what we now have are *disjecta membra*; and in some places there appear to be irrelevant interpolations. The earlier part of the "Gododin" appears to have affinities with "Gorchan Tutwlech"; for, in both, Tutwlech and Kyfwlech are jointly commemorated along with Cynon. "Gorchan Cynfelyn", which mentions Eithinyn, a "Gododin" hero, differs from "Gorchan Maelderw" in referring to the escape of three men from Catraeth, one of whom is Cynon, and the other two Cadreith and Catleu o gatnant, together with Aneirin, who, after being wounded, is ransomed, by the sons of Coel (reading meib), for pure gold, steel, and silver. The Cynfelyn here commemorated is probably Cynfelyn Drwsgl, the brother of Cynon ab Clydno Eiddin. Possibly the chief centres

from which these poems emanated were Dyganhwy, Bangor Seiriol (in Anglesey, the land of Caw's descendants), Bangor Deiniol, Bangor Beuno (not far from which was a Cefn Clutno), and Llanbadarn. The latter centre is here mentioned because one of the "Englynion y Beddau" represents Cynon ab Clydno Eiddin as having been buried there. Cor Seiriol in Penmon and Cor Beuno in Clynog both appear to have acquired a high reputation for their learning. Elaeth Frenin ab Meyrig (the supposed author of "Kygogion Elaeth" in the *Black Book of Carmarthen*) was a monk at Bangor Seiriol, and Nidan ab Gwrfyw ab Pasgen ab Urien Rheged is said to have been some time an abbot there. It may well be that it is to the old monastic schools, even more than to the courts of the princes, that we are to look in the early period for the development of Welsh literature, and it is not impossible, were more known of these schools, that they were the direct successors of still earlier teachers. In dealing with the earlier poetry it should not be forgotten that even the "Gododin" contains numerous religious allusions.

The poem of the *Book of Ancirin* called "Gorchan Maelderw" is of great interest, because, in one of the portions of it written in an archaic orthography, the name of Arthur unmistakably occurs in the words "bei ef Arthur" (even if he were Arthur). These words suggest that even then, within the cycle of the Catraeth poems, Arthur's praise and fame were great. Indeed, from every point of view the indications (as in the *Black Book* poems) point to the conclusion that, within the circle of traditions connected with the struggle against the English, Arthur, though rarely mentioned, was throughout a commanding figure.

Let us now turn for a moment to poems of another eries. The early poetry of Powys, which is attributed to

Llywarch Hen, bases its chief claim to antiquity on the undoubted fact that several of the poems are similar in form to some "englynion" of the ninth century, which are found in the *Juvencus Codex* of the Cambridge University Library. Some of these poems, such as those in praise of Geraint ab Erbin, are also found in the *Black Book of Carmarthen*. Hence, it may be concluded that the nucleus of this poetry formed part of that heroic tradition which commemorated the leaders of the struggle against the English in parts of the Severn Valley, being, in fact, the East Wales analogue of the tradition of the struggle in the North found in the "Gododin" and kindred poems. It is of interest to observe that in the poems of both series Arthur appears as a prominent figure. The poems of the Powys and Severn struggles appear to have as their prose counterpart a chronicle such as that which Professor Zimmer in his *Nennius Vindictus* has shewn to underlie the Bülth recension of Nennius, while the poems of the "Gododin" series appear to have closer affinities with the chronicles which underlie the Venedotian recension. From one courtly or monastic literary centre to another the story of Arthur and his associated companions, such as Cai, Bedwyr, Owain ab Urien, Caradog Vreichvras, Cynon ab Clydno Eiddin, seems to have spread through the Wye and Severn Valleys, and notably the Usk Valley (until Caerleon on Usk became a great Arthurian locality) and even much further afield. Nennius already speaks of Arthur, at Carn Cabal near Bülth, hunting the "Porcus Troyt", and of the grave of Arthur's son in Erging. We know, too, from Giraldus Cambrensis, that the highest point of the Breconshire Beacons was known in his time as Kadeir Arthur, the throne of Arthur.

The bulk of the Llywarch Hen poetry, as we have it in the *Red Book of Hergest*, is marked by a meditative pathos,

and it is to this pathos that it owes much of its charm. These poems appear to have been written by someone acquainted with the traditional story of Llywarch Hen and with the narrative of the struggle of the Welsh against the English around Pengwern. The poet's favourite vein of reflection is over the departure of the brilliance and joy of the past. In this vein he represents Llywarch Hen as mourning over the loss of youth with its joy and vigour, over the death of his children, over the loss of his former lords, Urien and Cynddylan, and also over the former glories of the ancient palaces of Pengwern and the neighbourhood. As compared with the spirit of the "Gododin" and kindred poetry, it may be said that the Llywarch Hen compositions appeal to the sense of pathos and of contrast in a broader and more catholic way. In both types there is a strong appeal to the sense of contrast, but in the "Gododin" the contrast depicted is between the confident gaiety and exuberant hilarity which preceded the battle of Catraeth, and the disastrous event of the contest, between the host that went to battle and the fragment of it that returned. In the Llywarch Hen poetry the contrast is between the glory of the past and the ruin of the present. Neither group of poems is the bare unreflecting primitive poetry of narrative: it is a poetry which seeks to appeal to minds thoroughly alive to the pathos and tragedy of life as exemplified in the events and the results of the great struggle of the Britons.<sup>1</sup> It is the "lacrimae rerum" in this body of poetry that give it an abiding interest. What influence (if any) the study of Vergil, the universal

<sup>1</sup> The verses called "Englynion y Beddau", which have affinities with the traditions and legends of several districts, also belong to the poetry of reflective meditation over the past. They are probably a development from a smaller nucleus. In the topographical elucidation of the old legends they are of real service.

school book of the Roman Empire and of the Middle Ages, may have had in giving this direction of pathos to Welsh poetry it is now impossible to say.

The poetry with which we have hitherto dealt, though not without religious allusions, is in the main of a humanistic character, but in addition to these poems the body of poetry now under consideration comprises a number of poems that are primarily religious, and others which contain a strong tincture of mediæval theology combined with other elements. The most curious poetry of the latter type is that mainly, though not exclusively, found in the *Book of Taliessin*, where theology, mediæval natural history, and various legends are presented together through a medium which reveals a very curious conception of the poetic art. In this body of poetry, some of which contains materials derived from the Northern traditional stock, the poet is depicted not as mourning over the disastrous battles of the past or lamenting the departed greatness of his race, so much as rising supernaturally above human limitations of time and place, and reviewing the famous events of the heroic and legendary past, in which he himself is represented as having been present. This idea is partly the result of the thought that the materials of the body had been in existence from time immemorial, partly a development from the favourite mediæval idea of metamorphosis, the latter idea being part and parcel of the universal magical conceptions of the time. The composer of the poems, in recounting his supposed past experiences, seems to have quarried in some ancient chronicles containing lists of the battles of Urien Rheged and others, and of the localities in which they were fought. Nor is it unlikely that some older lines were bodily adopted and incorporated from ancient heroic poems and elegies. These old traditions appear to have had a special charm for some of

the poets of the *Book of Taliessin*, and they would seem to have been particularly fond of traditions and legends which flourished in Anglesey and Carnarvonshire. The references to Geirionydd and Nant Ffrancon appear to indicate the neighbourhood of the Conwy valley and Dyganhwy as one of the poets' gathering-ground of legend. To this district we may perhaps link the Hiraethog district and the valley of the Dyfrdwy beyond. From the Carnarvonshire side the poet probably obtained a stock of Don and Beli legends, from Dyganhwy and the neighbourhood the local legends of Taliessin, while from the Hiraethog and the Dee district came the legends of Bran and Branwen, with the topographical associations of which I have dealt in my articles on the "Four Branches of the Mabinogi" in the *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*. The Branwen legend was also associated with Merionethshire and Anglesey, and the legend of Pryderi with Merionethshire. In the "Four Branches of the Mabinogi" it may be noted that the topographical associations of the Don family are mainly with the West side of Carnarvonshire. The district of the Conwy valley and the nearest parts of Anglesey and Carnarvonshire probably felt a certain local interest in Seithemnin, the father of St. Tudno, in Urien Rheged (the ancestor of Grwst of Llanrwst and of Nidan, at one time head of the monastery of Penmon), in Lleenawg, from whose name Castell Lleiniog on the Anglesey side of the Menai Straits seems to be called, in Dona of Llanddona, a descendant of Brochwel Ysgythrog, in Maelgwn Gwynedd, whose court was at Dyganhwy and possibly in Arthur, if the name Bwrdd Arthur is ancient. The composer of many of these Taliessin poems is not content, however, to build merely on a basis of traditional and local legend, but interweaves his fantastic imaginings into a tissue of mediæval natural philosophy, largely derived from the stock manuals of the

dark ages, the works of Isidore of Seville and Bede, who were the chief successors of the encyclopædists Martianus Capella and Cassiodorus. The poet expresses his respect for Bede in the line

Nyt 6y dy6eit gen llyfreu beda.

*I.e.*, The books of Bede do not speak falsehood.

The conception of a poet revealed in many of these poems seems very strange to us at the present day, but it bears a very strong resemblance to the mediæval conception of Vergil (known in mediæval Welsh as 'Fferyll', and mentioned under that name in one of the 'Taliessin poems'). The magical connotation of the name 'Fferyll' may be seen from the fact that it is the origin of the Welsh 'fferyllydd', chemist. According to the mediæval conception of Vergil, as we see from Professor Comparetti's account of Vergil in the Middle Ages, he was not only a man of supreme learning, but was also endowed with super-human powers. Fortunately, owing to the general atmosphere of these poems, the bent of the composers towards natural history has preserved for us some interesting old Welsh terms, such as 'adfant', the upper world; 'difant' (whence 'difancoll'), the lower world; 'elfydd', the earth; 'annwfn', the under world, 'anghar', 'affwys' and 'affan', apparently of the same meaning. The latter may, however, be borrowed through Latin from Greek ἀφάνης. From Latin are certainly derived the terms 'aches', the flood tide; and 'reges', the ebb tide, from 'accessus' and 'recessus' respectively. How greatly interested the Britons were in the tides we see from several passages in the *Book of Taliessin* and the *Black Book of Carmarthen*, from the *De Mirabilibus Britannia*, and from a treatise *De Mirabilibus*, formerly attributed to St. Augustine, and now believed to be the work of a Briton. The term

'llafanad', formed by means of a Welsh ending -ad from 'llafan', (a parallel form of 'llafn', like mediæval 'gauar' and 'gafyr'), which comes from Latin 'lamina', may be roughly translated 'element', but it probably reflected originally a conception of existence, whereby its various substances tended to form 'laminations' or layers. It may be noted, too, that the familiar terms 'Macrocosm' and 'Microcosm' appear in these poems as 'Y Byt Mawr' and 'Y Byt Bychan'. The use of these and other terms suggests affinities between the medium of ideas through which the traditions and legends are presented, and an obscure type of philosophical doctrine which lived on as a kind of undergrowth in the Roman Empire and the Dark Ages, a body of doctrine believed by some to have had a share in the formation of the Jewish Kabbala. One of its best known representatives is the Poemander of Hermes Trismegistus.

It should be noted that in an interesting dialogue between the soul and the body found in the *Black Book of Carmarthen*, the Taliessin doctrine of "Y saith llafanad" is put into the mouth of the body. In this account the body is formed by the meeting together of the seven 'laminations', of which fire, earth, wind, mist, flowers, are named, but the other two, water and air (*see the Book of Taliessin*, poem lv) are omitted, around the pure substance ('pur').

This super-human conception of the poet shows itself, as we have seen in his attitude towards the past, but it is no less visible in his attitude towards the future. The prophetic powers of the poet come here especially into view. Here again we have an interesting point of contact with the mediæval conception of Vergil as a prophet. In Wales, the role of the prophetic bard is that of prophesying to

the remnants of the Britons ultimate victory over their enemies, under the leadership of some of the leaders of the past, notably, Cynan and Cadwaladr. These vaticinations were put sometimes into the mouth of Taliessin, sometimes into the mouth of Myrddin Wylt. The earliest "Myrddin" prophecy is that put into the mouth of Merlinus Ambrosius in Nennius, in a narrative which has evident affinities with that of "Lludd and Llevelys". This prophecy was afterwards developed by Geoffrey of Monmouth, and became extremely popular. In 1180 a commentary was written upon it by Alanus de Insulis, and in 1208 a translation of the prophecies was made into Icelandic. A version appeared also in French and became very popular. In 1379 an Italian translation was made which also attained popularity. In 1478 a German version was published, and in 1498 a version appeared in Spanish. It should be noted that the favourite Myrddin of Welsh poetry is Myrddin Wylt, who is not associated with the *Nennius* story at all, but with Rhydderch Hael and Gwenddoleu, as we see in the "Hoianau" and "Afallenau". We find some reflections of current vaticinations in the "Gogynfeirdd" poems, for example, in Gwalchmai ab Meilir—

Hyd pan del Cynan cain adfwyndawd  
A Chadwaladr mawr, mur pob ciwdawd.

It should be noted, too, that in the allusions to some of the poets of these prophecies the men who utter them are called "Derwyton" ('Derwyddon'); for example, Prydydd y Moch says:—

Kynan darogan derwyton dyda6  
Ef dy diw o vrython (leg. dediw=has come);

and further, in "Y Canu Bychan":—

Darogan mertin dyuod breyenhin  
 O gymry werin o gamhwri.  
 Dywawd derwyton dadeni haelon  
 O hil eryron o Eryri.  
 O wyron Ywein ar wyneb prydein  
 Vn vrtyein llundein o lan deithi,  
 Yn lew Loegyrr gymyn yn Yorwerth y hyn  
 Yn lary Lywelyn o lin Rodri  
 Nys kelaf honnaf, hon (leg. h6n) yw Beli hir,  
 Ny chelir nae wir nae wrhydri.

As already stated, the framework of the Welsh Myrddin poems is the story of Myrddin Wylt, as may be seen in the twelfth century poems of the "Afallenau" and "Hoianau" of the *Black Book of Carmarthen*. In his madness after the Battle of Arderydd, Myrddin utters his prognostications as to the future of the Welsh people. His companion in his wanderings is a little pig, and we catch sight also of a lady who appears to stand in much the same relation to Myrddin as the Sibyl to Virgil in the legend of the Middle Ages. Her name is Chwimleian or Chwipleia, and she appears to be the same as Viviane of the Breton stories. In the *Book of Taliessin*, poem vi, called "Arymes Prydein", is a Myrddin vaticination, as well as poem xlvii, which begins with the line—

Dygogan awen dygobryssyn,

and poems i and liii. In the *Red Book of Hergest* (as given in Skene) the type in question is represented by poems xviii, xix, xx, xxi, as well as poems i and ii, "Kyvoessi Myrdin a Gwendyd" and "Gwasgargert Myrtin" respectively. Poems of a prophetic type long continued popular in England and in Wales. When we turn to distinctively religious poems and hymns there are many points of contact, as might have been expected, with the general trend of mediæval thought, as seen, for example, in a collection like Mone's Latin Hymns of the Middle Ages. In the

*Black Book of Carmarthen* we have in the first place a "Dialogue between the Soul and the Body" (Skene, vol. ii, poems v, vi, and vii). This poem ends with a description of the Day of Judgment on Mount Olivet, a favourite subject of mediæval hymnology. Poem ix of the same manuscript is meant to be a warning to the wicked of his fate. In poems x, xi and xii, there are reflections of mediæval theology. In poem xi, it is interesting to note the Divine names Eloy and Adonay, probably taken from a list given by Isidore of Seville. In this poem, too, we have the names "Paul ac Anhun" (Antony), which suggest the monastic atmosphere of the writer. Poem xiii gives some interesting non-scriptural stories about Job, Eve, and the infant Christ. In poems xx and xxi we have compositions attributed to "Elaeth" or "Elaeth Frenin", who is said to have become a monk. Poem xxv is of similar type, while in xxvii there are references to Sanffreid (St. Bridget), Gwosprid (St. Osbert), and St. Peter. The whole of this poem is a curious combination, in the style of the Llywarch Hen poetry, of a hymn with an account of the preparations for a journey. In poem xxix we have one of those Welsh mediæval poems where religious emotion is blended with an enquiring interest in natural phenomena.

The *Book of Taliessin* also affords several specimens of religious poems of the above type, side by side with others which have a curious admixture of legend, natural history or magical imagination. In poem i (as printed in the *Book of Taliessin*) from l. 21 to the end there are clear indications of the religious milieu in which this type of poetry arose. Poem ii (162 lines) is called "Marwnat Y Vil Veib", and reflects in its heavenly and earthly hierarchy the Pseudo-Dionysian theology which dominated the church of that time. The poem contains some curious

scraps of Latin and of geography. Poem v (173 lines) is a description of the Day of Judgment and of the punishment of Christ's crucifiers. In poem xxii we have a meditation on the "Plagues of Egypt" (*Plaew yr Eifft*), while poem xxiv is an account of Moses' Rod (*Llath Moesen*). There is another poem (No. li) of the same cycle on the twelve tribes of Israel (*Deudec tref yr Israel*). Poem xxvi is a short poem on the Trinity, and xxix is of interest not only on account of its scriptural allusions, but also on account of its reference to Alexander the Great, a feature which indicates its affinity with poems xxvi and xxviii, and with the mediæval Alexander literature generally. This literature was especially popular in France and Ireland. Poem xli appears to refer to the cruelty of Erof (for Erodd=Herod); while poems lv and lvi, to which reference has already been made, are called "Kanu y Byt Mawr" (the Macrocosm) and "Kanu y Byt Bychan" (the Microcosm). These two latter poems are clearly based on the writings of Isidore of Seville, Bede, and similar authors. Further researches into the books read in the monasteries in the early Middle Ages, such as may be seen for example in the Catalogues of the Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover, will undoubtedly throw much light on the religious and other poems of the *Four Ancient Books*. Before these poems can be safely used for the purpose of comparative mythology it is necessary to elucidate the mediæval medium through which they are presented, just as in the study of the "Four Branches of the Mabinogi", and other old stories, it is important to bear in mind the re-casting which they have undergone to suit mediæval ideas. In the mediæval matrix of many of these poems, however, there are embedded many highly interesting portions of early legend, whose topographical affinities have now been ascertained with some measure of

success. An important problem which remains is that of classifying these legends according to their various inter-relations and affinities. In this work some help may be given by "Englynion y Beddau" and other poems.

In dealing with the old poetry of Wales and its kindred literature it is well to keep apart the framework of persons, incidents, and localities in which the stories are placed, and the essential features of the stories themselves. Stories far older than the framework may here as elsewhere have become attached in course of time to the historical names of Northern or Welsh native families. Even in dealing with the topographical connections of the legends we have to proceed with great caution, inasmuch as certain places may have been called after characters in the stories. Families, too, in their emigrations, in accordance with the methods of emigrants everywhere, may have re-named certain places after places in their old homes, and legends themselves with their associated names often travel far afield.

The existence of the poems with which we are now dealing in their present form shows that they have a literary history behind them: they have recognised metres, a recognised poetic vocabulary, and a sense of taste and style, and the more they are understood the more vividly do they reflect the ideals and interests which guided the minds of the Welsh people when Europe was emerging from the night of barbarism.

**Cymmrodorion Section of the National Eisteddfod  
(Rhyl, 1904).**

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**THE IDEAL OF A WELSH NATIONAL LIBRARY.<sup>1</sup>**

I.

BY SIR JOHN WILLIAMS, BART.

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AT a meeting of the Cymmrodorion Section of the Eisteddfod, held last year at Llanelly, it was stated that the National Library and National Museum were one, that they had been married in the far distant past, and evidence for this statement was given. On the other side it was asserted, and the assertion was supported by evidence, that no such marriage had taken place. The meeting ended by passing a resolution referring the question to the Members of Parliament for Wales and the representatives of the Welsh County Councils. The result is, either that the alleged marriage has been declared null, or that the National Library has obtained a decree *nisi*; for the Welsh Members of Parliament and County Council representatives have appeared before the Lord President and Chancellor of the Exchequer to appeal for separate maintenance for the National Library and for the Museum—a certain annuity for the one and another annuity for the other. I imagine that the decree has been made absolute; for the subject upon which your Secretary

<sup>1</sup> Read at the Inaugural Meeting of the Cymmrodorion Section of the National Eisteddfod, held at Rhyl, 5th September 1904. Chairman: Mr. J. Herbert Lewis, M.P.

(Mr. Vincent Evans) has asked me to open a discussion this evening is "The Ideal of a Welsh National Library". There was a distinguished man who had the misfortune to be appointed to the Chair of Geology in one of the Universities of America, from which he was to deliver thirty lectures, who said, "I can say all I know of Geology in twenty minutes." I feel myself to-night in much the same predicament, for I can put all I can say of the "Ideal National Welsh Library" in one sentence; and that is—it is a collection of all the literature of all civilised countries.

Like all ideals, however, the ideal of a National Library is not attainable, and I do not suppose that your Secretary desires me to open a discussion on the impossible. Therefore, having stated all I have to say about the ideal institution, I will, with your permission, leave the ideal and make some observations on the practical—that is, upon the Welsh National Library as it can, and as it will, be established in the Principality. My remarks are intended to elicit discussion rather than to be a lecture. Therefore they will be brief and definite.

The first question I should wish to have discussed is one upon which, in so far as I can learn, there is some, or perhaps even considerable, difference of opinion. This I gather from hints rather than from positive statements. What is the object of founding a Welsh National Library? It has one object in which, I feel sure, that we are all agreed, and that is the collection and preservation of our National Literature, both ancient and modern. And why should this be done, why is this a worthy object? Is it for glory? No, I think not. We have achieved so much of that in the past, we have heard so much of it from the platform, we have read so much about it in the newspapers, that we are almost satiated with its abundance. Then

why should it be done? Is it in order to attract sightseers from every part of the civilized world, to be marched through the Library Halls, to gaze with wonder at the gorgeous and begilt covers of countless volumes, regardless of their contents, whether they be dummies or priceless treasures of knowledge? I answer No; the National Library is not intended for the amusement of those who compass sea and land, who hurry from the Gulf of Mexico to the White Sea, and, were it possible, would do the journey with the speed of the telegraph, to enter in their note-book: "5th September 1904. Saw the Welsh National Library". It is not designed for such. Nor is it for that subject of not infrequent and bitter complaints by students at the British Museum—the novel reader, who would frequent it to skim the last "shilling shocker". Nor is it for the gratification of those who would read the morning papers on their way to their offices or places of business, and on their return homeward learn the latest quotations on the Stock Exchange, Wall Street, and Continental Bourses. Nor is it designed for the loafer, who would turn in of an afternoon and demand a volume as a soporific to ensure and hasten his siesta. Desirable as all these objects may be, and many as are they that seek them, the National Library is not designed to serve them.

There is another large contingent of the population to whom the National Library will not, to my deep regret, be of much service: that portion of our fellows who, by reason of want of time, or deficient education and training, cannot, or do not care, to make use of the resources of such an institution. These form a large part of our, as of every other, population, from which I hope to see arise, in time to come, many who will make good and productive use of the National Institution. Parting from these with

sympathy and regret, we turn to those who devote time and labour to the study of some special subject or subjects. The time employed in such study may be the whole of their time, or their "spare hours" only. These may be called the student class in the widest sense of the term, although they come, especially in Wales, from the various classes of the community, the educated and the uneducated or self-educated, the rich, the poor, the farming, commercial, artisan, and labouring. It is for the use of these—those who devote a certain portion of their time to the serious study of some (whatever) subject that the National Library is intended, as well as for all students of our country, people, history, language, manners, etc., whence-soever they come. To these the doors of the Library should be freely opened and its treasures revealed.

From what I have said, another question naturally arises: Where should the Library be placed? This is a delicate, a sensitive, indeed, it may be called a "ticklish" subject. I have, however, endeavoured, and trust that I have succeeded in depriving it of this character.

Now if you agree with me in what I have said with reference to the object of establishing a National Library, you will probably agree with me also in my answer to this—the second question. On the other hand, should there be any here who disagree with what I have said, and who hold that the object, or even a part of the object, of the National Library should be the diversion of the "globe trotting" community, they will not agree with me in what I am about to say, and our opinions will diverge more and more as we proceed. Where, then, should the Welsh National Library be located? or, rather, in what sort of place should it find a home? Should its home be in the centre of a large town, on the track of that special product of modern civilization to whom I have referred; in the

midst of the noise and turmoil of the crowd, of the hurry and excitement of commerce and the Exchange? Or should it be in some retired spot far from such disturbing elements, where peace and quiet dwell? To my mind, the better place is one where the student may pursue his researches undisturbed and undistracted, and not in the large and noisy city.

In considering this part of our subject there is another point of apparent importance, which should have its full weight in forming a final conclusion as to the home of the Library—that is, the accessibility of the place. It is a point of apparent importance, but undue stress may be laid upon it from attaching too much value to some, and overlooking other, considerations. If you agree with me that the Library is an institution to be used by the student (as I have broadly defined him), you will agree with me in this also, that the work to be done by the student in the Library will require close attention for days, weeks, or may be months. The student who proposes to use the Library to pursue the study of any special subject, to consult the authorities upon it, and to get up its literature, must reside in the neighbourhood of the Library for days, or weeks, or longer. This reveals “accessibility” in its true magnitude, which is comparatively insignificant; for if the student must reside near the Library for some time, it matters little whether he travels thereto at the rate of ten miles an hour or at the rate of forty, or whether the place can be reached by one train a day or by a dozen. On the other hand, were the Library primarily, or indeed at all, intended to attract the sightseer, “accessibility” would assume far greater proportions. The great desideratum in respect to the seat of the Library is not accessibility in the sense of rapid transit thereto and therefrom, but comfortable rooms and cheap living thereat. I con-

sider, therefore, that a small town with its quietude and cheap living, as a place in which to find a home for the Library, is preferable to a large commercial town with its noise and hurry, high rents and expensive living.

I come now to the last part of the subject, upon which I invite discussion, and that is the contents of the Library. What should the National Library contain? I feel sure that we are all agreed that its contents should be books, including under the term everything from the broadside or ballad to the ponderous volume, together with manuscripts of all sorts.

But what books? What literature? I might classify the contents from below upwards, or from above downwards. On this occasion I will classify them from above downwards, and while I do so I must ask you to bear in mind that I am referring to the contents of the Welsh National Library, and to no other. But I would, in the first place, point out that the term "National" in this connection has a double meaning. It may mean a Library which is the property of the nation, or it may mean a Library representative of Welsh literature. Whatever meaning we attach to the word, it must at least include the latter.

Beginning then at the top, the Library should contain, as far as possible, the literature of every civilized country, and being the Library of a country like Wales, which is a part of the British Empire, a prominent place should be given to the literature of England. The size of this part of the collection, the number of volumes in it, must depend upon the procurability of the literature and the depth of the Treasury's purse. But, important as is such a collection of English literature as a part of the contents of the Library, it alone, whatever its magnitude, would not constitute the institution a Welsh National Library.

Something more is required to give it that character. Proceeding downwards I come upon a collection of books written by Welshmen, upon any subject and in any language. Lower still, I discern a multitude of books in the allied languages, Irish, Gaelic, Manx, Cornish, and Breton; books on the allied races—the several branches of the Celtic race—in whatever language. Lower still, I discover a number of volumes treating of Wales, the Welsh people, and the Welsh language, in whatsoever language and by whomsoever written. Lastly, I expose the foundation—books and manuscripts in the Welsh language. Upon this the whole superstructure is built. Without it there can be no Welsh National Library. A Library of English literature in Calcutta, however large, with a smattering only of Indian literature, could not be called the National Library of India, a land—like Wales—of literature. The larger and broader this foundation the more distinctly national the character of the Library. Here should be found all—but as that is not possible—should be found the largest, the best and most representative collection of Welsh literature, both printed and in manuscript. You would not go to the National Library of France for German literature, or to Germany for French literature. You would go to the National Library of each country for its own national literature. If you went to the National Library of France in Paris and found there but German literature with a smattering of French, what would you say? Would you not say: “I came to the National Library of France to study French literature and I find nothing here but German, with a sprinkling of French. I am deceived. Your name is a sham?” I should go to the Welsh National Library expecting to find there, not the best collection of English or of some foreign literature, but the best and largest

collection of Welsh literature. The Library should contain all the Welsh literature which has escaped the ravages of the last three and-a-half centuries obtainable. This is the chief and most important of its contents—the one which gives it its distinctive character and alone justifies its title of “The Welsh National Library”. Then follow, in order of importance, the classes of literature which I have named, books treating of Wales, its people, its language, in whatever language written; the literature of the allied races, or literature treating of those races. After these come books written by Welshmen on any subject and in any language, and, finally, English and foreign literature. Great as the value of English literature is, especially to the Welshman, it may surely be asserted that however large the collection of English literature in the Library may be, it will not add to its national character any more than it would to the national character of the Library of France or of Germany. No Library, whatever it may contain, can be truly called the Welsh National Library unless it contains the best and most complete collection of Welsh literature.

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## II.

BY SIR ISAMBARD OWEN, M.A.<sup>1</sup>

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THE last twelve months has brought appreciably nearer the consummation of the long-felt desire of the people of Wales to possess a National Museum and Library.

Before the close of the Session of 1903, a representative conference, to which were summoned the entire parliamentary representation of the Principality, the Mayors of all County Boroughs and the Chairmen of all County Councils, together with the chief officers of the University of Wales, met at Westminster, laid down certain general propositions, and appointed a drafting committee to prepare a detailed scheme.

The drafting committee, it may be admitted, did not entirely escape the charge of undue deliberation; but haste is not always the best avenue to the permanent settlement of a question; and the caution with which the committee had proceeded was amply justified when the conference met again in May of the present year and found themselves able unanimously to adopt the scheme prepared by the committee.

The unanimity of the conference was doubtless due in some degree to the sense in which the committee had interpreted the term "National" in connection with the proposed Museum and Library; a sense which renders the intending institutions a genuine possession of the entire

<sup>1</sup> Read at the Meeting of the Cymmrodorion Section of the National Eisteddfod, held at Rhyl, 5th September 1904.

people, and not merely that of the particular locality or localities in which they may be placed.

The committee met the difficulties of its task by interpreting the term "National" in a generous and unselfish sense. Their aim was not to provide a place merely for the delectation, or even the instruction, of a particular town or district; but to secure within the bounds of the Principality a complete and thoroughly scientific illustration of the geology, zoology, botany, mineralogy, industrial condition, history, antiquities and literature of the country and people.

For such a collection, in its scientific aspects, the delimitation of Wales as a separate entity is both natural and desirable; for, including in the term "Wales" certain strips of English land between Offa's Dyke and the Severn, Wales presents a fairly definite geological division of Great Britain, differing very markedly in many of its aspects and characteristics from the territory east of the great river.

The benefits of such an institution will be reaped, not only by ourselves, but by the scientific and literary world in general; the legitimate pride of its possession will be all our own.

We have not, it is true, reached the final stage of a definite promise from the Treasury; but when the stern guardian of the nation's purse goes so far as to say that a given demand made upon the Exchequer is a proper and justifiable one, and that the estimate presented to him for the purpose is a moderate one, we need not be unduly despondent as to the ultimate result.

It is not, however, of the proposed Museum, but of the contemplated National Library that I am invited to say a few words to-day.

I am invited to lay before this meeting the conception

of a National Library which was present in the minds of the drafting committee and of the conference. The committee's aim was not to serve a temporary, but a permanent purpose; to establish for all time, and for the benefit of future as well as present students, as complete a representation as possible of the literary activities of the Principality from the earliest times.

It is contemplated, in the first place, that the Library should, as far as possible, be the permanent and secure resting-place for all such existing ancient manuscripts as are not already included in other public collections. It is contemplated, further, that it should contain as complete a collection as can possibly be got together of ancient Welsh printed works; and also of all books, pamphlets, papers, journals, and other publications issued in the Principality up to the present day. But the committee had its eye no less on the present and the future than on the past. The National Library, as they conceived it, will be a perpetually-growing collection. One of its main duties, as contemplated by the committee, from the day of its establishment, will be to gather together every piece of printed matter, whether book, magazine, newspaper, report or what-not, published outside, but bearing upon specially Welsh matters, as the resources at its disposal will enable it to possess itself of. Such a collection as is contemplated will subsist for all time as a gigantic storehouse of information on the future history and conditions of our country, for the use of such students as desire to consult it.

The project is an ambitious one, and to carry it out efficiently will need not merely a Government grant, but a certain amount of voluntary or organised co-operation on the part of Welshmen. As regards present and future literature, it is not, perhaps, too much to hope that Welsh

publishers and newspaper proprietors will be willing, of their own accord, to deposit copies of their issues in the Welsh National Library, even though we have at present no Copyright Act to compel them to do so. But as regards the past literature of the Principality there is also much to be hoped from voluntary co-operation. Let us take the case of manuscripts alone. In how many of the country houses of Wales are there not stores of ancient manuscripts, all of them possessing at least some interest, which are exposed every year to risk of destruction by fire, and which are, as a whole, practically inaccessible to students. May we not hope that the representatives of the old houses of Wales will take a patriotic pride in placing these possessions of their families under circumstances which will secure their transmission to remote posterity, and which will render them serviceable as future material for history.

May we not hope also that many of the possessors of fragmentary collections of rare ancient books will prefer rather to see them forming part of a great and complete National Library than lying as scattered items upon their own shelves.

Let all honour be rendered to one Welshman at least, who has for many years past expended money, time, and knowledge in forming a magnificent collection of old Welsh books, not for the gratification of his personal pride as a collector, but with the object of making it a permanent possession of the people of Wales. Sir John Williams has done a work which should keep his name in honour among Welshmen for many centuries to come. May we hope that his patriotic initiative will not for ever lack the practical compliment of imitation?

One noble collection of ancient Welsh books has unhappily left our shores for good. It is little to the credit

of the United Kingdom that amongst all its accumulated wealth there could not be found the few thousands necessary to retain in Great Britain the priceless philological library accumulated by the late Prince Louis-Lucien Bonaparte. Amongst the Welsh books contained in it, which have at last found a home in the United States, is unhappily one little sixteenth century work of both historic and philological interest, of which no other copy is known to exist. Fortunately the Prince, before his death, allowed it to be reproduced in facsimile by the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion.

It must of course be a necessary condition of such a National Library as is contemplated that no book or manuscript once acquired by it shall ever be allowed to leave the security of its walls. The absolute safety of the treasures committed to its charge must be its primary object. If the Library cannot therefore be brought to the students, the students will have to come to the Library. And this necessity suggests another consideration. Historical and literary students are not often endowed with worldly goods. They are, if I may digress for a few moments into a professional vein, a class of men very apt to neglect their health when the interests of literary research stand in the way of consulting it: to lodge in unhealthy surroundings if only it will bring them nearer to the scene of their work; and to content themselves with hasty, ill-prepared, and indigestible meals if they can avoid being snatched away for what they deem an undue length of time from their engrossing labours. Is it utopian to anticipate that some future benefactor will one day establish in the vicinity of our National Library a much needed Hall or Hostel for the accommodation of students frequenting it; a place where students may abide during the period of their researches in cleanliness and

comfort if not in luxury; and where they may obtain, without too great a sacrifice of time, wholesome and palatable meals at a price within the reach of a scholar's slender purse? I feel sure that every member of my profession who has had the honour of numbering scholars among his patients will sympathise with me in expressing this aspiration.

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## III.

By SIR MARCHANT WILLIAMS.<sup>1</sup>

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ANY attempt on my part to determine the relative claims of this or that place to the Welsh National Library would be wholly irregular, seeing that the determination of so important a matter will eventually lie with the Privy Council: but I am at liberty to discuss fully, freely, and openly any considerations that, in my opinion, have a direct bearing upon the matter. I may mention in particular two such considerations, namely (1), Accessibility. The more accessible any particular town is to the largest number of the residents of Wales, the greater and stronger will of necessity be the claim of that town to be the home of the National Library of Wales. And (2), The nature and character of the books that any particular town can command, to be the foundation and the distinguishing feature of the library. No collection of Welsh books, for example, will be entitled to the name "National", if it does not contain the Hengwrt and Peniarth collections of books and manuscripts; and if, therefore, any particular town can secure these collections for its library, the claims of that library to the distinction of being the national institution will be, if not absolutely decisive, exceptionally strong.

The metropolitan aspect of the question does not appeal to me. I am quite prepared to concede the claims of

<sup>1</sup> Read at the Meeting of the Cymmrodorion Section of the National Eisteddfod, held at Rhyl 7th September 1904. Chairman, Mr. L. J. Roberts, H.M.I.S.

Cardiff to be recognised as the metropolis of Wales, on the grounds of its population, and its great and growing importance as a commercial town ; still, it does not appear to me that Cardiff is entitled, on that account and that only, to be the home of the National Library of the Principality. Such an institution will be used, more particularly, by students, who will find the peace and quiet and the healthy surroundings of a country town more conducive to their purposes than the bustle and noise and the other distractions of a busy and populous "metropolis".

While I agree in the main with what has been said by Sir John Williams and others as to what the general contents of a Welsh National Library should be, I am not at all sure that its shelves should be cumbered with everything that has been published in Welsh in the past or may be published in Welsh in the future. By all means let us aim at getting into our Library the most complete collection of the best Welsh books ; but some means must be adopted to separate the wheat from the chaff.

Finally, I would mention the importance of securing a properly trained librarian for the national collection, and express the hope that fitness for the post shall be the determining factor in the selection of a librarian, and that no sectarian, political, or personal considerations shall have the slightest weight in a matter of such great importance.

STANFORD LIBRARY

THE

# TRANSACTIONS

OF

THE HONOURABLE

# SOCIETY OF CYMMRODORION.

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SESSION 1904-5.

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LONDON :

ISSUED BY THE SOCIETY,

NEW STONE BUILDINGS, 64, CHANCERY LANE.

1906.

ANNAI GOVINDA

DEVIZES :  
PRINTED BY GEORGE SIMPSON.

## CONTENTS.

---

	PAGE.
<u>REPORT OF THE COUNCIL for 1904-5</u> ... ..	v
<u>STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS for 1904-5</u> ... ..	xi

---

FRONTISPIECE: The late Mr. Stephen Evans, J.P., Chairman of the Council of the Society, from the Presentation Portrait painted by the late Mr. WILLIAM OLIVER.

<u>The late Stephen Evans: An Appreciation.</u> By Sir LEWIS MORRIS, M.A. ... ..	1
--	---

<u>Er Cof am Stephen Evans.</u> Gan Syr T. MARCHANT WILLIAMS, B.A. ... ..	4
---	---

<u>The Brehon Laws and their Relation to the Ancient Welsh Institutes.</u> By Sir D. BRYNMOR JONES, K.C., M.P. ... ..	7
---	---

<u>Yr Arwrgerdd Gymreig.</u> Gan Mr. R. A. GRIFFITH ( <i>Elphin</i> ). ... ..	37
---	----

<u>The Melodies of Wales.</u> By ROBERT BRYAN ... ..	57
--	----

<u>Sir John Philipps of Picton, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and the Charity-School Movement in Wales, 1699-1787.</u> By the Rev. THOMAS SHANKLAND. With Appendices ... ..	74
--	----

### ILLUSTRATIONS :—

<u>Sir John Philipps, Bart., 1662-1786</u> ...		<i>To face p. 74</i>
<u>Picton Castle in the time of Sir John Philipps</u> ...	}	<i>Between</i>
<u>Picton Castle at the Present Day</u> ...	}	<i>pp. 88, 89</i>

REPORT  
OF  
THE COUNCIL OF THE  
Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion,

*For the year ending November 9th, 1905.*

PRESENTED TO THE ANNUAL MEETING HELD AT THE SOCIETY'S  
ROOMS, ON THURSDAY, THE 16TH DAY OF NOVEMBER, 1905.

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THE Council, for the first time since the revival of the Society in 1873, meet their fellow members without the presence or the support of their Chairman, the late Mr. Stephen Evans. For over thirty-two years without a break, with the unanimous consent of his colleagues, Mr. Stephen Evans continued to conduct the deliberations of the Council. With a keen desire to promote the objects of the Society he maintained unabated interest in its work to the end of his days. His connection with the Society may be said to have inspired him with the great devotion and zeal which he displayed in regard to all Welsh National movements, and particularly to the movements for the promotion of Intermediate and Higher Education. His services to the Society and to Wales will be further commemorated in the Society's *Transactions* for the year by his friends and fellow-workers, Sir Lewis Morris, and Sir Marchant Williams.

In addition to the late Chairman of the Council, death has deprived the Society during the year of the support of

three of its Vice-Presidents, the Right Rev. Dr. Richard Lewis, late Bishop of Llandaff, a regular and generous contributor to its funds, Sir Robert A. Cunliffe, Bart., and Mr. J. Ignatius Williams, who was also a former member of the Council. We have also lost Mr. George Leader Owen, of Withybush, an interesting writer and an ardent supporter of the Society's work, Mr. R. Llewelyn Jones, of Rhyl, a prominent Welsh Educationist, Mr. Owen Lewis (*Owain Dyfed*), who was for many years a member of the Council, Mr. D. Hughes Brown, of Pembroke Dock, Mr. W. P. Jones, of Holloway, Mr. William Parry, Liverpool, and Mr. David Williams, a well-known London Welsh journalist, to whom the Society was indebted for the two portraits which appeared in the last volume of the *Transactions*.

During the year, the Council are pleased to announce that there was an accession of new members to the number of 45; and amongst others the Council were particularly glad to admit to membership the Most Noble the Marquess of Bute, whose predecessor in the title rendered great and valuable service to the Society.

In the course of the past year the following meetings have been held in London:—

1904.

Nov. 24.—ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MEMBERS.

Dec. 8.—ANNUAL DINNER, under the Chairmanship of Sir W. H. Preece, K.C.B.

1905.

Jan. 26.—Paper on "The Brehon Laws and their relation to the Ancient Welsh Institutes," by Mr. Brynmor-Jones, K.C., M.P.; Chairman, Lord Justice Vaughan Williams.

April 13.—Paper on "The Welsh Epic" (*Yr Arwrgerdd Gymreig*), by Mr. R. A. Griffith (*Elphin*); Chairman, Mr. William Jones, M.P.

May 11.—Paper on "Sir John Philipps of Picton," by the Rev. Thomas Shankland, B.A.; Chairman, The Rev. W. Osborn B. Allen, M.A.

July 11.—Paper on “Alawon Cymru”—(Welsh Melodies, with Musical Illustrations), by Mr. Robert Bryan, M.A.; Chairman, the President, The Right Hon. Lord Tredegar; and the

ANNUAL CONVERSAZIONE; held by permission of the Master and Wardens at Clothworkers' Hall, Mincing Lane, under the Presidency of Lord Tredegar, supported by the Master of the Clothworkers, and Sir Owen Roberts.

At Mountain Ash, in the *Cymmrodorion Section* of the National Eisteddfod, meetings were held:—

On Monday, August 7th, 1905, in the Court Room, Town Hall, Mountain Ash. Addresses (followed by a discussion) were delivered on “The Welsh National Museum”, by Sir John Williams, Bart., K.C.V.O., and T. H. Thomas, Esq., R.C.A. (*Arlunydd Penygarn*); Chairman, Sir Marchant Williams.

On Wednesday, August 9th, 1905, at the Town Hall, Principal Anwyl, M.A., University College of Wales, read a Paper on “Llenyddiaeth yr Eisteddfod” (The Literature of the Eisteddfod); Chairman, The Rev. Thos. Edwards (*Gwynedd*).

These meetings were well attended, and the Society is to be congratulated on the share which the discussions here and elsewhere, under its auspices, has had in promoting and developing the claims of Wales to a National Library and a National Museum, claims which have now been accepted and met by His Majesty's Government.

During the year the following Publications have been issued to members:—

*The Transactions* for the Session 1903-1904, containing “Sir Henry Morgan the Buccaneer” (with Portrait), by W. Llewelyn Williams, M.A., B.C.L.; “Thomas Edwards o'r Nant, a'r Interliwdiau” (gyda Darlun), gan Isaac Foulkes (*Llyfrbryf*); “In Memoriam: Isaac Foulkes” (*Llyfrbryf*), by E. Vincent Evans; “Prolegomena to the Study of Old Welsh Poetry”, by Professor Edward Anwyl, M.A.; “The Ideal of a Welsh National Library”, by Sir John Williams, Bart., K.C.V.O., Sir Isambard Owen, M.A., and Sir Marchant Williams; Report of the Council and Statement of Receipts and Payments for 1903-04.

*Y Cymmrodor*, Vol. XVIII, containing “The Origin of the Welsh Englyn and Kindred Metres”, by John Rhys, M.A., D. Litt.,

Professor of Celtic and Principal of Jesus College, Oxford. Contents—Part i: Inscriptional Data: Hexameters, Elegiacs, Pentameters and Half Pentameters, Curtailed Hexameters, Horatian Metres, The Frampton Mosaics. Part ii: Certain Welsh Metres: The Juvenius Englyns, The Englyns of the Graves Classified, Blegywryd's Hexameters, Certain Contents of the "Black Book", Notes on the Text of the Englyns of the Graves, The later Englyn, The Accentual Hexameter in Welsh, The Pentameter the Cywydd, The Hexameter Truncated, The Luxembourg Folio, Irish Rhetorics, Elegiac Features transmitted, Index to Proper Names in the Englyns of the Graves (*Englynion y Beddau*).

The Council regret that they have not found it possible to make further progress with the incomplete volumes in the Record Series, but they gather from Professor Williams and Mr. Edward Owen that Parts iii of their respective works are in a forward state of preparation. They therefore hope that the volumes may be completed in the course of the ensuing year.

*The Transactions* for the current year are in the Press, and will be issued as early as possible. The volume contains Mr. Brynmor-Jones' paper on "The Brehon Laws, and their relation to the Ancient Welsh Institutes" much amplified; Mr. R. A. Griffith's criticism on "The Welsh Epic"; the Rev. T. Shankland's paper on "Sir John Philipps of Picton" considerably extended; and Mr. Robert Bryan's paper on "Welsh Melodies", together with the Report and Financial Statement for the year.

*Y Cymmrodor*, Vol. XIX, is also in hand. It contains an unpublished Poem by Sir Lewis Morris; "The Vandals in Wessex, and the Battle of Deorham," by Mr. E. W. B. Nicholson, M.A., Bodley's Librarian; "The Brychan Documents," by the Rev. A. W. Wade-Evans; two Welsh Charters of King Henry VII, transcribed and translated with notes by Mr. Alfred N. Palmer; a Description of the Civic Plate, Regalia and Seals of Welsh Boroughs, with

illustrations, by Mr. E. Alfred Jones; "The Selby Romance," by Mr. Francis Green, and other articles.

As Volume XX of *Y Cymmrodor* the Council hope to publish the Rev. Robert Williams' Translation of, and a Critical Essay upon, the *Ystoria de Carolo Magno*, the original of which was transcribed by Mrs. John Rhys from the *Red Book of Hergest*, and published by the Society so far back as 1883.

With regard to future publications the Council have under consideration an offer by the Rev. S. Baring Gould, M.A., and the Rev. John Fisher, B.D., to place at the disposal of the Society their exhaustive work on *The British Saints*. If it be found practicable to undertake the issue of this important contribution to Welsh History, the Council will probably deem it advisable to proceed to publication by means of a special Subscription List. The Council are also conferring with others who are closely interested in the matter in furthering suggestions made by Mr. Willis Bund and Dr. Henry Owen, two of their members, and Mr. Geo. G. T. Treherne, a member of the Society, for the publication of some of the Diocesan Records of St. David's, including the Bishops' Registers, which commence in the year 1397.

The Annual Dinner of the Society will be held on Tuesday, the 5th of December, 1905, at the Whitehall Rooms, Hôtel Métropole, and the Council are pleased to announce that the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor of London (Alderman Vaughan Morgan), member of the Society, has promised to take the chair. They have also pleasure in announcing that Mr. John Thomas (*Pencerdd Gwalia*) has accepted their invitation to be the Society's guest on this occasion.

The arrangements for the coming Lecture Session include promises of the following papers:—"Ancient

Welsh Coinage," by Mr. Philip W. P. Carlyon-Britton, F.S.A., D.L., J.P. (President of the *British Numismatic Society*); "Walter Map," by Professor W. Lewis Jones, M.A. (University College of North Wales); "Italy and Welsh Culture," by the Rev. G. Hartwell Jones, M.A. (Rector of Nutfield, Surrey); and "Dafydd ap Gwilym," by the Rev. Machreth Rees (Radnor Street Chapel).

It is with very great pleasure that the Council find themselves in a position to inform the members that the Chairmanship of their body has been accepted by Professor John Rhŷs, M.A., LL.D., Principal of Jesus College, Oxford, and that Dr. Henry Owen, F.S.A., has very kindly undertaken the post of Vice-Chairman. Both these gentlemen have been members of the Council and active supporters of the Society for many years.

Under the Society's Rules the term of office of the following Officers expires, viz. :—

THE PRESIDENT,  
THE VICE-PRESIDENTS,  
THE AUDITORS,

and ten members retire in accordance with Rule 4, viz. :—

MR. STEPHEN EVANS (deceased),  
DR. ALFRED DANIELL,  
MR. J. H. DAVIES,  
MR. W. CADWALADR DAVIES,  
MR. W. E. DAVIES,  
MR. E. VINCENT EVANS,  
MR. WM. EVANS,  
MR. FRANCIS GREEN,  
MR. ELLIS GRIFFITH, M.P.  
MR. T. H. W. IDRIS.

The Audited Statement of Receipts for the financial year will be found appended to this Report.

# THE HONOURABLE SOCIETY OF CYMMRODORION.

## Statement of Receipts and Payments.

FROM 9TH NOVEMBER, 1904, TO 9TH NOVEMBER, 1905.

*Cr.*

	£	s. d.
To Balance in hand, November 9th, 1904 ..	33	11 11
" Subscriptions received ..	475	12 0
" Sale of Publications ..	10	4 8

*Dr.*

	£	s. d.
By Rent of Offices, Fire, and Lighting ..	72	1 1
" Publications: Cost of Printing and Distributing, Transactions, 1903-1904 £57 10 8 Y Cymmrodor, Vol. XVIII 99 3 6	156	14 2
" General Printing ..	24	1 6
" Lectures, Meetings, and Conversazione ..	56	0 2
" Eisteddfod Section Expenses ..	8	19 1
" Library Expenses ..	3	6
" Stationery, Postage, and General Expenses ..	45	9 4
" Commission on Publications Sold and Subscriptions Received (1904) ..	21	1 10
" Sale of Publications, amount refunded ..	1	11 6
" Secretary's Remuneration ..	50	0 0
" Balance in hand ..	83	6 5
	£519	8 7

*Examined and found correct,*

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

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



THE LATE MR. STEPHEN EVANS, J.P.

CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF  
THE HONOURABLE SOCIETY OF CYMMRODORION FROM 1878 TO 1905.

*From the Presentation Portrait  
painted by the late Mr. William Oliver.*

TRANSACTIONS  
OF THE  
**Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion.**

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SESSION 1904-1905.

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THE LATE STEPHEN EVANS.

*(Chairman of the Council of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion.)*

AN APPRECIATION.

BY SIR LEWIS MORRIS, M.A.

*(Vice-President of the Society.)*

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I HAVE been asked by the Secretary to write a few words in commemoration of the long services to Wales and Welsh Education of my good friend the late Stephen Evans, than whom a more thoroughly typical Welshman never lived. The list of the departed Pioneers of the Welsh educational movement is growing longer year by year, and we, the survivors, are called upon, only too often, to pronounce, on behalf of our country, the grateful panegyric which she owes them for their long and faithful services, which surely she will not readily forget, when they have borne fruit even more abundantly than the almost miraculous growth, educational and political, which we acknowledge with thankful hearts to-day.

I first knew Stephen Evans in the seventies, when I was introduced to him by the still greater Pioneer, my dear

B

friend Sir Hugh Owen, who was constantly in my chambers; as I was in the offices of Aberystwyth College, just opposite, the precious spot which ought to be marked by our countrymen by a commemorative tablet, because it was there that a little group of patriotic men met frequently year after year to do that great work for our country which they foresaw with the eye of a lively faith. Not to mention other prominent names still with us, the main burden of the great work lay upon the two men I have mentioned, who seemed to me to represent the two lines of temperament which characterised North and South; well marked still, but tending, as I hope, to a blend of the good qualities of each in a true Cymric whole. Sir Hugh was of the astute, laborious Northern type, the calm unruffled temper, working by conciliatory methods, but never giving way when persuaded it was right. Stephen Evans, of the more fiery and impetuous type of the South, loud-voiced, with frank blue eyes, bluff in manner and hasty sometimes, often prone to jump at conclusions, a little imperious perhaps, but always deferring in the long run to the calmer judgment of his revered leader.

It would be difficult to over-estimate the work done by these patriotic men, with whom it was long my privilege to act as a colleague. As has always happened in the history of Wales, there were many wranglings with wrong-headed people all over the Principality—mistrusts, jealousies, revolts even, like that which unhappily came just in time to enable the Government then in power to withhold for years the recognition of the one University College by any grant, however small; press clamours, too, which had to be met with a tolerance they did not deserve—all these had to be fought and conquered, as they were. If it had not been for the influence of Lord Aberdare, as President of the College at Aberystwyth, I think it would have gone hard

with the efforts of the early Pioneers, of whom Stephen Evans was not the least.

All this time he was a prosperous man of business in the City, devoting his scanty leisure to the service of the College, which he especially loved as a good Welshman, and above all things a Cardiganshire man. Until lately no meeting of the College, remote as it is from London, was complete without him, and he rejoiced in the growth of the fine buildings, for which his business knowledge and capacity, with that of his friend, Mr. Lewis Angell, had done so much, at the frequent London committee meetings which followed after the seeming disastrous fire, fraught with such far-reaching and probably salutary effects upon the fortunes of the College.

To the Cymmrodorion Society he devoted himself, as its Chairman, heart and soul. The present Secretary of the Society knows better probably than anyone else how deep his interest was in its success, and to me, as an unworthy descendant of its first founders, it is an additional link to the ties of friendship which bound me to him that he should have presided so well and so long over its revived fortunes, just as the assumption of that office by his distinguished successor binds me to him also by a closer bond.

For the Eisteddfod, of course, he had, as every good Welshman loving music and the *hen iaith* must have, a warm affection, and he was a frequent attendant at its meetings as long as his strength permitted. Fond as he was of his leafy retreat in beautiful Kent, I doubt if he was ever so happy as when drinking in the keen salt air of his beloved Cardigan Bay from his own homestead, with the blue sea dancing before him and the mountains behind, and his stately College not far away.

Later in life, advancing years brought with them loss of eyesight, and, worse still, repeated domestic losses which

could never be replaced here. They brought also reverses of fortune and legal liabilities, innocently incurred, which were discharged to the last farthing by his scrupulous honour. But nothing could shake his devotion to his country and her language and people till the end came. Yes, they are, indeed, rapidly thinning in number our Welsh Pioneers—Henry Austin Bruce, Hugh Owen, Stephen Evans, Henry Richard, Thomas Charles Edwards, and Humphreys Owen, all are gone, but the cause to which they devoted their lives goes triumphantly on. Let us take heart and be of good hope. A country which has produced men so able and so devoted will not lack others in the future, when the need for them comes, as it surely will.

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## ER CÔF AM STEPHEN EVANS.

GAN SYR T. MARCHANT WILLIAMS.

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Ddarllenydd! Glywaist ti,  
 Am wr o barch a bri,  
 Ac un o noddwyr pennaf Cymru, yn ei ddydd?  
 Ei well, ni welais i,  
 A chwaith, ni weli di.  
 Gwladgarwr gwell na Stephen Evans, byth ni fydd.  
 Y brenin ar ei sedd,  
 A bardd yr wyl, a'r wledd,  
 A wisgant ddillad, roddir heibio, dd'wrnod gwaith.  
 Egwyddor, wreiddiol, gref  
 Yn rhedeg drwyddo ef—  
 Nid gwisg—oedd cariad Stephen at ei wlad a'i hiaith.

Ni ddaeth o Gymru 'rioed,  
 Yr un osoda'i droed  
 I lawr, mor gadarn, ar heolydd Llundain fawr  
 Gyfoethog, ag efe.  
 I'r Cymry, hawliai le  
 Fel cydraddolion a thwysogion daear lawr.

Ei lais oedd glir a chryf,  
 Ei farn a roddai'n hyf,  
 Gan weithiau daro'r bwrdd—a'i law—neu ben ei lin.  
 Ond fel i'r dderwen gref,  
 A'i brig yng ngodre'r nef,  
 Yr adar hedant i lochesu rhag yr hin,

Gan gysgu rhwng y dail,  
 Er siglo'r pren i'w sail,—  
 (Y dderwen iddynt fydd yn noddfa ac yn gryd)  
 'Run modd, ei gysgod ef,  
 Holl Gymry Llundain dref,  
 Geisiasant, pan yn ffoi rhag gormes dyn, a byd.

Er cryfder llais, a llaw,  
 A throed, ni ddeuai braw  
 I fynwes Cymro byth, ym mhresenoldeb hwn.  
 Ei galon ydoedd laith,  
 A'i ddifyr, ddyddiol waith  
 Oedd cynorthwyo'r tlawd, ac ysgafnhau ei bwn.

'Roedd Crefydd ynddo'n reddf.  
 Nid ufuddhau y ddeddf  
 Y byddai, pan yn gwneyd yn iawn, neu'n dweyd y gwir.  
 A mynych hoffai sôn  
 Am John Elias, Môn,  
 A hen bregethwyr mawr ei enedigol Sir.

“Huw Owain ac efe”—

Yn gywir dyna'i le—

Y gwron Huw yn gyntaf, Stephen, yntau'n ail.  
 Cydweithiodd drwy ei oes,  
 Heb unwaith dynnu'n groes,  
 A'r hwn osododd “Addysg Cymru” ar ei sail.

Dilynwn ôl eu traed,

Gan gofio'r gwaith a wnaed.

Edrychwn bawb yn ôl a blaen. Cyd-lawenhawn!  
 Can's os mewn bedd mae'r ddau,  
 Fu'r dyddiau gynt yn hau,  
 Mae'r maes yn orchuddiedig gan yr yd a'r grawn.

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THE BREHON LAWS AND THEIR RELATION  
TO THE ANCIENT WELSH INSTITUTES.<sup>1</sup>

BY SIR D. BRYNMOR-JONES, K.C., M.P.

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INTRODUCTORY.

WHEN I was asked by your Committee to read a paper on some subject connected with our ancient Welsh polity, it occurred to me that the completion of the publication of the Brehon Laws was a fitting time for asking the question, Does this collection of old rules and customs throw any light upon the earlier conditions of Wales or on the vexed questions as to the early relations of the Irish and Cymric peoples? Accordingly, I am going to ask you to-night to listen to some observations on the character of these ancient laws and institutes of Ireland, to consider their juridical character, and to compare them in some aspects with the Welsh compilations which are called The Laws of Howel Dda.

In the year 1852 a Royal Commission was appointed by the Government of Ireland for the purpose of transcribing, translating, and publishing the ancient laws of that part of the United Kingdom. That there was a body of ancient jurisprudence reflecting the customs, the methods of government, and the judicial procedure of the Irish people had never been forgotten by scholars interested in

<sup>1</sup> Read before the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion at 20, Hanover Square, on Thursday, 26 January 1905. Chairman, the Right Hon. Lord Justice Vaughan Williams.

things Celtic. Valuable manuscripts were known to be at the British Museum, at Trinity College, Dublin, and elsewhere, but so far very little was known about their contents, and the curious who looked at them were baffled by the difficulties of handwriting and language until that revival of interest in Irish or Gaelic antiquities and literature of which O'Curry became the competent exponent.

The creation of the Commission was immediately due to the personal action of the late Dr. Graves, afterwards its Secretary, and of the Rev. J. Todd, Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, who, on behalf of a large number of Irish students and antiquaries, submitted a statement to the Irish Government showing the desirability of publishing these Brehon Laws. They were no doubt assisted in their efforts by the fact that a few years before the English Government had acceded to a similar request in regard to the remains of early English and Welsh legal manuscripts. In 1840 the *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England* had been published by the Record Commissioners under the editorship of Thorpe, and in 1841 the *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales*, under the editorship of Aneurin Owen. The Treasury sanctioned the project, and a Commission consisting of a number of very eminent Irishmen was appointed to carry out the work. Much credit must be given to the two men whom I have mentioned and to the Commissioners and those who from time to time succeeded them for what they have done in this matter, but the main credit for the overcoming of the apathy or opposition of the Government of the day in regard to the preservation of these records of the past must be given to Professor Eugene O'Curry—"the obscure Scaliger of an obscure literature", as Mathew Arnold calls him,—and to Dr. Donaldson, who was second only to O'Curry in his

knowledge of the old Irish language and its later forms, and was in point of general scholarship his superior.

It was felt by all that the work was one of special difficulty. The manuscripts were not written in a uniform handwriting, and the language or languages of each manuscript differed. Speaking broadly, it was found that all or nearly all the manuscripts contained original texts written, in a large hand, in the *Berla feini* (the earliest form of Irish and a kind of legal language, which after no long period from the writing down of the laws became intelligible only to the Brehons), which had been glossed and re-glossed in smaller handwriting seemingly from generation to generation. It was also discovered that many of the notes or glosses were simply translations into more modern linguistic forms of words and phrases which had become obsolete, of doubtful meaning, or even unintelligible to the Brehons themselves. Neither the deciphering, the transcription, nor the translating into English was easy. In many cases the glosses amount to an explanation of the obscure by the still more obscure. It is interesting to note in this connection that Edward Llwyd, the author of the *Archæologia Britannica*, rescued some of the manuscripts from probable destruction at the end of the seventeenth or the beginning of the eighteenth century, and that he told the Royal Society that he had consulted the best Irish scholars of the time as to these manuscripts of Brehon laws, but in vain; and in fact until O'Curry's time there seems to have been hardly anybody in Ireland or, therefore, anywhere else, who was then able to make sense out of them, even with the aid of the best available dictionaries of Old Irish.

In addition to difficulties of the kind I have referred to there must be added those of illness and death among the limited class of scholars who were competent to assist in

the work. O'Curry and O'Donovan, who made the first transcripts, which occupied seventeen large manuscript volumes, and also a preliminary translation of part of the collection, died before the first volume was published in 1865, thirteen years after the Commission was appointed. Other casualties among the pupils and successors of O'Curry took place during the laborious struggle with the inherent difficulties of the task on which they were engaged. It is especially pathetic to notice that Dr. Graves, who was Secretary of the Commission, repeatedly said that his only remaining wish was to live to see the whole undertaking finished—a wish, alas, not realised. It was reserved for Dr. Atkinson to publish the sixth volume, containing the last tracts which the Commission decided to include, and in the sixth volume to add a glossary which represents the result of the combined erudition and research of a number of most remarkable Celtic scholars. The Commission has reared to the memory of these men, and especially to the memory of O'Curry and of O'Donovan, a monument which may be fitly described as more lasting than brass.

#### LEGAL HISTORY OF IRELAND.

It may be legitimately asked, putting aside the question what is the value of this body of jurisprudence to students of anthropology and philology, whether these books disclose a system of rules and customs which were in actual use among the Irish people, and, if so, to what extent, and during what period? To answer this question fully would involve a paper by itself, but it seems a necessary part of an introduction to my theme to say a word upon this subject. According to general assumption, the English law was introduced into Ireland by Henry II in the twelfth century as a consequence of the so-called conquest of Ireland by

the Normans. The conquest of Ireland by the Normans presents some points of similarity with that of Wales by the same brilliant race of warriors and administrators, but so far as the parts of Ireland occupied by the Norman chieftains outside what came to be known as the English Pale were concerned, it appears that so far from the Normans being able to substitute Norman-English law for Irish usage, it was the latter that survived. It really was a case not unlike that to which the old saying that "captive Greece did capture Rome" may be applied. The Statute of Kilkenny, passed in the reign of King Edward III, in 1367, is a sure evidence of this, and that Statute was subsequently renewed as late as the year 1495, while another Statute of the 13th Hen. VIII, c. 8, of the date 1522, recites that at that time the English laws were executed in four shires only. So late as 1554 an Earl of Kildare obtained a judgment under the old Brehon law in respect of the death of his foster-brother, Robert Nugent. The evidence showed that the authority of the Brehon laws continued until the Irish disturbances of the time of Queen Elizabeth and the complete division of Ireland into counties, and the consequent administration of the English laws throughout the country. The disuse of these ancient laws, which were denounced by English lawyers as a "lewd and damnable custom", was also greatly promoted by the decisions of the Irish-English courts. For instance, "Le Case de Gavelkind" introduced a revolution into the law of succession to real property throughout the whole of the sister island, and was, no doubt, one of the many causes which have rendered it so difficult to govern Ireland ever since. However this may be, it seems clear, according to the best testimony, that by the end of the seventeenth century the Brehons and the professors of Irish law, who had flourished as a separate order from remote times, became

extinct and survived, if at all, as village poets, pundits or litterati.

#### THE MANUSCRIPTS AND THEIR OWNERS.

To those unacquainted with the history of law it is necessary to say that the earliest literature of a legal character which time has preserved has a distinctly religious character. The laws it reveals are founded upon Divine authority expressed through the mouths of a special order of men in the community. Leviticus, the laws of Manu and of Narada, afford illustrations of an early type of law-book. In days when writing was confined to a few in any given community, the manuscripts of such works were very precious, jealously preserved, and as years rolled by, became unintelligible except to the classes to whom they belonged. There are many indications that as communities developed the functions of the lawyer and the bard became specialized, but that an intimate connection was still maintained with the order of priesthood, and that schools of law founded upon the model of the older religious organizations, or colleges, established themselves in the society of the time. This appears to have been the case in Ireland and in Wales. When Christianity got a hold upon the Cymric and the Gaelic peoples it assumed a distinctly tribal form, and very probably this was due to the adoption by Christian missionaries or saints, of preceding forms of learned organizations known to the people. Schools like that of Saint Illtud, the famous Glamorganshire saint, are handed down to us as purely Christian centres of missionary effort, but it is probable that Illtud's school had in some similar form existed before. The existence of a special class of judges in Ireland and in Wales is clearly proved; and though the

organization of schools of law analogous to Christian monasteries did not long survive the establishment of the power of the Latin Church, either in Ireland or in Wales, there is ample proof that certain families continued from generation to generation to be looked upon as specially entrusted with legal lore, with special functions and a unique knowledge of the procedure to be adopted in law-suits. It is to the continued existence of these families that we appear to be indebted for the preservation and the annotation of these Irish law tracts. The most ancient manuscript of the earliest of the law tracts contained in the volumes I have referred to (the *Senchus Mor*) appears to have belonged to a family, or it may be sept of lawyers, called MacEgan, and in the manuscript there is a note which is translated by O'Donovan as follows, and which was written in the year 1350 :—

“One thousand three hundred ten and forty years from the birth of Christ till this night ; and this is the second year since the coming of the plague into Ireland. I have written this in the twentieth year of my age. I am Hugh, son of Conor MacEgan, and whoever reads it let him offer a prayer of mercy for my soul. This is Christmas night, and on this night I place myself under the protection of the King of Heaven and Earth, beseeching that He will bring me and my friends safe through this plague, etc. Hugh (son of Conoe, son of Gillana-naeve, son of Dun-slavey) MacEgan, who wrote this in his own father's book in the year of the great plague.”

The fact that in the *Annals of the Four Masters* a plague is mentioned as raging in 1349 confirms the account of this MacEgan ; and in the same *Annals*, over a considerable number of years, the deaths of several of the same family are recorded, one of whom is described as the Chief Brehon of Connaught and the most illustrious of the

Brehons of his time, and all of whom are described in terms which show honourable connection with the legal profession.

#### THE POETS AND BREHONS OF ERIN.

The Irish law came to be commonly called the Brehon Law. This is due to the fact that the term for a judge was Brehon. But the proper technical word for the native law seems to have been *Fenechas* or *Feinechas*, which means the law of the *Feine* or free tillers of the land, and it was in the *Berla feini*, or the language of the *feine*, that the original texts of these treatises were written. In historic times the Brehons formed a special class or order in the community, possessing the exclusive right to declare and interpret the law and to determine disputes as arbitrators when by proper process an issue was brought before them for trial. This order was an organised profession. Some Brehons were attached to chiefs or kings, and had lands for their maintenance. Others depended on their professional fees. A Brehon was, however, liable to a fine or damages and loss of fee if he gave a false or unjust judgment, just as the Welsh judge was, according to our codes, subject to penalties if on appeal to the King's Court it was decided he had given a wrong decision.

There does not seem to be any very certain or complete evidence as to the origin or constitution of this judicial order, but it is clear that it had its roots in very early times, and that its growth was gradual. Sir Henry Maine observes that "there are strong and even startling points of correspondence between the functions of the Druids as described by Cæsar and the office of Brehon as suggested by the law tracts". That is, no doubt, the case, but it would, I think, be a mistake to infer that the Brehons

were Druids or members of the important organization which Cæsar found existing in Gaul, and which seems to have had its headquarters in Britain.

There were no doubt Druids in Ireland, who were diviners, magicians, medicine-men, priests, and teachers; but M. d'Arbois de Jubainville has given very good reasons for his opinion that they were not judges there, and that their organization discloses nothing analogous to the powerful judicial corporation which the Druids formed in Gaul, but that in early times the judicial functions belonged to the *file* (poets or bards) of Ireland.

The introduction to the *Senchus Mor* (the first of the treatises contained in the *Ancient Laws of Ireland*), to which I shall call your attention directly, establishes an intimate connection between lawyers and poets—a connection that would certainly not occur to the “man in the street” to-day. We may infer from it that at the time when we first obtain glimpses of Irish society from literary remains it was the *file* or bards—“the just poets of the men of Erin”—who discharged the functions of judges and lawyers. To them were ascribed supernatural gifts and powers, by which their knowledge of the law was accounted for, and from which the real sanction of their decisions was derived. Their judgments were not written down; but the true forms for securing redress for wrongs and the true maxims or rules of law were handed down orally. It has been discovered by Irish scholars that parts of the *Senchus Mor* are in verse, and the memory was also assisted by compressing legal propositions into triads or heptads. It seems almost certain that the order of Brehons known to exist in historic times was developed from an earlier order of Bards or poets whose functions were larger and wider.

A tradition embedded in the commentary on the intro-

duction to the *Senchus* confirms this view. It is said there that from the time that Amergin Glungel passed the first sentence in Erin the judicature belonged to the poets alone, until the time of the contention which took place at Emhain Macha between the two sages, viz., Ferceitne, the poet, and Neidhe, son of Adhna son of Uither, for the sage's gown, which Adhna son of Uither had possessed. "Obscure indeed was the language which the poets spoke in that disputation, and it was not plain to the chieftains what judgment they had passed. 'These men', said the chieftains, 'have their judgments and their knowledge to themselves. We do not in the first place understand what they say.' 'It is evidently the case', said Conchobar, 'all shall partake of it from this day forth, but the part of it which is fit for those poets shall not be taken from them; each shall have his share of it.' The poets were then deprived of the judicature, except their proper share of it, and each of the men of Erin took his own part of the judicature." We have here a story which preserves the memory of a reform which took place in the distant past, and which consisted in the creation of a special class of judges, to which not poets only, but all who could comply with the conditions of the profession might belong. The reform was permanently successful, so far as the separation of the functions of the poet and the judge was concerned, but was unsuccessful in so far as it attempted to make the legal language continually intelligible to the people at large. For the *Berla Feini*, in which the laws were ultimately written down soon became unintelligible to laymen, and as time elapsed became difficult of comprehension, even by the Brehons themselves, as is proved by the glosses on these treatises. This is, of course, just what might have been expected. A similar thing has happened in our own country. Very few lawyers of to-day can construe with

ease that Norman-French, which was for centuries the language of our Courts.

We cannot trace in detail the history of the Brehon order, but it seems that they became in time organized as a regular profession, that schools of law were formed, probably on a tribal basis, for as we have seen the profession became hereditary, or perhaps it would be more accurate to say that the privileges of Brehonship came to belong to certain clans or families. If so, the possession, the expanding, and the preservation of the legal treatises as indicated above is easily and naturally explained.

#### THE "SENCUS MOR".

I cannot pause to discuss fully the position of the Brehon in the Irish communities. For my present purpose it is not necessary, but I must ask you to consider the general character of the *Senchus Mor*, which is the first, and, in many ways, the most important of the treatises published in the *Ancient Laws of Ireland*. The *Book of Acaill* is also a long and important work, but in point of interest in a general comparison of the Irish and Welsh legal systems must take a place second to that of the *Senchus Mor*. Speaking broadly and popularly, the latter comprises the rules about what we should call crimes and personal injuries, and the former deals with civil as opposed to criminal law.

The *Senchus Mor* consists of an introduction and a text, which may be divided into seven parts, dealing with different heads of the law. To both the introduction and the body of the work there are commentaries and glosses. It is to the introduction, which throws much light on the origin of the work and on the early history of Ireland, that I wish now to draw your attention.

This introduction does not ascribe the compilation to

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any legislative body in our sense of the term. It puts it forth as a book of rules agreed on by a kind of compromise between Christianity and Paganism.

It begins as follows :—

“The place of this Poem and the place of the *Senchus* was Teamhair in the summer and in the autumn, on account of its cleanness and pleasantness during these seasons : and Rath-guthaird where the stone of Patrick is at this day in Glenn-na-mbodhur, near Nith-Nemonnach, was the place during the winter and spring, on account of the nearness of its fire-wood and its water, and on account of its warmth in the time of winter’s cold.”

Now for the second paragraph of the introduction :—

“And they (*i.e.*, the poem and the *Senchus*) were composed at the same time—in the time of Laeghaire, son of Nioll, King of Erin ; and Theodosius was monarch of the world at that time, and it was in commemoration of this the poet said—

‘Patrick baptised with glory,  
In the time of Theodosius  
He preached the Gospel without failure  
To the glorious people of Milidh’s sons.’

“And the authors of the *Senchus* were the number of the persons of the *Senchus*, viz. :—

‘Laeghaire, Corec, Dairi the hardy,  
Patrick, Benen, Cairnech, the just,  
Rossa, Dubhthach, Fergus with science,  
These were the nine pillars of the *Senchus Mor*.’

“But the author of the poem was Dubhthach Mac na Lugair, royal poet of the men of Erin.” I pause for a moment to make some observations which may well come in here.

The phrase, “The authors of the *Senchus* were the number of the persons of the *Senchus*,” seems nonsensical, but it has, I think, an explanation in a later sentence of

the introduction, where the same names are given, but in a different order, and it is added :—"Nofis therefore is the name of this Book which they arranged, *i.e.*, the knowledge of nine persons."

It will be observed that the nine consist of three kings "the hardy"; three bishops "the just"; and three brehons, or judges, or poets, who come "with science".

Laeghaire, Corec and Dairi were three kings who undoubtedly did reign in Ireland.

Patrick is, of course, the great missionary and saint, who flourished in the early part of the fifth century.

Benen is that St. Benignus who was a disciple of St. Patrick's, and who it is said in 458 became Bishop of Armagh; but his prominent connection with the *Senchus Mor* is embarrassed by chronological difficulties.

Cairnech is more interesting to us Welshmen. There were at least three saints of that name, but the one who was associated with St. Patrick in revising the Irish laws, was the one whose life is included in the Welsh *Lives of the Saints*. Such a man certainly was alive in 450, and he is called in Latin, Carantocus. He is supposed to have been a son of Ceredig, the son of Cunedda, who became ruler of Ceredigion. But there are suggestions that he came from Cornwall, and the parish of Crantock in that county may derive its name from him.

As to Rossa, Dubhthach and Fergus, they are men whose names are mentioned elsewhere in the Laws and Irish literature, and were no doubt members of the Bardic order.

Then there follows in the introduction a story as to the poem, the author of which was Dubhthach Mac na Lugair, royal poet of the men of Erin, and as to the circumstances which caused the law to be written. The story is too long for complete quotation, but summarised it comes to this.

Patrick came to Erin "to baptize and to disseminate religion among the Gaedhil, *i.e.*, in the ninth year of the reign of Theodosius, and in the fourth year of the reign of Laeghaire, son of Niall, King of Erin". The King ordered his people to kill one of Patrick's men in order to discover whether the saint would grant forgiveness for it. Now Nuada, the nephew of the King was in captivity, and hearing of the order, promised that if he were released and got other rewards, he would kill one of Patrick's people. The command of Laeghaire's cavalry was given to him and he was released, and he gave guarantee that he would fulfil his promise; and he took his lance at once and went towards the clerics, hurled the lance at them, and slew Odhran, Patrick's charioteer. The "cleric was angered", and he prayed with his hands crossed; and an earthquake took place and there was an eclipse, and they say the gates of hell were opened and Teamhair became inclined. The Lord, however, ordered Patrick to lower his hands, and to obtain judgment for the killing of his servant, and told him that he would get his choice of the Brehons in Erin, and he consented to this as God had ordered him. The choice he made was to go according to the judgment of Dubhthach Mac na Lugair, who was a vessel full of the Holy Ghost. But the burden of judgment was grievous to Dubhthach, and he complained, showing the difficulty he was in, because compensation ought to be paid by the murderer by the Irish law, but perfect forgiveness was enjoyed by the Gospel.

"Well then," said Patrick, "what God will give thee for utterance say it. It is not ye that speak, but the spirit of your Father which speaketh in you."

Patrick then blessed Dubhthach's mouth, and the grace of the Holy Ghost alighted on his utterance, and he pronounced the poem beginning, "It is the strength of

Paganism." Then follows a long poem of obscure meaning. He ends with the verses :—

"In the judgment of the law which I as a poet have received  
It is evil to kill by a foul deed ;  
I pronounce the judgment of death,  
Of death for his crime to every one who kills."

Then he adds :—

"Nuada is adjudged to heaven  
And it is not to death he is adjudged."

The commentator says, "It was thus the two laws were fulfilled; the culprit was put to death for his crime, and his soul was pardoned and sent to heaven."

"After this sentence, Patrick requested of the men of Erin to come to one place to hold a conference with him. When they came to the conference the Gospel of Christ was preached to them all; and when the men of Erin heard of the killing of the living and the resurrection of the dead, and all the power of Patrick since his arrival in Erin; and when they saw Laeghaire with his Druids overcome by the great signs and miracles wrought in the presence of the men of Erin, they bowed down in obedience to the will of God and Patrick.

"Then Laeghaire said:—'It is necessary for you, O men of Erin, that every other Law should be settled and arranged by us as well as this'. 'It is better to do so,' said Patrick. It was then that all the professors of the sciences in Erin were assembled, and each exhibited his art before Patrick, in the presence of every chief in Erin.

"It was then Dubhthach was ordered to exhibit the judgments, and all the poetry of Erin, and every law which prevailed among the men of Erin through the law of nature, and the law of the seers, and in the judgments of the island of Erin, and in the poets.

"They had foretold that the bright word of blessing



would come, *i.e.*, the law of the letter; for it was the Holy Spirit that spoke and prophesied through the mouths of the just men who were formerly in Erin, as He had prophesied through the mouths of the chief prophets and noble fathers in the patriarchal law; for the law of nature had prevailed where the written law did not reach.

“Now the judgments of true nature which the Holy Ghost had spoken through the mouths of the Brehons and just poets of the men of Erin, from the first occupation of this island down to the reception of the faith, were all exhibited by Dubhthach to Patrick. What did not clash with the Word of God in the written law and in the New Testament, and with the consciences of believers, was confirmed in the laws of the Brehons by Patrick and by the ecclesiastics and chieftains of Erin; for the law of nature had been quite right except the faith and its obligations, and the harmony of the Church and the people. And this is the *Senchus Mor*.

“Nine persons were appointed to arrange this book, *viz.*, Patrick, and Benen, and Cairnech, three bishops; Laeghaire, and Corc, and Daire, three kings; Rosa, *i.e.*, Mac=Trechin, and Dubhthach, *i.e.*, a doctor of the Berla Feini, and Fergus, *i.e.*, a poet.

“Nofis, there, is the name of this book which they arranged, *i.e.*, the knowledge of nine persons, and we have the proof of this above.

“This is the Cain Patraic, and no human Brehon of the Gaedhil is able to abrogate anything that is found in the *Senchus Mor*.”

One might expect the introduction to end with this emphatic sentence. For the circumstances under which the work came into existence have been stated, and the reason of its authoritative character or of its contents being binding on the men of Erin have been explained. But in fact there are several additional paragraphs. The first is

the only one which seems to me to throw any further light on the juridical character of the compilation. This is as follows:—"The *Senchus* of the men of Erin: what has preserved it? The joint memory of the two seniors, the tradition from one year to another, the composition of the poets, the addition from the law of the letter, strength from the law of nature; for these are the three rocks by which the judgments of the world are supported."

#### DATE OF COMPILATION.

For the purpose of useful comparison with the Welsh Laws it is necessary to determine as nearly as possible the date of the compilation and writing down of the text in the *Berla Feini*. The commentary and the glosses are of course of later origin. It must not be assumed that the introduction and the rest of the work were first written at about the same time and as the result of one transaction. It may well be that the *Senchus* itself was in existence and in use before the introduction was written and prefixed to the work as we have it. Nor need it be assumed that the body of the work came into existence at once in its present form. Indeed the internal evidence points the other way. For M. D'Arbois de Jubainville on critical examination has found out that the parts of the work dealing with immediate distress of things movable, and that dealing with distress of things movable with delays, really form two distinct treatises, and that the former is more primitive than the latter.

These considerations must be borne in mind in trying to fix the date of the writing of the text and to ascertain how it attained its final form.

The Editor of the first volume of the *Ancient Laws* accepts the substantial truth of the account of the origin of the *Senchus* given in the Introduction, and relies largely

on an entry in the *Annals of the Four Masters* under the year 438 :—"The tenth year of Laeghaire. The Seanchus and Feinechus of Ireland were purified and written." In the introduction, the date of Patrick's coming to Erin is placed in the ninth year of the reign of Theodosius as "Emperor of the World", and in the fourth year of the reign of Laeghaire. Theodosius succeeded Arcadius as Emperor of the East in 407, and after the death of Honorius became Emperor of the West in 423, and may from that date be fitly designated Emperor of the World. The ninth year of his reign as such was therefore 432, and this was therefore the fourth year of Leaghaire, and it is to this year that the coming of St. Patrick is ascribed in the *Annals of the Four Masters*. The date, then, of the making of the *Senchus* would be 438 (*i.e.*, the tenth of Laeghaire) if the entry in the *Annals* be accepted. But in the commentary on the introduction it is said that "it was at the end of nine years after the arrival of Patrick in Erin that the *Senchus* was completed". The Editor concludes from these data that the work was composed between 438 and 441—the sixth and the ninth year after the Saint's arrival. He also endeavours to show, on grounds which seem to me to be reasonably sure, that the "nine pillars of the law" whose names are given in the introduction were kings, bishops, and poets, who were contemporary and might possibly have assisted in the production of the *Senchus*.

Recent criticism, however, has I think, proved that the compilation of the text as we have it took place at a considerably later date.

The earliest MS. of the work which we have seems to be certainly not earlier than the thirteenth century; but the work itself was in existence long before, for it is cited in the *Lebor na hUidre* and the *Liber Hymnorum*, the MSS.

of which belong to the twelfth century, and it is also referred to in Cormac's *Glossary*. Cormac, who was a bishop, was killed about 907; and according to Dr. Whitley Stokes, we may safely say that the greater part of this work was written, if not in his time, at least within a century or so after his death. It is to be noticed, too, that the references in the *Glossary* to the *Senchus* are such as to show that the text of the introduction was then in existence. Thus in the article "Noes" in the *Glossary*, the words "nôfhiss . i . fis nonbair" are taken from it, and in another article the term "Cain Patraic" is used to denote the *Senchus Mor*.

There are, too, clear indications that the author of the *Glossary* had before him not only the text of the *Senchus* but a copy in which glosses had been made. There can, therefore, be little doubt that the work was of considerably earlier date than the beginning of the tenth century.

Two other circumstances tending to confirm the antiquity of the text may be mentioned. The first is that while no other written work is referred to in it several law books are mentioned in the commentary on the introduction, and we find the same works cited in the *Glossary*. The second is that the currency of the *Senchus* is the female slave (*cumhal*), the horned beast (*set*), and the sack of barley (*niruch*). There is no mention of money in the text, though the *pinginn* (penny) of silver appears in the commentary.

But the fact that there is no evidence (except the statements of the introduction itself) that any book written in the Irish language made its appearance before the end of the sixth or the beginning of the seventh century seems practically fatal to the theory that the setting forth and arrangement of the Irish customs in writing in the Irish language took place in the time of St. Patrick. Then, and

for a long time after, the writing was ogamic, and used for inscriptions on stone, wood, or metal. The introduction and parts of the text indicate that the *Senchus* was composed after the triumph of Christianity over Paganism in Ireland. However great the immediate effect of the missionary labours of St. Patrick and his co-adjutors, that triumph cannot have been so sudden as one is asked to believe by the author of the introduction.

According to tradition, the Christian priesthood obtained its definitive victory over the Druids and *file* at the battle of Cul Dreimne, fought in 560 or 561, which resulted in the holding of an assembly at Druimm Cetta some years later, at which St. Columba was chosen arbitrator. The first Christian Synod or Council held in Ireland of which there is any sure evidence, was held about 600, and towards the end of the seventh century a collection of canons dealing with what we should deem civil as well as ecclesiastical matters was compiled. Among them is one according to women the right of paternal succession. M. D'Arbois de Jubainville has shown that in part of the text of the *Senchus* the Irish lawyers have adopted the principle of that canon, and developed it in favour of the woman. So that we may fairly conclude that the text, as we have it, was composed after the seventh century. Taking into account all these considerations, he seems to be right in coming to the conclusion that the text was written about the year 800.

#### THE WELSH LAWS.

So much as to the origin and date of compilation of the oldest of the Irish law books. I now wish to turn to the laws of Howel Dda. It is not my intention to read to you at length quotations from the ancient laws and institutes of Wales, for I may well pre-suppose that most of you

know something about them. Let me, however, say that the earliest manuscripts containing an amended version of the law book prepared by Howel under the auspices of Howel Dda is that upon which Aneurin Owen based his text of the Venedotian Code. This manuscript, according to Mr. Gwenogfryn Evans, can hardly be later than the year 1200, and, if so, is earlier than the earliest known manuscript of the *Senchus Mor*. That it was founded upon an older book is perfectly clear, for besides the fact that there are variations in different manuscripts of the Dull Gwynedd, Iorwerth ap Madog is represented as having collected the third book from the book of Cynnerth ab Morgeneu, and from the book of Gwair ab Rhuvon, and from the book of Goronwy ab Moreiddig, and the *Old Book of the White House*, and, in addition to these, from the best books he found likewise in Gwynedd, Powys, and Deilheibarth. The *Old Book of the White House* was a book composed at an assembly convened by Howel, who was, towards the end of his life, king of all Wales, except the south-eastern principalities, and who died in 950. The introduction or preamble is as follows:—

“Howel the good, the son of Cadell, prince of all ‘Cymru’, seeing the ‘Cymry’ perverting the laws, summoned to him six men from each ‘cymwd’ in the principality, the wisest in his dominion, to the ‘White House on the Tav’; four of them laics, and two clerks. The clerks were summoned lest the laics should ordain any thing contrary to the holy scripture. The time when they assembled together was Lent, and the reason they assembled in Lent was, because every one should be pure at that holy time, and should do no wrong at a time of purity. And with mutual counsel and deliberation the wise men there assembled examined the ancient laws; some of which they suffered to continue unaltered, some

they amended, others they entirely abrogated; and some new laws they enacted.

“And after promulgating the laws which they had decided to establish, Howel sanctioned them with his authority, and strictly commanded them to be scrupulously observed. And Howel and the wise men who were with him denounced their malediction, and that of all the Cymry, upon him who should not obey the laws; and they denounced their malediction upon the judge who might undertake a judicial function, and upon the lord who might confer it upon him, without knowing the three columns of law, and the worth of wild and tame animals; and every thing pertaining to them necessary and customary in a community.”

The preface to the Demetian Code contains additional details as to the making of this *Old Book of the White House*, to which there is no reason to refuse credence, for the book itself was written in South Wales, and it may well be that the owner of one of the three copies which were made by Howel's direction, according to tradition, may have added to the somewhat formal and brief preface of the Venedotian Code the personal details which tended to exalt the authority of himself or his class. This preface informs us that the king set apart twelve of the wisest of the number assembled to form the law with one clerk, the most learned in all Cymru, to write the law and to guard against doing anything in opposition to the law of the Church or the law of the Emperor, and the names, which I need not give you, are mentioned, and Blegywryd, Archdeacon of Llandaff, was the clerk, and “he was a doctor in the law of the Emperor and in the law of the Church.”

Now you will observe, if you will compare these introductions with that to the *Senchus Mor*, a very great difference between the legal conceptions which they

disclose. In the preambles to the Welsh laws there is no reference to poets possessing supernatural power and insight. Among the advisers of Howel, at this assembly at the White House, there are priests as well as laymen, and among the laity we find a class of judges or lawyers. But the aspect given to the legislation is nevertheless comparatively modern. The authority on which the law is based is the will of the king or prince. It is true that the sanction of the Church to the substance of the work is alleged to have been obtained, but this does not invalidate the proposition that Wales was, in the time of Howel, organised on a political basis. He sanctioned the laws "with his authority", and the Codes show us that the Welsh principalities were divided into settled areas with separate judicial and executive officers deriving their powers from the king or prince. It is, therefore, not accurate to look upon the Welsh of the tenth and eleventh centuries as mere aggregates of tribes and clans, or to describe the system of government and social relationship then existing as a tribal system. It was, in truth, a political system, presenting some analogies with the feudal *régime* which the Normans in the eleventh and twelfth centuries introduced into the greater part of Wales. It was, as might be expected in dealing with a progressive society, a transitional system, and therefore many of the rules are only explicable by reference to earlier tribal conceptions which had not wholly disappeared.

On the other hand, the introduction to the *Senchus Mor* brings into view a very early, I think I may say, archaic conception of law. According to this conception, the existence of law as a body of rules enforced from day to day in the community by judges and magistrates representing a sovereign is not clearly recognised. The authority of the law is referred to a divine source. Its



exponents are divinely inspired poets whose judgments are to be followed, not because they are the commands of the king or an assembly of fellow-tribesmen or kinsmen, but because they are the direct expressions of a divine will in the particular cases in reference to which they are uttered. The "judgments of true nature" naturally remind us of the *Themistes* of the Homeric poems, which were awards divinely dictated to the judges by Themis, and of the fact that among the Greeks generally in early times "the laws were promulgated by the poets or wise men, who sang the great deeds of their ancestors and delivered their moral and political lessons in verse".

As may be seen from the extract given above, the author of the introduction to the *Senchus* attributes what was sound doctrine in the judgments of the *file* to the influence of the Holy Spirit on the just men who before the adoption of Christianity were in the island of Erin, and in support of the statement adds "for the law of nature had prevailed where the written law did not reach". The written law (*recht litre*) is the Christian law found in the Holy Scriptures, and the Canon law, and is here opposed to the old customary law (*recht aicnid*). The editor of the *Ancient Laws* points out that the account given in the introduction is in accordance with what St. Paul says in his epistle to the Romans (ii, 14), "For when the Gentiles, which have not the law, do by nature the things contained in the law, these having not the law, are a law unto themselves." But though in the views thus expressed neither the idea of law as a collection of rules, owing their authority to the will of the community or nation, declared through an earthly sovereign, nor its corollary, the idea of coercive jurisdiction, is put forward, yet both are obvious in the pretensions, the arrangement, and the substance of Howel's legislation.

## CONCLUSION.

The conclusion to which I come from a comparison of the general character of the *Senchus Mor* with that of the Welsh Codes is that the legal conceptions of the Irish in the period just before the Norman Conquest were more primitive than those of the Welsh at the same time, and that the judicial and political organisation of Wales was then more advanced than that of Ireland. This view will, I believe, be amply confirmed by a close comparison (which I cannot, of course, undertake to-night) of the details of the two systems, especially those relating to procedure.

I am quite aware that this conclusion may be unpalatable to those who assert that the Irish had attained to a very high degree of civilisation during the period from the eighth to the twelfth century. But it should be observed that I limit it to the sphere of political and legal organization. A backward form of government and a somewhat primitive jurisprudence may exist side by side with a remarkable religious, literary, or artistic development in a nation. Dr. Joyce, who takes a very reasonable view of the condition of Ireland in early times, maintains, in his *Social History of Ancient Ireland*, that the Danish and Anglo-Norman invasions arrested the progress of native learning and art, and that "Ireland presents the spectacle of an arrested civilisation". That seems true, and tends to confirm the conclusion I suggest. Though military conquest stop for a time the progress of a nation, it does not necessarily involve permanent retardation. The effect of conquest depends very largely on the political organization of the conquered country at the time it takes place; and that organization itself is a consequence of the national character of the people, among

whom it has been gradually created. The Norman conquest of South Wales certainly did not for any considerable time retard the development of the Welsh people, and in some respects contact with the Normans seems to have been a help, and not a hindrance to their progress. I cannot help thinking that the differences between the consequences of the Norman conquest in Ireland and in Wales were in some considerable measure due to the immaturity of the conceptions of law and government which still prevailed among the Irish in the twelfth century, as compared with those which were then current among the people of Wales.

Some further light may be obtained by asking ourselves whether there is anything in the earlier history of Wales which might account for the more rapid political development of the Welsh? The answer to that question is that Britain had formed part of the Roman Empire, while Ireland had not, and that the part of Britain which we now call Wales had been governed by the Romans for more than three hundred years, a period, be it noted, very much longer than that during which we have ruled in Bengal. English historians during the last century have shown a tendency to minimise the effects of the Roman administration of this island, and some have even written as if it had been a mere temporary military occupation. The views they suggest betray an insufficient understanding of the Imperial system, and of the consequences involved in the inclusion of a conquered territory as a province within the Empire.

It is certain that Britain, from the time of Severus, was divided into two provinces; that in the time of Diocletian and Constantine it was re-divided into four provinces; and that later in the course of the fourth century, a fifth was added. Until the early part of the fifth century, high

military and civil officers were sent here. It is a necessary inference from these historical facts that Britain was brought under the working of the Roman administration; and from that we may conclude that certain necessary political and legal consequences took place with, as surely as we can infer without having any statute or order in Council before us, the chief constitutional results of the annexation of an island in the South Seas as a Crown colony, or the addition of a native state to the Presidency of Bengal. The organization of a new province of the Empire was settled either by the decree of the conquering general, or a *senatusconsultum*, or a decree of the Emperor, and might of course be modified from time to time. No such law in regard to Britain has been handed down to us, but we may be certain that there was such a law; and we may also be sure that in its general outlines the organization of the British province was similar to that of the other West European provinces, and that due provision was made for the enforcement of public law (which included what we term criminal law), and the collection of and accounting for the Imperial taxes. The organization did not involve the complete and immediate Romanisation of the laws and customs existing in a new province. The primary objects of the Government were naturally the maintenance of public order and the raising of revenue; and it was only very gradually that native customs in the sphere of private law gave way to the extension to the country districts of the legal machinery set up in the *civitates* and *municipia*, though the process was quickened by the Edict of Caracalla, bestowing the citizenship on all free subjects of the Empire.

In the time of Julius Cæsar such political organization as existed in Britain was based on the clan-canton, as in Gaul, and here all the cantons seem to have been under

princes. The conquest of the West, and its inclusion in the Empire, did not necessarily mean the breaking-up of the cantonal organization, or the complete dispossession of native princes, and the existing territorial divisions which that organization involved, were probably utilised for the purpose of assessing and collecting the taxes. But, however little Roman administration may have affected tribal customs as to private property, inheritance, domestic or paternal power, and so forth, it meant the application of public law, and therefore of the exercise of criminal jurisdiction in regard to murder and offences against the public peace. The *Lex Cornelia de Sicariis et Veneficis*, which contained provisions against those who carried arms with intent to murder, and which, in a modified form, continued to form part of the public law applied in the provinces, struck at the exercise of the right of private vengeance upon which the claim for money compensation for homicide, recognised alike by Irish and Welsh law though in differently regulated forms, was based. The British chieftains and the members of their clans soon found themselves bound to appear before a magistrate exercising official jurisdiction derived from the Emperor according to a rigid rule of general application, and not according to a divine impulse or command conveyed for the decision of a particular case through his personality. The conception of a law as a rule enforced by the representative of a sovereign prince must have been very soon brought home to the natives; and the orderly proceedings of the Court, followed by the regular result of judgment and punishment, usually, if not always, made a very deep impression, as is proved by the contents of some of the *leges barbarorum*. It seems to me that this impression was never wholly effaced in Wales.

In the texts of Howel's laws dealing with procedure

there appears a system very different from that which is dealt with in the *Senchus Mor*. A very great part of the latter work is taken up with the rules about distress, the process by which the plaintiff endeavoured to compel the defendant to submit a dispute to a kind of arbitration. This archaic remedy had long disappeared from the Roman law, though its former existence is shown by the survival of the *pignoris capio* as one of the *legis actiones* till these actions were superseded by the formulary system. The *Lex Julia de vi publica* punished with exile him who, accompanied by armed men, effected a seizure of goods or entered on land without the warrant of a magistrate. The *Lex Julia de vi privata* punished him who forcibly entered on another's land, accompanied even by unarmed men, with the confiscation of a third of his goods. The application of these laws in a province destroyed the remedy by distress; and it is, therefore, without surprise that we find in the Welsh laws a prohibition of making a distress for debt without the licence of the lord or his Court, on penalty of the loss of the whole debt and a fine of three cows.

The Welsh codes contain further internal evidence of the influence of the Roman law on the customs or laws of the Welsh; but I cannot mention them now; I ought, however, to remind you that the permanence of some of the Roman ideas among the Welsh clans is rendered still more probable by the fact that Cunedda, who was the ancestor from whom the chief Welsh princes of the tenth century traced their descent, and who had driven the Goidels from North Wales, seems to have assumed or been accorded the style and dignity of the *Dux Britanniae*. Nor should it be forgotten that no permanent settlement had been made in Wales up to Howel's time by Saxons, Angles, or Danes except on very small scale. When all

these considerations are taken into account, it may well be that the divergence which we observe between the Irish and Welsh laws may be traced to the Roman administration. With these remarks I must for the present content myself, adding only the observation that we ought further to consider the effect on the Welsh system of the Canon Law, or the law of the Church, though I cannot wander into that field to-night.

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YR ARWRGERDD GYMREIG.<sup>1</sup>GAN MR. R. A. GRIFFITH (*Elphin*).

DYWEDIE mai y Caldeaid a ddyfeisiodd yr hen arfer o ddynodi cysodïau y ser âg enwau anifeiliaid, ehediaid, neu bysg. Drwy hyny yr oeddynt yn alluog i ddwyn yr anherfynol i lawr i gylch y meddwl meidrol. Mae arnaf inau awydd efelychu y dull doeth a deheuig hwnw wrth ymdrin â phwnc mor hunan-ddyrchafedig a'r Epic Gymreig. Mi a gymeraf y rhyddid o fenthycia tri o arwydd-enwau yr hen seryddwyr, sef "Y Llew", "Yr Arth", a'r "Golomen", i gynrychioli tri dosbarth o gerddi arwrol sydd wedi ymddangos yn y ffurfafen Eisteddfodol. Y cyntaf ddaw dan sylw fydd,

## Y LLEW.

Ofnaf fod cenhedlaeth wedi codi sydd anhysbys o ddigwyddiad a greodd fath o *sensation* yn y byd Cymreig pan oedd Ceiriog, Talhaiarn, a Glasynys yn laslanciau heb uwch uchelgais nag enill gwobrau llenyddol. Fe wnaeth y tri eu rhan dros y delyneg, y rieingerdd, a'r fugeil-gân, ond nid iddynt hwy y disgynodd y fraint o roddi ffurf a bodolaeth i'r gerdd arwrol yn llenyddiaeth eu gwlad. Perthyn yr anrhydedd hwnw i awdwr "*Gwenhwyfar*", i'r hwn y dyfarnwyd y Goron yn Eisteddfod Merthyr Tydfil, 1859. Y fath gyfaredd oedd yn enw y gerdd hon i mi yn nyddiau fy machgendod! Onid edrychwn arni fel duwies yn mhlith holl ferched yr Awen? Ac am y Llew nid oedd Jupiter ei hun ond megys *jerrybuilder* wrtho. Yr oedd ei

<sup>1</sup> Read before the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion at 20, Hanover Square, on Thursday, 13th April 1905. Chairman, Mr. William Jones, M.P.

lygaid yn fwy llym na'r mellt; ei lais yn ardderchocach na'r daran; yn ei bresenoldeb collwn bob ymwybyddiaeth o ddim arall yn y greadigaeth.

Erbyn hyn y mae tymor arwr-addoliaeth wedi myned heibio, a theimlaf awydd i ymholi mewn gwaed oer beth oedd ansawdd y gerdd a lwyddodd i ddiarfogi beirniadaeth, ac a wnaeth y Llew yn ymherawdwr yn mysg y beirdd. Ei phrif bynciau yw anffyddlondeb gwraig, dichell a bradwriaeth cyfaill, a dialedd brenin. Os oes arwr iddi, yr arwr hwnw yw Medrawd. Efe sydd yn llenwi y ran oreu o'r llwyfan; efe sydd yn llwyddo efo'i dafod llyfn i lithio Gwenhwyfar oddiar lwybrau purdeb a dyledswydd; efe sydd yn esgyn gorsedd Arthur ac yn gwneyd ei hun yn ben ar Ynys Prydain. Er mwyn gwneuthur hyny yn orchest deilwng o arwrgerdd cychwyna'r bardd gyda'r dybiaeth mai "benyw ymddiriedgar, serchog, a ffyddlawn" oedd Gwenhwyfar. Cyfyd y llen arni wrth oleu y lloer, yn eistedd ar bincyn craig uchel uwchben y mor, ac yn arllwys ei hiraeth am Arthur ar gân :—

"Pa'm na chlywaf hanes Arthur?  
Beth ei dynged? —beth ei antur?—  
O, mae Gweno iddo'n bur!"

Nôd y bardd, yn ol ei addefiad ei hun, yw "dangos gweithrediadau *mewnol*, ac nid *allanol*, cymeriadau ei gerdd,—gwneyd *cronicl o'r galon*". Ond na thybier ei fod yn esgeulus o bethau allanol. I'r gwrthwyneb, mae ganddo ddawn arbenig i weithio'r *details* i mewn i'w ddarluniau pan fo angen. Dyma ei bictiwr o Wenhwyfar :—

"Cynlluniad gwynebpryd Gwenhwyfar oedd hirgrwn,  
Ei thalcen yn eang, urddasol, a thalgrwn;  
Ei gén fel pe wedi ei cherfio gan Anian,  
Er gwatwar holl fedr Cerfiadaeth yn gyfan;  
Ei thrwyn ar ffurf bwa ar haner ei dynu;  
Ei grudd fel y rhôs ar fron lili yn gwenu;  
Gwefusau yn llawnion, a choch fel y cwrel,

Yn gollwng per anadl fel balm yn yr awel ;  
 Ei llygaid gloyw-dduon yn llawn o dynerwch,  
 Heb drem o ddrwg dymor i dori eu heddwch :  
 Pob llinell o'i gwynneb—pob trem yn ei llygaid—  
 Pob gair dros ei gwefus—pob meddwl—pob annaid,—  
 Ddangosent yn amlwg ddaioni ei chalon—  
 Cadernid crefyddol ei phur egwyddorion—  
 Didwylledd tynerwch ei gwresog deimladau,  
 A glân ddiwiwedrydd ei henaid difrychau."

Yn ei dwfn hiraeth am ei gwr, yr hwn a'i gadawsai dan ofal Medrawd nes dychwel ohono o'r rhyfelgyrch yn erbyn brenin Rhufain, mae y frenhines yn dynesu at hen fardd penllwyd ac yn gofyn iddo ganu i'w hanwyl Arthur. Yn ebrwydd cymerth y bardd ei delyn yn ei law a chawn ganddo ddisgrifiad o Arthur ar ddau gyfnod dyddorol o'i fywyd:—

"O Arthur Fendigaid ! mi'th gofiat dydi  
 Yn nyddiau ieuengtyd boreuol dy fri,  
 Pan oedd dy lais pér, fel y g'lomen yn fwyn  
 Pan fyddo hi 'n trydar yn mlodau y llwyn ;  
 Yn nyddiau 'th hawddgarwch plentynaidd di nam  
 Estynit dy wyneb at fochau dy fam ;  
 A gwenai dy dad, fel yr haul ar ddeg hin,  
 Pan fyddit yn nythu dy ben ar ei lin.

• • • • •  
 Ar Gadfaes mae Arthur yn uchel ei wyrthiau ;  
 Fel ewyn o'i flaen y cwmp gloewon bicellau.  
 Yn nghanol galanastr, ei ruthrol farch rhyfel  
 A naid ar ei alon, gan chwerthin yn uchel ;  
 Ac Arthur yn nghanol tymhestloedd o saethau  
 Mor ddigryn a'r Seiriol dan hyrddiad y tonau :  
 Nid lluryg o ddur sydd yn unig i'w gadw,  
 Ond tarian nawdd Dofydd a'i ceidw rhag marw."

Ond y mae'n bryd ini ddyfod at y *plot*. Ceir ei fod yn dwyn perthynas agos a'r dyfeisiau cywrain a rhamantus a ddefnyddir yn gyffredin gan awduron y *Penny Novelettes*. Gweniaith, dichell, a chelwydd yw offerynau Medrawd. Cyrcha'r bradwr at ddyhiryn o'r enw Iddog, yr hwn oedd yn fedrus mewn efelychu llaw-ysgrifen. Ar gais Medrawd

mae Iddog yn llunio llythyr oddiwrth y brenin Arthur. Gyda'r llythyr hwn mae y carnfradwr yn ceisio'r frenhines. Dyma fel y disgrifia'r bardd ei ddull o ddynesu i wyddfod Gwenhwyfar :—

“ A Medrawd ymgrymodd mewn dull gostyngedig,  
A'i eiriau mor esmwyth a 'menyn toddedig.”

Dywed wrthi ddarfod iddo anfon cenhadon i chwilio am ei gwr, ac fod ganddo newydd rhy bwysig i neb ond hi ei hun ei glywed. Enfyn hithau y llyswryfyon ymaith. Cipia Medrawd y cyfle i ddechreu siarad yn gynil am gariad. Mae y frenhines yn ei geryddu yn ysgafn ac yn cynyg iddo ddiolchgarwch ac edmygedd. Ebr yntau :—

“ Ni chwenychaf hyn;  
Ond rhywbeth mwy—dy gariad a dy wên.”

Mae Gwenhwyfar yn dechreu colli ei thymher ac yn ei rybuddio :—

“ Gochel ! angau sydd ger llaw—  
Fe'th dery drwy law wan, grynedig, merch !”

Ond ni fyn Medrawd mo'i wrthod, eithr myned yn hyfach hyfach o hyd y mae :—

“ Nid wyf anghenfil—tithau onid merch ;—  
Merch a fwriadwyd gan Greawdwr pawb  
I ufuddhau ac ymddarostwng dan  
Dilylanwad cariad, ac i gredu fod  
Cariad yn beth cyfreithlawn yn *mho* dull.”

Mae yr araith a'r athrawiaeth ryfedd hon yn cynhyrfu Gwenhwyfar hyd eigion ei henaid, ac yn peri iddi ateb Medrawd yn y dull *melo-dramatic* a ganlyn :—

“ Saf draw ! O sarff,—Hwnt ! ymaith o fy ngwydd !  
Mae'r man y sengi yn chwyrndroi o'm cyleh ;—  
Mae'r awyr a arogl i'n wenwyn im !”

Mae yr adeg wedi dod i Fedrawd chware y *trump card*. Sibryda wrth y frenhines fod ganddo brofion nad oedd ei Harthur yn bur i amodau priodas, neu mewn iaith gyffredin,

fod "ganddo rywun arall". Dyna'r bloneg yn y tân! Wedi methu efo gweniaith, mae wedi cyffwrdd a'r man tyneraf yn natur benyw, sef eiddigedd. Ar y cyntaf, mae digofaint Gwenhwyfar yn ffrwydro allan yn gawodydd eiriasboeth am ben Medrawd, a chawn gyfle i weled y gall brenhines goeth a hawddgar fod mor grâs ei thafod ag un dafarn-wraig dan rai amgylchiadau. Dyma ran o'i haraith:—

"Celwydd!—a chelwydd hefyd wedi'i wau  
Gan ddichell mor uffernol, ac i bwrpas  
Mor oll-gythreulig, nas gall tafod dyn  
Ei yngan heb ei droi yn dafod cythraul."

Ar hyny, mae Medrawd yn dwyn i'r golwg y llythyr a ffugiwyd ganddo ef ac Iddog, ac yn pwyso ar y frenhines i'w ddarllen. A rhaid i minau gael gwneyd yr un peth; credaf nad oes dim tebyg iddo wedi cael lle mewn un gerdd, garwriaethol nac arwrol, o'r blaen. Oddiwrth Arthur:—

"Fy anwyl Fedrawd,—mi a ymddiriedaf  
Gyfrinach bwysig iti, ffyddlawn nai.  
Yr wyf yn awr mewn rhyw gyfyngder dwys;  
Yr wyf mewn cariad gyda dynes hardd  
Yr hon sydd wedi swyno fenaidd oll.  
Fy anwyl Fedrawd! rheibiwyd fi yn llwyr.  
Rhaid im' ei chael! Ond—ond—pa fodd!  
Nid oes neb fedr balmantu'r ffordd ond ti.  
Myfi a roddais iti feddiant llawn  
O bob awdurdod ar fy nheyrnas i.  
Yr ydwyf mewn cymundeb â fy ngwraig,  
Ac mi a'i rhoddaf mwyach yn dy law.  
Mae ei bodolaeth hi ar dir y byw  
Yn rhwystr i mi gyflawni fy nghynlluniau;  
Boed it' ei symud ymaith. Nid wyf am  
Dy gyfarwyddo sut i wneuthur hyn,  
Ond arfer di dy gynllun doeth dy hun.  
Gwobrwyaf di yn deilwng o'r gwasanaeth;  
A phan ddychwelaf eto i fy ngwlad,  
Gan ddwyn fy nghariad newydd gyda mi,  
Na fydded yna'r un Wenhwyfar mwy.  
Hyd hyny, wyf, a byddaf byth—Dy Arthur!"

Beth a ddisgwylir wedi'r fath ddyrnod ond yr hyn a ddigwydda yn mhob *melodrama*? Mae Gwenhwyfar yn syrthio i lewyg a'r bradwr yn gwaeddi, "Pa beth a wnaethum? Mi a'i lleddais hi!" Ond daw y frenhines ati ei hun. Mae celwydd Medrawd wedi cyrhaedd adref; mae Gwenhwyfar yn credu y stori ac yn tori allan i wylofain:—

"O fawr greulondeb!—Holl fenywod byd,  
Dysgwch ymddiried y naill yn y llall,—  
Nid oes ymddiried mwy i'w ro'i ar ddyn."

Gwelwn fod cynlluniau Medrawd wedi llwyddo yn ogoneddus. Serch hyny, lled flin yw y frenhines wrtho am beth amser. Pan ryfyga Medrawd ofyn iddi dros-glywddo ei chariad iddo ef, try arno yn ffyrnig fel hyn:—

"Na wna! Ac o hyn allan mi'th felldithiaf  
A phla cydwybod yn y bywyd hwn,  
A phoenau uffern yn y byd a ddaw!"

"Mae trosodd arnaf", ebr Medrawd, a bu agos iddo gymeryd y fenyw ar ei gair. Ond wedi ail-feddwl penderfyna newid ei gynllun unwaith eto. Y tro hwn mae y bradwr yn ffugio edifeirwech am ei hyfdra, ac yn bygwth trochi ei gledd yn ei waed ei hun. Dyna ddigofaint y frenhines yn diflanu:—

"Paid, Medrawd! Mi faddeuais iti'n llwyr;  
Ac o hyn allan, ymdrech dithau fyw  
Yn deilwng o amodau cyfeillgarwech."

Pan fo merch yn cynghori, dywedir fod serch yn deori. Nid yw Medrawd yn hir heb ei wob. Daw cenad cyflogedig â hanes fod Arthur wedi cael ei orchfygu gan ei elynion ac wedi gwneyd diwedd arno ei hun. Dyna'r ddolen olaf oedd yn cydio calon Gwenhwyfar a'r gorphenol wedi ei thori! Yn nyddiau cyntaf ei gweddwdod, dywed wrthi ei hun: "Marw yw'r byd i mi,—a mi i'r byd!" Ond byr-hoedlog yw hunanymwadiad y *widow*. Dan swngyfaredd

Medrawd mae casineb yn troi yn gyfeillgarweh, a chyfeillgarweh yn ymddiried; a phan gasgl y bradwr ddigon o wroldeb i wneyd cais arall am ei llaw, nid yw yn cwrddyd â rhyw lawer o anhawster. Dyma ateb terfynol y frenhines:—

“Bydded i ti, gan hyny, yn ol dy gais:  
Nis gallaf addaw i ti gariad mawr—  
Mi gerais unwaith un na'm carai i,—  
Ond cei fy mharch a fy edmygedd llawn.”

Dranoeth arweiniodd Medrawd y frenhines at yr allor, a chyhoeddwyd ef yn frenin ar holl Brydain. Felly yr ysbeiliodd Medrawd ei deyrn a'i noddwr o'i wraig a'i frenhiniaeth. Dyna'r *climax* wedi ei gyrhaedd. Nid yw y gweddill ond *anti-climax*. Yn mhell draw ar faes y gâd daeth hanes y fradwriaeth i glust Arthur, a phenderfynodd yntau ddychwelyd yn ddiymdroi i ddial ar

“Y Cythraul bas  
A'm difeddianodd o fy enw da.”  
“Yr eryr bychan hwn  
A gludais ar fy aden pan oedd wan.”  
“Y corgi hwn  
A'm brathodd yn nhyneraf fan fy mron.”

Ymladdwyd brwydr Camlan, ac yno cwmpodd y bradwr a chlwyfwyd y brenin hyd farw. Diangodd Gwenhwyfar i leiandy i geisio tawelweh i'w chydwybod. Er trymed ei glwyfau mynai Arthur i'w filwyr ei gludo yno i gael un golwg arni cyn ymadael o'r byd hwn. Wed'yn ceir *explanations*. Mae Gwenhwyfar yn ymostwng i'r llwch, ond gofala er hyny am fwrw y rhan fwyaf o'r bai ar ysgwyddau Medrawd:—

“Mi gredais ormod ar dwyll eiriau diafl.”

Mae Arthur yn marw, a thyna'r diwedd.

Hwyrach y dylwn sylwi rhyw gymaint ar ffurf y gân hon—Seren Fore yr Arwrgerdd Gymreig. Fe gafodd y

Llew fyw i gyfansoddi glanach a grymusach caneuon na *Gwenhwyfar*. Gobeithio na bydd i 'w ysbryd aflonyddu ar fy nghwsg os meiddiaf amheu hawl ei hoff *Wenhwyfar* i le yn mysg ceinion yr *Awen Gymreig*. Cyfansoddiad amrwd ac amrosgo yw ar lawer ystyr. Mae yr awdwr yn newid ei fesur bron bob anadl. Cawn fod ei acenion yr fynych yn afreolaidd a chlogyrnog. Ni cheir cymaint ag un symudiad arwrol drwy yr holl gerdd. Darllena aml i ddarn yn debycach i ryddiaith gyffredin nag i farddoniaeth. Brithir y gân â brawddegau fel :—

“Gari hyny cofnodwn rai pethau neillduol.”

“Byddwch bur

I'ch barn a'ch teimlad,—yna boddllon fi.”

“Ferchedaidd ffwl.”

“Os siarad wnafl, rhaid imi dy gondemnio.”

“Paid a siarad gair

Oes nad oes arnat eisiau 'ngyru 'n wallgof !”

“Dywelodd mewn llais dwfn, fel pe ar dagu.”

Nid oes dim yn dangos anaddfedrwydd y gerdd yn amlycach na ffigurau yr awdwr. Rhoddais rai engreiffitiau eisoes ; dyma ychwaneg :—

“Cawn ysgwyd dwylo yn *nghlorianau Duw*.”

“Medrawd falch a'i wyr,

A safent oll fel cadarn *fur* di gryn,

Neu *lewod* pan ar fedr rhoddi *naid*.”

“Ond gan im' gychwyn ar y *fordaith* hon . . . .

Euogrwydd bellach fyddo'm llyw a'm *hangor* . . .

Mae genyf dalent, craffter, grym, a dichell

At estyn a chryfhau cortynau '*mhabell*.”

“Every dog has his day,” ac nid gwahanol y Llew. Daeth syrthni henaint ar deyrn y wig, gafaelodd pydredd yn ei ddanedd, a rhyw ddiwrnod fe ddarganfu llu y mân-fwystfilod nad oedd dychryn yn ei lais. Yn sydyn iawn hefyd daeth cyfnewidiad dros ffurf ac ysbryd y gerdd arwrol. Diflanodd arwyddlun y Llew oddiar len y

ffurfafenau, a gwelwyd arall yn meddianu sedd ei ogoniant. Gwron y cyfnod newydd oedd

## YR ARTH.

Nid hawdd fuasai digwydd ar ddau greadur mwy anhebyg i'w gilydd,—y Llew yn frenhinol, yn ddewr, yn ergydlym; yr Arth yn fawr, yn gryf, ond yn araf, llaprwrth, a chwmpasog ei symudiadau. Nid ydych yn ei ofni; yn hytrach teimlwch yn hollol gartrefol yn ei bresenoldeb. Mae rhywbeth yn nghil ei lygad yn gwneyd i ddyn dybied ei fod yn llawn o natur dda. Ac nid ydych yn camsynied. Cofeidia chwi nes bo eich cymalau yn ymddatod, a chrochleisia, “Dan nawdd Duw a'i dangnef.” Y mae ei ddelw yn amlwg ar holl arwrgerddi yr ail gyfnod.

Yn mysg lliaws ser y Cysawd hwn mae'n ddios mai y ddisgleiriaf yw cerdd goronog Lerpwl yn 1884. Y testyn yw “Madog ab Owain Gwynedd.” Mae'n werth sylwi ar ddull y bardd o agor y pwnc:—

“Rwy'n canu cân clodforedd Pwyll ac Antur,  
Y Gwron giliodd o Gynhenau Brodyr.”

Fe gafodd y cyweirnod hwn y fath effaith ar y beirniaid fel y penderfynodd y bardd lynu wrtho byth wedyn. Yn y flwyddyn 1886 dechreuodd arwrgerdd goronog arall—*Cystenyn Fawr*—yn yr un modd:—

“Rwy'n canu cân clodforedd eirf a'r Gwron  
Fu'n borth wrth angen i breswylfod Seion.”

Yn mhen blwyddyn wed'yn enillodd goron arall am arwrgerdd i *John Penry*, dan ddilyn yr un dull byth:—

“Rwy'n canu cân arwriaeth sel a Cariad  
Y gwron feiddiodd dros ei Dduw a'i fam-wlad.”

Tybed mai yr un person oedd *Cystenyn*, *Madog*, a *John Penry*? Safai arwr y gerdd hon, un o feibion *Owain Gwynedd*, ar drothwy *Llys Aberffraw* yn *Môn*. O'i flaen



gwelai y môr mawr yn ymestyn i'r gorllewin. Wrth sylwi ar y tonau yn codi a disgyn, ymollyngai i athronyddu ar fywyd dyn. Canfyddai yn yr olygfa ddarlun perffaith o draws-symudiad yn ol hen ddysgeidiaeth y Derwyddon. Yr oedd yr hyglod Owain Gwynedd wedi marw ac ymrafael blin wedi tori allau yn mysg ei feibion am orsedd Gwynedd. Diflasodd Madog ar y gynen a hiraethai,

“Am ryw dawelach byd, dan gliriach nefoedd.”

O weled dydd a nos yn dilyn eu gilydd daeth i ymholi, “Ai nyui yn unig wasanaethant?” Deffrow'd ysbryd anturiaeth ynddo, ac yn hytrach na dihoeni yn ei hen-wlad ei hun penderfynodd fyned allan i chwilio am eangach gwlad yn y gorllewin pell. Adrodd hanes yr hynt feiddgar hono yw amcan y gerdd. O Fon ac Arfon, o Glwyd a lâl, o ddyffryn Aled a chymoedd Hiraethog dylifai yr ymfudwyr, nes gwelwyd mintai fawr wedi pabellu ar Forfa Rhianedd, lle rhed y Gele i'r môr. Dywedir hefyd fod yno lu o “feirch pynorog” ac “asynod llwythog”. O ble daeth yr asynod nis gwn. Yn mhen tua phedair canrif wedi'r cyfnod hwn y daethant yn bethau adnabyddus yn Nghymru. Rhaid mai creadigaeth arbenig oedd yr asyn arwrol. Ceir disgrifiad bywiog a dyddorol iawn o freuddwydion yr ymfudwyr y noson olaf ar dir eu tadau. “Canfyddai un ei hun ar dywod Malltraeth” (rhaid mai bod dwbl oedd hwn) yn ymladd gyda rhyw ddrychiolaeth :—

“A gwaed dai Môn, a Môn, a'r Ddraig, ac Owen!  
Nes y'i deffroid gan angherddol grechwen.”

Un arall, brodor o Arduw, a freuddwydiai weled Olwen ei wraig yn syrthio yn aberth i haid o “Sacsoniaid arfog,” a llefai nerth esgyrn ei ben :—

“Ymladdaf, lladdaf, lleddais dri yn barod!  
Hen gledd fy nhad—mae tru'gain eto'n dyfod!  
Gadewch fy nhy ar dân, a minau'n gelen,  
Ond, ond, gollyngwch, Ah!—Gollyngwch Olwen!”

Ond erbyn deffro yr oedd y lloer yn wincian arno dwy ddôr y babell,

“A gwelai leuad arall yn ei ymyl  
Mor dlos, mor wen, mor syn, a mil mwy anwyl.”

Pererin arall a freuddwydiai ei fod eisoes ar y cefnfor a'i fod ar suddo i grombil Dafydd Jones :—

“Griddfanai—Dyma'r diwedd—boddi! boddi!”

Pethau rhyfedd, onide, yw breuddwydion y beirdd?

Dranoeth hwyliodd llongau Madog—ddeg o honynt—dros y môr. Gwaith araf, araf, oedd croesi'r Atlantic yn y dyddiau hyuy. Ni ddigwyddodd dim o bwys ar y fordaith. Ni welwyd na morfil, na morforwyn, na morneidr. Ni ddywedir beth gawsai yr ymfudwyr i frecwast nac i ginio. Nid oes son fod neb wedi cael salwch y môr. Nid oeddynt yn chwarae cardiau nac yn betio ar y *day's run*. Ond peidier a meddwl eu bod heb ddiddanwch. Yn ystod y fordaith fe gaed mwy nag un araith gan y gwron Madog. Bob Sul cynhelid gwasanaeth eglwysig ar fwrdd y llongau a chenid y “Te Deum.” A phan oedd y llynges yn methu symud o ddiffyg awel, daeth Talog o Bowys yn mlaen a rhoddodd ddisgrifiad tanllyd o frwydr “Crogen”. Dilynodd un o wyr Môn efo hanes buddugoliaeth “Tal Moefre”, sef *Trafalgar* y ganrif hono. Yn y fan hon ceir llinell wedi ei chodi, heb wybod mae'n ddiameu, o gân Gwalchmai i Owain Gwynedd :—

“A'r Fenai fawr heb drai gan faint y gwyar!”

Gwell fuasai genym yr hen farddoniaeth fel yr oedd :—

“A Menai heb drai o drallanw gwaedryar  
A lliw gwyar gwyr yn heli.”

Nid oes dim yn gystal ei flas wedi ei ail dwymno.

Tra bo'r gwynt yn hepian, goddefer i mi wneyd sylw neu ddau parth arddull yr awdwr. Mae'n amlwg ei fod yn edmygydd mawr o bethau clasurol, a'i fod wedi darllen

Homer a Vyrsil yn Saesneg. Dyna, mae'n debyg, barodd iddo 'sgrifenu "Mona", "Arfonia", "Hibernia", "Lloegria". Hoff enw ganddo ar y gwynt yw "Euroclydon". Dyry *gatalogue* manwl o'r llongau yn ol dull Homer yn ail lyfr yr Iliad,—cawn wybod enw pob llong ac o ble y daeth. A thyna Vyrsil prif-fardd Rhufain, "Am eirf a gwron canaf"—*Arma virumque cano, ebai ef wrth ddechreu ei gerdd anfarwol*. "Rwy'n canu cân clodforedd eirf a'r gwron", ebr awdwr Madog. Y mae y tipyn vanity hwn wedi ei hudo i brofedigaeth mewn un man. Deffroes yr awel o'i chysgadrwydd,

"Ac ar ei hysgwydd gref y llongau iesin  
A frysient fel *dryadon* i'r Gorllewin."

Tardd y gair *driades* o'r Groeg *drys* (coeden), a'i ystyr yw duwiesau'r llwyn. Yr oeddynt yn hollol anghynefin a'r môr.

"Soft she withdrew, and like a wood nymph light,  
Oread or Dryad, or of Delia's train,  
Betook her to the groves."

(Milton, *P. L.*, ix, 387).

Mae'n ddigon tebyg fod y bardd yn ei afaeth wedi camgymeryd y bodau dychmygol hyn am *Nereides* neu for-dduwiesau, arfer y rhai oedd marchog yr eigion ar geffylau. Ond perthyn i'r bardd hefyd ei neillduolion ei hun. Y mae yn hynod hoff o'r terfyniad aw,—*beiddiau*, *trigaw*, *rhwygaw*, *blinaw*, *chwiliaw*, *heibiaw*, etc. Am yr un rheswm gwell ganddo *Madawg* na *Madog*. Ond nid yw yn hollol gyson. Weithiau ceir "godidawg" yn cyfodli a "Madawg"; bryd arall "godidog" yn odli efo "bywiog", a "Madog" gydag "enwog". Nid hawdd, hwyrach, fuasai dweyd "bywiawg" neu "enwawg".

Y mae'n rhaid ini ddychwelyd at *Madog* a'i anturiaeth. Cyfododd tymhestl enbyd, a dechreuodd y gwyr ofni, a grwgnach, ac anobeithio. Ond llefarodd *Madog* yn hyawdl wrthynt:—

“Dysgwyliaf fod o'n blaen gyfandir llydan.  
A gwn fod genym fwyd am flwyddyn gyfan.”

Felly, tawelwyd eu hofnau a bloeddiasant :—

“Er gwell, er gwaeth, dilynwn ein Tywysawg ;  
Rhad ar ein hantur : a byw byth fo Madawg.”

O'r diwedd gwelwyd tir a bu llawenydd mawr. Yr oedd y llynges yn tynu at un o ynyssoedd y Gorllewin. Glaniodd Madog a deg o'i wyr, ac aethant i chwilio'r wlad. Eu gwrhydri cyntaf oedd saethu ych, wedy'n blaidd, wedy'n oen llywaeth. Ow drychineb ! Perthynai yr oen i deulu Toxtol, oedd yn byw ar yr Ynys. Pan weles Toxtol y creadur diniwed a'r gwaed yn rhuddo ei wlan, ymlidiodd a pharotodd i ymladd â'r dieithriaid. Ond troes Madog lilyn ei fwa at Toxtol, ac estynodd iddo ddarn o aur. Yr oedd yr effaith yn syfrdanol. Caffael melynaur lle na ddysgwyliai ond mileiniwch ! Maddeuodd Toxtol a dechreuodd ymson :—

“Mae'n rhaid fod rhai fel hyn, fel d'wedai'm tadau,  
Yn disgyn oddiuchod—plant y duwiau !  
Neu os yn ddynion, gwyrrh o ddynion ydynt,  
Ac O ! fe garai Toxtol lynu wrthynt.”

A hyny a wnaeth—gadawodd ei fwthyn, efe a'i wraig Heth, a'i ferch Wahwa, ac aethant i bbellu ar y traeth gyda phlant y duwiau. Ymroes Toxtol i ddysgu Cymraeg, a thrwy gymhorth y geiriau *tir, afon, a mynydd* rhoes ar ddeall i Madog fod gwlad eang fras yn ei aros yn mhellach i'r Gorllewin. Yna codi'r pebyll a hwylio allan drachefn. Cyn hir cyrhaeddasant wlad Mexico, a glaniasant ar draeth Tampico. “Rwy'n rhywun acw,” ebr Toxtol, a dechreuodd adrodd ei hanes. Yr oedd yntau yn fab i frenin ac wedi ei eni yn ninas Tampico. Dros ugain mlynedd teyrnasai gyda rhwysg, ac ymladdasai yn erbyn y Tamoiniaid a'r Tamantiaid. Ond ymosodwyd arno gan yr Asteciaid a'r Chichemecasiaid, cwmpodd caerau Tampico, a bu gorfod

i Toxtol a'i deulu ffoi dros y môr i'r Ynys hono lle daeth Madog o hyd iddynt. Mawr oedd y llawenydd pan ddychwelodd Toxtol gyda'i gyfeillion y Cymry. Ond yr oedd yn rhaid ymladd. Yr oedd y gelynion yn nerthol a lliosog. Hwylodd Madog a'i wyr i fynu'r afon i ryfela yn erbyn y gormesdeyrn Mexicana. Brwydr hynod oedd hono a ymladdwyd o amgylch hen gaer Panuco. Ymosododd Mexicana yn chwyn ar y ddinas efo'i longau rhyfel, ond profodd *tactics* Madog yn drech na chynddaredd y lluoedd anwar. O dyrau y ddinas taflai y Cymry sypynau o dân, ac yn mhob sypyn yr oedd costrel yn llawn o olew. Dyna longau y gelyn yn goelcerth, a'r fuddugoliaeth wedi ei henill. Wrth ddisgrifio'r frwydr hon—*Brwydr y Botel*—manteisiodd y bardd gryn dipyn ar ei wybodaeth o Homer. Yn niwedd Llyfr 14 o'r Iliad ceir y deryn a ganlyn :—

“A mab Atreus a glwyfodd yn ei ystlys Hyperenor,  
bugail y bobl, a'r bicell gan ei wanu a *yfodd ei goluddion* ; a'i  
*enaid a ffodd ymaith drwy yr archoll*, a thywyllwch a gymylodd  
ei olwg.”

Yn awr gwrandawn ar y bardd Cymreig :—

“Ymruthrai'n mlaen yn orwyllt a chynddeiriog,  
Ond picell arall, o ddeheulaw Talog,  
A suddai'n ddwfn yn nhrwch ei fynwes lydan,  
*A'i enaid drwy yr archoll, lifodd allan !”*

Eto :

“O'i galon fradus, falch, ei *ysbryd euog*  
*A nffodd allan ar y ffrydlif gweridog.*”

Eto :

“A'r bicell *ddigllon*,  
Drwy'r claspiâu pres, a *yfodd waed ei galon !*  
A Mexicana syrthiodd yn ei wrthol,  
Gan guro'r ddaear efo'i goryn marwol.”

Mae y syniad o “goryn marwol” yn curo'r ddaear yn —wel, yn anfarwol.

Cododd Madog ddinas newydd i drigo ynddi. Wrth ddymuno llwydd i'r gwladychwyr, bloeddiai Toxtol:—

“Tra fyddo haul—Tange ichwi, byth Tange ichwi.”

Ac ateb Madog oedd: "Tanquichi boed ei henw." Yr oedd llediaith eisoes wedi disgyn ar ei dafod.

## Y GOLOMEN.

Bellach esgynwn i gysawd "Y Golomen". Mae yr enw hwn yn dynodi diniweidrwydd, glendid, a gwarineb. Rhaid ini ymwadu yn llwyr â'r hen anianawd flwrol, dreisiol, lofruddiog sydd mor amlwg yn y ddau ddsbarth y buom yn ymdrin â hwynt. Hyd yma yr ydym wedi cysylltu arwriaeth â thrwst arfau, â chelanedd, â buddugoliaeth, ond fe lwyddodd y Bardd Newydd i ddyfeisio math arall o wroldeb nas gwyddai yr hen feirdd ddim am dano. Y gerdd a ddewisaf o fysg ser y Cysawd hwn yw Pryddest Goronog Rhyl 1892—"DEWI SANT". Gwrandawn ar y bardd yn taro Cyweirnod ei gân:—

"Am Wron Sanctaidd—Gwron gras a bendith,  
Yr hwn gyfunai grefydd ac athrylith—  
Goleuni cynhes, ysprydolrwydd iraidd,  
Fel awel haf mewn coedydd paradwysaidd,  
Amynedd gwllithog ffydd, gwroldeb llariaidd,  
Fel penderfyniad prydferth gwawr garuaidd,—  
Gwybodaeth wylaidd, cariad anorchfygol,  
Mawrhydi hynaws, ymgysgriad grasol,  
Mewn un cymeriad llawn o fywyd nefol,—  
Dymunwn ganu dan arweiniad dwyfol."

I feddwl cyffredin dichon yr ymddangosai y gwaith o lunio arwr o'r fath ddefnyddiau yn gwbl anobeithiol. Ond nid gwr cyffredin sydd wedi ymgymeryd a'r dasg. O'i flaen ef nid oedd neb wedi anturio gwneyd cyfiawnder â Dewi Sant:—

"Ni threuliodd un athrylith hanesyddol  
Ei hunan allan ar ei oes ryfeddol;  
Ac ni chysegrodd Awen fawr, Homeraidd,  
O chwaeth Virgilaidd ac o nerth Miltwnaidd,  
Ei hun i ddangos, yn hawddgarwch lliwiau  
Enfysau nefol, i ni holl adnoddau  
Ei natur eang oedd yn fyd o doniau—

Hyawdledd roddai fywyd i eneidiau,  
Dirnadaeth rasol welai dragwyddoldeb,  
A chalon bur goffeidiai anfeidroldeb."

Ond o'r diwedd, dyma'r awr, a thyma'r dyn. Er mwyn profi ei bwnc, ffugia ias o amheuaeth :—

"Y dyn bendigaid—ydoedd ef yn wron?"

Yr oedd yn "un o ser disgleiriaf Cristionogaeth", yr oedd yn "loer i Haul yr Iachawdwriaeth", yr oedd yn "awel ber a sanctaidd", yr oedd yn "angel—angel glanaf Gwalia." A oedd efe yn wron? Yr oedd yn "gerub",

"A daeth yn arwr—arwr myg angylion:  
A ydyw ef i ddyinion yn arwron?"

Wedi boddloni ei hun ar y pen hwn, ymhola'r bardd, "Ai Rhyddiaeth ai Barddoniaeth yw," ac etyb y cwestiwn fel hyn :—

"Mae Dewi Sant i mi yn awr yn bod,  
Ac enill mewn bodolaeth mae o hyd . . . .  
Medd i mi hanfod fel meddylddrych myg—  
Fel deddf, neu enaid, angel—rhywboth uwch  
Na Phlenydd, Alawn, Gwron, beirdd Cymreig—  
Mwy dilys na gwroniaid Homer hen."

Cychwynodd y bardd, fel y gwelsom i chwilio am "yspyrdolrwydd iraidd". Wedi esgyn i uchelderau mor anherfynol na synwn, ac na feiwn arno, os gwelwn ef yn dechreu gwanychu ar ei adenydd ac yn chwilio am dir cadarn dan ei draed. Gwrandawn eto :—

"Am ddyn mewn enawd yr ymofynwn ni—  
Mae arnom arswyd gweled yspryd noeth."

Y cam nesaf yw profi ei fod yn meddu ar briodoleddau a theimladau dynol. Dyma'r prawf :—

"Cyflawnai ryfeddodau yn y groth . . . .  
A hoff fu o ffynonau drwy ei oes—  
Cynhesodd liaws, purodd fwy na mwy,  
A chreodd lawer—rhai o ddyfroedd clir,

A rhai o win rhinweddol. Ar ei air,  
Llewyrchai tân ddiddymai nos ein byd;  
Agorai lygaid deillion wrth ei bwys—  
Gwnai nurhyw beth a phobpeth fynai byth.”

Os tybiasom mai gwr ysgafnben, yn byw a bod mewn *abstractions*, oedd y bardd, fe wnaethom gangymeriad. Gwelwn y gall, pan ddewiso, ddisgyn i lawr i'r manylion manylaf. Dyma fel y gesyd allan amryfal ansoddau y dyn yn mherson Dewi Sant :—

“Oni lifai gwaed *Iuddeuig*, llawn o ysprydoliaeth gras,—  
Byw o ffyld ganfyddai olud dwyfol mewn anialwch cras . . . . .  
“Trigai hen *Iberiad* gwelw, gwalltddu, gydag enaid gwyn,—  
Bychan, oediog, hirben, athrist, llawn o feddylgarwch syn . . . . .  
“Syllai *Celtiad* tal, llygadlas, grymus, coch ei wallt, trahaus—  
Gwrol, bywiog, ymherodrol, drwy ei lygaid yn barhaus.”

Dyna ddigon o amrywiaeth, onide, i foddhau y *stock-breeder* mwyaf gofalus. Ond nid dyna'r cyfan. Dywed y bardd yn mhellach fod yn cwrdd yn natur ddofn ei wron, nid yn unig *dderwyddon* a *merthyron* ond hefyd, *Brythoniaid*, *Gwyddelod*, a *Rhufeiniaid*. Hwyrach yr ymhola rhywrai, i beth y bu y gwastraff hwn? Dyma ateb y bardd ei hun,—

“Buasai Duw, fel hyn, am lawer oes  
Yn darpar defnydd pur dynoliaeth fawr  
ARCHESGOB CYMRU.”

Modd bynag, mae y bardd wedi setlo'r cwestiwn, a fu Dewi Sant yn bod yn y cnawd :—

“Ofynir eto, ai prydyddiaeth wyllt,  
Ai ffaith ddaearol oedd fy Newron myg?”

Wedi hyn, hed dychymyg yn ol i'r cynoesoedd i ddisgrifio bywyd a chenhadaeth Dewi Sant. Dyddorol, os nad dymunol i'n balchder cenedlaethol, yw ei ddarlun o Gymru Fu :—

“Pa beth ganfyddai? Gwelai Walia gu  
Yn gorsydd llektiog, neu ddiffaethwch prudd;  
Yn fyd o ddrain, mieri, eithin, grug,  
Neu wigoedd heigient o wyllfilod blwng . . . . .

“Bugeiliaid gorthrymedig, gwreng, tylawd,  
Mewn gwisg o grwyn neu frethyn cartref bras,  
Yn byw bob tymhor ar ryw ymborth syml,  
Anwadal gaent—o law i enau byth . . . .

“Gwyndodiaid llwythog o gynddaredd boeth,  
Powysiaid dan arglwyddiaeth dreigiau llid,  
Dyfedwyr byw o drydan rhyfel erch ;  
Siluriaid llawnion o ddichellion dieifl,  
A meddwon byth ar ysprydoliaeth eirth.”

Na sonier mwy am “godi’r hen wlad yn ei hôl”. Gwaith mawr Dewi Sant oedd dwyn trefn ar y tryblith hwn. Nid anffawd ddigymysg, yn marn y bardd, oedd ymosodiad “eirth y Gogledd—Peithwyr a Gwyddelod certh, a haid ar haid o wancus fleiddiaid môr, Saxoniaid dreng”—ar ein gwlad. Gorfu i’r Cymry anghofio eu cwerylon cartrefol. Apostoliaeth Dewi Sant wnaeth y gweddill. Dyry y bardd ddisgrifiad ohono ar drothwy ei yrfa eglwysig yn ymson fel hyn :—

“ Pwy ydwyf fi—

Pa beth a ddylwn ac a allaf wneyd ?  
Yr wyf yn bod : pa beth yw gwaith fy oes ?  
Rhaid fod rhyw reswm dros fy mod o gwbl—  
Fy mod yn Mhrydain, a fy mod yn awr  
Oblegyd mae rhyw ddyben i bob peth.”

Nid heb lawer o betrusdod a digalondid yr ymgymerodd â’r gorchwyl o wareiddio Cymru. “Ymgreiniaï fel abwydyn yn y llwch.” Meddianwyd ef gan ddychryn gorlethol :—

“ A theimlai dân yn ysu mer ei fôd ;  
Ei wallt gan arswyd safent ar ei ben,  
A berwai chwys cywilydd drwy ei gnawd.”

Ond clywodd lais, adenillodd ei nerth a’i wroldeb, a “dechreuodd ar ei waith o efengylu”. Nid oedd dim allai atal ei gerddediad—ymdeithiai yn mlaen “drwy wres difaol, eira dwfn, tymhestloedd, afonydd, mell, creulondeb anuwiolion, a diafliaid cethin”. Mewn amser profodd ei hun yn “brif bregethwr Cymru Fu”. Ac nid rhyfedd, ag

yntau yn cyfuno y fath gyflawnder o amryfal adnoddau a doniau. Yr oedd yn "athraw myg", yn "eos ber", yn "llew mawreddig", yn "awel falmaidd", ac yn "gorwynt gwrdd". Cyflawnodd Dewi Sant lawer o wyrthiau, ond nid oeddynt amgen na chware plant wrth effaith ei apostoliaeth ar foesau ac arferion y bobl:—

"Gwnaeth wibiaid creulawn yn ddinaswyr llariaidd,  
A hen baganiaid yn gredlinwyr sanctaidd.  
Iachaodd fywyd brwd ei genedl wrol,  
A bwriodd ymaith ei hestroniaid ysol.  
Angylion iddi drwyddo ddiagynasant,  
A dieifl o honi i uffern ddiangasant."

Newidiodd wyneb y wlad, hefyd, fel petasai rhyw ddewin wedi estyn ei hudlath drosti:—

"Cydweithio ynddynt wnaent wrth ddeddf y nefoedd—  
Cyd-sychu corsydd, cycl-ddileu coedwigoedd,  
Cyd-ladd torfeydd o faeddod ac o nadroedd;  
Cyd-droi diffaethwch, llwythog o glefydon,  
Yn ddolydd iraidd ac yn erddi ffrwythlon."

Os gwnaeth hyn i gyd, rhaid i bawb gydnabod fod Dewi Sant nid yn unig yn "arwr myg angylion", ond hefyd yn "arwr cyfandiroedd". Un diffyg a welaf arno. Gresyn oedd gadael cynifer o esgobion a beirdd i aflonyddu ar y wlad. Petasai wedi difa y rhain, buasai wedi gwneuthur ei waith yn llwyr.

Mae gan y bardd hwn, yntau, rai *mannerisms* a lynant wrtho fel croen am fochyn. Nis gall symud braidd gam heb gymhorth yr ansoddeiriau "myg", "dreng", "derch", a "blwng". Serch ei fod yn moli mwyneiddiwch yn ei arwr, ymhyfryda ar brydiau mewn iaith eithafol o grâs ac aflednais, megys "bwystfilod a chythreuliaid", "cythreuliaid celanedd", "diaffiaid cethin", "anwariaeth ddrelaidd",

"Barbariaid dreng o adar ac ynlusgiaid,  
A dynion oedd yn llewod ac yn ddiaffiaid."

Heblaw hyny, y mae yn dueddol i ail-adrodd yr un syniadau drachefn a thrachefn. Pan dybiech ei fod wedi

agor penod newydd, cewch yr hen bethau yn codi i fyny fel drychiolaethau aflonydd na fynant eu gostegu. Mae yma ymgais amlwg i efelychu dull mawreddog Miltwn, ond methiant sobr yw. Rhodres yn hytrach na rhwysg, gwynt yn hytrach nag yni a bywyd, mympwy yn hytrach na chrebwyll, sydd yn nodweddu pob adran o'r gerdd. Yr un yw y gwahaniaeth rhwng "Coll Gwynfa" a "Dewi Sant" ag sydd derwen lydanfrig a thâs wair.

Rhaid cloi y pwnc i fyny. Os caniateir ini eistedd enyd ar sedd barn, pa ddedfryd a roddwn ar y dull o farddoni a elwir "Yr Arwrgerdd Gymreig"? Fy marn onest yw ei fod yn fwy o gollod nag o elw i lenyddiaeth ein gwlad. Nid yw y cerddi hyn fawr well nag efelychiadau o ganeuon enwog y gwledydd ereill. Pob dim sydd dda ynddyt, benthg yw. Os oes ynddynt rywbeth newydd, mae'n ddiwerth a diaddurn. Daeth yr arwrgerdd yn rhy ddiweddar i Gymru. Hwyrach nad yw yn cydweddu âg athrylith ein cenedl. Beth bynag fo'r rheswm, nid yw hyd yma wedi gwreiddio yn y tir. Os cyfaddefir y gwirionedd, gwron yr Arwrgerdd Gymreig yw y Bardd Coronog. Prin y mae yn meddwl llai o'i deganau nag y bydd yr Affricaniad du o'r het silc a'r *patent leather boots* fo'n darguddio ei noethni. Mae y pethau hyn hefyd yn rhoi llawer o foddhad i dorfeydd yr Eisteddfod. Ond yr anffawd yw fod y ffasiynau newydd a lusgwyd i mewn i Farddas Gymreig, cyn i'n beirdd haner eu deall, wedi lllindagu athrylith, llygru chwaeth, a difwyno arddull. Gall Cymru ymdaro yn eithaf heb arwrgerddi; ei hangen mawr yw gwell amgyffred o'r berthynas rhwng bywyd a barddoniaeth, rhwng barddoniaeth a chelfyddyd.

THE MELODIES OF WALES.<sup>1</sup>

By ROBERT BRYAN.

WE Welsh people love to call our country "the land of the hills", "the land of the white gloves", and "the land of song". These names reflect the beauty of nature, the beauty of life, and the beauty of art. Wales has no monopoly in these names; the Alps are grander and as full of beauty as the hills of Merioneth and the mountains of Caernarfon. Norway leads a life as full of innocent beauty as the land of the white gloves; and Germany, Italy, and Hungary are as full of music as the land of song. Still, let us Welshmen retain these epithets, not in disparagement of other lands, but out of respect and love for our own country.

If we love Wales on account of these attributes—natural beauty, moral beauty, and artistic beauty—we will thereby keep our eyes clear to gaze on nature and its manifold beauties, our hearts pure to feel its charms, and our mental abilities bold and strong to cope with its mysteries and to bear our burden of life and fulfil our duty to the world at large.

It is not my intention to dilate on the grandeur of our mountains or the beauty of our vales, nor to comment on the moral aspect of our land, but to offer a few remarks on our love of music, more especially as exemplified in our National Melodies.

<sup>1</sup> Read before the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion at The Clothworkers' Hall, on Tuesday, the 11th of July 1905; Chairman, The Right Hon. Lord Tredegar, President of the Society.

Strangers state that one of the chief characteristics of our nation is its love of music. The sweet sounds of music are heard as the ploughmen till the fields, and the same sweet strains are sung in the depths of the earth by those who labour among the ways of darkness and the shadow of death. Song is the chief charm of the Eisteddfod, and singing makes the multitude forget its woes on the field of the "Sassiwn". Music sets a divine seal on marriage and baptism, and sweetens the sorrows of death on the brink of the grave.

Neither is our joy the vapid laugh of the foolish, nor our sorrow the cry of those without hope, for it is the language of the soul that is on the strings of our harp, the language of a healthy soul that can rejoice in felicity and weep in adversity. Our national joy and sorrow are expressed in national melodies that yield in beauty and depth of feeling to those of no other nation, and our gladness for the moral triumph over evil, and the yearning of the soul for the eternal, are embodied in sacred melodies that no other country, except Germany, has their equal.

Before dealing with our national melodies, a few words on the sacred melodies of Wales are due. Generally speaking, they are the product of the religious Revival in Wales which commenced in the fourth decade of the eighteenth century, a few only hailing from the Protestant revival in the sixteenth. They, like our national melodies, are the products of non-trained musical natures, stirred in this case to their uttermost depths by the joys and terrors of the world to come. The conventional idea of these sacred melodies is that they are woe-begone and melancholy products, barbarous, crude, and artless, and much blame has been attached to the Puritan tendency of our religion for destroying the natural buoyancy of the people.

It is true that the sounds of woe and of mourning are heard in many of these melodies, the cries of a soul in the agony of repentance, the moans and anguish of a prodigal son leaving the husks and returning home. Undoubtedly the following tunes belong to this category: Caerllynggoed, Nebo, Alexander, Jabez, Twrgwyn, Talybont, Old Derby, Delyn Aur, and others. At the same time, it must be stated and emphasised that our spiritual sorrow as expressed in such melodies is not of an intenser and darker hue than that depicted in the German chorales, with this important difference, which is our misfortune more than fault: Germany has had a galaxy of composers of the greatest calibre to harmonise its sacred melodies, to soften and assuage their agony with an art that can never perish. Wales, on the other hand, until a few years ago, had few means of musical culture, and consequently it had to depend on men with an innate talent for music, but with scarcely any musical culture, to clothe its melodies as best they could in decent home-spun. Hitherto we have not been gifted, and, as a matter of fact, no other country has been so favoured, with a musician of the calibre of J. Sebastian Bach, to harmonise sacred melodies with an art so consummate that time can never rob of its infinite variety and charm. But the sacred music of Wales has another mood and another mode of expression, and no country can boast of finer triumphant strains than our little land of hills and dales.

If the sacred muse inspired the grand and fiery airs of the Teuton, "Nashville", "Amsterdam", "Ein Feste Burg", "Wachet auf ruft uns", "Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern", it also inspired the stirring heroic, moral strains of the Cymro—Llangoedmor, Llangeitho, Gwalia, Lledrod, Llanfair, Moriah, Andalusia, and Crugybar. Who is not conscious of overcoming all earthly troubles

and sorrow as he sings these melodies, and hears their tones of grandeur swelling from the vale of woe unto the serene heights of the heavens above with the majesty of the everlasting hills? And whose soul has not been strengthened with the heroism of the noble army of martyrs to keep their lives pure in a contaminating world, and to face the Valley of the Shadow of Death and all its terrors without quailing?

Let us now glance at our national melodies. What a wealth of beauty and expression lies in the twelve hundred melodies that have escaped the ravages of time. There is not a note in the gamut of human and national existence that is not touched by these melodies, from the sombre gloom of "Rhuddlan Marsh" to the exultant defiance of the "March of the Men of Harlech". The Welsh Muse hath longed "Through the Night" for "The Dawn of Day", and hath rejoiced in the early morn for "The Rising of the Sun". She has heard the sweet song of "The Blackbird" on the tree, and the thrilling lay of "The Lark", in the realms of the dawn. She hath listened to the sighing of the breeze in the branches of "The Ash Grove", and harkened to its whisper as it sped gently over the ripening ears of the "White Wheat". It has cheered our country through the long night of oppression, and charmed "The Queen's Dream" with alluring hopes of the dawning days of liberty and joy. It sang a lullaby of life to "The Mother and Babe", and wailed a mournful dirge to the dying bard, "David of the White Stone".

Before dilating on the history and characteristics of some of these melodies, one is tempted to ask a question: As these sacred and secular melodies display such charm and beauty and such genius, how is it that no great musical composer of world-wide fame has appeared yet

in Wales? It would be sheer folly to attempt to enumerate the brilliant musical stars in the firmaments of Italy, France and Germany. Other countries of lesser fame have had sons that enriched the world with the fruits of their genius. Liszt rendered the plains of Hungary famous, and compelled haughty nations to respect the genius of his race. Chopin expressed the agony and hopes and the dreams of oppressed Poland, and the world sympathised with the country whose liberty vanished, as Campbell says, "when Kosciusko fell".

The pathos of Russian serf life flowed through the music of Glinka, Rubinstein and Tchaikowsky, beyond the far extending Russian boundaries, and the hearts of the free nations of Europe and America throbbed with the accents of grief of the Russian moujik.

The Oratorios and the Stabat Mater of Dvorak embody the intense spirit of the Czechs of Bohemia, the land of the reformer John Huss and the patriot Stitny. Grieg, in his songs and suites, gives an idea of the moral energy and purity of peasant life among the secluded fiords and crags of Norway. Yet no one can deny that the national melodies of Wales are as full of charm, as full of genius, as the national melodies of any of these countries so renowned for music, and no one who knows the peasants of Wales and the peasants of these other countries can deny that the former are as highly gifted musically as the peasants of the most highly gifted musical nations in the world. Where do we as a nation fail?

It is an exploded theory that we lack perseverance. A nation that could defy the Norman and Saxon power—England, Normandy and vast territories in France—for two hundred years after the Saxons had been vanquished in one battle on the field of Senlac, does not lack in perseverance. A nation that adheres to its language and cus-



toms for centuries, in spite of the aggression of a powerful nation, does not lack in perseverance. A nation that could throw off the moral shackles of an Established and long revered Church, when this Church forsook its duty, does not lack in power and persistency. We must seek an answer elsewhere; it is near at hand. Music is an art, and requires gift and culture for its highest development. Wales does not lack in genius, but in culture, and that through no fault of its own. No country in Europe has craved more for education, nor sacrificed more for the benefits of culture than our little hilly Wales, and the day hath at last dawned upon our long-benighted land.

During the period of darkness following the Restoration, many a bright effulgent star beamed in our atmosphere.

John Parry, the blind harpist of Ruabon, the domestic harpist of Wynnstay, had great renown in England about 150 years ago: "That son of harmony who delighted the world," wrote Gray from Cambridge to a friend, "Mr. Parry, has been here, and scratched out such ravishing blind harmony, such tunes of a thousand years ago, with names enough to choke you, as to have set all this learned body a-dancing, and inspired them with due respect for my old bard, his countryman, whenever he shall appear. Mr. Parry you must know has set my ode in motion again and has brought it at last to a conclusion."

The ode mentioned here is Gray's celebrated ode on "The Last Bard", who survived the reputed massacre of the Bards by Edward the First at Conway. The skill of Blind Parry so influenced Handel that he composed several concerti for the Welsh harp, and the MSS. of these are, I believe, in the King's collection of Handel's works in the Royal Library, Buckingham Palace. It is a pity that they are not unearthed by some of our present day executants on the triple harp; they cannot fail to be interesting to

Welshmen as the tribute of one of the Titans of music and the greatest choral writer, to the talents of one of the sons of a country since become known as the home of some of the finest choral singers in the world.

Then Edward Jones, *Bardd y Brenhin*, gained great fame by his collections of Welsh Airs ; it was he who first issued in this country a selection of the national melodies of the world. He was followed by John Parry, *Bardd Alaw*, of Denbigh, a great authority on band music in his day, who introduced Handel's *Messiah* to Denbigh, and also composed "Jenny Jones". After him came Richard Roberts, the blind harpist of Carnarvon. I will read you a passage descriptive of this celebrated harpist out of Fetis' *Histoire Générale de la Musique*, one of the greatest French authorities on the history of music ; this quotation appears in a standard book at a period when the tendency of our nearest neighbours, the English, was to pooh-pooh or ignore almost everything Welsh. The whole passage is worth quoting :—

"In 1829, I was present at one of these Eisteddfodau in London. It commenced with an overture composed of Welsh Airs, remarkable for their individuality. Divers airs and choruses were subsequently sung, but they had little interest because they were modern productions. It was different with the ancient air, "Ar hyd y nos", sung with a haunting charm by an able English songstress.<sup>1</sup> Two pieces announced by the programme above all excited our curiosity ; the one was a song called pennillion, sung by three inhabitants of the country of Wales, and accompanied on the Welsh harp ; the other an English theme (?) "Per Alaw, Sweet Richard", with variations, played on the Welsh harp, with triple row of strings, by Richard Roberts, a blind minstrel from Carnarvon. This minstrel

<sup>1</sup> Miss Paton.

had two little harps suspended from his neck, one of silver, the other of gold, gained as prizes for his talent at the Eisteddfod of Denbigh.<sup>1</sup> Our expectations were not in vain—nothing more curious than these pieces could be heard. The pennillion were sung by three inhabitants of Manafon, every one delivered a couplet and took a quite different accent from the preceding. Among them, an old man distinguished himself by the ardour he put in the delivery of the barbaric songs, and one could see on their faces the conviction that their melodies were the finest in the world. These pennillion roused the enthusiasm of the audience. The blind bard of Carnarvon was neither less interesting nor less applauded, his ability upon a difficult instrument was truly extraordinary. The modern harp of Wales has no pedals for the semitones and modulations, they are supplied with three rows of strings, those on the left and right give the diatonic tones, and that in the middle the semitones; nothing more inconvenient could be imagined. Nevertheless, the minstrel, in spite of his blindness, touched the strings in the middle row with marvellous surety in the most difficult passages. The ability of this musician of nature, his serenity, and the goodness depicted on his countenance, rendered him an object of general interest.”<sup>2</sup>

Richard Roberts published a small collection of Welsh Airs called the *Cambrian Harmony*, in 1829, which contains a very fine arrangement for two harps of the melody mentioned by Fétis. He died at the great age of eighty-six, and was buried at Llanbeblig churchyard; but like many others of the sons of song, and like many great benefactors of the world, his grave is unknown.

<sup>1</sup> This should be “at the Eisteddfodau of Wrexham and Denbigh respectively”.

<sup>2</sup> *Fétis*, tome iv, pp. 364-5.

Many other harpists flourished in Wales and verified the epithet "The Land of Harps".

In sacred music, other "musicians of nature" as Fétis described these untutored geniuses, though they were of less fame and of less ability than those mentioned above, also flourished.

Such were John Williams of Dolgelly, a flautist and Church precentor, and a good writer of hymn tunes and anthems ("Sabbath" and "A bydd arwyddion"); John Jeffreys of Llanrhaidr, Vale of Clwyd, a schoolmaster; and John Ellis of Llanrwst, who published a book of sacred compositions *circa* 1818; some of his compositions, such as "Elliot", "Llanrwst", and "Molwch yr Arglwydd" are popular to this day.

These musicians and their *confreres* sacrificed much by travelling from place to place to teach singing, gratis in most cases; they did not reap the fruits of their labour, but we in this age owe these local musicians a deep debt of gratitude. They went forth weeping, but bearing precious seed, and we are joyfully bringing the sheaves with us.

After their days, a new school of music lifted up its head; John and Richard Mills in Llanidloes, Alawydd in Bethesda, and Ieuan Glan Geirionydd. Then followed a fine group of musicians of great ability—men who would have left imperishable names in the history of music had their advantages for musical culture been at all equal to their natural gifts. Amongst them we find Stephens, Tanymarian, the composer of the first Welsh Oratorio "The Storm of Tiberias", a work containing the exceedingly fine double chorus:—"Dyna'r gwyntoedd yn ymosod"; John Ambrose Lloyd, a chaste and fine composer of anthems, choruses and hymn-tunes; J. D. Jones, a melodious writer; Ieuan Gwyllt, originator of the congregational Musical Festival; Gwilym Gwent, the com-

poser of sprightly glees and part-songs; and Owain Alaw, the composer of many anthems and the compiler of a fine collection of Welsh Airs called *Gems of Welsh Melody*.<sup>1</sup>

Neither must we pass by the labours of Miss Jane Williams, of Aberpergwm, who rescued some of the finest South Walian melodies from oblivion; and the late estimable Brinley Richards; nor forget one who happily remains to charm us with his exquisite art, Mr. John Thomas, harpist to His Majesty the King. Nor should we forget the late Nicholas Bennett, who published a very valuable collection of Welsh airs; nor the poets Ceiriog, Talhaiarn, and Mynyddog, who wrote charming lyrics to our national melodies, and did much to popularize them.

Meanwhile Tonic Sol-fa had brought music home to the hearth and made it the art of the Band of Hope and of the day and Sunday School. Also, by the labours of Sir Hugh Owen and his contemporaries, University education was brought into Wales, and we have now somewhat realised the ideals of Owain Glyndwr five centuries ago. Then followed the movement for secondary education, led by the late Thomas Edward Ellis and his colleagues. Nowadays we have an excellent system of education, and the beautiful exhortation of Morgan Llwyd o Wynedd is applicable to Wales:—"The dawn hath broken, and the sun hath arisen, the birds are singing; Awake, O Welshmen, Awake."

Before I call attention to the musical value and characteristics of the National Airs, it will be advisable to make a few remarks upon them historically.

Many people take the national melodies of a country for granted, just as the thoughtless do the forces and beauties of nature, without troubling to inquire whence and when

<sup>1</sup> The late Dr. Joseph Parry belongs more to the future than the past, for he has not yet "come to his own".

they came into being. Every melody has its origin, has emanated from some one at some period, and has been transmitted by various means to us, and sometimes transformed in the process.

When were the majority of the national melodies of Wales composed, and by whom?

Alas, the answer must be very vague, a mere guess. We have contemporary evidence of the love of music in Wales in the days of Giraldus Cambrensis; and the Welsh Bards of yore were both harpists and poets, being, in truth, troubadours; as a matter of fact, they were more highly gifted with poetic genius than their more renowned *confrères* of Provence. Whether any of the celebrated mediæval bards of Wales were the composers of any of our present day national melodies remains unknown. We must for the nonce rest satisfied with the statement that if their best musical compositions were equal in merit to their best poems, they were equally worthy of preservation, for these bards had the knack of anticipating the nature poetry of the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, and their technique is simply a marvel of ingenuity and perfection.

Though history is almost silent on this point, there remains the somewhat unsatisfactory means of estimating their age by the internal evidence of mode, tonality, rhythm and cadence.

Ernest David, in *La Poésie et la Musique dans la Cambria*, has thus endeavoured to locate many of these melodies to periods varying from the twelfth to the eighteenth centuries, vaguely characterising a few as of great antiquity. According to this learned Frenchman, many of our finest melodies, such as "The March of the Men of Harlech", "Y Gwenith Gwyn", "Y Deryn Pur", must belong to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a most suggestive

and interesting speculation, as that period has hitherto been considered one of the most barren in the musical annals of our country. However, the subject is too vast to be dealt with adequately to-night.

Another interesting topic connected with this subject can only be referred to, *i.e.*, the musical influence of nations on one another, and their interchange of melodies or the adoption of the melodies of one another. Thus "Captain Morgan's March" is the "Siege of Gwengamp" in Brittany, "Ymadawiad y Brenin" is "Malgré la Bataille" in France, "Can y Melinydd" is "The Raven" in England. These are only a few examples of the migration of melodies between these countries. I have also found melodies claimed by Hungary and Provence, others claimed by both Russia and Croatia, and by both Spaniard and Basque. One instance of commandeering the musical wealth of another country amused and amazed me—the celebrated solo on the "Death of Nelson" is in reality based on a French melody,—this seems very much akin to adding insult to injury.

I also wish to draw attention to the value of national melodies as means of culture, and to point out how an intelligent acquaintance with them is valuable to help the mind to project itself into ages long passed away, and to assist us to realise life as it then was, and to feel the emotions that swayed mankind in *auld lang syne*.

A halo of romance seems to hover around many of these airs, and the mere mention of their names calls vividly to our minds some scenes in our national life. These airs may be classified as "historic", or, if you insist upon it, as "romantic".

Others, again, rouse our martial spirit at the first strain that falls upon our ears, and set long untouched chords in our souls vibrating, and we seem to hear the voices of our

forefathers and the heroes of the days gone by mingling in the rousing tones of these melodies. These may be classified as "martial" or "military" airs.

Then we have airs that recall social life among our forebears: the joys of winter's eve, the hunting of the hare, and the boar, the dances of the youths and maidens, the lullaby for the babe, and the dirge for the dead. These may be classified as "social".

Then we have airs dealing with aspects of nature: the dawn of day, the rising of the lark, or with beautiful incidents in life. These may be termed "poetic" or "æsthetic".

"It would have been a loss to the music of the world if the Welsh Airs had never come into existence, and that not only on account of their excellence, but because they have peculiarities which distinguish them from the airs of other nations." Such is the opinion of Dr. John Rhys, Principal of Jesus College, Oxford.

What are the characteristics of these airs?

1. Well conceived melodies, well developed and maintaining their character throughout; these melodies often have fine sequences, and no tones are omitted, such as the fourth and seventh, as in old Irish and Scotch melodies. There are no repetitions of the initial phrase, such as we find in Breton and Hungarian, Russian and Servian melodies, as if the composer, though on a path, preferred to mark time than to march forward; but a melodious flow always in character with the underlying idea. These melodies are capable of sustaining the most refined and expressive harmony.

2. Regular modulations and transpositions, or good musical form. The general plan is A. B. A.

A in the minor.    B in the major.    A in the minor.

A in the major.    B in the minor.    A in the major.

A in the tonic.    B in the dominant.    A in the tonic.

3. Very few irregularities in final cadence: a much larger percentage of Russian and Servian melodies are in a different key to the initial phrase. A few Welsh airs end, like Provençal melodies, either on the dominant or on a note suggesting dominant harmony, such as “*Dydd Gwyl Dewi Sant*”. “*Dadl Dau*”, on the other hand, ends on the sub-dominant, a very rare occurrence in Welsh melodies.

4. Regular rhythm, well sustained, and no mixed metres such as the mixture of three-four and two-four time in Hungarian, Breton, and Russian melodies. There are two examples of thrilling effect in sacred music, “*Old Derby*”, “*Andalusia*”.

5. Very little use of the “snap”, though Fetis maintains that it is characteristic of Celtic music (compare “*The Last Rose of Summer*” in Irish and “*Robin Adair*” in Scotch airs). But the snap, with abrupt defiant effect, is much more prevalent in Hungarian music than even in Gaelic or Erse. Yet it would be quite a natural rhythm in Wales considering the prevalence of short penultimate accents in the Welsh language. These airs exhibit this characteristic occasionally, “*Mentra Gwen*”, “*Bore Glâs*”, “*Eös Lais*”, “*Gwyr Harlech*”, and that exquisite gem “*Y Deryn Pur*”, and the lullabies “*Suo-gân*” and “*Y Fam a’i Baban*”; in sacred music, “*Old Derby*”, and “*Crugybar*”.

6. Exquisite expression of feelings, sweetening the accents of mourning, and softening the hard triumphant notes of exultation into a charming poetic tenderness or nobility.

These are the words of Ernest David:—

“*Men of Harlech*”: I deem it my duty to make this song known; it is in fact very fine and of alluring grandeur.”

These are his words on the “*Gwenith Gwyn*”:—“It is not

on account of its antiquity that I give this melody, for I cannot deem it prior to the second half of the seventeenth century, but it is so beautiful, it exhales a perfume so tender, a sentiment so profound, that I could not omit it here. If it be sung with taste, with soul, without forcing the voice, without seeking to produce effect, while contenting to give it its own simple accent, this melody will awaken in its hearers the most tender feeling, even rapture.

At the conclusion of his learned work, Ernest David exhorts the Welsh to retain the harp upon which these exquisite old Welsh airs were first heard. These are his words:—"What confronts you, shades of Meilir, Gwalchmai and Cynddelw? In its conquering march, the piano invades your mountains, and threatens to dethrone the harp, your beloved harp. To the rescue, you Welshmen; resist this invasion with the same determination, the same courage which your forefathers displayed against the Anglo-Saxons. If not, the reign of the harp will end with you as elsewhere; alas, who knows if in a given time this noble instrument will not figure in a museum as a curious and superannuated item? However, I hope this sorrowful supposition will not be realised. Also, in ending this work, too imperfect for my wish, I most sincerely hope that for a long time again the descendants of the Cymry will keep their noble banner flying, and that they will triumph in their artistic struggle—'yn nawdd Duw a'i dangnef'—with the protection of God and His peace. These victories are alone desirable, they are those which profit most and cost least to humanity."

A few words, and my task to-night will be at an end. We are often told that Wales is too small to wield much influence in the world, therefore it ought to be satisfied with being submerged by a more numerous nation; as if quan-

tity and not quality were the true criterion of excellence. Palestine was a small country, about the size of Wales, but its religious and moral influences have been a potent factor in modern civilization, and they will continue so through endless ages. Greece, in the hey-day of its glorious culture, was a small country; but its influence pervades and will pervade the world. Have not the numerically weak nations of Europe to-day as much intellectual greatness as those nations of countless millions?

Mere physical bulk is no criterion of moral, intellectual and spiritual worth. Herein lies the hope of all true Welsh patriots. Wales has, in fact, already proved herself capable of attaining supreme excellence in several spheres of intellectual labour. The glorious series of tales known as the *Mabinogion* are as perfect in form and matter as any that human lips have ever uttered, whether in Ireland, Iceland or Arabia. Welsh hymns, less known to the world at large, can also be truly classed with the finest extant, whether Latin, German, French or English. Our national melodies are also of the finest and the rarest quality, vying with the best national productions of the world.

In two other spheres, Welsh genius is fast attaining supreme excellence—in lyric poetry and spiritual power. German critics of the calibre of Dr. Zimmer and Dr. Kuno Meyer maintain that the Welsh lyric poetry of the present day is the finest in any civilized country. And the late Dr. Jowett many years ago predicted that Wales was destined to lead the world back to spirituality; and do we not now seem to hear the first rustle of the movement.

It is true that in most of these spheres there is a certain disadvantage, that of language, which immediately limits our influence to those conversant with it. But the cultiva-

tion of our language, one of the most ancient, noble and euphonious in Europe, is a debt we owe to our ancestors, as well as a duty to our posterity, and we intend fulfilling our obligations to the uttermost. Competent native and foreign scholars will arise to interpret our thought to the world if we be worthy. On the other hand, in music we have the universal language of civilization, and through it we can speak directly with other nationalities, without the medium of interpretation.

If Wales is to achieve these triumphs, which Ernest David says profit most and cost least to humanity, it must first of all be true to itself, and develop naturally its own traits of character and mind. It is not by weakly imitating another nation, no matter how able and powerful that nation may be, that we can gain the experience and strength of character that will enable the Welsh nation to do full justice to its noble gifts, gifts to be used and not hidden like the talent of the unprofitable servant in the parable.

Let Wales bear in mind the beautiful simile of one of its poets—"Môr o gân yw Cymru i gyd"—"The whole of Wales is a sea of song", and endeavour to develop to the utmost its noble gift of song. Then, perchance, multitudes will hie thither from all quarters of the globe, to walk on the shore of this sea, to listen to the message of the waves, and to return home strengthened and invigorated by the inspiring breezes of Wales—"The Land of Song".

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SIR JOHN PHILIPPS ; THE SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE ; AND THE CHARITY-SCHOOL MOVEMENT IN WALES, 1699-1737.

BY THE REV. THOMAS SHANKLAND.<sup>1</sup>

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It is a matter for surprise that Sir John Philipps, a man so influential and prominent in his time, should have been so unaccountably neglected by our historians and biographers. His name does not appear in any of our Biographical Dictionaries, and is only casually mentioned in the literature of our day. Yet, as a patriot, as a pre-eminent Christian philanthropist, as a religious and educational reformer, and as a great Welshman who accomplished a great work in the Principality, Sir John Philipps, of Picton Castle, certainly deserves to be counted among the greatest benefactors of the Welsh nation in the eighteenth century.

I am not going to attempt, in the present paper, to prove the whole of this thesis. The scope of this paper is limited to a brief sketch of his life and character, and to one aspect of his work, viz., his work for elementary education in Wales in the period that extends from 1699, the date of the foundation of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, to 1737, the date of his death.

<sup>1</sup> Read before the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion on the 11th of May, 1905, at 20, Hanover Square. Chairman, the Rev. W. Osborn B. Allen, M.A. (*Secretary to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge*).



**Sir John Philipps of Picton, Fourth Baronet, 1662-1736.**

*(Reproduced from the Portrait at Picton Castle, by permission of  
Sir Charles E. G. Philipps, Bart.)*

*Photo. by Messrs. D. Bowen & Son, Haverfordwest.*

Sir John Philipps, of Picton, inherited a great name. Fenton, the historian of Pembrokeshire, speaks of Picton Castle and its traditions in the following glowing sentences :—

“ Picton Castle owes its beauties to circumstances that wealth cannot supply or titles confer, circumstances that age and an unbroken line of ancestry in its possessors have given value to and have made venerable ; and an ancient structure that nothing can so much disfigure as an attempt to modernise and make less so ; a castle (and I believe a solitary instance) never forfeited, never deserted, never vacant, that never knew a melancholy blank in its want of a master ; which had always the good fortune to be inhabited by lords of its own, men eminent in their day as warriors, as statesmen, and as Christians ; from whose walls hospitality was never exiled, and whose governors might be said to have been hereditary. A castle in the midst of possessions and forests coeval with itself, and proudly looking over a spacious domain to an inland sea, bounding its property and its prospects beyond them, for such is Picton Castle.”<sup>1</sup>

In this ancestral home it is presumed that Sir John Philipps was born. He was the second son of Sir Erasmus Philipps by Lady Catherine his second wife. His father, Sir Erasmus Philipps, was a man of reputation. He played an important part in the affairs of the Principality under the Commonwealth. He was a Commissioner under the “ Act for the Better Propagation and Preaching of the Gospel in Wales (1650-3)”, and under the Ordinance of August 1654. And it is very interesting to note here in passing that Sir Erasmus Philipps had a prominent share, under these Acts, in the first organised movement for Elementary Education in Wales on a national scale.<sup>2</sup> He was a member of Parliament in

<sup>1</sup> Fenton's *Hist. of Pembrokeshire*, p. 278.

<sup>2</sup> The name of Sir Erasmus Philipps appears often on the Orders of the Commissioners. The following is an interesting example :—

“ By the Com<sup>rs</sup> for propagacon of the Gospell &c. : Swansey 2 August 1652.

“ Llanbedr : Itt is ordered that a free Schoole be created and settled in the towne of Llanbeder in the County of Cardigan for the Educacon of

1654-5, and again in 1659. In addition to these, he held many other honourable appointments. His mother, Lady Catherine, was the daughter and co-heir of the Hon. Edward Darcy by Lady Elizabeth, daughter of Philip Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield. The precise date of Sir John's birth cannot be stated with certainty. All that we can say is that the date inferred from the handsome marble monument erected to his memory in the parish Church of St. Mary, Haverfordwest, cannot be correct. It is there said that he "departed this life Jan. 5, 1736, at London, in the 77th year of his age". This would give us either 1659 or 1660. But Sir Erasmus Philipps's second marriage is known to have taken place on September 1, 1660.<sup>1</sup> Therefore, since we know that Sir John was the second child of that marriage, 1662 is probably nearer the mark than 1660. Of Sir John's youth and education we have at present no records. That he was a very well educated man, his correspondence amply proves.

In 1695, on December 30, John Philipps was returned

Youthes in Englishe and Latine Tongue. And that the yearely summe of twenty poundes bee allowed for the keeping of the said freeschoole. And Mr. Thos. Evans is hereby authorised to keep the said Schoole and to receive the said stipend till the Comrs shall take further order therein, and John Price Esqr Trear for South Wales is hereby enabled to pay and allow the said summe of twenty poundes, att such time and Seasons as the same shall grow due and payable, the first Quarter to commence the five and twentyeth of March last past.

"Rowland Dawkins, Erasmus Philipps, James Philipps,  
Sam. Lort, John Lewis, Jo. Browne, Jo. Daniell."

*Lambeth MS.* 1006, p. 56.

<sup>1</sup> "1660 Sept. 1. Sir Erasmus Philipps Bart., of Picton Castle, co. Pembroke, about 37, and Katherine Darcy, Spr., about 19, dau. of Edward Darcy, of Drury Lane, London, Esq., with the consent of her parents, at St. Clement Danes, or Islington, Middx."—Allegations for Marriage Licences issued from the Faculty Office of the Archbishop of Canterbury at London 1543-1869.

*Harl. Soc. Pub.*, vol. xxiv, p. 47.

to Parliament for the borough of Pembroke, and continued to represent that town till 1702. He re-entered Parliament on March 4, 1718, as member for Haverfordwest, and sat till 1722. His epitaph briefly sums up the quality of his service in Parliament in these words:—"He serv'd with great reputation and honour for the Town of Pembroke, and for this Town [Haverfordwest] and County, in several Parliaments, where his constant aim was to promote the cause of virtue and religion, and the real good of his country."

John Philipps succeeded to the Baronetcy, as fourth Baronet, on the death of his venerable father, Sir Erasmus Philipps, on January 18, 1696-7. Sir John Philipps also succeeded his father as Custos Rotulorum of the county of Pembroke, January 18, 1696-7.

On December 12, 1697, he married Mary, the daughter and heir of Antony Smith, a rich East India merchant of Surat and London, who died November 18, 1722; he had issue by her three sons and three daughters. Erasmus, (1700-1743), the eldest son, succeeded his father as fifth Baronet. The second son John (1701-1764) succeeded his brother, Sir Erasmus, as sixth Baronet, on his death in 1743. His third and youngest son, Bulkeley, who erected the marble monument "to the pious memory of their late excellent father" at St. Mary's, Haverfordwest, had his seat at Abercover, in the county of Carmarthen. The three daughters, Catherine, Elizabeth, and Mary, all died unmarried.

From 1695, the year of his entry into Parliament, to 1737, the year of his death, it may be truly said that Sir John Philipps devoted himself with noble zeal and persistent industry to the great work of his life. He had the command of great wealth, and he laid it out munificently in multifarious schemes of philanthropy. Indeed,

few men can be found in the United Kingdom during this period whose personal labours and charitable designs were at once so varied and lofty in character, and so benevolent and far-reaching in their results. Of Sir John Philipps's many worthy contemporaries no one's name is more respectfully mentioned in the various records of the period. Therein he is very often described in such terms of admiration and affection as "that great and good man", "the champion of virtue", "the ornament of the Society", "the pattern of enlightened patriotism", etc. His high character and noble philanthropy are always represented as the fruit of his deep and truly evangelical piety, for Sir John Philipps was a convinced and pronounced Evangelical Churchman, and, as I have already suggested, pre-eminently a Christian philanthropist.

His epitaph admirably summarises his various ways and methods of doing good in these words:—"He was one of the most active Commissioners for building the fifty new Churches in and about the City of London, and a leading Member in that Metropolis of many Charitable Societies, to which he was a very ample Benefactor. To attempt a Character of this great and good Man, so well known and admired at home, and in foreign Countries, would be an injury to it: his good Works speak eloquently for him, particularly his extensive Liberality on all occasions, to this Town and County."

Sir John was a "leading member" and one of the most liberal benefactors of the religious and charitable institutions of his time. He was a member and patron of several of the Religious Societies, and of many of the Societies for the Reformation of Manners; a leading member, a great benefactor, and a frequent Chairman of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; an original Trustee and an enthusiastic supporter of the

Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts; a liberal contributor to Dr. Bray's design for the establishment of Parochial Libraries; a Commissioner for the Relief of the Poor Proselytes appointed by Queen Anne; a member of the Commission for Building fifty new Churches in London and Westminster; and a great supporter of charity schools, parochial workhouses, and missionary work in the gaols.

One of the characteristic landmarks of the age of Sir John Philipps was the rise and progress of the above-mentioned religious and philanthropic societies. The sources of these institutions are to be sought long before the time indicated in the majority of our histories. Small communities of Christian believers, gathered together under a voluntary covenant to live a holy life and walk in good works, were numerous in the days of the Tudors, and to these obscure congregations—Anabaptist and Independent—modern society owes infinite obligations. Dr. Charles Borgeaud recognises in these free and autonomous religious societies the origins and models of our modern democratic and free institutions.<sup>1</sup> They taught the people the great value of the principles of association and co-operation for the attainment of common religious objects. During the Civil Wars, and under the Commonwealth, the scope and number of these societies were largely increased. The Restoration of 1660 has been described as a moral catastrophe, a revolution of reaction, benumbing in its influence, paralysing effort, a deathblow to national aspiration, to all those aims which raise man above himself.<sup>2</sup> Although such a cataclysm may seem to interrupt the continuity of history, yet in fact there is no interruption. The Revolution was but an incident in the

<sup>1</sup> *The Rise of Modern Democracy in Old and New England.*

<sup>2</sup> Mark Pattison's *Milton*, 140-1.

historic evolution of the nation through one of its successive stages. The reactionary movement gradually spent itself, and the regenerating forces of the nation recuperated. The moral paralysis of the Restoration was unquestionably great, and it is not difficult to exaggerate the immorality and corruption of the age, but it is erroneous to state that the Religious Societies, which had flourished so luxuriantly during the Commonwealth, fell to pieces at once with the advent of the "Merry Monarch". Hundreds of the Religious Societies survived, not without great damage, it is true, the Restoration and all its reactionary forces. In tracing the filiation of the religious and philanthropic societies of the end of the seventeenth century, many of our Church historians seem to have entirely overlooked these earlier societies. The evidences, however, show that the first stirrings of the reaction of the religious sentiment, and the first signs of the rekindling of the religious consciousness of the people, that followed the culmination of the "period of shameless moral depravity and political corruption",<sup>1</sup> appeared first among the remnants of the older societies. This revulsion from the open vice of this period of "rebuke and blasphemy" grew, and the hearts of men of true piety of all shades of opinion were kindled with a new enthusiasm. The spirit of toleration growing stronger and stronger during this time, allowed small bands of enthusiasts to associate for the cultivation and diffusion of higher standards of life, and the promotion of good works. When these enthusiasts for religious and moral reform organised themselves into societies, the new societies were constituted on the model of the older and existing societies. The number of new societies increased steadily from 1670 onward. During the reign of William and Mary these

<sup>1</sup> Mark Pattison, *Essays*, vol. ii, p. 110.

voluntary associations with religious, moral, educational, and various other philanthropic aims became very numerous under the patronage of the King and Queen and the leading people of the land, who greatly encouraged and stimulated their formation.

The first of these Associations was established for the education of "poor Welsh children". This work had been started in 1671-2 by the venerable Thomas Gouge alone, but in 1674, on account of the magnitude of the work, a trust was formed for the printing and distribution of Welsh religious literature, and also for "the teaching of poor Welsh children to read English, write and cast Accompts, in such Towns where Schools are not already erected". The first Committee of this society contained the names of John Tillotson, Benjamin Whichcote, Edward Stillingfleet, Richard Baxter, Matthew Poole, Thomas Firmin, Thomas Gouge, and many others of great influence and wealth. The society was formed on the principle of comprehension, which was in the air at the time. It contained the leading men of all sects. The story of the charitable and educational work of Thomas Gouge and his society in Wales were so widely circulated by the society's reports, and the appreciative notices of such men as Richard Baxter, John Tillotson, John Owen, and Thomas Manton, that it became known on the Continent and in New England. There are evidences to show that this Welsh society and its work exerted a far-reaching influence, the significance of which is not yet fully appreciated. The mixed character of its membership was, however, objectionable to many Churchmen, and from the death of its founder, Mr. Thomas Gouge, in 1681, the contributions and the work of the Welsh Trust were gradually withdrawn from Wales. In his account of the rise and progress of the Charity-School movement in London

and Westminster, John Strype gives us the reasons for this withdrawal. The account is so interesting, and the evidence is so important in its bearings, that I give it in full :—

“There is yet another sort of Charity in this City (maintained by the *Society* before mentioned, *viz.*, for promoting *Christian Knowledge*) very singular and extraordinary; the like whereof is hardly practiced in any City of *Christendom* besides, and for which the Citizens concerned therein deserve to stand upon lasting Record; And that is, the erecting of Schools in many Parishes of *London* and *Westminster* (especially the great Parishes in the Suburbs) called *Charity Schools*, for the free Education of poor Boys and Girls, and also for their Maintenance in Apparel; and afterwards disposing of them abroad in honest callings.

“This favour of the *Londoners* toward poor Children began divers Years ago in *North* and *South Wales*. When about the year 1670 the Poverty and Ignorance of those Parts raised a Compassion in the Hearts of many good Citizens (which must be recorded to their Honour). So that they and their Interest contributed such Sums of Money as maintained a great number of poor *Welch* children at School, to read *English*, Write, and cast Accounts. And Schools for that purpose were erected and settled in many Places in those Countries. And this pious Practice so flourished, that in the Year 1674 or 1675, Certificate was made, that in 86 of the Chief Towns and Parishes in *Wales*, 1162 poor children were put to School, over and above 200 put to School the last Year by the Charity of others. And this Charity had already provoked divers Landlords and Inhabitants of several Towns and Parishes in *Wales* to put 863 of the poorest *Welch* children to School upon their own Accounts. So that 2225 in all were already put to School to learn as before.

“And this Charity extended not only to poor Children, but to the Rest of the poor *Welch* Inhabitants to furnish them with Christian Knowledge. For by this Charity they had distributed freely among them a great number of pious Books translated and printed in the *Welch* Language. So that in the Year 1674, there had been bought and distributed in several Families 32 *Welch* Bibles, and 479 *Welch* New Testaments; Which were all that could be bought up in *London* or *Wales*; Besides 500 *Whole Duties of Man* bought and disposed in like manner. And 2500 *Practice of Piety*, with some Hundreds of Licenced Treatises translated into *Welch* were then printing, and almost finished; which were to be freely given also to the Poor People in those Parts.

“This became a Trust, and was connected to several Eminent Ministers of *London*, *viz.* : Dr. Tillotson, afterwards Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Dr. Whichcote, Dr. Simon Ford, Dr. Bates, Dr. Outram,

Dr. Patrick, afterwards Bishop of Ely, Dr. Stillingfleet, afterwards Bishop of Worcester, Dr. Fowler, afterwards Bishop of Gloucester, Mr. Durham, Dr. Meriton, Dr. Hezekiah Burton, Mr. Baxter, Mr. Matthew Poole, and Mr. Thomas Gouge, sometimes Vicar of St. Sepulchres, London; which last also devoted himself and his Estate to this Service and Labour of Love; Going himself divers Years successively into Wales from Place to Place, enduring in his old-Age all the Fatigues of Travelling in that Mountainous Country to oversee and manage this great Public Work.

"There were also in the same Trust some Eminent Citizens of the Laity, as Thomas Firmin, Henry Norton, John Du Bois, and some few others.

"But this Charity, however it lessened in Wales, afterwards began nearer Home; as I proceed now to shew."<sup>1</sup>

It will be seen, therefore, that the Charity-School movement in London and Westminster was the offspring of the Gouge movement in Wales. The new London movement received its first impulse and resources from the Welsh Trust. This establishes the historical continuity of the work. I have failed, so far, to establish a direct official connexion between the Welsh Trust and the founding of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in 1699. The principles, objects, plans, and methods of work of this society are so like those of the Trust that it is impossible to deny filiation. The only notable differences being that membership in the new society seems to have been entirely restricted to members of the Church of England, and that its work was to be more directly related to that Church.

This is sufficient to show that the Welsh Trust was the mother society of the great philanthropic institutions of this period. I have failed to establish any direct connexion between Sir John Philipps and the older society. Still, there are reasons for believing that he must have heard much of its work in his early days at Picton. His father, Sir Erasmus Philipps, would naturally support the work of Gouge in Wales. He had taken a leading part

<sup>1</sup> Strype's 1720 Edition of Stow's *Survey of London*, Bk. v, p. 43.

in the Commonwealth educational movement in the Principality, and Stephen Hughes and other colleagues of Gouge had been fellow-workers with him in that movement.

I come now to the numerous religious and philanthropic societies which Sir John Philipps actively supported by his membership and liberal benefactions. The notices must be necessarily brief.

### 1.—THE RELIGIOUS SOCIETIES.

In order of time and importance the first place is due to the Religious Societies. Dr. Josiah Woodward, the historian of these societies, refers their beginning to the preaching of Dr. Anthony Horneck at the Savoy Chapel, and Dr. Smithies, at St. Michael's, Cornhill, somewhere about the year 1678.<sup>1</sup> The account of Dr. Woodward is very scanty. The following extract will help to give an idea of their origin and methods of work.

"Besides all the Societies before spoken of there be *The Religious Societies*, voluntarily entered into by some good People of the City, on purpose to employ a Part of their Time in Religion, and to quicken one another in Good Things. These had Methods and Orders to be observed among them. Which being laid before the late Queen and the late Archbishop Tillotson were enquired and approved by both, and greatly esteemed by several of the Archbishops and Bishops since. These are Superior in Time to any of the other *Societies*, and perhaps gave occasion to the rest. The Beginning of them was thus: When in King Charles II's Time, there

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<sup>1</sup> *An Account of the Rise and Progress of the Religious Societies of the City of London*, etc., and their endeavours for Reformation of Manners. The 1st edition appeared in 1697, the 2nd in 1698, the 3rd in 1701, and the 7th in 1801. Jablonski, the Chaplain of the King of Prussia, translated the work into German. The translation spread the Account of these Societies in Germany, and it influenced the Pietistic movement. It also influenced Howel Harris and the Methodist movement in Wales, as the following extract proves:—"I began to Establish Religious Societies. In the formation of these Associations I followed the Rules given by Dr. Woodward in a work written by him on the subject." (*Whitefield's Journal*, p. 164.)

were many infamous Clubs of *Atheists, Deists, Socinians, &c.*, set up; (too many of which by their scandalous Lives, endeavoured to destroy all Sense of Divine Things, and of the Difference of Good and Evil) Some serious Persons of the Church of England thought it necessary to oppose their *Proceedings*, and formed themselves into *Societies* that should assist one another in their most holy Faith, and in a Practice agreeable thereunto. These Considerations, and the like, brought together a considerable Number of pious Persons about the year 1680, who met often to Pray, sing Psalms, and read the Holy Scriptures together, and to reprove, exhort, and edify one another by religious Conferences. And their Number daily so encreased, that they made, about the Year 1700, Thirty Nine Societies in and about *London* and *Westminster*. And their Examples have been followed in divers Parts of this Nation, and in *Ireland*, especially *Dublin*, where there were some five or six Years ago about Ten Societies.

"And lastly there be *Societies of Young Men*, that enter themselves voluntarily into Companies on purpose to preserve and keep up in themselves a Sense of God. And have their set Meetings both in Private, for Religious Conference, wherein they have the Counsel and Conduct of some grave pious Minister of the Church of *England*, for the directing of their Consciences; and for the instructing of them in any Matters of Doubt or Scruple, for the better keeping of a good conscience both toward God and Man; and observing Justice and Truth in all their Dealings and Callings. And also meet publicly in some of the Churches of *London* and *Westminster* commonly on *Sundays*, at five or six o'Clock in the Afternoon; where they have lectures preached to them by Godly Ministers, appointed and paid by themselves; And in some Places the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper administered to them."<sup>1</sup>

We have ample evidence of the rapid growth and extension of these religious societies in North and South Wales during the period between 1699 and 1737, preserved in the Minutes and Abstracts of Correspondence of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, which, through its members and correspondents, encouraged their organisation in the Principality with great zeal in the first decade of that period. Of that evidence, only a very small portion, selected mainly to illustrate the progress of the Charity-School movement, one branch of their manifold work, could

<sup>1</sup> *Stow's Survey of London*, Strype's 1720 Edition, Book v, pp. 40, 41.

be given in the appendix to this paper, and this must suffice for the present to support the statements herein made as to the issues of their work.

The extent and value of the excellent religious and philanthropic work of these societies in Wales during this important, but unknown, period of its history have as yet received hardly any recognition at all. I will venture to say, after a study of their multiform activities in the literature of the period, and of the original sources referred to above, that we observe, in the rise and progress of these societies and their work, the antecedent causes, and the agencies that produced the great revival movement of the eighteenth century in Wales, in all its various forms. Of this movement Sir John Philipps was at once a splendid product and a moving cause of the first importance. For more than forty years of his busy life, he constantly advocated and encouraged the formation and the work of religious and kindred societies in this country, often in face of great jealousy, and faithfully attended their meetings in spite of the jeers of men of his rank, and munificently subscribed to their various funds.

That the devotional exercises and fellowship of these societies satisfied a real craving of his nature, and had a great influence in developing and enriching his singularly pious and spiritual character, that they fostered his intense hostility to the irreverence, loose morals, and bad manners of his age, and intensified his zeal as a moral and religious reformer, is abundantly proved by his own testimony. The genuine delight which he experienced in the spiritual companionship of the humblest members of the religious societies, is well described in a letter which he writes to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, from Picton Castle, on June 7, 1712, relating a casual visit to a Pembrokeshire society :—

"That he was very lately very agreeably surpriz'd with a conversation of a Religious Society, that he providentially fell into; that there were at least 9 of these happy Souls who were mett together for y<sup>e</sup> 2<sup>nd</sup> time to entertain one another in a Xtian Manner, but that he could not describe ye humility and heavenly mindedness that appear'd in every one of them."<sup>1</sup>

Sir John Philipps, by his own strenuous efforts, and by devoting most of his income to the support of the religious and philanthropic work of these associations, and to acts of private and unostentatious benevolence, rendered great services to the revival movement of his age. His influence on this general movement can only be gauged by a full acquaintance and just appreciation of the extent of those services, both direct and indirect. We are not yet in possession of all the necessary facts. We have, however, sufficient evidence for stating, with scarcely any exaggeration, that that influence was great. His influence over Griffith Jones, the leader of the Evangelical Movement in Wales, and over the Oxford Methodists, must have been very considerable, for we have their own testimonies on record that he nobly supported them with his purse, inspiration, and his guidance. It may be said that he discovered Griffith Jones, and that he ushered him into his philanthropic work. For some years before he conferred on him the benefice of Llanddowror, he had befriended this pious and earnest young clergyman. Sir John seems to have had very high opinion of him from the first, for he introduced him to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge as a likely schoolmaster for the first Charity School established by the Danish Missionaries at Tranquebar, India,<sup>2</sup> in which Sir John was deeply interested. In a

<sup>1</sup> Abstracts of Correspondents' Letters, 3103.

<sup>2</sup> The following "Postscript" is added to the Society's Report for 1711:—"Nor does Europe wholly confine this design of Charity Schools, but it begins to extend as far as the Eastern Countries. For at *Tranquebar*, on the coast of *Coromandel*, two of the Danish Missionaries, Natives of *Ger-*

letter of his, from Picton Castle, dated 24th Oct. 1712, he writes :—

“ In answer to the Society's of the 18th instant. That he had rec'd the Copy of Mr. Ziegenbalg's L<sup>re</sup> to Mr. Hoare with which he was very much pleased, that he had remitted his Subscription for last Quarter to Mr. Shute: That ther's a very worthy Clergyman in Carmarthensh<sup>e</sup> whose name is Jones that has lately discover'd an inclination to goe to Tranquebar, and for that end is desirous to acq<sup>t</sup> himself with the Portuguese Language and would gladly receive a Portuguese Gram<sup>r</sup> if it can be procur'd. Refer'd to the Malabar Committee.”<sup>1</sup>

In another letter from Picton Castle, dated 20th Nov. 1712, he writes :—

“ That he is very much pleas'd w<sup>th</sup> the kind reception Mr. Plutschö found w<sup>th</sup> the Society, and that there were a Short Purpose Prayer composed to be constantly used at the Society for the Protestant Miss<sup>ns</sup> in India. That he had communicated the Society's proposal to M<sup>r</sup> Jones for going as a Schoolmaster to the East Indies. That he was under some ties by the affect<sup>ms</sup> of the people where he is, however that he w<sup>d</sup> consider of it and by the latter end of this month make his answer.”<sup>2</sup>

In a further letter from Picton Castle, dated 6th Dec. 1712, he writes :—

“ That he is very glad to hear Mr. Prof. Frank<sup>3</sup> at Hall is sending a Missionary Printer and an Assistant to India, and is of opinion that it might be of Service to the design if M<sup>r</sup> Frank and M<sup>r</sup> Plutschö were desir'd to testify to their friends & Fellow Labourers in the work, the very grateful sence that is entertained here for the Encouragers of it. That he shall gladly receive a Portuguese Dictionary and Grammar for the use of M<sup>r</sup> Jones whom the Society have invited to go to India.”<sup>4</sup>

In the next letter from Picton Castle, dated 13th Dec.

*many, the one Bartholomew Ziegenbalgh, and the other, Henry Plutschö by Name, have begun a small Charity School for the Malabarian Boys.”* Quoted in *Two Hundred Years*, p. 123.

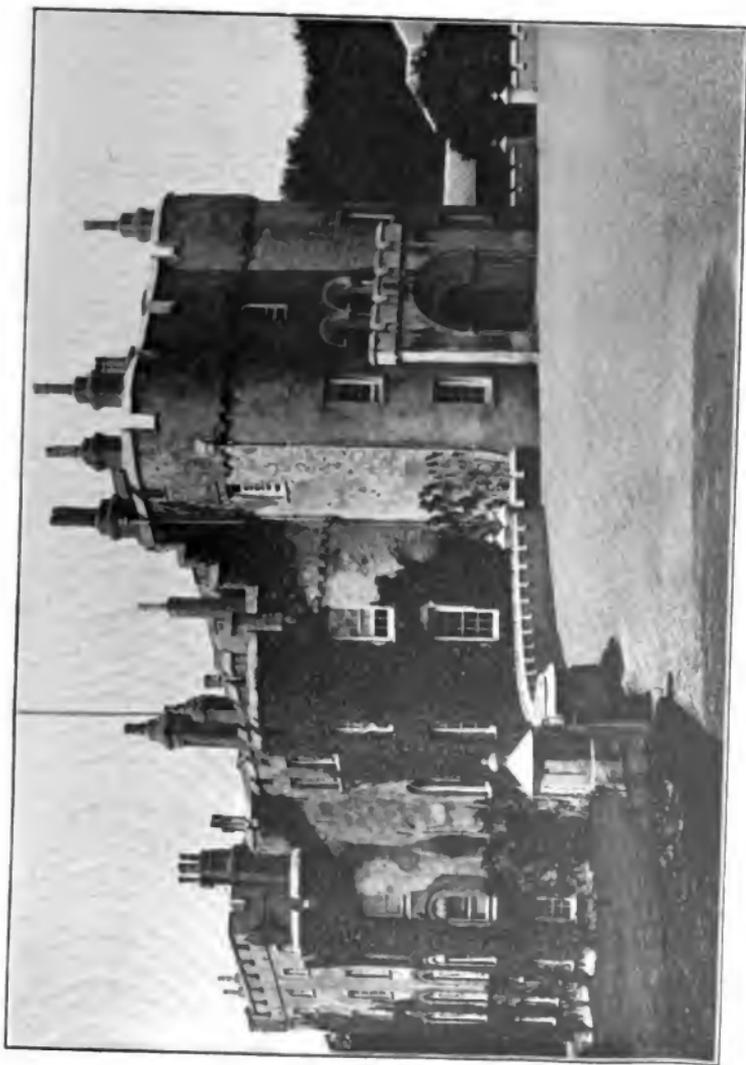
<sup>1</sup> Abstract of Letters of Correspondents, No. 3322.

<sup>2</sup> Abs. No. 3383.

<sup>3</sup> August Hermann Francke, the German Pietist Reformer and Educationist—a friend of Sir John Philipps.

<sup>4</sup> Abs. No. 3403.





**Picton Castle, at the Present Day.**

*Photo. by Messrs. D. Bowen & Son, Haverfordwest*

Sir John seems to be convinced in his own mind that Griffith Jones would proceed to India, for he writes:—

“That M<sup>r</sup> Jones is inclin’d to imbrace the Society’s proposal of going to Madras, but will not declare himself absolutely determin’d before he has been in London, not to make the best terms for himself (wherein he is altogether passive) but to be furnish’d with the properest means to fit him for so great a Trust. That he has already made considerable progress in the Spanish Language which will facilitate his understanding the Portugese. That when he goes, he shall desire some part of what the Society allows him may be paid to his mother, who is very tender of him, & yet willingly resigns him up to the hand of Providence.”<sup>1</sup>

Fortunately for Wales, Providence had decreed that the sphere of the labours of Griffith Jones was not to be on the Coasts of Coromandel, and frustrated these plans by making it “impractical” for the new schoolmaster to proceed on a certain date. Sir John writes from Picton Castle on Jan. 8th, 1713:—

“That Mr. Jones intirely acquiesces in the opinion of the Society as to the impracticableness of going by the present fleet to the East Indies.”<sup>2</sup>

After this time, although Griffith Jones continued to receive urgent letters from the Society, the Missionaries, and others, such as Patrick Cockburn, Minister of the English Church at Amsterdam, and Anthony Will. Böhme, Chaplain of Prince George of Denmark and Translator of Professor Franke’s *Pietas Hallensis* into English, it is clear from the correspondence of Griffith Jones<sup>3</sup> and Sir John

<sup>1</sup> Abs. No. 3404.

<sup>2</sup> Abs. No. 3420.

<sup>3</sup> The following letters are interesting:—“Griffith Jones at Laugharne, Carmarthenshire, 29 May 1713, In answer to a letter wrote to him by the direction of the Malabar Committee: That the great Love and Zeal the Society discovers to the Immense Glory of God, and their Compassion for the good of Souls, deserves to be acknowledg’d by all good men. That it is one part of the Saints communion, that they are all at work for one another, by frequent prayers and good offices, throughout the whole earth, and that it is no small comfort to good men, that they are able to prove their sincerity and truth of being God’s Saints by such evidence. That the

that he had decided to remain and work "in his Native Country". This final decision was communicated by Griffith Jones to the Society in a letter from Laugharne, where he lived at this period, dated Nov. 22, 1713, in these brief but significant sentences:—

"That as to y<sup>e</sup> invitation of going to the Indies as a Missionary, he thinks himself obliged to decline it upon the prospect he has of doing more service to religion in his Native Country than he can propose to do abroad."<sup>1</sup>

If friendship is, as Addison says, "a strong habitual inclination in two persons to promote the good and happiness of each other", then, during these anxious negotiations, a strong friendship was formed between Sir John and Griffith Jones, which lasted until they were separated by the death of the former. Sir John had formed a remarkably correct estimate of the future revivalist even at this time. In a letter, written to the Society for Promoting

great advantage he proposes to himself from the conversations of such excellent Xtians has long induced him to see London, though he labours under many inconveniences, and among others that the little flock committed to his charge would be depriv'd of the Ministry of God's Word during his absence. That for his own part he confesses himself more wanting to be fedd, than qualify'd to feed other people, and that besides much tribulation he has few other marks of being in favor with God. That 'tis not the belief of his unmeetness and insufficiency only which hinders him from resolving upon the Mission to Malabar, but likewise the extremely miserable blindness of his own country; but that as to this, he shall resign himself to the Will and Providence of God. He proposes very speedily to set out for London the shortest and most convenient way as he shall be advis'd in order to wait upon the Society."—Abs. No. 3583.

"Griffith Jones, at Laugharn, Carmarthensh., Oct. 9, 1713. That he cannot sufficiently express his gratitude to Mr. Boehm and Mr. Cockburn for their kind instructive Letters, by means of which the Protestant Mission to the East Indies is render'd more easy to his mind, and he patiently waits the direction of Providence therein. That he hopes Dr. Saunders has 'ere now signify'd his thoughts in relation to another impression of the Welch Bible, and that if he has not, the proposal being orphan like, he hopes it may claim a greater regard and compassion from the Society to promote it."—Abs. No. 3690.

<sup>1</sup> Abs. No. 3803.

Christian Knowledge, from Picton Castle, dated Nov. 7, 1713, he says:—

“That Mr Jones of Laugharne lately made him a visit in which his family were much edified by his conversation, and Sr John is more confirmed in his opinion of his abilities and sincerity for a successful labourer in whatsoever harvest the Providence of God shall determine him to.”<sup>1</sup>

A local revival of some magnitude broke forth under the eloquent preaching of Griffith Jones in the churches of Carmarthenshire and Pembrokeshire in 1714. No such preaching had been heard within the walls of the Established Churches since the days of the Puritans, and the people flocked from all parts in thousands to hear the Gospel proclaimed in the real Welsh “hwyl”. His splendid voice, attractive personality, and earnest desire for the salvation of men took the people by storm. The traditions of his marvellous preaching remain in Carmarthenshire to this day, but the story of his first revival has never been written. But it created jealousy and roused the opposition of some of the clergy of the Diocese against the revivalist. He was arraigned before his Diocesan, Adam Ottley, at Carmarthen. Sir John’s friendship proved itself a real boon to Griffith Jones in this crisis, for his influence in the diocese was very powerful. In a letter from Picton Castle, dated 9 Oct. 1714, giving an account of the trial, Sir John says:—

“That Mr Jones of Laugharne has lately undergone a Sort of Tryal before the Bishop of St. David’s at Carmarthen, where several of the clergy appear’d against him, whose principal accusation was his neglecting of his own Cure, and intruding himself into the churches of other Ministers without their leave, the contrary whereof was manifestly prov’d, viz., that he never preach’d in any other place without being invited either by y<sup>e</sup> Incumbent, Curate, or some of y<sup>e</sup> best inhabitants of the Parish. That he had indeed preach’d twice or thrice without y<sup>e</sup> walls of

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<sup>1</sup> Abs. No. 3773.

y<sup>e</sup> Church, the reason of w<sup>ch</sup> was because the church was not large enough to contain y<sup>e</sup> hearers, which sometimes amounted to 3 or 4000 people. That his defence was so clear and satisfying that the Bp declar'd he was willing Mr. Jones should preach any where, having an invitation from the Min<sup>r</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> place. That Mr. Jones is very importunate with him to procure some more Bibles and other good Books from Mr. Auditor Harley, to whom he desires a tender of that charitable request may be made with his humble service."<sup>1</sup>

From this time forward the relationship between the two reformers became very intimate. In 1716, Sir John placed Griffith Jones in the living of Llanddowror, and in 1720, Griffith Jones is married to Sir John's sister Margaret.<sup>2</sup> We have several letters of Sir John showing how he encouraged his young friend to take up the increasing burden of his own life—the moral reformation of his country. One of these letters must suffice here. Writing to Griffith Jones, in an undated letter, Sir John says:—

"I believe that there has been scarcely any age, since the first publication of the Gospel, wherein men talked and wrote more irrationally (that is, on the subject of religion) and lived and acted more immorally, than at the present time. There might have been more superstition formerly; but now much more profaneness. O! my dear friend, let all the servants of God be exhorted (as the excellent Bishop of Sodor and Man used to do his auditory) to pray earnestly to God for those who do not pray for themselves, and to resolve with Joshua, that whether men will part with their idols or not, they themselves and their houses will continue to serve the Lord; and who knows how far their faithfulness and charity may prevail with God to withhold the vials of his wrath, ready to be poured out upon this rebellious nation."<sup>3</sup>

Now, it seems true to say, after the examination of the foregoing evidence, that Sir John Philipps had a powerful influence over Griffith Jones, who profoundly influenced the subsequent developments of the revival movement in Wales.

It seems equally true to say that Sir John's influence

<sup>1</sup> Abs. No. 4163.

<sup>2</sup> All the biographies of Griffith Jones call her the half sister of Sir John. This is an error. She was his sister.

<sup>3</sup> *Letters of the Rev. Griffith Jones*, 1832, pp. ix, x.

over the leaders of the revival movement in England was powerful and far-reaching.

In the year 1729, a small religious society was formed at Oxford. It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that the formation of this little society was a red-letter day in the history of this country, for it transformed the revival movement and the history of the world to a very large extent. At first it consisted of four members only, viz., William Morgan, commoner of Christ Church; Samuel Wesley, student of Christ Church; Robert Kirkam, of Merton; and John Wesley, Fellow of Lincoln. These young men were subsequently joined by John Gambold, servitor of Christ Church; John Clayton, of Brazenose; Benjamin Ingham, of Queen's; George Whitefield, servitor of Pembroke; and several others. The association of Sir John Philipps with these eminent leaders of revival and reform is alone a sufficient title for distinction. If we can in addition prove his influence over these Oxford Methodists, and his service to them, we shall make good his claim to a glory of which Welshmen, at any rate, may well be proud. The direct testimony of the leading Oxford Methodists, in their letters and journals, is sufficient to prove beyond doubt Sir John's beneficent influence over these revivalists during the most critical and formative period of their lives. At a time when the religious societies were regarded with jealousy, and their members with prejudice, and often with derision, he sustained these leaders of new movements with a liberality so noble and a hospitality so benevolent that must have left a deep impression on their minds. It is no wonder, then, that they always mention his name, and his acts of kindness to them, with deep affection.

It is very difficult to determine the time when Sir John began to encourage and support the Oxford Religious

Society. It is very probable that he knew several of its members before the formation of the society in 1729. John Gambold, for instance, who entered Christ Church College in Oct. 1726, hailed from Sir John's own county—Pembrokeshire—and was a brilliant son of his first schoolmaster at Llanychaer and afterwards at Puncteston, viz., William Gambold, the author of a Welsh Grammar, who subsequently became the rector of these parishes. William Gambold was a schoolmaster and clergyman after Sir John's heart, a man of "unaffected piety and purity of manners". It is certain that Gambold and his two sons, John and William, both of whom became great scholars and great revivalists, knew Sir John's "constant course of private donations". John Gambold joined the Oxford Methodists in March 1730.<sup>1</sup> John Clayton, who entered Brazenose in 1725, became a member of the "holy club" in April 1732.<sup>2</sup> A letter from Clayton to John Wesley, dated from "Oxon, Aug. 1, 1732", proves that both Wesley and Clayton were on terms of close friendship with Sir John before that date; he writes:—

"I hope you will not forget to pay my due compliments to Sir John Philipps, Mr. Wogan, and all my other good friends."<sup>3</sup>

Benjamin Ingham also joined the band in the year 1732. He was one of the Missioners to Georgia in 1735. On the Sunday before he embarked, viz., Oct. 12, 1735, he writes of his visit to Sir John in these words:—

"Thence I went to Sir John Philipps, a very worthy gentleman, and a devout Christian, who showed me a great deal of respect, and did me many favours when I was in London, where, having exhorted one another, we kneeled down to pray, and so parted."<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *The Works of John Gambold*, 1789, p. ii.

<sup>2</sup> John Wesley's letter to R. Morgan, sen., in *Wesley's Works*, vol. i, pp. 13, 14.

<sup>3</sup> Tyerman's *Oxford Methodists*, p. 29.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 67.

Another event occurred at this time which profoundly affected the course of the revival movement. The Governors and Trustees of the new Colony of Georgia persuaded John and Charles Wesley and Benjamin Ingham to go as Missioners to that Settlement, and on the 14 Oct. 1735, they left London in a boat for Gravesend to embark on the transport ship *Simmonds* for Georgia.<sup>1</sup> Sir John Philipps was deeply interested in the promotion of that philanthropic Settlement, mainly composed of discharged prisoners and Salzburg fugitives. The story is too long to relate here. It is an error to say that the Society at Oxford "practically collapsed" when John and Charles Wesley left Oxford in 1735.<sup>2</sup> The leadership was for the time entrusted to Richard Morgan, a pupil of John Wesley, and a brother of William Morgan, one of the first members. It is difficult to say whether these Morgans were remotely connected with the Principality or not. Tyerman, the historian of the Oxford Methodists, confuses several Morgans in his various accounts.<sup>3</sup> William Morgan, the first Oxford Methodist died in Sept. 1732.<sup>4</sup> Richard, his brother, entered Lincoln College on the 23 Nov. 1733.<sup>5</sup> Richard Morgan writes to John Wesley from Oxon, Nov. 27, 1735:

"I do not doubt but we shall be able to send you a colony of thorough good Christians. I have undertaken the care of Bocardo. I go there three days in the week, and Mr. Broughton a fourth, etc."<sup>6</sup>

In this letter he expressed an earnest desire to go to Georgia,<sup>7</sup> but his father ordered him "to study physic at

<sup>1</sup> *Wesley's Journal*, vol. i, under the date.

<sup>2</sup> Perry's *History of the English Church*, 2nd Ed., vol. iii, p. 63, and Lecky's *History of the Eighteenth Century*, vol. ii, p. 553.

<sup>3</sup> Compare Tyerman's *Whitefield*, vol. i, pp. 14, 56, 173, and 174.

<sup>4</sup> Tyerman's *Wesley*, vol. i, p. 84.

<sup>5</sup> Foster's *Alumni Oxon*.

<sup>6</sup> Tyerman's *Wesley*, vol. i, p. 131.

<sup>7</sup> C. H. Cruikshank's *History of Methodism in Ireland*, vol. i, p. 12.

Leyden.”<sup>1</sup> He married soon afterwards and lived in Ireland. Wesley visited him in 1769.<sup>2</sup> The object of this elucidation is to prove Sir John’s interest, influence, and services to the movement at a critical period in its history. When Richard Morgan was about to leave Oxford, George Whitefield assumed the leadership of the Oxford Society. George Whitefield entered Pembroke College on the 7th Nov. 1732, and joined the Oxford Methodists early in 1735. He left Oxford in 1735, and returned again early in 1736. He shall now tell his own story of the circumstances of his return :—

“ But when I came to Oxford, my friends there urged several reasons for my continuing at the University. The ‘ Mr. Wesleys had not long gone abroad, and now no one was left to take care of the prison affairs,’ etc. They further urged that God blessed my endeavours *there* as well as at Gloucester; that the University was the fountain head; that every gowmsman’s name was legion; and that if I should be made instrumental of converting one of *them*, it would be as much as converting a whole parish. At the same time, unknown to me, some of them sent to that great and good man, the late Sir John Philipps, who was a great encourager of the Oxford Methodists; and though he had never seen, but only heard of me, yet he sent word he would allow me £30 a year, if I would continue at the University. Upon this, finding the care of the prisoners would be no more than, under God, I could undertake with pleasure, and knowing the University was the best place to prosecute my studies, I resolved, God willing, to wait at Oxford a blessing on the first fruits of my ministerial labours.”<sup>3</sup>

In a letter to John Wesley, dated London, Sept. 2, 1736, Whitefield informs Wesley that Richard Morgan had recommended him to Sir John Philipps, and praises the faithful support of Sir John Philipps to the Oxford Methodists at this period :—

“ The Lord put it into the heart of our dear friend Mr. Morgan to inform Sir John Philipps of our affairs; who immediately sent

<sup>1</sup> Letter of Hutton to J. Wesley in Tyerman’s *Wesley*, vol. i, p. 132.

<sup>2</sup> *Wesley’s Journal*, July 15.

<sup>3</sup> “ A Short Account of God’s Dealings with George Whitefield.” Tyerman’s *Whitefield*, vol. i, pp. 42, 43.

me word that he would allow me £30 a year, if I would continue at Oxford and superintend the affairs of the Methodists. Providence directed me to accept of his kind offer; accordingly I preach every Sunday to the prisoners, and follow your steps as close as possible. . . . . Sir John Philipps is very much in our interest, and a blessed instrument of supplying our wants, and of encouraging us in our weak endeavours to promote the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ."<sup>1</sup>

This letter to Wesley was written during Whitefield's first visit to London. Whitefield met Sir John Philipps for the first time on this occasion. He records the event as follows :—

"In the evening [of Aug. 4, 1736] I reached the Tower, and was kindly received by my dear friend [Thomas Broughton]. The remainder of the week was spent in visiting Sir John Philipps, etc., who were very glad to see me."<sup>2</sup>

He returned to Oxford early in October 1736. The Religious Society during that winter met at his room, and it flourished as it had done under Wesley's superintendence.

"Several dear youths were quickened greatly, and met daily at my room to build up each other in their most holy faith."<sup>3</sup>

These young men were supported in the University by Sir John Philipps, Sir John Thorold, and Lady Betty Hastings. In the following account Whitefield refers to these, and especially to Sir John's further support to himself.

"God raised up friends for our temporal support. The late Honourable Betty Hastings, that elect lady, allowed some of them two or three small exhibitions. I also partook of her ladyship's bounty; and a gentleman, whose heart was in an especial manner knit to me when in London, was stirred up, without being solicited, to send me, not only money for the poor, but also a sufficiency to discharge debts I had contracted for books before I took my degree. Upon his recommendation, also, I was chosen a corresponding member of the Society for Promoting Christian Know-

<sup>1</sup> Tyerman's *Whitefield*, vol. i, pp. 56-57.

<sup>2</sup> *Further Account of God's dealings with George Whitefield*, 1747, p. 7. Tyerman's *Whitefield*, vol. i, p. 55.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9. Tyerman's *Whitefield*, p. 57.

ledge,' which I rejoiced in, as it gave me an opportunity of procuring books at a cheap and easy rate for the poor people."<sup>2</sup>

Charles Wesley returned from Georgia in 1736. Two days after his arrival in London, he visited Sir John Philipps, whose house in London seems to have been the sanctuary of the leaders of religious and moral reform in this and other countries during this time. The record of this visit is preserved in *Charles Wesley's Journal*:—

"1736, December 6. I waited upon good old Sir John Philipps who received me as one alive from the dead. Here I heard a most blessed account of our friends at Oxford; their increase both in zeal and number."<sup>3</sup>

There is a note in *The Life and Times of Selina, Countess of Huntingdon*, to the effect that Sir John Philipps was one of the first members of the Methodist Society at Fetter Lane.<sup>4</sup> Now, "the little Society", which afterwards met in Fetter Lane began at the Rev. Mr. Hutton's house in College Street, Westminster, on May 1st, 1738.<sup>5</sup> Sir John Philipps died on January 5, 1736-7. The Methodist-

<sup>1</sup> The authors of *Two Hundred Years* are inaccurate in the following statement:—"When the religious meetings at Oxford—began in 1729—issued in the movement (1738) headed by John Wesley and George Whitefield, the S.P.C.K. did not take the side of the innovators, but rather opposed them, as we gather from its publications at the time. It was adverse to "enthusiasm", and one is prepared to find no representative of Mr. Wesley's School on its list of members. Although John Wesley's father had been a member of the Society until his death (1735), neither of his sons, John or Charles, appear on its lists. The name of Fletcher of Madely, Grimshaw of Haworth, Berridge of Everton, and Whitefield are likewise absent. The Society, like the rulers of the Church, was under the deadening influence of the Whig policy," pp. 127-8.

John Wesley was made a member of the Society on August 3rd, 1732, *Tyerman's Wesley*, vol. i, p. 83.

The Society supplied Wesley and Whitefield with books for the poor, and for the prisoners at Oxford.

<sup>2</sup> Tyerman's *Whitefield*, vol. i, 58.

<sup>3</sup> *Charles Wesley's Journal*, vol. i, p. 56.

<sup>4</sup> Vol. i, p. 77.

<sup>5</sup> *John Wesley's Journal*, under date.

Moravian Society formed on May 1st, 1738, was really a reconstruction, under the guidance of John Wesley and Peter Böhler, of one of the older religious societies, a society over which the Rev. Mr. Hutton had presided for many years. John Wesley preached to this society in 1735, from the text "One thing is needful"; and his sermon was the means of the conversion of James Hutton, the eminent Moravian, and of his sister.<sup>1</sup> Sir John Thorold and Sir John Philipps were members of this older society. In a letter written by Sir John Thorold to John Wesley, dated from "St. James's Palace, May 24, 1736", he informs Wesley that:—

"Sir John Philipps has been for several weeks hindered from attending the Societies, by reason of sickness, and infirmities."<sup>2</sup>

The inference from the foregoing testimonies is clear and convincing. Sir John Philipps was a friend and patron of some of the members of the Oxford Methodist Society before its formation in 1729; John and Charles Wesley were on terms of close intimacy with Sir John before 1735; when the Wesleys left Oxford for Georgia, Richard Morgan was entrusted by John Wesley with the superintendence of the society and its prison work; Richard Morgan knew Sir John, and when his father insisted upon his going to Leyden to study physic, he wrote to him recommending young Whitefield as his successor; Sir John offered Whitefield an annuity of £30, and more if necessary, whilst he would remain at Oxford; from 1735 to 1737, Sir John became the chief patron of the Oxford Society and its young members, supplying nearly all their wants; his house in London became during this period the meeting-place and asylum of all the young leaders of the new Oxford movement which forms an epoch in English history. It is difficult to estimate Sir John's influence over these young

<sup>1</sup> Tyerman's *Wesley*, vol. i, p. 108.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 132.

men during this critical period of their lives, but we are safe in saying that it was powerful, for all agree in specially emphasising his strong personality, his saintly character, and his genuine anxiety and efforts to promote the revival of religion and the moral reformation of the people. They found in him a father, who had been engaged in the movement for over a quarter of a century, full of wisdom and practical experience. His encouragement, example, and protection was instrumental in inspiring them to activities along many separate and varied lines of action.

A friend and patron of John and Charles Wesley, the founders of Wesleyan Methodism; of George Whitefield, the founder of Calvinistic Methodism; of John Gambold, the eminent Moravian bishop and poet; of Benjamin Ingham and John Clayton; and of Griffith Jones, Llanddowror, the Welsh Church Evangelical revivalist, and founder of the Circulating School movement in Wales, etc., deserves better fame than he has hitherto obtained among his own countrymen. I have dwelt on this aspect of Sir John's life and work for the reason that all his religious and philanthropic efforts were entirely due to his religious motives.

## 2.—THE SOCIETIES FOR THE REFORMATION OF MANNERS.

The Societies for the Reformation of Manners were offshoots of the Religious Societies. They came into existence about 1692. Queen Mary addressed a letter to the Justices of the Peace of Middlesex, on July 9, 1691, recommending the administration of the laws "against profaning the Lord's Day, drunkenness, profane swearing and cursing, and all other lewd, enormous, and disorderly practices". In January 1692, the King issued a proclamation against vice and immorality. The first Society for the Reformation of Manners was formed to secure the objects aimed at in these

royal proclamations. A central organisation was afterwards established, composed of the leading men of London, Members of Parliament, eminent lawyers, magistrates, etc., who banded themselves together to inform and secure information against the transgressors of the laws of the realm. They agreed to pay over the fines to charities, and to defray all the expenses of prosecutions from the subscriptions of the members. The Archbishop of Canterbury and the leaders of the denominations encouraged and stimulated the clergy to join these societies. The association of Churchmen and Dissenters in this work, although objectionable to some, was an effective agency for spreading the spirit of toleration which was characteristic of this period. Sir John Philipps was one of the leading and most active members of the central organisation for the Reformation of Manners, and a large subscriber to its funds from its commencement. The short notice of his death in *The Gentleman's Magazine* records that he was "one of y<sup>e</sup> Society for Reformation of Manners."<sup>1</sup> Affiliated societies were organised throughout the land.

These societies were formed in many of the counties and towns of Wales. Pembrokeshire and Carmarthenshire had both central and local associations as early as 1699. The first record is a letter addressed to Sir John Philipps, dated Nov. 29, 1699, from Pembroke, which "Saith, the Clergy are zealous to promote Reformation, and intend to unite very speedily."<sup>2</sup> Another letter from Carmarthen is worth quoting in full:—

"(Lay) Mr. Lloyd, of Alty Cadno, Carmarthenshire, South Wales, to Mr. Chamberlayne, Aug. 1st, 1700. That the Clergy and Members of his Society are much encouraged by their Correspondence wth this Society. Himself gratefully accepts the Correspondence, & promises his best assistance. That some of the prime Clergy are cautious abt Associating, he Supposes they

<sup>1</sup> *Gent. Mag.*, 1737, p. 60.

<sup>2</sup> Abs. 4.

delay it till the Bishop is appointed. That some cavil at the word Association, & that has retarded several Gentlemen. That they are so dispersed that they have few meetings unless accidentally, and some promise to do their Duty without entering into any Society, & those that have entered themselves do meet once a month or Six Weeks. That the proceedings at the Quarter Sessions hath had a visible effect on the Gentry. That the Design of Schools is most likely to take effect, when the Manners of the people are reformed which they are now endeavouring. That he will from time to time give account to the Society of their success & difficulties."<sup>1</sup>

Another letter from Carmarthen, dated 19 May 1701, is a fair example of the reports of the effects of these associated efforts to reform the manners of the Welsh people at this time :—

"There are some Societies for Reformation of Manners which have been so successful, that Drunkenness, Swearing, Profanation of the Lord's Day, &c., are generally suppress'd and the State of Religion very much mended."<sup>2</sup>

The movement created and circulated its own literature, and the amount dispersed was immense.<sup>3</sup> The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge rivalled the Society for the Reformation of Manners in its promotion of this movement, and particularly in the circulation of special literature. The first step taken by the S.P.C.K. to provide Welsh literature was an order for the translation of pamphlets relating to this crusade against immorality and law breaking. The following Minute is recorded under 24 February 1700-1 :—

<sup>1</sup> Abs. 146.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 299.

<sup>3</sup> The following is an example of one distribution in London and Westminster :—

"Mr. Serjeant Hooke reported that the Society for Reformation of Manners had dispersed about thirty thousand printed Papers throughout all the publick Houses in and about London and Westminster, and that these Papers were well received in all these Houses, tho' between six and seaven thousand in number, except in about twenty of them."—*Minutes of S.P.C.K.*, June 16, 1701.

“Ordered that Dr. Evans be desired to find out a fit person who may translate into Welch the following Books and Papers, vizt. :—

- “1. A Perswasive towards the Observation of the Lord's Day.<sup>1</sup>
- “2. The Caution against Swearing.<sup>2</sup>
- “3. The Caution against Drunkenness.
- “4. A Rebuke to uncleanness.”<sup>1</sup>

The circulation of so much literature, and the prosecution of so many persons for Sunday trading, profane swearing and cursing, drunkenness, and immorality, must have done an appreciable amount of good in preparing the way for the great revival. Sir John warmly advocated and supported this movement with his purse, and by his own noble example. Defoe attacked the movement, and suggested to the superior classes to try the effect of a little good example in reforming their inferiors. Sir John's actions could not be taunted thus; he attacked the vices of the upper, as well as the lower classes. We have one striking example of this; for some reason Mr. Harcourt, Clerk of the Peace for Middlesex, had challenged Sir John to a duel. Sir John, in a dignified manner, refused the challenge, in spite of the greatest provocation. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge sent him a vote of thanks on that occasion in the following words:—  
“Resolv'd that the thanks of this Society be given to Sir

<sup>1</sup> No. 1 and 4 of these were translated by Sion Rhydderch at the request of John Vaughan of Derllys under the following title:—

“Cilgwth neu Ergyd at Halogedigaeth. Ymha un yr Annogir hen ac Jenaingc i gwbl ymroi i wellháad Buchedd, Gan droi at yr Arglwydd Mewn pryd, cyn iddo ef dywallt ei Farnedigaethau trymmion yn ein herbyn: Ynghyd a chyubelliad diragrith i gadw 'n Sanctaidd y Dydd Sabboth, neu un Dydd mewn saith; yr hyn a Orchymynodd yr Hollalluog i gadw ai dreulio'n ddilwgr; Troseddiad pa un yw 'r Mwyaf O Bechodau ein cydwladwyr y *Cymru*. O gyfieithaad ac Argraphiad John Rhydderch. Ac ar Werth ganddo ef.”—Ashton, *Hanes Llenyddiaeth Gymreig*, t. 201.

<sup>2</sup> “Na thwng ddim.” Llundain 1703. *Llyfr Cym*. 272 and 283.

John Philipps for the Noble and Christian Example he has shown in refusing a Challenge after the Highest Provocation Imaginable, and that the Lord Guilford be pleased to acquaint him therewith."<sup>1</sup>

### 3.—SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE.

Of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, Sir John Philipps was one of the earliest and most distinguished members. This venerable Society was established on March 8, 1699, by Lord Guilford, Sir Humphrey Mackworth, Justice Hook, Dr. Thomas Bray, and Colonel Colchester.<sup>2</sup> The two main objects to which the new Society immediately addressed itself were the establishment of Charity-schools and the circulation of religious books.

On April 5, 1699, the new Society "Resolv'd that Sir John Philipps and Mr. Yates be desired to be Members of this Society, as also Mr. Martyn".<sup>3</sup> This was the first requisition for additional members, and it will be noticed that Sir John was the first name added. He was, therefore, all but one of the original founders. His first attendance and payment were made on Oct. 11, 1699. From this date forward, it is no exaggeration to say that Sir John was one of the most active and liberal members of the Society. The Minutes and Correspondence show that he was, by turns, elected to its honorary offices, and was from time to time entrusted with much executive work requiring personal weight, and skilful negotiation, in its prosecution. What he was to the Society is admirably described in the resolution of the Committee on hearing of his death. They express their "great concern for the loss of a Gentleman who had so many years been the Ornament, and in a great measure the

<sup>1</sup> *Minutes of S.P.C.K.*, 21 Dec. 1699.

<sup>2</sup> *Minutes* under date.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

Support, of the Society; and to whose Example, liberal contributions, and indefatigable endeavours, the success which by the Blessing of God, the Society had met with was very much owing".<sup>1</sup>

Sir John took an active share in every branch of the Society's work at home and abroad. He contributed liberally to its various enterprises. Still, it is true to say that he was more specially interested in promoting its work in Wales. The prominent part which he took in the organisation and support of the work of this Society in Wales, is one of the first among his many claims to be remembered. Before I proceed to exhibit his special interest and labours in promoting its work in Wales by a series of extracts from the records of the Society, it will be interesting to give a selection of extracts to illustrate his interest in its general work.

We find that on March 10, 1700-1, the Society—

"Order'd that Sr John Philipps be desired to speak to Sr George Rook [Admiral Rook, who captured Gibraltar in 1704] about dispersing the Seaman's Monitor, together with the Kind Caution against Swearing, and the Perswasive to the Observation of the Lord's Day amongst the Saylor's in his Majesty's Navy."

And, it was reported in the next meeting, on March 17, 1700-1—

"That Sr John Philipps has spoken to Sr George Rook about dispersing the Seaman's Monitor, &c., amongst the Seamen, which Sr George ha's readily promised to do to the utmost of his power."

It is interesting to learn that Sir John was the first to suggest the establishment of the Westminster Workhouse. The London Workhouse in Bishopsgate St. was one of the first of these institutions, and as a social reformer, Sir John had been deeply interested in the experiment. On March 2, 1703-4, we read that—

<sup>1</sup> *Minutes*, Jan. 11, 1736-7.

"Mr. Nelson acquainted the Society that he had rec<sup>d</sup> a letter from Sr John Philipps, wherein he propose's the Erection of a like Workhouse in the Liberty of Westminster, as ha's been Erected in the City of London, he being of opinion that the same Act of Parliament which empower'd the City of London to set up such a Workhouse, extend's also to the Liberty of Westminster."

The following is a further example of his genuine sympathy with the poor. At the Committee on January 24, 1705-6—

"Sir John Philipps moved that a Poor's Box may be sett up in some convenient place at the Societie's Meetings where such Gentlemen as are so disposed may putt in their Charity with Secrecy: especially since it appear's that great mercy may be shewed to the poor, with small sums of money, which motion was refer'd to the Standing Committee; And the Committee is also to consider of some proper Book which may with advantage be putt into the hands of poor people, lately redeem'd from Prison."

The revocation of the Edict of Nantes drove hundreds of thousands of French Protestants into exile. Many of the refugees came into this country. The story of their settlement, churches, and industries is an interesting chapter in English history. Sir John Philipps for many years led, in this country, in providing hospitality and in relieving the poorer classes of these persecuted people. He introduced a Bill to naturalise foreign Protestants into Parliament;<sup>1</sup> this passed into an Act of Parliament in 1712.<sup>2</sup> When the Palatine Christians were exiled in 1709, and the Queen voted a sum of money to support them, Sir John was one of the Commissioners who were appointed by Letters Patent under the Great Seal.<sup>3</sup> He was also one of the leading supporters of the Salzburgers, and contributed largely to the fund for settling them in Georgia. There are many references in these records to Sir John's philanthropic work among these refugees.

<sup>1</sup> *A Chapter in English Church History*, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *A Letter to Sir John Philipps, Bart., occasion'd by a Bill brought into Parliament to Naturalise Foreign Protestants.* London, 1717.

<sup>3</sup> *Two Hundred Years Ago*, pp. 386-7.

He was greatly interested in foreign missions. Reference has already been made to his efforts to persuade Griffith Jones to go to Malabar as a schoolmaster under the Danish missionaries. He writes to the Society on the 13 Sept. 1711 :—

“That if a present of the Portuguese Testam<sup>t</sup> were made to the more considerable Benefactors to ye Malabar Mission, as also to the E. India Company, and Portuguese Merch<sup>t</sup>s, whether it might not be of Service to ye Designe.”<sup>1</sup>

On the 7 Oct. 1729, he writes and

“Encloses a Bill for £100 on Mr. Herne toward the support of Mr. Schultze<sup>2</sup> from a private Benefactor.”<sup>3</sup>

This private benefactor, we presume, was Sir John himself, for he generally concealed his name in cases of large donations.

He was a great supporter of the Arabic impression of the New Testament published by the Society. He writes on the 17 July 1725 :—

“Recommending it to ye Society in order to gain Sir Robert Walpole's good offices for procuring the King's Bounty to ye Arabick Impression, to draw up a fresh representation of that undertaking and to lay it before Sir Robert, and to present him with a Copy of the largest Arabick Psalter, finely bound, and a copy of ye Extracts of Letters relating to the Impression; and at the same time humbly to put Sir Robert in mind of his kind promise to him<sup>4</sup> about that affair.”<sup>5</sup>

The Society had supplied Wales with a large impression of the whole Bible in 1717-8. The Principality responded worthily to its appeal for subscriptions to print this Arabic New Testament. The following is one example out of many :—

<sup>1</sup> Abs. 2,801.

<sup>2</sup> Benjamin Schultze, the Danish missionary, and the famous Indian linguist.

<sup>3</sup> Abs. 10,450.

<sup>4</sup> Sir John was uncle to Sir Robert Walpole's Lady.

<sup>5</sup> Abs. 8,361.

"Tho. Richards at Llanfyllin Montgom<sup>re</sup> 16th Decr 1726. That towards encouraging the Impression of the N. Test. in Arabick he has not been able to collect in near 2 years time more than 16l. 10s. 6d. web with his own makes the whole 17l. 11s. 6d. which he will return in a short time."<sup>1</sup>

The first attempts of the Society to introduce hymns and popular sacred melodies into the services of the Churches in England and Wales were zealously opposed. Sir John, however, was in this, as in other matters, on the side of reform. He writes on the 27 July 1729 :—

"That he can't comply with those Gentlemen's sentiments, who object against the last paragraph in the Society's Circular Letter relating to Divine Musick, and gives many reasons for the same, and quotes several Texts, both in the Old and New Testaments, of the good effect Divine Hymns have had, and how acceptable they are to Almighty God &c."<sup>2</sup>

His son, John Philipps, writes further on this subject, on July 31, 1729 :—

"That as to the last paragraph in the letter, he is very sensible the corruption of youth is not a little owing to prophane and loose Songs and Ballads, and wishes there could be a composition of wholesome and pious authors in their room, and if any Member of the Society is engaged in an undertaking of that nature he shall readily subscribe for a quarter of a hundred to disperse occasionally."<sup>3</sup>

The records of the Society are full of references to Sir John's great work for education. He was one of the most progressive educationists on its Committee. He made several attempts to establish a training institution for teachers. On the 25 Oct. 1708 "he proposed a method for training up Schoolmasters for y<sup>e</sup> Charity-Schools". This was referred to a committee, which reported on Nov. 11, 1708, that "The Society agreed that Mr. Skeate and Mr. Gardner be desired to favour the Committee with their company to consider of S<sup>r</sup> John's 1<sup>st</sup> Proposal, for training up Schoolmasters for Charity-Schools".<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Abs. 9,092.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 10,278.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 10,301.

<sup>4</sup> *Minutes*, Nov. 11, 1708.

The Committee decided against his proposal on the 18 Nov. 1708, on account of the expense.

On the 13 Sept. 1711, he writes to the Society:—

"That some passages in Dr. Snape's Sermon seem to countenance the design of introducing Xtian Authors into Grammar Schools as p'ticularly in page 25 & 26 which he recommends to the Society's serious consideration."<sup>1</sup>

He pursues this subject further in a letter dated 22 Sept. 1711, in which he desires

"To congratulate the Society on her Majties late gracious Letter to both the A. Bps, which if duly attended to and comply'd with by the persons concern'd therein would render us the happiest nation upon earth. That he can't but observe what encouragemt there is given in this Letter to the design of recommending Xtian Authors to Grammar Schools when we are so plainly told in it:—*That the pious Instruction & Education of Children (in general) is the surest way of preserving & propagating the knowledge & practice of true religion &c.* which with relation to ye Charity-Schools is there called *an excellent work*. That he is so much affected with what her Majtie and Dr. Snape have sd upon this subject, that he can't forbear any longer to propose the reprinting an excellt Latin Author hardly known in this Kingdom vizt Cœlius Sedulius. It contains the Mirabilia Divina of the Old and New Testamt and at the close of every Story or Miracle will be found some bright thought of the Author's. 'Tis in Hexameter, wrote in imitation of Virgil. That it is a small Book and a large impression will not cost much. That he thinks the Society cannot well bestow a little money to more advantage than by printing and recommending this Book to the Teachers of Grammar Schools thro'out the Kingdom."<sup>2</sup>

On the 20 October 1711, he writes:—

"That Dr. Snape's promotion to the Mastership of Eaton School is a very happy incident, and may conduce much to ye adopting of Xtian Authors into such Seminaries."<sup>3</sup>

On the 3 Jan. 1711-2, he writes to congratulate the Society on its despatch of so many references:—

"And that he hopes they will now have time to consider of the method of recommending Xtian authors to Grammar Schools: That our Learned Seminaries seem to have forgot the main end of

<sup>1</sup> Abs. 2,801.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 2,802.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 2,854.

their institution wch undoubtedly was to instruct our youth in the Xtian, and not in the pagan Philosophy and Religion; that the former is a solid and substantial thing leading to inward peace & comfort among all ye difficulties of this world, and to everlasting Glory in the life to come, but the other without this is vain and empty, good for nothing but to put mankind up & swell y<sup>t</sup> pride wch already burns too fiercely in human nature."<sup>1</sup>

When the Society proposed to publish the first part of Munro's *Work on Education*, Sir John writes, on Jan. 10, 1711-2 :—

"That he is very much pleas'd to hear that the Society have under consideration the printing of the first part of Mr. Munro's Book of Education by itself. That if it be resolv'd on he supposes ye worthy Author is to be made acq<sup>t</sup>ed wth the Designe, and y<sup>t</sup> the Society's affaires would receive a manifest advantage by correspondng with a person that has so distinguished himself from other writers by engaging the youth in an early piety."<sup>2</sup>

He writes again on May 26, 1712 :—

"That he is glad to understand Mr. Munro's Book is order'd to the press, and he hopes the number will be increased to 1500."<sup>3</sup>

Our last extract under this head is from a letter dated 20 Sept. 1712, in which Sir John says :—

"That he has lately heard that the Society of Schoolmasters in London was like to drop for want of some assistance, & therefore he recommends it to the Society to consider whether it would not be worth their while to abridge their expence in some branch of their design as could best admit of it, to support a Society which seems to promise most happy consequences, and instances one branch of the Society's expense as what may bear to be abridged, namely, the printing a less number of the larger Accounts of Charity Schools: that as the case now stands the most effectual way to raise more Schools is to take care of those already erected: that they be frequently visited by the Reverend Clergy and other sober Trustees and Contributors; that the Children be strictly examin'd as to their proficiency not only in reading and having their Catechism by heart, but also in the right understanding & sincere humble practice of what they know; & that the Masters and Mistresses be seriously admonished of their great Trust, & exhorted to be faithful to it, on which (under God) depends all hopes of good success."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Abs. 2,940.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 2,942.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 3,083.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 3,254.

To Sir John Philipps belongs the honour of first directing the attention of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge to the Principality, and the credit of encouraging its first efforts to supply the needs of its poor inhabitants. In his advocacy of the claims of the poor people of Wales on the new society, he was nobly supported by a number of influential and patriotic Welshmen, who, happily for Wales, were among its early members and correspondents. Of these, the most notable were Sir Humphrey Mackworth, one of the five original founders; Dr. John Evans, the auditor of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts; Bishops W. Lloyd, of Worcester, John Evans, of Bangor, and Humphrey Humphreys, of Bangor and of Hereford; Dr. John Jones, Dean of Bangor; John Vaughan, of Derllys, the father of Madam Bevan; Griffith Jones, of Llanddowror; and Moses Williams. A full account of the labours of the Society in Wales, in association with these and other eminent Welshmen, during the lifetime of Sir John Philipps, would form one of the most romantic chapters in its early history. These early labours, which mark an epoch in the history of Wales, were conducted along the lines of the Society's work in other parts. They comprised the organisation of the Principality into districts for the purpose of correspondence; and into voluntary associations and bands for various designs; the erection of charity-schools; the provision of parochial and diocesan libraries, and the distribution of good books.

The charity-school movement will be noticed separately. The influential part which Sir John Philipps took in the organisation of Wales into districts for the purpose of correspondence, and into voluntary associations of various kinds for the cultivation and support of the devotional life, and the promotion of good works, has been touched upon

already. I shall only add a word here on the historical significance of this part of the Society's work in Wales. It deserves more attention than it has received. The religious status of Wales in the beginning of the eighteenth century was in many respects far from ideal. The state of religion in the Established Church in Wales in this period was undoubtedly very unsatisfactory from many points of view. Nevertheless, the state of things in the Principality was not so bad as they are imagined to be by our historians. The truth is, our historians have not yet written the history of this period from original sources. The period is not yet properly understood, and therefore is not properly appreciated. Besides, what Mark Pattison said in his essay on the "Tendencies of Religious Thought in England", which appeared in the famous *Essays and Reviews* in 1860, is still true of Welsh ecclesiastical history:—"We have not yet learnt, in this country, to write our ecclesiastical history on any better footing than that of praising up the party, in or out of the Church, to which we happen to belong."<sup>1</sup> The Evangelicals and the Methodists of Wales revolted against the spirit of the eighteenth century, and they have made a byeword of it by pouring unmeasured contempt upon it by way of contrast with the spirit of their own movements. Their grotesque representations of the moral condition of Wales, and the condition of the Established Church in Wales during the period preceding the Methodist movement, have been hitherto accepted as historic truth. And there are no symptoms that the period of passionate hostility to the eighteenth century is at an end, for in the short *History of Wales*, by Mr. Owen Edwards, just issued, we read:—

"The eighteenth century was a century of indifference in

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<sup>1</sup> *Essays by Mark Pattison*, vol. ii, p. 43.

religion in Wales, the nineteenth century was a century of enthusiasm. The church at the beginning of the eighteenth century, at any rate as far as the higher clergy were concerned, was apathetic to religion and alive only to selfish interests. The Whig bishops were appointed for political reasons; they hated the Tory principles of the Welsh squires, and they neglected and despised the Welsh people they had never tried to understand. In England, the Defoes and the Swifts of literature were encouraged and utilised by the political parties; in Wales, where clergymen were the only writers, the Whig bishops distrusted them, and silenced them where they could, because they wrote Welsh. The Church did not show more misapplication of revenue than the State, perhaps; but, while the people could not leave the State as a protest against corruption, they could leave the Church. And during the middle of the eighteenth century, a great national awakening began. The trumpet blast of the awakening was Howel Harris."<sup>1</sup>

One could easily quote a lot of this kind of thing, always beginning and ending in the same strain, with this little, but important, variation, that a strong Evangelical always burns incense before the shrine of Griffith Jones rather than that of Howel Harris.

The official records of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge appended to this paper contain sufficient fresh evidence to alter these findings, and to substitute for a theory based on hearsay evidence, one founded on facts.

The Society's minutes and correspondence show that very early in the eighteenth century the whole Principality was rapidly organised into districts for the purposes of correspondence with the Society. By means of its correspondents the Society distributed its circulars and its packets of books. That the circulation of its literature stimulated the clergy and laymen of the Welsh Church to unite themselves for the promotion of religion, and to a reformation of some of their obsolete methods of conducting public and private worship; that it introduced to the

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 103-4.

Clergy and Laity of Wales new and more popular methods ; that it directed their united energies into new channels of work—all these things are abundantly clear from the records.

As early as November 18, 1701—

“Sr John Phillips reported that he had lately received a Letter sign'd by 31 Divines and Lay Gentlemen, some of them Correspondents with this Society, desiring the L<sup>d</sup> Arch Bishop of Canterbury to issue out his Circular Letter to the Clergy of the Diocess of St. Davids enjoying them upon all occasions to excite the Gentry to promote the Erection of Charity-Schools, the Catechising of youth, and Family Devotion at least twice a day. Also that his Grace had been pleased to promise to issue out such a Circular Letter within a fortnight.”

This sort of record does not betoken utter “indifference to religion” or the utter “apathy of the clergy” in Wales, even at this early stage of this “century of indifference in religion in Wales”. Many others of a similar nature may be read in the appendices to this paper.

One of the main objects to which the society addressed itself in Wales was the distribution of good books. As early as Feb. 24, 1700-1, the society ordered Dr. John Evans “to find out a fit person who may translate into Welch” four books and papers, already named. On the same date the society—

“Ordered that Dr. Evans do bring to the next meeting a List of such Welch Books as are proper to be sent to the Correspondents in Wales.”

This List was immediately drawn up and submitted.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The following is the List submitted by Dr. John Evans:—

“XXVIII. Dr. Evans's Catalogue of Books printed in the British Tongue, which he thinks proper to be sent to the Correspondents in Wales.

- 1.—Bishop Jewel's Apology.
- 2.—Dent's Plain Way to Heaven.
- 3.—Practice of Piety.
- 4.—Not mentioned.
- 5.—A.Bp. Usher's Method of Self-Examination.

Another "Catalogue of all Religious Books Printed in Welch" was drawn up for the Society in 1705, by Humphrey Humphreys, Bishop of Hereford, but I have failed to find it among its records.

The Society in its first years distributed all the suitable Welsh books it could lay hold of, and it very soon exhausted the sources of supply. There are records showing that its members bought up hundreds of copies of particular books

- 6.—A Discourse to the same purpose, Originally in Welch, by Mr. Owen, then sequester'd Vicar of Wrexham.
- 7.—Brough's Devotions.
- 8.—*Quadrige Salutis*, by Dr. Powel, originally in Welch, and by him Translated into English.
- 9.—*Whole Duty of Man*.
- 10.—*Baxter's Call to the Unconverted*.
- 11.—*Mr. Gouge's Book*.
- 12.—*Shepherd's Sincere Convert*.
- 13.—Several Small Tracts by Morgan Lloyd, originally in Welch.
- 14.—*Hannes y Ffydd*, originally in Welch.
- 15.—Bp. Griffyth on the Lord's Prayer, & on the Creed, originally in Welch.
- 16.—Bishop Ken on the Catechism.
- 17.—*Oxford Catechism*.
- 18.—Bp. Williams's Catechism.
- 19.—*Plain Man's Way to Practise and Worship*.
- 20.—A Dialogue between a Protestant & a Papist.
- 21.—*Christian Monitor*.
- 22.—*Dr. Sherlock on Death*.
- 23.—Bp. Prideaux's *Euchologion*.
- 24.—Vicar of Llanymddyfri's Religious Poems.
- 25.—Answers to the Excuses for not coming to Sacrament.
- 26.—Foulk Owen's Collection of Religious Poems.
- 27.—Tho. Jones's Collection of Religious Poems.
- 28.—*Familiar Guide*.
- 29.—*Help to Beginners*.
- 30.—*Ashton's Methods of Dayly Devotion*.
- 31.—*Pastoral Letter*.
- 32.—*Dr. Beveridge's Sermon*.
- 33.—*The Best Companion*.
- 34.—*Unum Necessarium*, A Discourse of Prayer, originally in Welch.  
There's now in the Press :—
- 35.—Bp. Taylor's *Holy Living*.
- 36.—*Christian Guide*.
- 37.—*The Best Guide*."

from authors and booksellers for free distribution in Wales. When the supply was entirely exhausted the Society encouraged the issue of new editions of the old standard devotional works, and set its members to inquire for unpublished works in manuscript, several of which were found and printed. It also promoted translations of suitable English books, and a large number of this class was published during this period. The story of this branch of the Society's work in Wales is a glorious chapter. I have written a brief account of it elsewhere.<sup>1</sup>

Sir John Philipps took a leading part in the promotion and support of this work. He was an indefatigable distributor of the Welsh Bible, Common Prayer, Psalter, and devotional books and tracts. The records show that he dispersed as many as one thousand copies of the Psalter in Welsh at one time, and at another a whole impression of a devotional work by Bishop Gibson translated into Welsh.

It is now impossible to estimate the amount of his benefactions in support of this important means of the reformation of the Welsh people, for Sir John had the habit of always concealing his name in the case of his larger benefactions.

His interest and share in this work will be best exhibited by another series of extracts from the records of the Society.

The following extract seems to suggest that Sir John and his friends in Pembrokeshire had started book distribution before the foundation of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in 1699:—

“Mr. John Laugharne from St. Brides, Pembrokeshire, Dec. 7, 1700: That a Society is begun in that County, of Magistrates, Clergy, &c. Sr John Philipps having been the first Mover, & that

<sup>1</sup> *Seren Gomer*, January 1904, pp. 1-32.

they have disposed of Some good Books among y<sup>e</sup> Poor, a Charity continued in that County for Some Years, and that they have some hopes of doing good."<sup>1</sup>

The minutes of the Society for the 13 January 1703-4 record that—

"Sr John Philipps desiring some of the Societies Books and Papers, he being about to return into Wales; the Treasurer was Order'd to furnish him."

On Thursday 27 April 1704—

"Sr John Philipps writing to Mr. Shute for a parcel of the Societies Books and Papers, Mr. Treasurer was order'd to send him a parcel whose value shall not exceed ten shillings."

19 July 1705—

"Another [Letter] from Sr John Philipps . . . He wishes that more good Books may be translated into Welch; and that Lives of Good Men may be put into the Welch Libraries; and that a serious Treatise may be drawn up by way of Advice to all School-masters, putting them in mind of their great Trust, etc."

In November 1705 the Society inquired "whether there be any Welch Common Prayers in a small volume", and on—

"6 Dec. 1705:—Mr. Fox certified the Society that upon inquiry he cannot meet with any Welch Common-Prayers in a small Volume. That Mr. Whitlege did disperse some Proposals for printing such a book, but did desist upon some notice he had that the Welch Bishops have this same matter under their consideration: whereupon, Sir John Philipps & Mr. Chamberlayne were desired to attend those Bps. in order to know what they have done in this affair, and also do desire the Ld. Bp. of Hereford to give them a List of Religious Books printed already in Welch.

"20 Dec. 1705:—Sir John Philipps reported that he had spoken to the Ld. Bps. of Hereford and Bangor, who were of opinion that the Welch Common Prayer might very well be printed in both great & small volumes, they being very much wanted, but did not say that they, or any other Bishops had that matter under their consideration."

On the—

"6 June 1706:—Sr J. Philipps proposed the buying a thousand of Mr Scougall's Life of God in the Soul of Man, since it may be

<sup>1</sup> Abs. No. 222.

thus bought at 6d. a book: which proposal was refer'd to the Standing Committee.

"Sr J. Philipps [also] proposed from the Standing Committee, that 'twas their opinion that the Secretary should be order'd to write to the Ld. Bp. of Hereford desiring his opinion whether Dr. Woodward's Confirmation, & Dr. Gibson's Family Prayer, may not be translated into Welch with good effect."

The following letter is a typical example of Sir John's method of promoting the work at this time:—

"Sir John Philipps 11 Aug. 1709 desiring that Mr. Williams, of Denbigh might be wrote to, to finish his Translation of Dr. Asheton's Treatise of the Sacrament into Welch. Mr. A. Deacon Tennison being dispos'd to give the value of 10*l.* in Carmarthensh. &c. in that book. And if he be not wrote to as from the Society, that the Secy. should write to him as from himself."<sup>1</sup>

The Society proposed, early in 1713, to print a new impression of 10,000 copies of the Welsh Bible. The Rev. Moses Williams was appointed editor and receiver. He spent a whole year in Wales, soliciting subscriptions towards this great undertaking. The work was successfully issued in 1717-8. Sir John Philipps liberally supported the Society in this work.

He writes to the Society from Picton Castle on the 28 Aug. 1714:—

"That y<sup>e</sup> Rev<sup>d</sup> Mr. Williams did that week give him a visit and he had given him all the assistance he could, etc."<sup>2</sup>

Moses Williams writes to the Society on the same date, and says—

"That he had deliver'd the Society's recommendatory Letters with the Proposals for printing the Bible in Welch to all y<sup>e</sup> Correspondents in those parts with so good success that he had subscriptions for upwards of 300 copies, and has prospect of 500 more."<sup>3</sup>

The Society issued another impression of the Welsh Bible in 1727-8. Moses Williams had to stay in London on this occasion for some time to see the work through the

<sup>1</sup> Abs. 1,683.

<sup>2</sup> Abs. 4,090.

<sup>3</sup> Abs. 4,104.

Press. The Master of the Charterhouse offered him hospitality for the season.

Sir John writes to the Society on the 7 Oct. 1729, and—

“Encloses a letter of thanks to the Master of the Charterhouse for his kindness to Mr. Williams.”<sup>1</sup>

The Welsh impression of the Bible being successfully carried through, John Vaughan of Derllys, Carmarthenshire, the father of Madam Bevan, writes to Sir John Philipps on July 8, 1717—

“Enclosing a Proposal which he formerly recommended to the Society for translating into Welch & publishing Dr. Gibson’s, now Lord Bp. of Lincoln’s, Exhortations to Family Devotions. That the subscriptions to the Bible in Welch being over, that design he conceives cannot be obstructed by promoting this as was intimated to him in answer to his last.”

Part of the Proposal was as follows :—

“Whereas the dispersing of small books of the same kind in Wales in the Welch Language, together with the addition of the Catechisme of the Church of England & Private Prayers for the use of Servants (who are upon diligent enquiry found over all the Countrey to be very ignorant of the said Catechisme & wholly unsupply’d with Private Prayers) and also at the end of the said book insert the Welch Alphabet, whereby Servants and others may the more easily learn to read, will in all probability be instrumental to promote the Knowledge of the Christian Religion, and the glory of God among many families in Wales.”<sup>2</sup>

Griffith Jones, Llanddowror, writes on 17 Sept. 1718—

“That being informed that several Members of the Society have subscrib’d for a number of Welch Bibles, in order to distribute ‘em among the poor, he recommends Carmarthenshire to their favour for a few, and if he may be entrusted with the distribution of them he’d pay the carriage, and return a faithfull acc<sup>t</sup> of their disposal. That S<sup>r</sup> John Philipps encourag’d him to move for some, and gave him leave to make use of his name: that Mr. H. Hoare promis’d upon S<sup>r</sup> John’s request to write to Mad<sup>m</sup> Collins of Worcester about this affair who has subscrib’d for a considerable number, and he hopes will be prevail’d upon to bestow some among the poor in his neighbourhood.”<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Abs. 10,450.

<sup>2</sup> Abs. 5,287.

<sup>3</sup> Abs. 5,691.

Griffith Jones, Llanddowror, writes to the Society again on 10 April 1719—

“That those Bibles which Sir John Philipps gave among his poor Tenants in that neighbourhood & elsewhere prevailed with many to learn to read, that before could not, and in some other respects to reform. That what Bibles can be procured for him either gratis or at prime cost, may be sent by water as Mr. Beale's 10 are, under cover to Mr. Philipps at Picton Castle.”<sup>1</sup>

John Vaughan, of Derllys, writes on 2 April 1720—

“That he hopes Sir John Philipps will endeavour to procure some Welch Bibles for him from Auditor Harley.”<sup>2</sup>

When the Society proposed the publication of the Vicar of Llandoverly's Poems, Sir John writes from Picton Castle on the 7 of Oct. 1729—

“That he thinks it advisable to consult the Welch Correspondents for subscriptions towards printing Mr. Prichard's Poems, and will endeavour to get some knowledge of before he leaves the country.”<sup>3</sup>

On the 10th of Oct. 1729, Sir John writes—

“That he has spoke with several of his countrymen about publishing the Bp. of London's Advice to Persons recover'd from Sickness in the Welch Language, and doubts not of its meeting with encouragement in those Counties where that language is more used than in Pembrokeshire, and thinks that the publication of that Treatise ought not to be neglected especially at this time when these parts have been signally visited with feaver and small pox. That a person of his acquaintance, he has reason to believe, will be at the charge of an Impression of 750 Copies.”<sup>4</sup>

There can be very little doubt as to whom he refers in the last paragraph of the above letter.

Griffith Jones, Llanddowror, writes on 9 Nov. 1731—

“Signifying that the 50 Welch Bibles are come safe to his hands & that he thanks S<sup>r</sup> John Philipps for his great Charity in paying for his quota for them.”<sup>5</sup>

It is difficult to estimate the number of Bibles and other religious works which the Society and its members cir-

<sup>1</sup> Abs. 5,992.    <sup>2</sup> Abs. 6,338.    <sup>3</sup> Abs. 10,450.    <sup>4</sup> Abs. 10,456.    <sup>5</sup> Abs. 11,466.

culated throughout the Principality in this period. Thousands upon thousands were freely given away. John Vaughan, of Derllys, writes on the 8 March 1704-5, "certifying that the 5,000 of A.Bp. Tillotson's Perswasives, in Welch, lately transmitted to him, are all to be distributed in Carmarthenshire". When Moses Williams was peregrinating in the Principality in 1714 in search of subscriptions and benefactions to his edition of the Welsh Bible, the secretary of the Society writes to encourage him, that "one member of the Society had a commission to subscribe for 1,000 copies" for free distribution in Wales. Bishop Beveridge and Thomas Williams freely distributed many thousands of their books and pamphlets in the Diocese of St. Asaph. It would be easy to multiply similar examples from other dioceses; we must, however, close with one example of a general distribution of 2,000 "books of piety" in Wales, in which Sir John's interest and liberality is strikingly exhibited—

"Sub-Committee at St. Dunstan's Coffehouse, Thursday, 28 Mar. 1728-9.

"Prest Sr John Philipps, Dr. Pardo, Mr. Maddox, Mr. J. Philipps, Mr. Thomas.

"The gentlemen present considering of the reference to them from the Committee last Tuesday, and an account of the Welch Books in the Society Store being laid before them; agreed to recommend it to the Committee :—

"1.—That the Benefactions to the Society amounting to 40*l*. reported by the Rev. Mr. Hales and Mr. Tillard, be laid out in Welch and English Bibles and Whole Duties of Man to be divided between the 12 Counties in Wales.

"2.—That Sir John Philipps's Benefaction of 1,000 Welch Psalters be equally divided among the twelve Counties of Wales.

"3.—That 300 Pastoral Letters, 300 Bp. of London's Family Prayer, 48 Husband's Manual, all in Welch, and 96 Husbandman's Manual, in English, be taken out of the Society Store and sent in equal proportions to the 12 Counties in Wales.

"4.—That the said Books be divided in the following manner, and sent the following persons, viz. :—

"Rev. Mr. Jno. Pember, Rev. Mr. Owen Philipps, Mr. John Philipps, for Pembrokeshire:—6 English and 4 Welch Bibles; 6 English and 3 Welch Duties of Man; 83 Psalters, 25 Pastoral Letter, 25 Family Prayer, in Welch; 4 Husbandman's Manual in Welch, and 4 in English.

"Rev. Mr. David Havard, Rev. Mr. Tho. Philipps, Rev. Mr. Griff. Jones, Mr. Edward Dalton, for Carmarthenshire:—6 English and 4 Welch Bibles; 4 English and 5 Welch Duties of Man; 83 Psalters, 25 Pastoral Letter, 25 Family Prayer, in Welch; 4 Husbandman's Manual in Welch, and 8 in English.

"Rev. Dr. Pardo, for Cardigan and Carnarvonshires:—10 English and 10 Welch Bibles; 8 English and 8 Welch Duties of Man; 166 Psalters, 50 Pastoral Letter, 50 Family Prayer in Welch; 8 Husbandman's Manual in Welch and 16 in English.

"Rev. Mr. Rich. Davies, for Brecknockshire and Radnorshire:—10 English and 10 Welch Bibles; 8 English and 8 Welch Duties of Man; 166 Psalters, 50 Pastoral Letters, 50 Family Prayer in Welch; 8 Husbandman's Manual in Welch and 16 in English.

"Rev. Mr. James Harris, Rev. Mr. Geo. Maddox, Rev. Mr. Tho. Price, and Mr. Robt. Powell, for Glamorganshire:—6 English and 4 Welch Bibles, 5 English and 5 Welch Duties of Man, 83 Psalters, 25 Pastoral Letter, 25 Family Prayer, in Welch; 4 Husbandman's Manual in Welch and 8 in English.

"Rev. Dr. Robt. Wynne, John Miller, Esq., for Denbighshire and Flintshire:—18 Welch and 2 English Bibles, 8 English and 9 Welch Duties of Man, 166 Psalters, 50 Pastoral Letter, 50 Family Prayer, in Welch; 8 Husbandman's Manual in Welch, and 16 in English.

"Sr Jno. Pryce, Bart., Rev. Mr. Wm. Davies, Rev. Mr. Tho. Richards, Rev. Jno. Harding, for Montgomeryshire and Merionethshire:—20 Welch and 3 English Bibles, 14 Welch Duties of Man, 170 Psalters, 50 Pastoral Letter, 50 Family Prayer, in Welch; 8 Husbandman's Manual in Welch, and 16 in English.

"Rev. Mr. Tho. Holland, for Anglesea:—10 Welch Bibles, 8 Welch Duties of Man, 83 Psalters, 25 Pastoral Letter, 25 Family Prayer, in Welch; 4 Husbandman's Manual in Welch and 8 in English.

	£	s.	d.
"80 Welch Bibles with Common Prayer Books at 4/8 come to ... ..	18	13	4
"40 English Bibles with Common Prayer Books at 4/9 come to ... ..	9	10	0
"60 Welch Whole Duties of Man at 3/- come to ...	9	0	0
"42 English Whole Duties of Man at 1/4½ come to ...	2	17	9
	£40	1	1

"NOTE.—The Rev. Mr. George Maddox acquainted the Committee that £20 had been lately given by a Gentleman to be laid out in good books for Monmouthshire, which is the reason why that County is left out in the distribution.

"5.—That where more than one member is named for the distribution of the Books in a County, the Secretary do write to that member the Books are to be sent to, to desire him to meet the other gentlemen, that the Books may be divided equally among them, and that they may consult about the properest methods of distributing them."

Another of the main objects to which the Society addressed itself with great energy and conspicuous success in the Principality during this period was the erection of parochial and diocesan lending libraries. This project was originated by Dr. Thomas Bray, to whose public spirit the Church of England owes such infinite obligations. The designs of Dr. Bray for the erection of parochial and lending libraries were managed by a separate body of trustees, under the title of "Associates of Dr. Bray", who survive to the present day as a separate institution. These designs were especially applicable to the needs of the Welsh Church in this period. Many of the clergy and schoolmasters of the Principality were poor, and their parishes were so meanly endowed, and so remote, that they could not sufficiently supply themselves with the best religious books, and, consequently, could not "administer wholesome and sound doctrine to their flock, either by way of catechising or preaching". The early journals of "The Associates of Dr. Bray" are now missing, and we are, therefore, unable to give full details of their efforts in Wales in this period, or of Sir John Philipps's personal share in their operations. We have, however, the records of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, which show that the work in the Principality was mainly, if not wholly, carried on by the Society. Sir John Philipps's deep interest in this benevolent work is indicated in the

following Minutes and Abstracts of Letters of the Society. He was from the beginning a member of the committee which had charge of the work in Wales—

"18 Nov., 1703. Agreed that a Committee be appointed for considering of a proper method for erecting Lending Libraries in Wales, where they are extremely wanted.

"Agreed that the Ld. Bp. of Bangor, Mr. Lloyd, Dr. Bray, Sir Humfrey Mackworth, Sir John Philipps, Coll. Colchester, Mr. Nelson, Mr. Brewster, or any three of them, be the Committee for the erection of Lending Libraries in Wales: and they to meet at Mr. Brewster's Chambers, on Tuesday next, at 7 o'clock in the evening.

"22 February, 1704-5. Mr. Stubs' Proposals for erecting Lending Libraries in Wales were read, and with an Amendment approved and ordered to be printed forthwith. Sir H. Mackworth, Sir J. Philipps, Mr. Stubs, Mr. Hoare, Mr. Edwards, Mr. Bromfield, Mr. Wyndham were nominated as a Committee to fill up the blank spaces with the names of Receivers and Trustees.

"19 July, 1705. Another [Letter] from Sir John Philipps, certifies that at a Meeting of Gentlemen and Ministers in Laugharne in Carmarthenshire, 'twas resolved to promote the affair of Welch Libraries.

"24 January, 1705-6. Sir John Philipps reported from the Standing Committee, that they had further amended the Proposals for the Welch Libraries, and did think the same might be properly laid before the Bp. of Worcester, and the Welch Bps., for their concurrence before it be printed; the Society approved this and empowered the Committee to order these Proposals to the Press, after they shall receive the same back again from the Bishops. Sir John Philipps also reported that they had agreed upon a Letter to the Receivers for the Welch Libraries, and had ordered it to be sent.

"6 June, 1706. Sir John Philipps produced a Catalogue of Books from Mr. Woodcock, which he is willing to give to the Welch Libraries; and another from Sir Nich. Pelham. 'Twas referred to the Standing Committee to consider of a method of preserving the memory of these and such like Benefactors.

"13 June, 1706. Sir John Philipps presented a Catalogue of Books given to the Welch Libraries by Mr. De la Mothe.

"3 Oct., 1706. Another [Letter] from Sir John Philipps, desiring that no books of Religion may be admitted into the Welch Libraries, but what tend mainly to promote the love of God above all things, and our neighbour as ourselves. He commends Mr. Burkitt's Notes on the Evangelists, and wishes that the poor Clergy were furnished with them. He recommends Mr. William Powel of Llangadock for a Receiver for the County of Brecon.

"10 Oct., 1706. Sir John Philipps recommends Mr. Hugh Powel of Creek-Howel in Brecknockshire, Mr. Catlyne of Kerry in Montgomeryshire, and Mr. Lewis of Towyn, Merionethshire, for Receivers of benefactions to the Welch Libraries.

"23 January, 1706-7. Agreed that Sir John Philipps, Sir Humfrey Mackworth and Mr. Meller be desired to attend the Lords the Bishops with a number of the Proposals for the Welch Libraries.

"30 January, 1706-7. Sir John Philipps reported that he with Mr. Meller had attended several Ld. Bishops with Proposals for the Welch Libraries, who were pleased to promise their countenance and encouragement to the same."

By the year 1714, the Society had erected in Wales four Central Diocesan Lending Libraries, and eight Parochial Clerical Libraries. The following semi-official letter from a member of the Society will best exhibit the great work achieved at this date:—

"Another design which the Society has engaged in, has been the erecting Libraries in Wales, where they observing that there are a great number of Benefices which are insufficient for the maintenance of a Minister; that in many of them the Clergy are not well able to furnish themselves with books, they thought it would be a means of promoting our holy Religion to fix Lending Libraries in the several Market Towns within each County of the four Dioceses in Wales.

"Accordingly they printed proposals to encourage well disposed persons to contribute money or books for that purpose; and the Bishops of Worcester, Llandaff, Hereford, Bangor, St. David's and St. Asaph having been pleased to be Trustees in this affair, it met with that encouragement that the Society have set up four Lending Libraries, to the value of 60 pounds each and upwards in the cities of Bangor and St. Asaph, and in the Towns of Carmarthen, in the Diocese of St. David's; and Cowbridge in the Diocese of Llandaffe.

"An Account of the Diocese and Towns supply'd with Parochial Libraries since the passing of the Act for the better preservation of them, 1708-9.

St. Asaph.	Montgomeryshire.	Darrown.
Bangor.	Carnarvonsh.	Eglwys Rhos.
"	"	Pwllheli.
St. David's.	Cardiganshire.	Llanbadarn Vawr.
"	Pembrokeshire.	Prendergast.
Llandaff.	Monmouthshire.	Trevethin.

Llandaff	Monmouthshire.	Newport.
"	"	Chepstowe." <sup>1</sup>

The exertions of the Society were so successful that, by 1720, many more were established. The Secretary of the Society, Mr. H. Newman, writes on 29 March 1720, to Thos. Jones, Esq., at Llantisilio, Denbighshire:—

"S<sup>r</sup>:—This accompanies a Bond and two Catalogues of the Parochial Library No. 57, herewith sent to Llantissilio according to your desire for the benefit of the present Min<sup>r</sup> and his successors, and I am to request you would be pleased to direct the Min<sup>r</sup> to execute the Bond in the presence of the Churchwardens or principal inhabitants of the Parish, and to sign the receipts endorsed on the two Catalogues, one of which is to be sent to the Bp of S<sup>t</sup> Asaph according to the Rules prescribed by the Act of Parliament, and the other Bond with the Catalogue I must desire you would return to me for the satisfaction of the Founders. Please return them in a letter to me under cover to James Lowther, Esq., Member of Parliament, at his house in Lincoln's Inn, and you will thereby oblige Sir your most humble servant, H. N."<sup>2</sup>

For a fuller account of this Library movement in Wales I must be again allowed to refer to an article of mine published elsewhere.<sup>3</sup>

#### 4.—SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL IN FOREIGN PARTS.

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts was an offshoot of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. It was organised as a separate society by Dr. Thomas Bray, and received its charter of incorporation on 16 June 1701. The main objects of the Society are stated in the charter to be the provision and maintainance of "Learned and orthodox Ministers to instruct our loving subjects in the principles of true

<sup>1</sup> *A Letter from a Member of the S.P.C.K.*, 2nd Ed., 1714, pp. 34-35 and 50-51.

<sup>2</sup> Secretary's *Letter Book*, No. 182.

<sup>3</sup> *Seren Gomer*, 1903, pp. 201-213.

religion", and "such other provision as may be necessary for the Propagation of the Gospel in our Plantations, Colonies, and Factories beyond the Seas". The corporation was charged with "the receiving, managing, and disposing of the Charity of our loving subjects, divers persons, who would be induced to extend their charity to the uses and purposes aforesaid".

Sir John Philipps's name appears in the list of the original members nominated by the charter, and he remained for life one of its most assiduous workers, and one of its most influential and munificent supporters. The journals of the Society are full of references to him. A summary of a few interesting records must suffice here. From these it appears that Sir John paid his quota of charges on account of the Charter on 21 Nov. 1701. On 6 March 1701-2, he subscribed five pounds. On 15 Jan. 1703, he "proposed Dr. John Bridges, a civilian secretary to the Lord Cornbury, Gov' of N. York, for member of the society". On 19 February 1703, Sir John Philipps was "appointed Vice-President for the ensuing year". On 19 Nov. 1703, he paid to the society 5*l.* collected in Carmarthenshire, and 10*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* collected in Pembrokeshire. On 17 Nov. 1704, he "presented the sum of ffour Pounds seventeen shill: & sixpence being return'd by some Gent<sup>n</sup> in Wales by virtue of a Deputation to the said Gent<sup>n</sup>. And he was desired to thank them."

On 16 Feb. 1705, Sir John was again "sworn in as Vice-President for the ensuing year, and was reported as having been appointed with some other Gent<sup>n</sup> to wait on the Lord Mayor & Aldermen to invite them to the Anniversary Sermon", which invitation they accepted. On the 19th of Oct. 1705, he "reported that he had brought up from the country 26*l.* collected by virtue of the Society's Deputations to some Gentlemen of Carmarthenshire". On the 21st of

Dec. 1705, he moved the Society to consider of an application to some of the Lords the Bishops to Preach the next Anniversary Sermon. He was appointed on 15 March 1706, one of a Select Committee to attend on the Archbishop at Lambeth by his desire to consider of the papers about the destruction of the Colledge at Virginia. On 15 Nov. 1706, he moved the Society "that the fform of Prayer for schools in the Plantations may be communicated to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, in order to be adapted by them to the Charity-Schools here, and to be publisht by the said Society, which was agreed to". On 26 Jan. 1711, a letter was read from Mr. John Norris, a Planter of South Carolina, to Sir John Philipps, saying "that he wished to breed up his son to the Ministry, and to send him among the Yamousee Indians at his own expence & representing the want of a Minister in his Parish of St. Bartholemew". On 19 Aug. 1715, Sir John Philipps was appointed on a committee "to examine & direct the printing of the Liturgy in German". On the 26th of May 1716, Sir John reported to the Society "that Mr. John Burnell, collector of Excise for Middle Wales, has promised to the Society a benefaction of two pounds per annum". On 15 August 1718, he was desired "to recommend a proper person able to preach in Welch & English, to be sent as a Missionary to Oxford & Radnor in Pensilvania".<sup>1</sup> From time to time Sir John paid to the

<sup>1</sup> The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge was also solicitous of the spiritual needs of Welshmen in the American Colonies. Mr. Evans, the Curate of Wrexham, was sent as a missionary to the Welsh in Pennsylvania in 1700. A Committee was appointed "to consider of proper books to be sent with Mr. Evans to Philadelphia". Dr. Bray reported on 12 Sept. 1700, that he had perused and approved of "this List and that the price of the same amounted to twelve pounds eleaven shillings". In the Proposals for Printing the Welsh Bible issued by the Society in 1713, it is said that "there are 6000 Welsh in Pennsylvania and other parts of His Majesty's Dominions in America, where these Bibles are very much wanted".

society large sums collected in Wales, and from various charitable friends of the society. The last record is a "Benefaction of Five guineas from a person unknown", probably Sir John himself.

Sir John took a personal interest in the missionaries and the schoolmasters sent out by the society. His house in London was at all times open to them and to their converts. His private donations to these men are reported to be "very liberal". Sir John "was a philanthropist on the largest scale, the friend of man under all his wants". There was scarcely any movement for the redemption of man in any part of the known world which did not secure his sympathy and support.

#### 5.—THE CHARITY-SCHOOL MOVEMENT IN WALES, 1699–1737.

If the ordinary educated Welshman were asked to whom we chiefly owe our modern system of elementary education in Wales, he would answer without any hesitation, "to Griffith Jones of Llanddowror", and, further, would fix the year 1730 as the precise date of its origin.

So widespread is this view, that even such an authority as Owen Edwards propagates it without questioning its accuracy. In his delightful volume on *Wales*, he says:—

"Fairly early in the eighteenth century Griffith Jones of Llanddowror, a clergyman, realised how ignorant the Welsh peasants were, and discovered that they were anxious to learn. The modern system of Welsh education, which found its completion in our own day, has its beginning in a little country school in Carmarthenshire, maintained by the pence offered by the poorest of the poor at the celebration of the Lord's Supper."<sup>1</sup>

In his recently published *Short History of Wales* he still believes that:—

"Elementary education, in its modern sense, began with the circulating schools of Griffith Jones of Llanddowror, in 1730."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> P. 386.

<sup>2</sup> P. 112.

The year 1730 has been a great historical landmark with a certain school of Welsh historians. It has been looked upon as marking the beginning of an epoch—a great epoch—in the spiritual and intellectual life of Wales. According to these authorities, the great awakening of the nation, the Evangelical and Methodist revival, the revival of the Welsh language, the literary renaissance, and the rising of our modern system of education, all have their beginnings in that wonderful year. This school still believes, not only that our modern system of Welsh elementary education began with the circulating schools of Griffith Jones in 1730, but at the same time that the Welsh people before that marvellous year, when the famous Rector is supposed to have established his first little country school<sup>1</sup> at Llanddowror, were merely barbarians—"illiterate", "irreligious", and "dissolute",—destitute of every virtue, and wholly unprogressive. The eminent authors of *The Welsh People*, John Rhŷs and David Brynmôr-Jones, summing up the state of the nation in 1730, say:—

"It is probable that the Welsh farmers and their families had hardly progressed intellectually as a class from the time of the Conquest. Every indication that we possess shows that hardly any one of them could read or write, and it is clear that the provision for education was of the scantiest possible description. Wesley, writing some years after the description given by Dr. Erasmus Saunders, to which we have referred, says that the people were as ignorant as the Creek or Cherokee Indians,<sup>2</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> The first Welsh School established by Griffith Jones could not have been established before Sept. 22, 1731. See his own letter, Abstract No. 11,373. Appendix I.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Erasmus Saunders and John Wesley are valuable authorities for this period when properly used, but Welsh writers have glaringly abused their isolated facts. However, the context from which the above extract from Wesley is taken, neither supports the views of the Authors, nor justifies the use they make of it. The whole passage reads as follows:—

"I have seen no part of England so pleasant for sixty or seventy miles together, as those parts of Wales I have been in. And most of the inhabitants are indeed ripe for the Gospel: I

allowing for rhetorical exaggeration, and applying it to their culture rather than to their acquirements as agriculturists, the phrase is probably true . . . from the people as a whole, hardly a voice comes during the centuries from the Norman Conquest to the middle of the eighteenth century. They tilled their land, attended to their flocks and their herds, married and died in complete obscurity, without being to any great degree touched by the intellectual movement of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It is obvious that we have here all the elements necessary for a sudden intellectual and moral expansion. The renaissance of Wales during the eighteenth century came, as might have been expected, in the form of a religious revival, which in its intensity and its consequences can only be compared to the analogous movement in Bohemia hundreds of years before, and the awakening of Scotland in the sixteenth century.

"In 1730 the Welsh-speaking people were probably as a whole the least religious and most intellectually backward in England and Wales. By 1830 they had become the most earnest and religious people in the whole Kingdom."<sup>1</sup>

Summing up the state of education before 1730, the authors say:—

"The country districts were entirely neglected, and down to the time of the religious revival of the eighteenth century, it is hardly too strong to state that no opportunity was afforded to the

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mean, (if the expression appears strange) they are earnestly desirous of being instructed in it; and as utterly ignorant of it they are as any Creek or Cherokee Indians. I do not mean they are ignorant of the name of Christ. Many of them can say both the Lord's Prayer and the Belief; nay, and some, all the Catechism; but take them out of the road of what they have learned by rote, and they know no more (nine in ten of those with whom I conversed) either of Gospel Salvation, or of that faith whereby alone we can be saved, than Chicali or Tomo Chachi. Now, what Spirit is he of who had rather these poor creatures should perish for lack of knowledge, than that they should be saved, even by the exhortations of Howell Harries, or an itinerant Preacher."—John Wesley's *Journal*, under Saturday Oct. 20, 1739.

Wesley speaks of their ignorance of his own religion of experience. He himself would admit that he was as ignorant as a Creek Indian of the Gospel in the sense which he speaks of here, until he met Peter Böhler in 1738. The passage has no direct bearing on their ability to "read, write and cast accounts". Indirectly, however, this passage, and all the evidence of Wesley's *Journal*, contradict the views of the authors.

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 470-2.

great majority of the Welsh-speaking people for the education of their children. All accounts show that the condition of the Welsh people in regard to education was most lamentably backward to comparatively recent times, but especially so until the time of the religious revival."<sup>1</sup>

These sweeping statements and conclusions, and the alleged facts on which they are based, are alike untrue from beginning to end. Indeed, they are an amazing reversal of the real facts. The more closely we search into the condition and character of our forefathers as they are preserved to us in the records of the time, the more we shall see that there is good reason to believe that what we call elementary education was much more widely afforded than people think, and that in proportion to the means at their disposal they were not more ignorant than the mass of the people at any other period of our history.

Our system of elementary education in its modern sense can be traced directly back to a time long before 1730. Griffith Jones of Llanddowror's circulating school movement was the fourth in a succession of well organized movements, on something approaching a national scale, for the primary education of the common people of the Principality.

The first of these organised movements was promoted by the Puritans under the "Act for the better Propagation of the Gospel in Wales, and the redress of some grievances" (1650-1653),<sup>2</sup> and was continued by the Trustees for the Maintenance of Ministers from 1653 to the Restoration in 1660. Under the Propagation Act, Home Rule was granted to Wales in the management of her religious and educational affairs, and the Commissioners and their Approvers, with Major-General Harrison and Vavasor Powell at their head, on the whole, made good use of their powers. The Welsh Propagation Act was in the

<sup>1</sup> P. 480.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Rees's *Hist. of Non.*, 1861, pp. 501-505.

broadest sense an Education Act for Wales. By it the Commissioners were enabled and authorised to provide "for the keeping of schools, and the education of children in piety and good literature", and also to provide for a "fitting yearly maintenance", "that fit persons of approved piety and learning may have encouragement to employ themselves in the education of children", out of funds in their disposal, "provided that the yearly maintenance of a schoolmaster did not exceed forty pounds". Under this Act the Commissioners provided the thirteen counties of Wales with a well organized system of schools, staffed with the best equipped schoolmasters whom they could command. The Trustees maintained and perfected the system from 1653 to 1660. Free schools were established in every market town of any importance throughout Wales, and in many other towns and villages convenient to the children.<sup>1</sup> In most of the great towns two able, learned, and university men were appointed to prepare children for the universities if desired.<sup>2</sup> A sixth of the tithes of Wales was devoted to the maintenance of these schools. These were free schools, and their curricula provided for the teaching of reading, writing, and ciphering, and in the large towns they prepared for the Universities. The records of the Commissioners', and those of the Trustees' educational appointments, payments, etc., have been fortunately preserved, and it is possible to write a full account of the movement. These records have enabled me to locate seventy-two of these schools, eighteen of which had two schoolmasters, viz., a Master and an Usher, and also to recover the names of, and the salaries paid to, seventy-five of the schoolmasters engaged in

<sup>1</sup> Vavasor Powell's "Brief Narrative" in *Bird in the Cage Chirping*, Second Edition, 1662.

<sup>2</sup> Neal's *History of the Puritans*, 1837, vol. ii, pp. 633-5.

this work. This Welsh educational movement was essentially, and throughout, a State undertaking. It is often maintained that the State at this period had not as yet recognised its responsibility in helping to provide the means of instruction for the people, and that this important work was done by the Church, and by the Church alone. These statements are quite inaccurate as regards the Commonwealth. The Puritans manifested great enthusiasm for every grade of education, and their conception of the duty of the State with regard to popular and free education took practical shape in the Principality under the Propagation Act, etc. The question of a Welsh University College was also mooted by the Puritans, and the scheme would have been probably realised if they had remained in power a few years longer.<sup>1</sup> The importance of this movement to the student of historic evolution can hardly be overestimated. Our existing system of elementary education can be traced back directly to it. Ten years of the Puritan free school system, organized mainly by Vavasor Powell, gave the Welsh people a taste of the blessings of education which has never been entirely lost to them. The Restoration nearly paralysed the whole organization, many of the schoolmasters were deprived for Nonconformity, but a number remained at their work, and a few lived to inspire and to share in the new movement.<sup>2</sup>

This new movement was the second organized effort to provide elementary education for the people of Wales. The founder of this great and important movement was the venerable Thomas Gouge. The story of his choice of Wales as a field for his philanthropic work is very interesting. "God had given him a competent estate where

<sup>1</sup> *Wales*, March, 1896, pp. 121-124.

<sup>2</sup> For a fuller account of this movement, see *Seren Gomer*, 1901, pp. 314-28.

withal to defray the charge of the undertaking." After his ejection from the living of St. Sepulchre, London, he had devoted himself to the relief of the necessities of the poor in the Metropolis, and to other philanthropic work. When the life of Joseph Alleine, the author of *An Alarm to Unconverted Sinners*, was first printed, it fell into the hands of Gouge. This book contained a short paragraph relating to Alleine's plan for the evangelisation of Wales.<sup>1</sup> "Reading this (said Mr. Gouge to me) it hath set me all on fire with zeal to prosecute that design."<sup>2</sup> In about three months he was on his first journey to South Wales on this beneficent mission. Now, Joseph Alleine was a great personal friend of Vavasor Powell, the leader of the educational movement under the Propagation Act. He had worked in co-operation with Powell and others in the evangelisation of the Principality.<sup>3</sup> Thus, the new movement received its first impulse from its predecessor. The two movements were otherwise interwoven. Such men as Richard Baxter, Stephen Hughes, Charles Edwards, William Jones, and Richard Jones, leaders or workers in both movements, were important links in their continuity. The Gouge movement at once succeeded beyond expectation, and, in 1674, a Trust was formed to prosecute the work on a larger scale. I have already given a brief account of this Welsh Trust. The work achieved by Thomas Gouge in Wales almost passes belief. In the first year of the Trust, 1674-5, fifty-one of the leading towns of North and South Wales were provided with schools. He died in 1681, having been the means in ten years of establishing between three and four hundred schools in the Principality. It has been proved

<sup>1</sup> *Life and Death of Mr. Joseph Alleine*, 1672, p. 33.

<sup>2</sup> *Lives of Eminent Persons*, by Samuel Clarke, 1683, p. 204.

<sup>3</sup> Stanford's *Joseph Alleine*, p. 308.

already that on the death of Gouge, the Trustees gradually withdrew their support from Wales, and began work of the same kind in London and Westminster. Thus, the Charity-School movement to which we now come was a continuity of the work of the Welsh Trust.

The educational work of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in the Principality from 1699 to 1737 is the third organized movement in the history of the rise and progress of our modern system of elementary education. I have already shown how this movement arose out of the previous one. There can be no doubt as to its historic continuity.

The Charity-School movement in Wales is well marked. It began with the institution of the S.P.C.K., and closed with the death of Sir John Philipps, and the inauguration of Griffith Jones's circulating school movement. It is further marked by the fact that it was almost entirely a Church of England movement. In view of the erroneous statements which are continually made as to the provision of education in the Principality at this time, it may be well to point out that Wales was provided with a large number of private schools at this period. The records of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge bear witness to this fact. In a letter written on 21 Jan. 1713, William Lewis, at Margam, Glamorganshire, informs the Society—

“That tho' there 's hardly a Parish in that part of the world where there is not a private School for teaching children to read, yet there are few or no Charity Schools.”<sup>1</sup>

The Dissenters had their own schools scattered all over the Principality. A large number of their ministers were schoolmasters. A list of these schools and schoolmasters for the same period exceeds in number the list appended to this paper. North Wales had in Dr. Daniel Williams's

<sup>1</sup> Abs. No. 3,843.

seven elementary schools, a system of circulating schools, even before the days of Griffith Jones. I write with some knowledge of the work of these schools, but I am not concerned in their history and work here, still, they ought to be taken into account in a fair estimate of the provision for the education of the people of Wales at this time.

The erection of Charity-Schools was one of the prime objects of the institution of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. The question of "how to further and promote that good design in each parish in and about London" was the subject of the second resolution at the first meeting on 8 March 1698-9. For the first few months London and Westminster, and the great parishes in the suburbs of these cities, seem to have engrossed the attention of the new society. On the 2nd of Nov. 1699, it was—

"resolved that the Society will establish a correspondence with one or more of the Clergy in each County, and with one Clergyman in each great Town and City in England, in order to erect Societies of the same nature with this throughout the Kingdom."

In pursuance of this object a circular letter to the clergy correspondents was approved of on 16 Nov. 1699, and was forthwith despatched to a large number of clergymen in England and Wales. This circular letter gives a brief account of the work done in London, and of its great success there, and recommends the plan to the country. The Society inform their correspondents that—

"They have agreed to use their best interest and endeavours to incline the hearts of generous and well-dispos'd persons to contribute toward the erecting of Schools in these Cities, and the parts adjacent, for the instruction of such poor Children in Reading, Writing, and in the Catechism, whose Parents or Relations are not able to afford them the ordinary means of Education, and as they look upon this to be the most effectual method to train up the poorer sort in sobriety and y<sup>e</sup> knowledge of Christian Principles, so they assure themselves that the good effects which may be wrought

thereby will prove a powerfull argument to engage others in better circumstances to make so necessary a provision for their children.

"The success of this undertaking (whereby the education of above two thousand poor Children is already taken care for) encourages them to hope that, if the like industry and application were observ'd in other parts of this Kingdom, the Children and Youth might be universally well principled, and the growing generation make a conscience of fearing God; and these hopes have induced them to use their utmost endeavours to prevail with all pious and well-inclined Christians in y<sup>e</sup> several parts of y<sup>e</sup> nation to joyn their hearts and purses in advancing to perfection so excellent and glorious a work."<sup>1</sup>

Sir John Philipps and Dr. John Evans communicated this circular letter to the clergymen of the Principality. The response of Wales must have delighted them and the Society, for out of the first dozen replies recorded in the "Abstracts of All the Correspondents' Letters", eight are from Wales. In less than six months the movement for erecting Charity-Schools had spread into the four Welsh dioceses. The work was taken up with great zeal in North and South Wales. Mr. Arnold Bowen, of Pembroke, writing to Sir John Philipps on 29 Nov. 1699, says:—

"That the Gentry [of Pembrokeshire] have begun to Subscribe towards y<sup>e</sup> Design of Schools."<sup>2</sup>

Dr. John Jones, the Dean of Bangor, writing from Beaumaris to Dr. John Evans on 16 Dec. 1699, says:—

"That he has set up Schools for y<sup>e</sup> Poorer Sort at his own charge, but of late their poverty is so great that they cannot allow themselves time to learn."<sup>3</sup>

On 8 Feb. 1699-1700, the Society agreed upon a model of a second letter to the Corresponding Members, in which they urge them to—

"Subscribe liberally toward the setting up of Schools for poor Children, and to instruct them in the Principles of the Christian Religion, and fit them for employments, which is the most probable method of making them sound members of the Church and usefull

<sup>1</sup> Secretary's *Letter Book*.

<sup>2</sup> Abs. No. 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* No. 11.

ones of the State. As soon as you have intimated your carrier's direction, they will send you a packett of Books and Papers, together with the methods the Society has taken in raising Subscriptions and regulating the Schools which they have already sett up in and about London, which may possibly be usefull to you in your deliberations about the same things in the Country. They desire you would from time to time give them information of what progress is made in these matters."<sup>1</sup>

Mr. James Harries, of Llantrissant, Glamorganshire, writing to Dr. Evans on 19 Feb. 1699-1700, says:—

"That he hath put up two Schools."<sup>2</sup>

Mr. John Edwards, of Llwydiarth, Montgomeryshire, writes to Dr. Evans on 16 Feb. 1699-1700, that there was already "one Free School" in his district, and that—

"he obliges his Curate to teach y<sup>e</sup> youth of y<sup>e</sup> Parish where he resides not, and in his other Parish he has made some advances towards settling a Free School, which will be opened after Easter."<sup>3</sup>

The vicar of Wrexham, Mr. John Price, a non-juror, who was deprived of his living in 1715, writes to the Society on 18 Feb. 1699-1700, that—

"He desires to see our methods of raising subscriptions and regulating the Schools."<sup>4</sup>

The Society's educational work in Wales was thus fairly well started when the seventeenth century closed. The opening years of the eighteenth were busily occupied in the work of organization. Funds had to be raised, buildings had to be provided, schoolmasters and mistresses had to be discovered, and there were many other preliminary difficulties incidental to a new movement which had to be overcome before the schools could be opened. Societies of clergy and laymen were rapidly formed in many parts of the Principality for this work, and right well did they carry out their design. The Minutes and the Correspondence of

<sup>1</sup> Secretary's *Letter Book*.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* No. 35.

<sup>2</sup> Abs. No. 33.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* No. 39.

the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge do not supply us with the precise information necessary to give the exact number, and the localities, of the schools erected in the years 1700-5. They, however, give a wealth of general reference. From these records we gather that the Pembrokeshire Society had, before 9 March 1699-1700, "drawn up a scheme for taking subscriptions for schools, whereunto most of the justices subscribed at their Quarter Sessions, and that the roll was sent into the several parishes", and also "that S<sup>r</sup> John Philipps his presence is much wanting to promote the work";<sup>1</sup> that the "Societies of the Clergy in the Diocese of Bangor highly approve y<sup>c</sup> good design"; and "that divers of y<sup>c</sup> Clergy have contributed towards schools, and others are disposed to do y<sup>c</sup> like", and that "great numbers have been lately taught to read", viz., before 15 April 1700;<sup>2</sup> that the Societies of the "Clergy in Denbighshire, Flintshire, and Montgomeryshire" had "agreed to endeavour to set up Free Schools for the Poor Children" before 29 April 1700.<sup>3</sup>

In the summer of the year 1700 Sir John Philipps personally visited the clergy and gentry of Pembrokeshire and Carmarthenshire in the interests of the Charity-Schools, and provoked many of the clergy to teach the children of the poor to read gratis, and some private persons to open and maintain small country schools at their own expense. The year 1701 presents many signs of progress. The "gentry are hearty and zealous enough in y<sup>c</sup> matter of schools" in the diocese of St. Asaph, and "one school was set up" in Wrexham before 4 Oct. 1701.<sup>4</sup> On 18 Nov. 1701, Sir John Philipps reports to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge a movement of great significance from the diocese of St. Davids, viz.:—

<sup>1</sup> Abs. No. 60.    <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* No. 84.    <sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* No. 92.    <sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* No. 352.

"That he had lately received a Letter sign'd by 31 Divines and Lay Gentlemen, some of them Correspondents with this Society, desiring the L<sup>d</sup> Arch Bishop of Canterbury to issue out his Circular Letter to the Clergy of the Diocese of S<sup>t</sup> Davids enjoining them upon all occasions to excite the Gentry to promote the erection of Charity-Schools."<sup>1</sup>

The Archbishop was pleased to issue this Letter in a fortnight, and it was forthwith printed and widely circulated. This Letter was reprinted in 1703<sup>2</sup> and in 1705,<sup>3</sup> and many thousands of it were distributed, with the result that the diocese of St. Davids excelled, in its activities on behalf of the Charity-Schools, all the other Welsh dioceses. We have evidence of a general nature, that the movement gradually advanced in the years 1702-3, but the records do not give the definite number, or the localities of the new schools erected. The first printed "List of the Charity-Schools erected in England and Wales" appeared in 1704,<sup>4</sup> but in that very imperfect List, and in that of 1705, only one Welsh school was included, viz., "Aberguilly, Carmarthenshire". The discrepancy between the printed List and the "Minutes" and

<sup>1</sup> *Minutes*, 9 Oct. 1701.   <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 14 Oct. 1703.   <sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 18 Oct. 1705.

<sup>4</sup> Lists of Charity-Schools appeared from this date forward in the following periodical publications of the Society:—(1) In the *Account of the Charity-Schools*, appended to the "Annual Sermon"; (2) In the issues of *An Account of the Charity-Schools in Great Britain and Ireland*, published separately from time to time; (3) In the *Methods used for Erecting Charity-Schools*, issued at short intervals for circulation in the Society's Packets. A mass of material relating to Wales appeared in these publications. This scattered material, that is to say all that I have discovered of it, is given in Appendix II. The periodical Lists are very imperfect. It is now probably impossible to recover a complete list of the Charity-Schools erected in Wales during this period. However, I have made an attempt at such a list in Appendices II and III. A careful and systematic reading of the Society's "Minutes", "Abstracts of Letters", "Accounts", and the "Methods", together with the Reports of the Several Commissions of Inquiry into the Educational Charities of Wales, will, I am sure, add considerably to the number of Schools erected in Wales under the spell of the Charity-School movement.

“Correspondence” in these instances is very great. We know from the evidence of the latter that at least more than ten, probably more than double that number, of Charity-Schools had been reported as opened in Wales by the close of the year 1703, and yet only one appeared in the printed Lists of 1704 and 1705. The discrepancy arose from the fact that the names, and the particular information respecting the schools, which appeared in the printed Lists, were especially supplied and authorised for publication; the information otherwise contributed to the Committee was considered private. The Circular Letters of the Society were used in 1705 and afterwards, as the means of soliciting from members and correspondents information for publication relating to Charity-Schools in their districts, and from this time forward the information becomes ampler and more exact. John Vaughan, of Derllys, one of the greatest patriots of the period, who did for Welsh literature what Sir John Philipps did for Welsh education, writes to the Society in July 1705:—

“That in a Lordship belonging to him, He and the Free-Holders are building a Charity-School on the Common, & Enclosing part of the Common to be given for ever to a Schoolmaster for Teaching the Poor Children of the Lordship.”

This was the Llangunnog School, the Minutes of which, extending over a century, are still extant.<sup>2</sup> About the same time, Sir Humphrey Mackworth, of Neath, Member of Parliament for Cardiganshire, and Deputy-Governor of the “Mine-Adventurers of England”, persuaded his Company to allow—

“40l. p. ann. for the education of 40 children of the miners & workmen belonging to the said Company; whereof one moyety is allowed for a Charity-School in the County of Glamorgan, & the other for another in the County of Cardigan.”<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Minutes*, July 26, 1705.

<sup>2</sup> In Sir John Williams's library, Llanstephan.

<sup>3</sup> *Minutes*, July 26, 1705.

The year 1706 witnessed a more earnest endeavour to advance the movement in every direction. The literature distributed in the preceding years began to make its influence generally felt. Detailed proof of the spread of an enthusiasm for the Charity-Schools are easily forthcoming. I can only give a few typical examples here. The Bishop of St. Davids, George Bull—

“has subscribed 4*l.* p. ann. during his life towards erecting a Charity-School in Carmarthenshire.”<sup>1</sup>

This “Charity-School set up by the Bishop, freeholders, and inhabitants” was the Llangadock school, and “about 30*l.* per annum” were subscribed towards its maintenance. The Bishop also issued out a letter recommending the Charity-Schools to the clergy and their parishioners.<sup>2</sup> The Bishop of St. Asaph, William Beveridge, and Thomas Williams, of Denbigh, are likewise reported to be active on behalf of Welsh schools in the Vale of Clwyd.<sup>3</sup> The Bishop of Llandaff writes a Letter to the Society in September 1706, saying that:—

“he will distribute at his visitation of his Diocese in the Spring [the literature] sent to him and will then promote all the Societie’s designs as far as he can.”<sup>4</sup>

The Bishop and the Dean of Bangor, John Evans, and John Jones, who were ardent Welshmen and supporters of the Charity-Schools, were also active in erecting Welsh schools in the diocese of Bangor.

Sir John Philipps reports to the Society on 31 Oct. 1706:—

“That there is a foundation laid for 6 Charity-Schools in Wales; two of them are actually opened; and he expects to hear of the opening of the other 4 in a short time.”<sup>5</sup>

These schools were the first-fruits of Sir John’s plan to extend the advantages of education to the poorest children

<sup>1</sup> *Minutes of S.P.C.K.*, Feb. 21, 1705-6.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 18 Oct. 1705.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 4 July 1706.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 3 Oct. 1706.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 31 Oct. 1706.

of his own county, and Carmarthenshire. On 7 Nov. Sir John again reports :—

“That 24*l.* p. ann. is actually Subscribed as a Foundation for the 6 Schools mentioned on the 31 Oct. last.”<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Pember of Haverfordwest writes in May 1707 :—

“Giving an Account of the Charity-Schools sett up and maintained by Sir John Philipps in the Parish of Bigely, at Marloes, at Walton East, Walton West, and in the Parish of Boulston, all in Pembrokeshire; which was order'd to be inserted into the large Account of Charity-Schools, concealing the name of Sir John as is desired.”<sup>2</sup>

In another letter of Mr. Pember he adds :—

“That S<sup>r</sup> John has very lately settled a Schole at Rudbaxton in the hundred of Dongledy (in Pembrokeshire) and gives the Master 4*l.* yearly to teach the poor Children to read, write and the Church Catechism; and allows 20*s.* a year for them.”<sup>3</sup>

On the 4 Sept. 1707 :—

“S<sup>r</sup> John Philipps related that a Charity-Schole is set up in Hascard in Pembrokeshire, where the Master is allowed a Salary of 5*l.* p. ann. with liberty to teach the Children of others who will pay for their Education. Also that a like Schole is setting up at Llanddowror in Carmarthenshire, where the Schoolm<sup>r</sup> is to have the like Salary and allowance.”<sup>4</sup>

Mr. Pember of Prendergast writes again in Dec. 1707, saying :—

“That S<sup>r</sup> John Philipps has subscribed 50*s.* a year towards a Charity-School in Llanychaer in Pembrokeshire, and has sett up a School at Llandourog in Carmarthenshire at his own charge; and will sett up another in Pembrokeshire as soon as he can find a fitt Teacher. That S<sup>r</sup> John wants a draught mentioned in Min. 6 of 4th Sept<sup>r</sup> last for perpetuating Benefactions to Charity-Schools. That the same S<sup>r</sup> John desires to cloathe six of the poorest Children in each School sett up by him in Pembrokeshire, upon condition that their parents do not take them from the School within twelve months after, unless they qualified for Apprenticeships or Service. Lastly that he, this M<sup>r</sup> Pember, pays for the teaching of 5 poor Children in the Parish of Haraldston-West in

<sup>1</sup> *Minutes of S.P.C.K.*, 7 Nov. 1706.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 19 June 1707.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 5 June 1707.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 4 Sept. 1707.

Pembrokeshire; and partly for the teaching of six poor Children in this Parish of Prendergast, the rest being supplied by the offertory money."<sup>1</sup>

It is perfectly wonderful to observe the intense enthusiasm which moved Sir John Philipps and many other Welsh Churchmen, in these years particularly, to make such earnest efforts for the education of the poor children of the Principality. Several of the Pembrokeshire ministers are reported to be especially active. We are informed that "the Masters of these Schools [of Sir John] were recommended by some of the most active and zealous Ministers in the County, who also are pleased frequently to visit them, and to assist in what is necessary for the good regulation and improvement of them."<sup>1</sup> In some places the ministers teach the children of the poor to read gratis. Several ministers pay for all the children whom their poor parents will send to school. Other ministers apply the offertories, or Communion collections, to the Charity-School funds. The year 1707 witnessed the erection of a dozen schools in Pembrokeshire and Carmarthenshire alone. Lady Granville opened a school "for 24 poor Children" at Monmouth, and a school was erected "by Subscription" at Abergavenny. The *Account of Charity-Schools* for this year gives the following note at the end of the Welsh schools:—

"There are also (as is well known) great numbers of poor children maintained and educated in the Work-houses that have been of late years erected by Act of Parliament.

"There are many Charities of the like nature in several other cities and villages in the country, and endeavours are using for setting up Schools in many places where there are none. But of these we can give no certain account."<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Pember of Prendergast, the correspondent for Pembrokeshire, writes in May 1708:—

<sup>1</sup> *An Account of Charity-Schools*, 1707, pp. 26, 27.



"That Sr John Philipps has order'd Schools to be sett up at Maenclochogg & Penaly in Pembroke-shire, besides those mentioned in his former letters. And that Mr. Laugharne pays for the teaching of Ten poor Children of the Parish of St. Brides, and of Six Children of the Parish of Marloes, and buys Books for them. Also that 24 Children are now taught at Llanychaer, the Master's Salary amounting to 8*l.* 15*s.* 0*d.* p. ann."<sup>1</sup>

Sir John Philipps writes to the Society from Picton Castle on the 25 Oct. 1708 :—

"That he and Mr. Pember had joined their interests to y setting up 2 Charity-Schools at Laugharne and St. Clears in which they had a prospect of success. That y<sup>e</sup> Rev<sup>d</sup> Mr Meyrick having given a place at Carmarthen for y<sup>e</sup> Library and 22*l.* per ann. to the Charity-School there, a letter of thanks to him from y<sup>e</sup> Society might be of Service."<sup>2</sup>

On the 13 Nov. 1708 Mr. Pember writes :—

"That Sr John Philipps and himself had lately visited several of y<sup>e</sup> Charity-Schools in South Wales, viz., at Boulston, Bigely, Penaly; and Tenby, Llanychaer, Radbaxton, Marloes, Hascard, Walton East, Haraldston West and Prendergast; and that they had some hopes of seeing Schools erected at St. Clears & Laugharne."<sup>3</sup>

The passion for the education of the poor, which had now possessed the hearts of the leaders of this movement, did not equally infect the poor themselves. They were in many places awakened to its advantages, but there were also instances of supreme indifference and apathy. Mr. Pember writes to the Society on the 24 Sept. 1709 :—

"That Sr John Philipps had very kindly erected several Schools in that County, but that he found it difficult to perswade Parents to send their Children, and keep them there, their own want of Education making them stupid as to every consideration of y<sup>e</sup> advantages of it in their Children."<sup>4</sup>

Sir John Philipps, in spite of this indifference, persisted in his efforts to supply the opportunities of education to the children of the poorest people of his native county. Mr. Pember writes on the 19 Dec. 1710 :—

<sup>1</sup> *Minutes of S.P.C.K.*, May 27, 1708.

<sup>2</sup> Abs. No. 1471.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* No. 1500.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* No. 1734.

"That St John Philipps's interest in the Charity-School at Llanychaer is upheld, and a School erected at Puncteston. M<sup>r</sup> Jenkin Breckwell is y<sup>e</sup> Master of y<sup>e</sup> at Llanychaer and M<sup>r</sup> Gambold of that at Puncteston, which was opened the 8 Novem<sup>r</sup> last. That three poor Children of Llangan in Carmarthensh. are taught at his own charge and 4 poor Children are taught at Dynas in Pembrokesh. at y<sup>e</sup> charge of M<sup>r</sup> Laugharne, Rector of that Parish. That in each of these Schools & in others, as far as he knows, the Masters of every Charity-School in Pembrokesh. and Carmarthensh. has the liberty to take into y<sup>e</sup> Charity-Schools Children whose parents pay for their teaching that they may be better qualify'd to stick close to their business and carefully instruct the poor."<sup>1</sup>

On the 7 July 1711, Sir John, writing to the Society from Picton, reports another school visitation:—

"M<sup>r</sup> Pember and he had spent some days in visiting the Charity-Schools in the County of Pembroke & returned last night very well satisfy'd with y<sup>e</sup> diligent attendance of the Masters and good improvem<sup>t</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> children, several of whom he hopes will be cloath'd this Summer."<sup>2</sup>

Sir John's intense enthusiasm for the elevation of the poor in this period is further reflected in a letter dated 26 Oct. 1711, in which he reports:—

"That he has hopes of setting up a Ch. School at Templeton in Pemb. That he wishes there were a project for employing the Ladies in some charitable work; that the making of Caps, Kerchiefs, Aprons, Bands, and even Shifts and Shirts for the poor would administer truer Comfort to them one day than all the pains and time they spend at their Surbels and Embroidery; that he is glad to own y<sup>e</sup> he has for some time past taken off his daughter from poring on her tent to busy her every day in making some provision for the Charity children."<sup>3</sup>

Sir John's fervour infected the clergy of Pembrokeshire, and aroused them to extraordinary activities. In a letter, dated 1 Jan. 1712-3, he says:—

"That a School is erecting in the Parish of Amroth in Pemb. That several Min<sup>rs</sup> in that County Teach School, and there are about 6 worthy Clergymen that constantly visit most of the Charity-

<sup>1</sup> Abs. No. 2426.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* No. 2647.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* No. 2854.

Schools in that County to examine the Children & exhort the Masters and Schollars, and have several Times expressed their great joy for the proficiency of the latter. That he wishes there were a Law for building of Schoolhouses in such Parishes, as for want of that or some other conveniency are forced to make use of the Church, where in the Master's absence, children will sometimes do things unbecoming & injurious to that holy place."<sup>1</sup>

Sir John's beneficence to the Charity-Schools of Pembroke-shire was so great at this time that some persons in the county insinuated, in 1712, that he must have been supplied with funds by the Society in London. The erection of new Charity-Schools from year to year, the free education and clothing of so many charity children—it was stated in the *Account of Charity-Schools*, "that he had distributed, in 1712, at his own charge, 48 Suits of Cloaths among the greatest objects of Charity in Several Charity-Schools of that County"<sup>2</sup>—all this munificence was so much out of ordinary course and expectation, that to these persons it appeared almost past belief. When the secretary of the Society heard of this insinuation he wrote the following letter to the Correspondents in Pembroke-shire :—

"Bartlett's Buildings,

"London, 21 Feb. 1712-3.

"To the Rev. Mr. John Pember at

"Prendergast, Pembroke-shire

"Approv'd by y<sup>e</sup>  
Soc. 19th Feb.

"It is with pleasure that the Society observe that though Pembroke-sh. be one of the Smallest Countys in South Britain, that it outvies most of the larger Countys in Number of Charity-Schools.

"This the Society are very sensible is much owing to the zeal of their worthy Members in that county, and particularly to the charitable and generous Encouragement which many places have had from the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Sr John Philipps, tho' his modesty will permit nothing of it to be attributed to him.

"And upon this occasion I think myself obliged to acquaint you that whereas it has been insinuated by some persons in Pem-

<sup>1</sup> Abs. No. 3401.

<sup>2</sup> *Account of Charity-Schools*, 1713, p. 66.

brokeshire that S<sup>r</sup> John has had a Fund from the Society for giving the Encouragement he has done yearly to this good work, I can assure You that in all the time I have had the Honour to serve the Society, and by the Treasurer's accounts which I have by me from the beginning of it, it does not appear that ever the Society contributed any money towards the Erecting or supporting those Schools. But from the foundation of the Society it appears that S<sup>r</sup> John has been a most liberal contributor to their designs in London, and other parts of the Kingdom.

"Although S<sup>r</sup> John may not be solicitous to undeceive the Persons that have been imposed upon by this suggestion so he sees the happy fruits of his Charity, yet I am sure the Society would never be pleased to have the Reputation of such a Report at the Expense of Truth and a Detraction so injurious to one of their Excellent Members.

"It is therefore recommended to y<sup>r</sup> Prudence to take occasion of removing this Conceit where you find it has prevailed, that those that feel the benefit of S<sup>r</sup> John's Charity may know to whom under God they owe their Gratefull Acknowledgem<sup>ts</sup>.

"I have signified this much to the Rev<sup>d</sup>. M<sup>r</sup>. Lloyd of Rose Crowther, not that I believe either he or you want to be satisfied herein, but that it may be in your power to do justice to one of the greatest Benefactors in the County to this good work."<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile, the streams of charity were becoming more abundant; the spirit of active benevolence had been aroused on behalf of the neglected poor; and noble exertions were made in all parts of Wales for the extension of Education. We see schools rise one after another in quick succession, and when we observe all the conditions we are ready to wonder how they were able to accomplish all these things in so short a time in some of the localities, but when we see the spirit by which the promoters were actuated our astonishment changes into admiration. The exigencies of space will not allow me to detail at length the efforts made throughout the Principality; a few typical instances may, however, be given here in illustration. The *Account of Charity-Schools for 1709* reports, under Monmouth:—

<sup>1</sup> Secretary's *Letter Book*, No. 19, pp. 94-5.

" Besides the School formerly mentioned to be set up here by a Lady of Quality [Lady Granville] there are two other Charity-Schools, one for Boys only, who are taught to read and write; and the other for Boys and Girls, who are taught to read by two Mistresses. And in these Schools are above 60 Children taught (besides the Scholars in the Lady's School), to which there is near Forty Pounds *per annum* Subscribed; Gowns and Coifs for the Girls; and two of the children are yearly to be put out to honest Trades with the Money collected at the monthly Sacrament. All the Children come orderly to Church, and are Catechised Tuesdays, Wednesdays, and Fridays. The Schools are visited by the worthy Ministers and others very often, to see what progress the children make in learning, writing, and accounts, &c."<sup>1</sup>

Dr. Robert Wynne, the vicar of Gresford, and the Chancellor of the Cathedral of St. Asaph, and his parishioners, had established before 1710—

" A Charity-School for 20 poor Children for some years past, 5 of which are paid for by the worthy Minister, and some of the best and ablest Parishioners pay for the rest."<sup>2</sup>

Margaret Strode, by her will dated September 1715, gave five hundred pounds in trust "for teaching, clothing, and (as far as the funds would allow) apprenticing three poor girls and three poor boys of this parish".<sup>3</sup> And in 1728 Dorothy Jeffreys, of Acton, also gave by her will fifty pounds, "the interest of which were to be applied towards educating poor children of this parish".<sup>4</sup> A school was built in 1725, bearing this inscription:—

"Schola Eleemosyna Dnae Margaretae Strode Fundata 1725 ad pauperes ejus sumptibus erudiendos."<sup>5</sup>

In the year 1710 also:—

" A Charity-School wherein 15 poor Children are taught to read and write"<sup>6</sup>

was erected at Towyn, Merionethshire. This was founded

<sup>1</sup> *Account of Charity-Schools*, 1709, pp. 14-38.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 9th Edition, 1710, pp. 44-46.

<sup>3</sup> *Report of Lord Brougham's Commission*, "Denbigh", p. 118.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 118.

<sup>5</sup> Thomas's *History of the Diocese of St. Asaph*, p. 810.

<sup>6</sup> *Account*, etc., 1710, pp. 44-46.

by Vincent Corbet, and endowed with 4*l.* per annum. After the year 1717, Lady Moyer, the relict of Sir Samuel Moyer, a merchant of London, gave by a deed 200*l.*, the interest of which, 10*l.* per annum, was to be paid constantly to a Schoolmaster :—

“ To teach 20 children, boys and girls, to read and write, their friends finding them in such books as the master shall require, as Primers, Common Prayer Books, Psalters, and Catechisms. No one in holy orders shall be a Schoolmaster, and if by chance any such be chosen, he shall be immediately put out, without salary, and another chosen, for two reasons; first that no Romish priest may ever poison them with the damnable doctrine of the Church of Rome, and also that his whole time may be spent for the good of the children committed to his charge. The master shall be obliged to go to church with them twice every Sabbath-day, and every day that prayers are read, take care that they answer responsals, and sing their hymns after sermon, and be catechised as often as the minister thinks fit. The master must forfeit 5*l.* if he asks fee or reward from any of the parents of the poor children. The scholars must come to school at seven in the summer and eight in the winter, in the morning, stay there till eleven, return at one, and continue till five in the evening. The master must pray with them in the morning before he begins to teach, and in the afternoon before they be dismissed, that God’s blessing being humbly asked, may be showered down on his endeavours for the good both of master and scholars.”<sup>1</sup>

By the will of C. Wells, dated 1710, the *Account* informs us that “Five Hundred Pounds” were bequeathed to the Cardiff Corporation for a Charity-School.<sup>2</sup> This was the second Charity-School, J. Herbert having endowed the first in the year 1707. Humphrey Jorden, the Vicar of Glasbury, Brecknockshire, maintains four schools in which thirty children are taught gratis, and are supplied with books.<sup>3</sup> A school was opened in 1711 at Llanboidy, and “nine children were taught there at a private expence”.<sup>4</sup> Another “School was opened Christmas 1711 at

<sup>1</sup> *Report of Lord Brougham’s Commission, “Merioneth”*, p. 242.

<sup>2</sup> *Account*, etc., 1710, pp. 44-46.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 1711, p. 26.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 1711, pp. 42-43.

Presteigne, Radnorshire, by a Person of Quality, for thirteen children, who were cloathed in March following". This school was "endow'd with 4*l.* per annum when a lease is expired".<sup>1</sup> A Charity-School was erected at Whitford, at the sole expense of Pierce Jones, of Whitford, Flintshire, in the year 1711.<sup>2</sup> A gentlewoman opened a school in 1712 "for twelve children to be taught and cloathed at her own expence" at Llangunnog, Montgomeryshire.<sup>3</sup> The Lord of the Manor, "who both pays the Master and provides him an habitation", provided a school for all the poor children of the parish of Marros in Carmarthenshire, in 1712.<sup>4</sup> The *Account* of 1714 gives the following interesting note under Pembrey:—

"A School for 24 children erected Michaelmas 1712. The Salary for the Master is 6*l.* per annum. About 10 of the poorest of the Children have cloaths given them, and their dinner 5 days in the week at a Publick House near the School, at the charge of a Reverend Divine, who has an estate in those parts, in conjunction with the principal inhabitants of the Parish, to which the offertory is added, the whole amounting to about 15*l.* per annum."<sup>5</sup>

We assume that Sir John Philipps and his associates were the instruments whereby the following 300*l.* were given towards the foundation and endowment of St. Issel Charity-School:—

"John Jones, who had for many years been a faithful servant in several good families, by his frugality in those services, and some chances in the Lottery, laid up above 300*l.* which after the payment of a few legacies, he left in trust, with the Bishop of St. Davids for the time being, and several honourable persons in Pembrokeshire, to be applied towards the support of a Charity-School in this [St. Issel], his native place, consisting of an equal number of Boys and Girls. The money, after the payment of his other legacies, amounts to near 300*l.* and is now out at interest till it can be vested in a proper purchase."<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Account of Charity Schools*, 1703, 1713, 1714.

<sup>2</sup> *Report of Lord Brougham's Commission*, "Flint", p. 199.

<sup>3</sup> *Account of Charity Schools*, 1712, pp. 53-54.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 53-54.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 1714, pp. 70-72.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 1713, pp. 64-66.

Sir John, who paid the utmost attention even to the details of the administration of the Charity-Schools, immediately exerted himself to secure the full benefits of this noble gift to the poor children of St. Issell. We shall give two extracts in illustration of this aspect of Sir John's services. Writing to the Society in London on 8 January 1712-13, he says :—

"That the Bishop of St. Davids having accepted of being a Trustee for a Charity lately left to the Parish of St. Issell in Pembrokeshire, he hopes it will not be long before a School is erected there . . . . . That if the Bishop of St. Davids has no person in view to recommend for a Master of the Charity School of St. Issell he should be glad if his L<sup>d</sup> and the other Trustees in London would give leave to those in the County to appoint one.

"N.B. The names of the Trustees are :— The B<sup>p</sup> of St. Davids, John Barlow, of Slebech, Esq., John Laugharne, of St. Bride, now in London; John Philipps, at Picton Castle, S<sup>r</sup> Arthur Owen, John Barrow, of Serring, Esq., James Phillipps of Tenby, Esq., in Pembrokeshire."<sup>1</sup>

To avoid delay in the appointment of a schoolmaster, Sir John suggested the following circular letter to be sent to the Trustees :—

"A copy of the Letter approving of Mr. Griffies to be Schoolmaster at St. Issell in Pembrokeshire enclosed to Mr. James Philipps at Tenby the 21st of April, 1713:—

"S<sup>r</sup>. Missing you yesterday makes me give you the trouble of this. Mr. Barlowe and myself think no man fitter for the School at St. Issell than Mr. Griffith the minister there. Knowing him to be a worthy, honest, well-principled clergyman; and as such we can and will recommend him to my Lord B<sup>p</sup> of St. Davids. If you see his Lordship before we doe, pray let my Lord know that's our opinion of him, and therefore desire he may have his Lordship's order for that School.

"I am, S<sup>r</sup>. your very humble Serv<sup>t</sup>.

"19 April, 1713.

"J. LAUGHARNE.

"*Indors'd* :— "I approve of Mr. Griffies to be School<sup>r</sup> of St. Issell. 21 April, 1713."

"A. ST. DAVIDS."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Abstracts of Letters, No. 3420.

<sup>2</sup> S.P.C.K.'s Secretary's *Letter Book*, No. 19, p. 97.

The years 1713 and 1714 were particularly successful in the establishment of schools and endowments, several of which exist even to-day. It is peculiarly ungrateful of our historians to ignore the activities of these fruitful years, because, we are reaping the benefits of them up to the present time. In the *Account of Charity-Schools* for the year 1713 three schools are said to be "erected at Merthyr Tydvil at the charge of the Lord of the Manor", two for boys and one for girls.<sup>1</sup> This Lord of the Manor was Edward Lewis, of Gilfach-fargoed, who, by his will in 1715, endowed the Gelligaer school for the education, clothing, and apprenticing of poor boys.<sup>2</sup> The Meifod Charity-School was founded by the benefaction of a certain William Pugh, who by his will dated May 22nd, 1714, gave "3*l.* per annum for the instruction of twelve poor children".<sup>3</sup> The Vicar of Bettws-in-Rhos, Dr. Thomas Jones—he was a son of Bishop Jones of St. Asaph, and a canon of that Cathedral—erected a Charity-School in his parish in 1714, in which "ten children are taught and cloath'd at his own charge, and three girls are taught and cloath'd at the charge of a Gentlewoman".<sup>4</sup> Moses Williams, in a letter to the S.P.C.K., dated 26 April 1705, referring to this school, says that:—

"The Rev<sup>d</sup> Mr. Jones vicar thereof has given 50*s.* per annum for ever for teaching Ten poor children to read Welsh. He also finds them Books, and bestows cloaths upon them at Christmas. Also Mad<sup>m</sup> Joanna Griffiths pays for the teaching and cloathing of three poor girls there."<sup>5</sup>

Some time after the vicar left this parish for Abergele, he challenged the parishioners to advance another 50*l.* to

<sup>1</sup> *Account of Charity-Schools*, 1714, pp. 70-72.

<sup>2</sup> Abstracts of Letters, No. 4306 and 4726.

<sup>3</sup> *Digest of the Reports made by the Commissioners of Inquiry into Charities*, 1844, p. 85.

<sup>4</sup> *Account of Charity-Schools*, 1715, pp. 24-28.

<sup>5</sup> Abstracts of Letters, No. 3353.

the like good use, and in 1722 an endowment of 100*l.* was settled on the Bettws school.<sup>1</sup>

The Kerry Charity-School, Montgomeryshire, was opened in 1714 with an annual subscription of 10*l.* John Catlyn, the minister there, writing to the S.P.C.K. on 2nd June 1712, says :—

“That he hopes 'ere another 12 months goes about, something like a Charity-School may be set up in his parish. That he should be glad to know what is y<sup>e</sup> usual Salary to y<sup>e</sup> Master of a Charity-School, and whether one may be obtained from London, because it will be difficult to get one in those parts that has a just and necessary knowledge in the English Tongue.”<sup>2</sup>

An English schoolmaster was appointed, and the school flourished greatly, and before 1713 it had received six small endowments in aid of its work.<sup>3</sup>

The letters of the Society in London often led to the erection of Charity-Schools in the most neglected localities in the Principality. It is very difficult to estimate the influence of the Society in this direction. A few extracts will suffice to illustrate this method of operation and its results. Henry Newman, the active Secretary of the Society, writing “to the Rev<sup>d</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Pettingal, Minister of Newport, in Monmouthshire”, on the 28th of April 1715, says :—

“When you favour me with an answer to this you will oblige me to resolve the following enquiries concerning Caerleon in your neighbourhood, viz<sup>t</sup> :—

“Whether there is a School there, and if there is, how it is supported, and the present state of it, as to number of children, &c. What number of children there are in the place still unprovided for? And whether a Charity-School be wanting there? Who is the Min<sup>r</sup> of the Place, and of what value is his living? Who is Patron of the Living? How many Churches are there in the Parish, &c.? With any other Account relating to the state of the Town or any Improvements it may be capable of,” etc.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Report of Lord Brougham's Commission, "Denbigh"*, p. 50.

<sup>2</sup> Abstracts of Letters, No. 3091.

<sup>3</sup> *Report of Lord Brougham's Commission, "Montgomery"*, p. 293.

<sup>4</sup> *Secretary's Letter Book*, No. 143.

The following replies were received :—

“Frar. Pettingal, at Newport, Monmouthshire, 8th May, 1715. That having enquir'd into the state of the Town of Caerleon, he finds it a very poor place. The children numerous, and destitute of a School, and real objects of Charity of that kind. . . . That the prospect of some great advantages . . . encourages him to recommend the Town of Newport (whereof he is Vicar) to the consideracon of all Charitable Benefactors as a place destitute of a School, very numerous of poor children, and affording but a very poor maintenance to its Incumbents, which exceeds not 20*l.* per annum,” etc.<sup>1</sup>

“Theo. Chest, at Chepstow, Monmouthshire, 9 May, 1715. Enclosing a letter from Mr. Davies, the Curate of Caerleon, of the 6th of May, signifying the present state of it, vizt that there's no School there. That it is a very poor place, and above 100 poor children unprovided for, which makes great want of a Charity-School; that there is no likelihood of having one, the inhabitants being not able to pay any man of capacity. That Mr. Lingen is the Minister, tho' he leaves the charge to him. That the value of the Living is not above 20*l.* per annum. That as to the Patron, 'tis in the Gift of the Chapter of Landaff. That there is but one Church. Tho' the parish of Llangattock belongs unto it.”<sup>2</sup>

A Charity-School was erected in Caerleon in 1717, and was also endowed by C. Williams of Caerleon.<sup>3</sup>

The Rector of Dolgelley, Merionethshire, George Lewis, writes to the Society on 14 July 1716, in reply to an enquiry concerning the state of that town :—

“That there is no Charity-School within many miles of Do'gelley, the Country generally being very poor and the rich not so well inclined to encourage so good a work as they ought to be. That the Town of Dolgelley is the chief town in Merionethsh., in the centre of the County, and bath in it many poor boys and girls who for want of some charitable provision are forced to strole and beg their living. That he believes there are some of the better sort who would contribute to so good a work if such a thing was set on foot. That if the Society should think fitt to sett such a thing on foot, that he would encourage it all that lay in his power.”<sup>4</sup>

By 1720 a Charity-School for twenty-five boys and

<sup>1</sup> Secretary's *Letter Book*, 4369.

<sup>2</sup> Abstracts of Letters, No. 4368.

<sup>3</sup> *Report of the Schools Inquiry Commission*, vol. xx, 1870.

<sup>4</sup> Abstracts of Letters, No. 4863.

twenty-five girls was erected at Dolgelley, and supported at the charge of a Lady at London.<sup>1</sup>

The unwearied endeavours of the reformers had by the year 1710 found very great and good success in North Wales. For "by the large and bountiful contributions which were obtained from charitable persons of all ranks and conditions—from some of the nobility and gentry of Wales, and of the neighbouring counties, and of several of that quality in and about London, and also from the reverend Bishops and Clergy—there were erected in the various counties of North Wales during these years many Charity-Schools, and by all these together there were every year a large number of poor children educated."

Dr. John Jones, Dean of Bangor, writing to the Society on the 20 June 1716, says :—

"That a Charity-School is lately erected at Beaumaris in the County of Anglesea, for 12 Children taught and Cloath'd at the expense of a person of honour. That another School is lately sett up at Llanfihangel in the same County, where 12 poor children are taught; and another School at Bangor in Carnarvonshire for 10 poor children.—Another at Llanllechyd in Carnarvonshire for 15 poor children; another at Gyffin in y<sup>e</sup> same County for 10 poor children. That it is impossible in those parts to fix the poor Children constantly and regularly at School, because they must go for ever and anon to beg for victuals, there being no poor rates settled in these parts, it is the constant method to relieve the poor at their doors, and the houses of the several Parishes being scattered about at considerable distances from each other increases the difficulty the poor children labour under, and in harvest the poor parents take them out of School, and declare they had rather they should not be taught at all then be debarred of the use and service of them."<sup>2</sup>

John Jones, D.D., Dean of Bangor, is another instance of a really great Welshman, who has many claims to the enduring gratitude of his countrymen, but whose name does not yet appear in any of the biographical dictionaries. He has found no sympathetic biographer. The only

<sup>1</sup> *Account of Charity-Schools*, 1721, pp. 37-38.

<sup>2</sup> Abs. No. 4840.

memorials of Dr. Jones which we have, are the notes and appreciations of Browne Willis and Angharad Llwyd. He was one of the little group of great Welsh reformers and philanthropists of this period, whose names should be held in everlasting remembrance by every Welshman who loves his fatherland, its vernacular language, and its literature.

John Jones, M.A., D.D., was the second son of Rowland Jones, of Plâsgwyn, Pentraeth, in Anglesea, where he was born on 2 June 1650.<sup>1</sup> We have no records of his early life. He was a graduate of Trinity College, Cambridge. Bishop Morgan promoted him to the Rectory of Rhoscolyn, Anglesey, on 3 June 1672.<sup>2</sup> He became collated Treasurer of Bangor Cathedral on 30 April 1673.<sup>3</sup> Lord Bulkeley promoted him to the Rectory of Llan-degfan on 5 December 1684.<sup>4</sup> He was instituted Dean of Bangor on 4 September 1689, in succession to Humphrey Humphreys, who was made Bishop of Bangor.<sup>5</sup> He was collated prebendary of Llanvairtalhaiarn, in the diocese of St. Asaph, on 13 April 1696.<sup>6</sup> He died, and was buried in the Bangor Cathedral, on 2 Nov. 1727.<sup>7</sup>

So soon as Dean Jones was established in Bangor, he began that season of activity, religious, educational and philanthropic, which has assured to him an honourable position amongst the reformers of this period. He erected and endowed Charity-Schools, circulated a large quantity of Welsh literature in his schools and among his parishioners, appointed a number of earnest and active curates in his livings—for Dean Jones was not one

<sup>1</sup> Browne Willis's *Bangor*, p. 129.

<sup>2</sup> Rowland's *Mona Antiqua*, 1762, p. 349.

<sup>3</sup> Browne Willis, 157.

<sup>4</sup> *Mona Antiqua*, 336.

<sup>5</sup> Browne Willis's *Survey of the Cathedral Church of Bangor*, p. 129.

<sup>6</sup> Browne Willis's *Survey of St. Asaph*, 2nd Edition, vol. i, p. 218.

<sup>7</sup> *Bishop's Transcripts of Registers of Bangor*.

of the "lazy and negligent in all the true concerns of the Church" that "left preaching and writing to others while they gave themselves up to ease and sloth", but one of the new set of men of another stamp of whom Burnet wrote that "had they not appeared the Church had quite lost her esteem over the nation". Dean Jones took the deepest interest and care of the fabrics of his churches, and furnished them at his own cost with valuable and beautiful church plate, which are to-day their treasures. In short he did everything he could do to make the buildings and the services of his churches attractive to the people. Browne Willis, who knew the Dean well, and writes of him with admiration, has preserved a clear, if brief, judgment of his labours. In introducing Dean Jones's *Description of Bishop Anian's Pontifical, or Liber Bangor*, Willis writes:—

"It is now, for the benefit of the Library, in the possession of the most worthy Dean, the Reverend Dr. Jones, who has bestow'd a new Binding on it; and being well vers'd in the Antiquities of this Church, to which he has ever shew'd a most conscientious regard by constant residence, etc."<sup>1</sup>

The Dean was passionately devoted to the Cathedral Church to the end of his days. By his will he gave his "library of books to the library of the Cathedral Church of Bangor lately erected"; and also "one hundred pounds towards buying an Altar Piece and decent Altar Cloth with Fringe, and for the better adorning of the Choir".<sup>2</sup>

For the information of Bishop Humphrey Humphreys on his first visitation of his diocese in 1690, Dean Jones prepared an interesting report on the state of the Friars School, Bangor. Although Dr. Jones had only been in the Deanery for a few months when he made the inquiry, yet he made many valuable suggestions for important

<sup>1</sup> Browne Willis's *Bangor*, p. 70.

<sup>2</sup> Will of Dr. Jones.

reforms, which reveal his enlightened interest in the school and in education. In reporting on the state of the school and schoolhouse, the Dean says:—

“They have been of late much out of repair. But at present are much better, tho’ there remains still much to be done before both can be put into due and compleat repair.”<sup>1</sup>

On the Library of the School he reports and suggests:—

“That there are divers books belonging to the School Library a Catalogue whereof I have seen in the School written in a Book in the Custody of the Schoolm<sup>r</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> I think ought to be annually inspected that none of them may be embezzled.”<sup>2</sup>

For the reformation of faults, and the better government of the school, the Dean made valuable suggestions. Among others, that the annual sermon should be revived in the Cathedral, wherein the preacher “shall make mention and commendation of the founder” of the School; that the bishop, dean, and chapter should, according to the statutes, “assemble twice every year and cause all the statutes and ordinance of the school to be read to them”; that the accounts of the school should be annually audited; and that an annual inspection of the school and schoolhouse should be made, in order to see “what is wanting and defective therein, &c., and that so all may be timely repaired before any great and considerable decays happen”.<sup>3</sup>

Dr. Jones was an educationist long before he came to

<sup>1</sup> Barber and Lewis's *History of Friars School*, p. 39.

<sup>2</sup> Transcript of the original document.

<sup>3</sup> Barber and Lewis's *History of Friars School*, pp. 39-42. The following severe criticisms of the authors of this interesting work on the Dean's ignorance of certain details of administration are entirely unjustifiable:

“It seems strange that the Dean, great friend of education though he was, knew and cared so little for the administration of a trust of which he was one of the principal trustees. He must have had some qualms of conscience when he attempted to reply to his Bishop's request for suggestions, &c. . . . Who should know these things if not the Dean? It may be that this was a turning

Bangor. We have seen by his first letter to the S.P.C.K. that he had "set up schools for y<sup>e</sup> poorer sort at his own charge"<sup>1</sup> before the foundation of that Society. He was instituted Rector of Rhoscolyn in 1672, the year that Thomas Gouge commenced his great educational work in Wales. After Gouge "had made Three or Four Jorneyes into *South Wales*, some in *North Wales* hearing of it, sent some unto him, requesting him to come into their parts to carry on the like Excellent and Charitable Work among them also. This he assented to, and went, at least once, if not oftener, into those Parts likewise."<sup>2</sup> Tillotson, Whichcote, and Stillingfleet, all Cambridge men, under whose influence Dr. Jones had been formed, were at the head of the Gouge movement from 1674 onward; it is quite natural, therefore, to conclude that Dr. Jones began his work under the impulse of that movement, and that he is another link in the continuity of the Gouge and S.P.C.K. movements. The names of the Schools established by the Dean of Bangor do not appear in the records of the Society before 1716, and even the names of some of his foundations never appeared either in the correspondence or in the printed *Accounts*. Nevertheless, we have ample evidence of their early existence. The following notes and extracts may be given in illustration of this part of the Dean's charitable and philanthropic work. It is clear from his Will that he aimed at providing a modicum

point in his life, and that henceforth he took greater interest in his neglected charge and in the education of children in the surrounding parishes."

The Authors fall foul of the Dean thus, because he replies to certain queries of the Bishop honestly, "I am utterly ignorant". The Dean had only been in office a few months—he was instituted in the Deanery on Sept. 4, 1689—when he furnished the "exhaustive report" for the Visitation of 1690! The insinuations of carelessness, neglect, and qualms of conscience on the part of Dr. John Jones are groundless and absurd.

<sup>1</sup> Abs. No. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Clarke's *Lives of Eminent Persons*, p. 205.

of primary education to the poorest children of all the parishes with which he had any official connection at any time of his life. Thus, he was a prebendary of Llanfair-talhaiarn, and, in 1708, he gave 50*l.* for the maintenance of a Charity-School in that village.<sup>1</sup> In his Will, dated 10 March 1719, in bequeathing three pounds to the poor of "Llanfair Dol hayarn", he refers to his previous endowment of their Charity-School in these words:—

"Having in my life time given them the sum of fifty pounds towards y<sup>e</sup> maintenance of a Charity-School."<sup>2</sup>

Llanfihangel Ysceifiog and Llanffinan, in Anglesey, was a perpetual curacy in the patronage of the Dean of Bangor. Dr. Jones erected a Charity-School at Llanfihangel either late in the seventeenth or early in the eighteenth century. This school was reported to the S.P.C.K. in 1716,<sup>3</sup> and was afterwards included from year to year in the *Accounts of Charity-Schools*. By his Will, dated 10 March 1719, and proved on 29 November 1727, he gave—

"To the Bishop of Bangor for the time being, and to his successors, for ever, and to the Dean of Bangor and his successors, and to the Wardens of the Churches of Llanfihangel Ysceifiog and Llanffinan, in the County of Anglesey, and to their successors for ever, the sum of one hundred pounds, in trust, for the use of the poor of the said two parishes for ever, so as the said one hundred pounds be by them or the survivors of them, and their successors, put out at interest, and so ordered and secured that the annual interest thereof shall be a fund for a Charity-School for instructing twelve poor Children of the said two parishes, for ever, to read Welsh perfectly, and for teaching them the principles of religion according to the Catechism of the Church of England, and if it might be, for training them up a little in writing and arithmetic; and my will is, that the teacher shall have four pounds per annum for his pains, and that the remainder of the said annual interest shall be laid out in books or cloaths for some of the poorest children in the said Charity-School according as the Trustees shall order and appoint."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Thomas's *History of the Diocese of St. Asaph*, p. 387.

<sup>2</sup> Will in the Probate Registry of Bangor.

<sup>3</sup> Abs. No. 4840.

<sup>4</sup> Will in the Probate Registry of Bangor.

He also willed to the said parishioners a "due proportion of the stock" of Welsh and English books:—

"Which I bought on purpose to distribute among my poor parishioners & more especially among the poor children of my Charity-Schools, & tho' I have given them a great number of such books from time to time yet to make all y<sup>e</sup> amends I can for my neglect or freq<sup>t</sup> disabilities thro' sickness to teach and instruct y<sup>m</sup> my will is y<sup>t</sup> what shall remain undisposed of at my death of the abovementioned Welsh & English books, being practical books, and fitted for ordinary capacities, be delivered in due proportions to my several Curates, to be distributed according to their discretion among my poor parishioners of Gyffin, Llanllechyd, Llanfihangel & Llanffinan, and among the poor children y<sup>t</sup> are taught in y<sup>e</sup> Charity-Schools therein."<sup>1</sup>

And further, the Dean gave three pounds to be divided equally among his poor parishioners; three pounds to his curate; a folio Welsh Bible; and a folio Welsh Common Prayer Book, for the use of the said Church.

The following Charity-Schools were given similar bequests in almost identical terms under his Will:—

Llanllechyd, Carnarvonshire.—£100 for teaching and instructing 12 poor children; the Dean was Rector here from 1689 to 1727.

Aber, Carnarvonshire.—£100 for teaching and instructing 10 poor children; the Dean was Rector here also from 1689 to 1727.

Gyffin, Carnarvonshire.—£100 for teaching and instructing 10 poor children; this was a perpetual curacy in the Dean of Bangor's patronage.

Llanddyfnan and Pentraeth, Anglesey.—£100 for teaching and instructing 10 poor children; the Dean's "dear place of nativity".

Bangor, Carnarvonshire.—£100 for teaching and instructing 10 poor children; Dr. Jones was Dean of Bangor from 1689 to 1727.

<sup>1</sup> Will in the Probate Registry of Bangor.



To the following livings, with which the Dean was officially connected in some way or other, he gave bequests of fifty pounds each for teaching and instructing ten poor children:—

Rhoscolyn and its two chapelries, Llanfair yn Neubwll and Llanfihangel yn Nhowyn, Anglesey, 1 School; Dr. Jones was Rector of these parishes for many years.

Llandecwyn and Llanfihangel y Traethau, in Merionethshire, 1 School; this Rectory and its curacy were united to the Treasurership of Bangor Cathedral, which was held by Dr. Jones from 1673 to 1689.

Llandegfan and Beaumaris, Anglesey, 1 School; Dr. Jones was Rector from 1673 to 1700.<sup>1</sup>

The schools erected and endowed by Dean John Jones were all vernacular schools. They were “for the instructing of poor children for ever to read Welsh so perfectly as that each of them might be able to read the Bible and Common Prayer Book in Welsh well, and be also taught the Catechism of the Church of England in Welsh”. By the way in which the Circulating School movement of Griffith Jones has been, and is even yet, spoken of, it would seem to be regarded by many of our writers as the first attempt to promote vernacular schools in Wales. The bishops and clergy of the Established Church of the period preceding Griffith Jones have also been, and are even yet, spoken of as bitter enemies of vernacular teaching and of Welsh literature.<sup>2</sup> But that this was far from being the case any

<sup>1</sup> I have taken these facts from the Will in the Probate Registry of Bangor.

<sup>2</sup> Owen Edwards writes: “Though Crown ministers and bishops thought it were better for Welshmen to lose their souls than to be taught in Welsh.”—*Wales*, p. 386. See also his *Short History of Wales*, 103-4. Of course, many besides Mr. Owen Edwards write in this strain. I select him for animadversion because he is the most brilliant recent propagator of these erroneous views.

one having real knowledge of Wales in this period will know well. That these wrong notions may be set aside, and the fantastic ideas of the period that they have established in people's minds may be corrected, it may be well, perhaps, to state the following facts in this connection. Many of the Charity-Schools established in this period were in the vernacular. The schools of North Wales were generally Welsh. The bishops and the clergy cherished the Welsh language and its literature. Some of the great masterpieces of Welsh literature were written by Welsh clergymen of this period—the writings of Ellis Wynne, Edward Samuel, and Theophilus Evans, for instance. The following extracts will illustrate these statements. Robert Wynne, Rector of Llanddeiniolen, writing to the S.P.C.K. on April 15, 1700, says :—

“That the vulgar understand not English Books . . . . .  
That y<sup>e</sup> Bishop [Humphrey Humphreys] & his Clergy have been at the sole charge of Printing the Welsh Books lately translated, and are willing to subscribe to more.”<sup>1</sup>

It was a plain hint to the secretary of the Society not to send English books to Carnarvonshire and Anglesey. John Price, Vicar of Wrexham, writing to the Society on April 29, 1700, says :—

“That the Clergy in Denbighshire, Flintshire, and Montgomeryshire . . . . . find it most convenient to set up Welsh Schools, that being the Language w<sup>ch</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Parents best understand.”<sup>2</sup>

Dr. Robert Wynne, Vicar of Gresford, and Chancellor of St. Asaph, writing to the Society on June 5, 1700, says that :—

“The Education of poor children is a matter of much difficulty in those parts, no Welsh Schools being already settled, w<sup>ch</sup> language must be taught them, & Primers are ready to be printed for that purpose.”<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Abstract No. 84.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 92.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 116.

Thomas Williams, Rector of Denbigh, writing to Robert Nelson in July 1706, says :—

“That his design is to procure the erection of Welsh Schools & set an example to others by establishing one in his own Parish. He proposes that the money rais'd by Mr. Nelson's Tract on Confirmation in Welsh (of which many are dispers'd gratis by the Bp. of St. Asaph [Beveridge] & himself) may go as part of contribution to the said Welsh Schools. To which Mr. Nelson gave his consent.”<sup>1</sup>

Moses Williams, writing to the Society on April 26, 1715, says :—

“That the Rev. Thomas Jones, D.D., Vicar of Bettws Abergele, has given 50s. per annum for ever for teaching Ten poor children to read Welsh.”<sup>2</sup>

Bishop Fleetwood, in his charge to the clergy of the Diocese of St. Asaph, in 1710, particularly encouraged Welsh preaching. Bishop Bull earnestly advised the clergy of St. David's to use the Welsh. The fact of the matter is, a new enthusiasm for the Welsh language and its literature had unmistakably appeared in this period, and the national mind was represented by the leaders of the Charity-School movement.

Another patron and advocate of Charity-Schools, and a great benefactor of education in North and South Wales during this period, was Edmund Meyricke, M.A., of Ucheldre, treasurer of St. David's Cathedral.<sup>3</sup> Meyricke,

<sup>1</sup> *Minutes*, 4 July 1706.

<sup>2</sup> Abs. No. 3355.

<sup>3</sup> Edmund Meyricke, son of Edmund Meyricke, Ucheldre, Merioneth, baptised 11 June 1636; entered Jesus College, Oxford; Matric. 23 July 1656; B.A. 12 Oct. 1659; M.A. 1662; Incorporated at Cambridge 1663; Vicar of Eynsham, Oxon, 1663; Llangathen, 1664, Llanarthney, 1666, and Rector of Penboyr, 1668 (all of Carmarthenshire); Rector of Burton, co. Pembroke, 1670; Prebendary of Collegiate Church of Brecon, 1670; and Precentor, 1685; Rector of Stackpool, co. Pembroke, 1675; Vicar of Llanegwad, co. Carmarthen, 1677; Canon of St. David's, 1690, and Treasurer, 1691. He died in May 1713, at Gloucester, and was buried at Carmarthen. At one time he was Chaplain to the Earl of Carbery, who promoted him to several of his livings.

like Dean Jones, was a great pluralist. In 1708, when the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge established a Lending Library for the Diocese of St. David's, Meyricke gave a house in Carmarthen "for the use of the Library lately collected, for ever". In the same year he gave another house in the same town "for y<sup>e</sup> use of a School and Schoolmaster, for ever". He also endowed this school with 22*l.* per annum; and in 1713, the year of his death, "twenty-one were taught and cloathed at his sole charge". He also opened a school at Penboyr, of which parish he was Rector. He was a great friend of Sir John Philipps. By his Will, made in 1712, he made large bequests for the benefit of the children and youths of the six counties of North Wales. In his Will he says:—

"As for my worldly estate which God Almighty hath blessed me with above my merits or expectation I dispose thereof in the following manner: Imprimis, whereas I always intended to bestow a good part of what God should please to bless me withall for the encouragement of learning in Jesus College in Oxford and for the better maintenance of six junior Scholars who are or shall be scholars of the said foundation of the said College, out of the six counties of North Wales: I doe give, devise and bequeath all my real and personal estate other than and besides what thereof is or shall be by this my Will, or shall be by any Codicil . . . . . given devised and bequeathed . . . that is to say unto every one of the said six Scholars, particularly and severally, the annual sum of £10 of lawfull money of Great Britain during his residence in the said College. And for the maintenance and settlement of six Exhibitioners in the said College, natives of the said six Counties of North Wales, and of any or either of them, or of my kindred, if such of that number of Exhibitioners may be found . . . I doe give to each and every of the said six Exhibitioners the annual summe of eight pounds lawfull money of Great Britain during his residence in the said College," etc., etc.<sup>1</sup>

And by a Codicil to his Will, dated the 14th day of May 1712, he gave, as he had given his houses at Carmarthen—

"His messuage and tenement, with the appurtenances, called Ty-Tan-y-Domen, situate in the Town of Bala, in the county of

<sup>1</sup> Hardy's *Jesus College*, p. 160.

Merioneth, together with one acre of land in the Park, and Cae'r Llechwedd, then or late in the possession of Philip Morgan, at the yearly rent of 3*l.* 12*s.*, to and for the use and benefit of a School and Schoolmaster, in which School there should be thirty poor boys of North Wales settled and taught grammar learning, until they should be thought fit to be removed to other Schools or employments, or to be put apprentices, at the discretion of the visitors and trustees of such school thereafter named; such school to be kept in a convenient room or rooms in the said messuage, and the rest of the said messuage and its appurtenances, and the said acre of land, and Cae'r Llechwedd, to be for the dwelling and use and benefit of the schoolmaster: And he further gave the sum of 15*l.* yearly to the said thirty scholars, viz. 10*s.* to be paid for or towards the clothing each of them yearly and every year for ever . . . he thereby appointed Evan Griffiths' the first schoolmaster of the said school", etc., etc.<sup>2</sup>

Another patroness on a large scale deserves mention here, viz., Mrs. Mary Vaughan of Llangedwyn, the widow of Edward Vaughan of Llwydiarth, Montgomeryshire. On 20 April 1712, she gave a sum of 1200*l.* to found and endow for ever three charity-schools in the parishes of Llanfyllin and Llanfihangel, Montgomeryshire. In a letter written by John Humphreys, M.A., the Rector of Llanfihangel, on 20 May 1722, he says:—

"That the Schools set up and endow'd by the good family who desire him as a Trustee to take care of them are as follows: Mrs. Vaughan, of Llangedwyn, the Lady and widow of Edward Vaughan, late of Llwydiarth, Esq<sup>r</sup>., has given 1200*l.* to endow 3 Charity-Schools, one in this town [Llanfyllin] for 20 Boys and another for 10 Girls, and one in Llanvihangel (a neighbouring parish, for 12 Boys) all to be cloath'd, taught their Catechism and brought up in the principles of the Church of England, and the Boys to read and write and cast accounts; the Girls to spin and sew plain work. That Mrs. Strangeways and Mrs. Wynne, daughters and coheirs of the said Mrs. Vaughan, keep 20 more Boys in the School at Llanvihangel with this addition that a meal's meat as their dinner is allow'd to 'em every day they come to School in

<sup>1</sup> Evan Griffiths was the schoolmaster of the Meyricke Charity-School at Carmarthen from 1708 to 1713. Abstracts of Letters, No. 2962.

<sup>2</sup> Report of Lord Brougham's Commission, "Merioneth", pp. 221-2.

consideration that they live very far from School. That Mrs. Strangeways keeps also 6 more Girls at Llanvillin and pays for their diet and lodging, they being the children of such parents as are not able to keep them. That as the children are fit to be put out apprentices one or other of Mrs. Vaughan's family puts them out, he having by his will left 50 pounds for that service."<sup>1</sup>

Besides these, there were many other endowments not officially reported to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. The vigour of the Charity-School movement in North Wales is strikingly exhibited in the remarkable number of endowed schools and unattached charities for the education of poor children that were founded there in this period. These facts go to prove that the provision for elementary education in North Wales in this period was not far behind that of any other province in the United Kingdom.

We have already alluded to the system of Charity-Schools for the six counties of North Wales founded and endowed under the Will of Dr. Daniel Williams of Wrexham. The establishment of these schools undoubtedly occasioned some rivalry. The fact which I wish to emphasise here is that this religious rivalry and competition on the whole issued in the public good. The Will of Dr. Williams is dated June 26, 1711. Among many other bequests he made provision for the establishment of eight schools for the instruction of the children of the poor. The schools are thus mentioned in the Will :—

"I will that my brother and sister Roberts, and the survivor of them, shall, during his or her natural life, possess all that my estate in Burton and Crosshowell &c., in Denbighshire, which I bought of Mr. Smith, and have power to distrain and recover the same, he and she paying yearly 6*l.* to Mr. Kenrick or other the Presbyterian dissenting Minister in Wrexham, and 10*l.* a-year to such a man as they shall appoint to teach 20 children to read and write and instruct them in the principles of religion."

<sup>1</sup> Abstracts of Letters No. 7075.

And again further on he says:—

“ My will is that they, the trustees, choose and appoint some pious grave person for to teach 20 poor children for to read English and instruct them in the principles of the Christian religion, in these following towns, for as long a time as my said trustees shall think fit and meet, and no longer; viz., Denbigh, Flint, Carnarvon, Montgomery, Beaumaris, or else Conway, Merioneth, or Holt, and Chelmsford, paying 8*l.* per annum to every such teacher as long as each of the said teachers shall be approved by the said trustees, who shall give to each of the said learners one of the catechisms, commonly called the Assembly's Catechism, with the proofs at large, and one of my books, called the Vanity of Childhood and Youth, when they can repeat the catechism without the proofs, and a Bible when they can repeat the proofs also. I will the same method and way be used and continued with the learners of Wrexham, after my brother and sister Roberts' death, and that the 10*l.* now appointed for the teacher there, now payable by them, be made 15*l.* per annum, that so 25 boys may not only be instructed as before, but also such of them taught to write as are willing to learn. I desire some one, in each of these towns, be desired to inspect the management; and I appoint the teachers to pray daily with the learners, and that they be paid faithfully as long as my said trustees shall approve of them, and that others be nominated upon the death or other removal of any of them by my said trustees.”<sup>1</sup>

Dr. Williams died on 26 January 1715–6, and his Will, in consequence of the interlineations and unattested Codicil, became at once the subject of a Chancery suit. The proceedings in Chancery were sufficiently advanced by the early part of 1726 for the execution of such parts of the trusts as comprised the schools. The scheme of the trustees, after being approved by the Master, was confirmed on the 6th day of August 1726, by the Master of the Rolls, and ordered to be carried into execution. While the suit was proceeding, the trustees for their own satisfaction and guidance, made inquires in the several towns where Dr. Williams had directed schools to be set up, to ascertain if such schools were wanted or would

<sup>1</sup> *Report of Lord Brougham's Commission, "Denbigh"*, pp. 14, 15.

be acceptable. At Flint, Beaumaris, and Conway the offer was at once rejected by the conformist ministers and principal inhabitants, on the alleged grounds that the children were to be taught the Assembly's Catechism, and were to be instructed by a dissenter from the Church of England.<sup>1</sup> Under the scheme and order of court the trustees took immediate steps to establish schools in the following places: viz., Denbigh, Carnarvon, Montgomery, Llanuwchllyn, at Newmarket, instead of Flint, and at Pwllheli in Carnarvonshire, instead of Beaumaris, or Conway, or Holt. The Wrexham School had been carried on from the beginning.<sup>2</sup> There were occasional collisions; for instance, the Presbyterian schoolmaster of Wrexham was presented at the Correction Court for teaching without a license from the Bishop of the Diocese.<sup>3</sup> The schoolmaster at Bala reported, in 1737, that the rector of the parish threatened him unless he taught the Church Catechism.<sup>4</sup> The master of Montgomery was harassed by the Town Warden, "a sorry rogue" from Anglesea, who informed the magistrates "that there was kept in his town a Presbyterian school, and that the master did not communicate in the Church of England nor teach the Church Catechism, and that he had corrupted all the town and country". Having no license from the Bishop, he was cited to appear before the Episcopal Court "fifteen long miles" off. The schoolmaster at Carnarvon was prosecuted at the instance of the vicar of Llanbeblig.<sup>5</sup> On the whole things went fairly well for those times.

All these facts speak volumes as to the provisions for the primary education of the children of the poor of North

<sup>1</sup> *Report of Lord Brougham's Commission, "Denbigh"*, p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 15.

<sup>3</sup> *Palmer's History of the Parish Church of Wrexham*, p. 138.

<sup>4</sup> *Jeremy's Presbyterian Fund, &c.*, p. 87.      <sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 87, 88.

Wales in this period. The fantastic ideas of this epoch, established in people's minds by certain historians, have no basis in fact. In truth, we have had more than enough of foolish fancy concerning the early eighteenth century. Painstaking inquiry will substitute fact for fiction.

Resuming our narrative of Sir John Philipps's educational work, we find that by the year 1717, Sir John had called into being, in Pembroke and Carmarthen shires, all the Charity-Schools he was destined to found there on his own account. In fact, after 1717, only four Charity-Schools were reported in the *Accounts* during his lifetime, viz., Lampeter-Velfrey, "a School supported by subscriptions", erected in 1717; Narberth, in 1718; Lawrenny, "a School for all the poor Children of the parish", erected in 1725; and Steinton, "a School opened and supported at the sole expense of a private Gentleman" in 1727.<sup>1</sup> All these schools were in Pembrokeshire.

The references to the Welsh schools are now scantier in the *Minutes and Correspondence* of the Society. Occasionally; however, we find a very interesting and illuminating record. For instance, some of the religious societies largely shared in the High Church enthusiasm of the reign of Queen Anne. They imbibed a tincture of Jacobite tendencies, and became obnoxious to the new Government, and they consequently drew down some obloquy on the Charity-Schools which they had supported.<sup>2</sup>

The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge seems to have been particularly anxious to steer an even course during this crisis. Its circular letters impressed upon all the duty of loyalty to the King and Government. The years 1717 and 1718 were years of great anxiety. The Archbishop of Canterbury addressed two very important

<sup>1</sup> *Accounts of Charity-Schools* under these years.

<sup>2</sup> See Secretan's *Life of Robert Nelson*, pp. 95, 96.

letters, one respecting the loyalty of the religious societies,<sup>1</sup> and the other respecting the loyalty of the Charity Schoolmasters, etc.<sup>2</sup> The following Letter throws an interesting light on the state of the Charity-Schools and on Jacobitism in Pembrokeshire in this period. It was written by John Pember, and is dated 15 April 1717. In reply to the Circular Letter of the Society, he says :—

“ That some Masters of Charity-Schools in that County have been already, and the rest shall, God willing, be desired to keep Registers of the names of the Children admitted unto their respective Schools, as desired in y<sup>e</sup> Society’s Circular Letter. Those Masters that are employed in that part of the County have so far assured him of their good affection to the King; that they and their Scholars pray daily for King George & the Royal Family. That the Master of St. Issell School and most of the other Masters in that part of the County complain that they cannot prevail upon the parents of y<sup>e</sup> poor Children to keep them constantly. That there are noe poor taught in Haraldston West. That the Master of Walton East School not being able to prevail with parents to send their Children there, if S<sup>r</sup> John Philipps pleases to give leave, that School might be removed to Usmaston, where he is in hopes of having many poor Children taught. N.B.—S<sup>r</sup> John Philipps consents to what he desires.”<sup>3</sup>

Our extracts must close here; further information must be sought in the Appendices to this Paper. It is difficult to estimate the number of Charity-Schools erected in Wales in this period. The number accounted for in the *Minutes and Correspondence*, the *Accounts*, and the *Methods of Erecting Charity-Schools* is less than one hundred; but we know that the actual number was far more than that. The numbers of the “children taught” given in the *Accounts* are no criteria from which to judge the extent of their benefits. As a rule the numbers given only denote the free foundations of each school. Most of the schools were open to all children whose parents would pay for their education.

<sup>1</sup> Abstracts of Letters, No. 5581 (1st May, 1718).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 5610.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 5198.

Sir John Philipps died on 5 January 1736-7. The following obituary notice appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* :—

"Jan. 5, Sir John Philipps, Bt., of Picton Castle, Pembroke-shire, uncle to Sir Robert Walpole's Lady; he served in several Parliaments for Pembroke, and Harverfordwest; was one of the Commissioners for building the 50 New Churches, and 1 of y<sup>e</sup> Society for Reformation of Manners."<sup>1</sup>

Sir John was buried at St. Mary's Church, Haverfordwest. A handsome marble monument is erected to his memory in that Church. It reads as follows :—

"Here lye the Remains of Sir John Phillips, of Picton-Castle, in the county of Pembroke, Bart. who departed this life Jan. 5, 1736, at London, in the 77th year of his age. He serv'd with great Reputation and Honour for the Town of Pembroke, and for this Town and County, in several Parliaments, where his constant Aim was to promote the Cause of Virtue and Religion, and the real Good of his Country. He was one of the most active Commissioners for building the fifty new Churches in and about the City of London, and a leading Member, in that Metropolis, of many Charitable Societies, to which he was a very ample Benefactor. To attempt a character of this great and good Man, so well known and admir'd at home, and in foreign Countries, would be an Injury to it: his good Works speak eloquently for him, particularly his extensive Liberality on all occasions to this Town and County, of which, at his Death, he was the oldest Common-Council-Man. He left issue, three sons, Members also of our Common-Council, S<sup>r</sup> Erasmus Philipps of Picton-Castle, Bart. our Representative in Parliament; John Philipps, of Kilgetty, Esq.; Mayor of this Corporation; and Bulkeley Philipps, Esq.; who erected this Monument to the pious Memory of their late excellent Father."<sup>2</sup>

When the news of his decease became known to the

<sup>1</sup> *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1737, p. 60.

<sup>2</sup> Wotton, *English Baronetage*, vol. i, pp. 462-3, Ed. 1741.

Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, of which he had been a distinguished member almost from its beginning, the following minute was passed :—

"Tuesday, 11 January 1736-7.—The Committee being inform'd of the Death of Sr John Philipps Bar<sup>t</sup> order'd the Sec'y to wait upon Sr Erasmus Philipps in their names to condole him upon this Melancholy occasion, and to assure him of their Great Concern for the loss of a Gentleman, who had so many years been the ornament, and in a great measure the Support of the Society; and to whose excellent example, liberal contributions, and indefatigable endeavours, the success which by the blessing of God the Society had met with was very much owing.

"The Sec'y accordingly waited on Sr Erasmus Philipps with the said message and being return'd acquainted the Committee that Sr Erasmus thought himself very much oblig'd by the concern they express'd on the Death of Sr John Philipps, and desired his thanks might be accepted for the same."

Sir John did not forget the Society in his Will. The following records refer to his bequests to it, and the objects toward which they were applied :—

"Tuesday, 1 March 1736-7.—Mr John Philipps reported that his late Father, Sr John Philipps had bequeathed in his Will, dated the 6th Sept<sup>r</sup> 1725, the sum of 50*l.* to the Society in the following words, viz. 'I give and bequeath unto John Meller of the Middle Temple, Esq<sup>r</sup>, William Melmoth of Lincoln's Inn, Esq<sup>r</sup>, and Thomas Cleadon, of the parish of St. Clement Danes, in The County of Middlesex Gent, and to the Survivors and Survivor of them, the Sum of 50 pounds of Lawfull Money of Great Britain to the Intent and on Trust that they pay the same into the hands of the Treasurer for the time being of a Voluntary Society of diverse worthy Persons for Promoting Christian Knowledge by setting up or encouraging Charity Schools for the Instruction of Poor children in the Knowledge and Practice of the Christian Religion as Professed and Taught in the Church of England, and by dispersing books of Piety agreeable to the doctrine and discipline of the said Church, and by such other Christian Methods to be dispos'd as they think fit.'

"And by a Codicil dated 1st of May 1733, another Legacy of 100 pounds in the words following, viz. :—

"'I give and bequeath unto the Rev. Dr John Denne, Arch-deacon of Rochester, William Tillard, of Spital Square, in the County

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<sup>1</sup> *Minutes of S.P.C.K.*

of Middlesex Esq, and Benjamin Hoare of Fleet Street London Esq, the sum of one hundred pounds of like Lawfull Money for the use of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge to be apply'd towards carrying on their good Designs.'

"And that he had accordingly now paid to Mr. Tillard one Hundred and Fifty pounds for the said uses. £150:—

"The Society desir'd S<sup>r</sup> Erasmus Philipps and Mr. Philipps to accept their thanks for their care in discharging the said Legacies.

"Upon a Motion made by Mr. Philipps in the name of S<sup>r</sup> Erasmus Philipps, as well as of himself, that part of S<sup>r</sup> John Philipps's Legacies to the Society might be apply'd toward printing and distributing Books in Wales.

"Agreed that the Legacy of 50*l.* be appropriated to buying of Bibles, New Testaments, and Common Prayers, in Welch, for the use of the poor.<sup>1</sup>

"Tuesday, 15 March 1736-7.—Upon Reading a letter from Mr. Griffith Jones, at Llandowror, of the 5th of March cur<sup>t</sup>.

"Agreed that S<sup>r</sup> Erasmus Philipps be acquainted with the contents of this Letter; and that Mr. Jones be wrote to according to their opinions.

"Tuesday, 10 May 1737.—Agreed that when S<sup>r</sup> Erasmus Philipps and his brother Mr. Philipps approve of the application of the 50*l.* in the manner propos'd, that Mr. Jones be acquainted that the Society approve of it."<sup>1</sup>

We cannot close these extracts better than with the words of Griffith Jones, the brother-in-law of Sir John Philipps, his disciple, successor and closest friend, who had more advantages than any other man to know him. Mr. Jones says, in a letter written to Madam Bevan on Jan. 11, 1736-7:—

"Although I much desire to express my utmost gratitude for the very obliging letter of Monday, yet the first account in it of Sir John Phillipps' departure from us and leaving the work he was engaged in, whose zeal and management was so necessary towards the success of it, gives me so great a concern, if not an insuperable grief, that I can write but little. A sore breach this! We may justly say a great man is fallen in our Israel, a great and general loss to all the world! Both the Indies will feel it. The persecuted servants of Christ, when they fly to England for refuge, will be distressed to hear he is dead. Ah! such is the fatal doom our apostacy has brought upon us, that we must

<sup>1</sup> *Minutes of S.P.C.K.*

sustain the loss of our best friends, even of those that are our best and most faithful helpers in the only affair that is of an eternal consequence. But alas! poor we, are wont to be more afflictively sensible of the loss of our mercies than gratefully affected with the enjoyment of them. If tears could embalm the precious remains of our friend, he would need no other, which yet are but few in proportion to the occasion; for this world and the people of it are not so grateful, as to be duly sensible of either the enjoyment or loss of their best privileges, I mean such advantages as our tender Father affords them towards saving the life of their souls. When a grievous stroke is given, as now, and the hand of God is heavy upon us by removing the brightest patterns and most generous encouragers of piety, most men betray great stupidity. Well! There are still some remaining monuments of God's gracious intentions towards us, but they too are going off. Yet few know how to improve them, or will lament the loss when they are gone.

"Provided our sorrow is resigned to the divine will, we are not refused leave to be suitably affected in our minds with our temporal grievance, as sickness or wordly crosses: but it can be no less than a duty to lament the grievance that nearly concerns our eternal welfare and the cause of God in our world. I hope, dearest Madam, and my remaining friend, you will allow me to intimate how much I grieve for the loss of one, who in the possession of great affluence, and plentiful fortune, sufficient to command all the pleasures that sensuality could possibly propose, would yet renounce all this to follow the strict rules of piety. Such bright shining stars diffuse great light and lustre and influence upon a religious life. When they all set, the world will be eclipsed with a total darkness. Oh! I grieve to think how that face is now changed that always gave so much countenance to every thing that savoured of piety. Ah! that head is now to be laid low that was so accurate a judge of the principles, practices and writings of men. Ah! that mouth is now closed that was wont to be always full and ready to speak of his God, and of heaven, which is now his home. Ah! a guardian angel is lost that I know was always upon the watch to discover every thing that was offered to the public in prejudice to the church or state. I grieve to think how much his society, his friends and his associates in the several societies he was concerned in, will miss him: the best part of whom will think it no disparagement to own, that he was both the spring and guide of their laudable actions. The zealous promoter of the everlasting gospel is now gone to be forever happy with its blessed Author. Oh! he is gone, and will not return to converse with his weeping friends again. Oh! he is gone, I cannot help being in grief for him; not because I have suffered the greatest loss

that ever befel me with regard to any worldly advantage (for he did not design that, nor did I expect it), but with regard to the encouragement and countenance he gave the cause that I am resolved by the grace of God to continue embarked in, as long as I live. I say, dear Madam, I cannot help being in the greatest grief at his death, not so much for my own, as for the general loss it is likely to be to the interest of religion in all parts of the world, where any thing in England could be done to promote it. But he is gone, and that I endeavour, with regard to him, to think of with joy; gone I say to our grief, but to his own joy; gone, and is attended with the largest train of good works of any I had the happiness to know, which are gone into the other world. Where he enjoys the bountiful rewards his Lord has promised; who gave him wisdom to begin betimes, and to continue an old disciple, even till he was so ripe for heaven, that it seems it was not fit he should continue longer on earth. When he appears again, he will be arrayed with the shining robes of eternal glory, the bright beams of the sun of righteousness shining upon him. I shall be afraid to see him, if I be not found in the blessed Jesus, of whom he talked so often to me; and by whose most excellent conversation I ought to have made greater improvement."<sup>1</sup>

No faithful student of this period will ever pull Sir John Philipps down from the high pedestal whereon Griffith Jones and the leaders of the great revival movement delight in placing him as a great Christian, as a great religious, moral, and educational reformer, and as a philanthropist on the largest scale; the friend of man—of the poor, the imprisoned, and the persecuted.

To Wales, his native land, Sir John Philipps during his long life rendered inestimable services. It is true, that in the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and in the band of eminent Welsh Churchmen of this period, he had remarkable associates, but we must remember that, in the words of Griffith Jones, "he was both the spring and guide of their laudable actions".

When the real history of Wales during the early part of the eighteenth century comes to be written; when un-

<sup>1</sup> *Letters of Griffith Jones*, 1832, pp. 198-200.

verified tradition, unsifted gossip, and plausible guess-work gives way to critical examination, I venture to say that then Sir John Philipps of Picton Castle, and his associates, will be assigned the commanding positions to which their character and work entitle them in the history of this period.

## APPENDIX I.

EXTRACTS FROM ABSTRACTS OF CORRESPONDENTS' LETTERS, and MINUTES of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, given in illustration of the "Charity School" movement in Wales, and in evidence of the statements made in the text.

NOTE.—*The figures at the beginning give the numbers of the Abstracts in the Correspondence Books.*

## ABSTRACTS OF LETTERS.

4. Mr Arnold Bowen, of Pembroke, Nov. 29, 1699, to Sr John Philipps, Saith, the Clergy are zealous to promote Reformation, & intend to unite very speedily. That the Gentry have begun to Subscribe towards y<sup>e</sup> Design of Schools.

11. Dr John Jones, Dean of Bangor, Dec. 16, 1699, from Beaumaris, Saith, That he has set up Schools for y<sup>e</sup> Poorer Sort at his own charge, but of late their poverty is so great that they cannot allow themselves time to learn. That he has made it his business to recommend Dr. Bray's Design, but Taxes, want & poverty is the constant answer. That there are very few deluded people in those parts, & that Ignorance and unconcernedness are the reigning diseases.

33. Mr James Harries, of Lantrissent, Glamorganshire, to Dr Evans, Feb. 16, 1699, Saith, he hath put up two Schools, & set up Catechetical Lectures in his Parish and hopes his example will obtain thro' y<sup>e</sup> whole County.

35. Mr Jno. Edwards, from Lwydiarth, Montgomeryshire, to Dr Evans, Feb. 16, 1699, Saith, That Dr. Wynne. y<sup>e</sup> Chancellor, approves of y<sup>e</sup> design, that y<sup>e</sup> Rural Dean of Pola had summoned his Clergy by a Circular Letter—that they had met & resolved on particulars conformable to their Brethren at Wrexham, too tedious here to insert, vide, that they intend to hold their Meetings at two Market Towns alternately, that in y<sup>e</sup> whole Deanery there is but one Free School endowed for poor Children to learn to read &c, complains of the great number of y<sup>e</sup> Poor, & how difficult it will be to raise a Fund for their Education, gives a great charact<sup>r</sup> of Mr. Vaughan, of Lwydiarth, a Gentleman w<sup>th</sup> whom he dwells, obliges his Curate to teach y<sup>e</sup> youth of y<sup>e</sup> Parish where he resides not, and in his other Parish he has made some advances towards setting a Free School, which will be opened after Easter &c.

39. Mr Price of Wrexham, in Flintshire, Feb. 18, 1699, to Mr Chamberlayne, Saith, That y<sup>e</sup> Clergy in Denbighshire & Flintshire have associated according to y<sup>e</sup> Bedfordshire model, that they

resolved to rectifie what was amiss in themselves w<sup>th</sup> respect to y<sup>e</sup> Rubricks & Canons. To send for a considerable number of small Books. He desires to see our methods of raising subscriptions and regulating the Schools.

55. Mr James Harries, from Lanttrissant, Glamorganshire, to Mr Chamberlayne, March 1st, 1699, Signifies his earnest desires that the Design may be successfull, and promises to do what in him lies to forward it; says he will communicate y<sup>e</sup> papers which shall be sent him by this Society, to his Brethren of Monmouthshire, &c., so soon as he shall receive them, that he has begun Catechetical Lectures in y<sup>e</sup> several Chappels of his great Parish & hopes to carry them on, together with the Schooling of Poor Children.

60. Mr Arnold Bowen, of Langun, near Pembroke, Southwales, to Mr. Chamberlayne, March 4, 1699, Saith he had communicated y<sup>e</sup> 2<sup>d</sup> Circular Letter of this Society to the Clergy at their Monthly Lecture Feb. 29<sup>th</sup> past, in y<sup>e</sup> Town & County of Haversford West; when y<sup>e</sup> Clergy then present 8 or 9 in number formed themselves into a Society seven of whom subscribed an obligation in this Letter recited, that some scruple the Design for want of y<sup>e</sup> Mandate of their Diocesan [Viz.—The Bishop of St. David's, added in another hand], who, he Saith hath rather discouraged Piety, &c., by ridiculing their Monthly Lectures, &c., that they have drawn up a Scheme for taking Subscriptions for Schools, whereunto most of the Justices Subscribed at their Quarter Sessions, & that the Roll was sent unto the several Parishes; and hopes that Schools may be erected in y<sup>e</sup> most convenient places of y<sup>e</sup> County, and that S<sup>r</sup> John Philipps his presence is much wanting to promote it, doubts not of success, if the next Diocesan patronizes these designs, desires papers and instructions from this Society.

84. Mr Robert Wynne from Carnarvon, to Mr Chamberlayne, April 15<sup>th</sup> 1700, refers to a Letter he sent to Dr. Evans, wherein he communicated y<sup>e</sup> state of Religion, & of y<sup>e</sup> Societies of the Clergy in y<sup>e</sup> Diocese of Bangor. That y<sup>e</sup> Clergy do highly approve y<sup>e</sup> good Design mentioned in Mr Chamberlayne's letter & resolve to pursue them. That the Clergy of each Deanery meet by themselves & make it their constant endeavour to stir up each other to a strict & conscientious discharge of the Ministerial Functions. That divers of y<sup>e</sup> Clergy have contributed towards Schools, and others disposed to do y<sup>e</sup> like, and great numbers have been lately taught to read. That y<sup>e</sup> Catechumens are much increased notwithstanding the miserable neglect of Parents. That the vulgar understand not English Books & the people are generally so poor y<sup>e</sup> little help can be expected from them. That y<sup>e</sup> Bishop & his Clergy have been at the sole charge of Printing the Welsh Books lately translated, and are willing to subscribe to more; & will endeavour to obtain Subscriptions from y<sup>e</sup> Gentry &c.

92. Mr Price [Wrexham] to Mr Chamberlayne, April 29<sup>th</sup> 1700. That the Clergy in Denbighshire, Flintshire, and Montgomeryshire are united in Societies. . . . That they had distributed the little Manuals mentioned in the Bedfordshire Letter (according to w<sup>ch</sup> they had modelled their Societies) w<sup>ch</sup> turns to good account. That



they had resolved to be diligent in Catechising the youth, & design'd to Spend y<sup>e</sup> Sumer Season therein, and had unanimously agreed to use Bishop Williams' Exposition.<sup>1</sup> That they agreed to endeavour to set up Free Schools for the Poor Children, and accordingly were making Notias of their Parishes, and that they find it most convenient to Set up Welsh Schools, that being the Language w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Parents best understood.

109. Dr. John Jones [Bangor] May 23, 1700. That they had set up several Schools for poor Children in those parts, &c.

116. Dr Robert Wynne of Gresford in Denbighshire, to Mr Chamberlayne, June 5, 1700. That they have distributed a considerable number of Books, & are consulting the education of poor Children a matter of much difficulty in those parts, no Welsh Schools being already Settled, w<sup>th</sup> language must be taught them, & Primers are ready to be printed for that purpose.

146. (Lay.) Mr Lloyd, of Alt y Cadno, Carmarthenshire, South Wales, to Mr Chamberlayne Aug. 1st 1700. That the Design of Schools is most likely to take effect, when the Manners of the people are reformed which they are now endeavouring.

151. Mr Bowen of Langum, Pembrokeshire, to Mr Chamberlayne Aug. 13, 1700. That they had formed themselves into a Society of Some Clergy, w<sup>th</sup> many of the principall & leading Gentry of the Country, Chosen their Treasurer & lodged the Small Stock of money in his hands. That S<sup>r</sup> John Philipps his Interest and Example has given great influence in order to effect it.

202. (Lay.) Mr William Younge from Wrexham, Flintshire, to Mr Chamberlayne Nov. 8, 1700. That in Wales there is great want of Schools, and y<sup>e</sup> in Wrexham some Gentlemen have promised to assist with their Purses, & hopes others will follow y<sup>e</sup> example.

274. (Lay.) Mr Laugharne, of St Brides, Pembrokeshire, 4 April 1701, to Mr Chamberlayne. Says that they can form but one Society of Clergy & Laity in their County. That some of the former refuse to joyn with them. They have Monthly Sacraments and Lectures in 2 or 3 Towns, no Workhouses, and few Schools, &c.

276. Mr Harries of Llantrissant, Glamorganshire, to Mr Chamberlayne, 8 April, 1701. Says, that there are two Schools in Llantrissant.

299. Mr Tho. Thomas, of Carmarthen, to Mr Cham. 19 May, 1701. Say's that he defer'd answering the Societies Letter of the 27<sup>th</sup> March, ult. 'till he had discours'd some of the Chief Gentry about Schools & Workhouses, in the last of which nothing will be done without an Act of Parl<sup>t</sup> which they dayly expect, but of the first we shall shortly receive an Account of S<sup>r</sup> John Philipps, &c.

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<sup>1</sup> Bishop Williams' *Brief Exposition of the Church Catechism* was translated into Welsh by John Morgan, and published in 1699, under the title of *Eglurhad byrr ar Gatecism yr Eglwys*, o waith John Williams, Escob Caergai. See *Llyfryddiaeth y Cymry*, p. 262.

352. Mr John Price, of Wrexham, in Denbyshire, 4 Oct., 1701, to the Secretary, Says, That as to their Society they find y<sup>e</sup> Gentry hearty and zealous enough in y<sup>e</sup> matter of Schools, y<sup>i</sup> he has one School set up already in his Parish, and a Promise of Subscriptions for more w<sup>n</sup> they can have fit Persons to undertake the work, for y<sup>i</sup> at present they are in great want of Persons thoroughly qualified for so good and necessary an employment.

## FROM THE MINUTES.

18 November 1701. S<sup>r</sup> John Philipps reported that he had lately received a Letter sign'd by 31 Divines and Lay Gentlemen, some of them Correspondents with this Society, desiring the L<sup>d</sup> Arch Bishop of Canterbury to issue out his Circular Letter to the Clergy of the Diocess of S<sup>t</sup> Davids enjoying them upon all occasions to excite the Gentry to promote the Erection of Charity Schools, the Catechising of Youth, & Family Devotion at least twice a day.

Also that his Grace had been pleased to promise to issue out such Circular Letter in a Fortnight.

14 October 1703. A motion being made about the Reprinting his Grace the Lord A. B. of Canterburie's late Letter to the Arch-Deacons and Clergy of the Diocess of St. David: in order to its being inserted into the Societies Ordinary Packetts:

Agreed that Coll. Colchester, Mr. Stubs, and Mr. Chamberlayne be desired to move his Grace in this affair.

[2000 Copies were ordered to be Reprinted on 28 Oct. 1703.]

26 July 1705. A Letter was read from Mr. Vaughan<sup>1</sup> of Derllys certifying that in a Lordship belonging to him, He and the Free-Holders are building a Charity-School on the Common, & enclosing part of the Common to be given for ever to a Schoolmaster for Teaching the Poor Children of the Lordship: And he desires that a Tract may be written upon this subject and putt into the hands of Lords of Mannors.

Mr. Edward reported that the Governour & Company of the Mine-Adventure have allowed 40*l.* p. ann. for the Education of 40 children of the miners & workmen belonging to the said Company: whereof one moyety is allowed for a Charity-School in the County of Glamorgan, & the other for another in the County of Cardigan; and also 30*l.* p. ann. for a Chaplain to the Miners in the County of Cardigan to Read Prayers, Preach & Catechise the workmen & their Children.

6 Sept. 1705. Mr Shute presented a Letter from Mr W<sup>m</sup> Evans of Carmarthen who teaches gratis 12 poor children, and says that they

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<sup>1</sup> John Vaughan, the father of Madame Bevan. He was one of the noblest of the little band of Welsh Reformers of this period. He devoted his efforts mainly to the circulation of Welsh literature among the people. Several Welsh translations, and re-issues of Welsh classics, owe their publication to his patronage and benefactions.

want Bibles, Catechisms, Arithmetic Books, & Copy Books: whereupon the Society order'd them 6 Bibles, 12 Christian Scholars, & 12 Catechisms.

18 October 1705. S<sup>r</sup> John Philipps related that he had desired the L. Bp. of St. Davids to make a second Distribution of his Grace the A. Bp. of Canterbury's Letter to the Clergy of that Diocess, desiring them to recommend the promoting of Family Prayer & of Charity Schools to their Parishioners, and that his Lordship would further the matter by a Letter of his own; and that his Lordship was pleas'd to promise to do so.

27 December 1705. A Letter was read from Mr. Lewis, at S<sup>r</sup> Edw. Mansell's, at Margam, to Mr. Wyndham certifying that at Margam there is a School of some years erection, wherein 12 poor children are maintain'd at y<sup>e</sup> expence of a private person.

21 February 170½. A Letter was read from Mr Bull to Mr Nelson, That my Lord [Bishop of S<sup>t</sup> Davids] has subscribed 4*l.* p. ann. during his life towards the erecting a Charity-School in Carmarthenshire: And that he Mr Bull has subscribed 20*s.* per ann. during his life to the same Design. And that notice shall be given to fit persons of Brecknockshire & Cardiganshire to be invited to the Correspondence as soon as they can be pitch'd upon.

4 July 1706. A Letter was read from Mr Williams,<sup>1</sup> of Denbigh, to Mr Nelson. That his design is to procure the erection of Welsh Schools, and to sett an example to others by Establishing one in his own Parish. He proposes that the money rais'd by M<sup>r</sup> Nelson's Tract on Confirmation in Welch (of which many are dispers'd gratis by the Bp of S<sup>t</sup> Asaph & himself) may go as part of Contribution to the said Welch Schools. To which M<sup>r</sup> Nelson gave his consent.

18 July 1706. Part of a Letter from Mr Vaughan of Derllys to Mr Shute was read, wherein he owns the Receipt of the Parcel of Books lately sent unto him, part of which he desires to distribute amongst the Scholars taught in a Charity-School, &c.

3 Oct. 1706. A Letter from S<sup>r</sup> John Philipps intimates that there are foundations laying for several Charity-Schools in Pembroke-shire, &c.

10 Oct. 1706. A Letter from S<sup>r</sup> John Philipps dated Oct. 1. He proposes that a good plain Spelling-Book may be added to the Societies Packet; and owns the Receipt of the parcel lately sent to him. He says that the Accounts of Schools have done much good in those parts, and proposes that in the next Impression, the Heads of the several Paragraphs may be printed in the margin, and adds that the Town and County of Haverfordwest by hearing of the Progress of Charity-Schools in London & elsewhere have been influenced to apply an old charity lately recovered to this pious use; and thinks

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<sup>1</sup> Rev. Thomas Williams, M.A., the Translator into Welsh of Robert Nelson's *Companion for the Festivals and Fasts of the Church of England*, and several other Nelson Tracts.

the parcel of Accounts &c., which he writes for may promote this design.

31 Oct. 1706. Sr John Philipps reported that there is now a Foundation laid for 6 Charity-Schools in Wales; two of them are actually open'd; and he expects to hear of the opening of the other 4 in a short time.

7 November 1706. Sr John Philipps reported that 24*l.* p. ann. is actually Subscribed as a Foundation for the 6 Schools mentioned on the 31 Oct. last.

5 December 1706. A Letter from Mr Pember of Haverford West who has rec'd the parcel sent him by the Society. He will putt the Spelling-Books & Catechisms into the hands of the poor children as soon as the Charity-School is open'd; And if the Society shall think fitt will disperse the Accounts of Schools among the Gentry for their better Information of what has been done in London and elsewhere in this land. The Master is already putt into possession of the Charity-School & he & his wife are to teach 24 Boys & Girls Cloathed for 5*l.* p. ann. and a good house to dwell in. The Cloathing of these children will cost 14*l.* 8*s.* 0*d.* a year; and the parents of each child have 20*s.* a year allow'd towards its maintenance, so long as it shall continue in the School, &c.

13 February 1705. A Letter from Mr Jorden, with another therein enclosed from Mr Herbert Pye, Minister of Monmouth, dated 8<sup>ber</sup> 31 last, relating to a Charity-School sett up in Monmouth by the Lady Granville, who is said to give 5*l.* p. Ann. to a widdow, to teach 24 Children, who have also Books & Cloaths at her Ladyships charge. The Girls are said also to be taught to sew & knitt, &c.

20 February 1705. Part of a Letter from Mr Pember of Haverford-West, who writes that the Charity-Schoolmaster there teaches 32 poor children whereof 25 are Cloathed & their parents are allowed 20*s.* p. ann. toward the maintenance of each of them. The other 7 are taught gratis, but they have no Cloaths, nor their parents any allowance for them.

24 April 1707. A Letter was read from Sr John Philipps wherein he desires that the School at Haverford-West be not inserted into the Societies Account of Charity-Schools because it was endowed above 14 years ago. That six Schools are now carrying on in Pembrokeshire for the support whereof above 25*l.* p. ann. is already secured. In one of these are six children clothed.

29 May 1707. A Letter was read from Mr Jorden describing the states of the Charity-Schools at Monmouth &c which were order'd to be entered into the Larger Account of Scholes. He writes also that there is already a Subscription of 5*l.* p. ann. toward a Schole at Abergavenny, & more is expected.

Another from Mr Sandford of Presteigne. He hopes in time to be able to cure the disorders in which the Grammar Schole there continues; which is necessary to be done before a Charity Schole can be sett up in the Parish.

5 June 1707. A Letter from Mr Pember of Haverford-West giving an Account of the Charity-Schools sett up and maintained by S<sup>r</sup> John Philipps in the Parish of Bigely, at Marloes, at Walton East, Walton West, and in the Parish of Boulston, all in Pembrokeshire; which was order'd to be inserted into the Large Account of Charity-Schools concealing the name of S<sup>r</sup> John as is desired, &c.

19 June 1707. Mr Edwards read a Letter from Mr Pember of Haverford West, [saying] that S<sup>r</sup> John Philipps has lately settled a Schole at Rudbaxton, in the Hundred of Dongledy (in Pembrokeshire) and gives the Master 4*l.* yearly to teach the poor children to read, write, and the Church Catechism; and allows 20*s.* a year for them, &c.

4 September 1707. S<sup>r</sup> John Philipps related that a Charity-Schole is sett up in Hascard in Pembrokeshire, where the Master is allowed a Salary of 5*l.* p. ann. with liberty to teach the children of others who will pay for their Education.

Also that a like Schole is setting up at Llandowror in Carmarthen-shire, where the Scholm<sup>r</sup> is to have the like Salary and allowance.

S<sup>r</sup> John Philipps proposing that a method might be thought of for perpetuating Charity-Scholes, by a succession of good School Masters, divers Gentlemen being at a loss as to this affair, and loth that their Charities should be misapplied after their decease. The Society desired Mr Edwards to prepare a draught or form whereby the surviving Trustees, upon the death or resignation of any of their members may choose in others, that thereby the said Scholes may always be supply'd with worthy Trustees & Schoolmasters, according to the charitable designs of the Founders of the said Scholes.

20 November 1707. A letter was read from Mr Sandford, of Presteigne, who writes that Mr Secretary Harley has given him orders about setting up a Charity-School there.

11 December 1707. A letter was read from Mr Pember, Prendergast, N<sup>r</sup> Haverford-West importing that S<sup>r</sup> John Philipps has subscribed 50*s.* a year towards a Charity-School in Llanychaer in Pembrokeshire, and has sett up a School at Llandowrogh, in Carmarthen-shire at his own charge; and will sett up another in Pembrokeshire as soon as he can find a fitt Teacher. That S<sup>r</sup> John wants a draught mentioned in Munte 6 of 4 Sept<sup>r</sup> last, for perpetuating Benefactions to Charity-Schools. That the same S<sup>r</sup> John desires to cloathe six of the poorest Children in each School sett up by him in Pembrokeshire, upon condition that their parents do not take them from the School within twelve months after, unless they qualified for Apprenticeships or Service. Lastly that he this Mr Pember pays for the teaching of 5 poor Children in the Parish of Haraldston-West in Pembrokeshire; and partly for the teaching of six poor Children in this Parish of Prendergast, the rest being supplied by the offertory money.

Enclosed in Mr Pember's Letter were two papers, one a Letter from Mr. Gambold<sup>1</sup> Master of the Schole of Llanychaer, acquainting

<sup>1</sup> William Gambold, the author of a *Grammar of the Welsh Language*, published in 1727. At this time Curate, and afterwards Rector, of Puncteston and Llanychaer.

him that the said School was open'd on 12 Nov. last, when 16 poor Children were entred upon the Subscription of 4*l*. p. ann. and that the number of those children were likely to be increased to 40. He desires S<sup>r</sup> John Philipps to recommend that Charity to S<sup>r</sup> John Packington and others who have Estates in those parts. The other Paper is a fair copy of the Orders of this Schole at Llanychaer which was recommended to the consideration of the Standing Committee, who are desired to revise the Orders of Charity-Schools, in order to be printed on a Single Sheet.

27 May 1708. A Letter from Mr Pember of Prendergast, who writes that S<sup>r</sup> John Philipps has order'd Schools to be sett up at Maenlochogg & Penaly in Pembrokeshire, besides those mentioned in his former Letters. And that Mr Laugharne pays for the teaching of ten poor Children of the Parish of St. Brides, and of six Children of the Parish of Marloes, and buys Books for them. Also that 24 Children are now taught at Llanychaer, the Master's Salary amounting to 8*l*. 15*s*. 0*d*. p. ann.

18 Nov. 1708. The opinion of the Committee upon S<sup>r</sup> John Philipps's proposal for training up Schoolmasters for Charity Schools was reported as follows: viz. That upon consulting Mr. Skeate, they find that the Religious Societies have hitherto furnish'd the Charity-Schools in and about London, with discreet Masters at far less charge and to better satisfaction, than by any other method that has been try'd.

The Society concur'd with the Committee and order'd that S<sup>r</sup> John Philipps be advis'd of it.

#### ABSTRACTS OF LETTERS.

1433. John Philipps at Carmarthen 9th October 1708. That Mr Edmund Meyrick had given two houses in that Towne for y<sup>e</sup> use of a Schoolmaster and Publick Library for ever, and endow'd the School w<sup>th</sup> 22*l*. p. Ann. during his life.

1471. S<sup>r</sup> John Philipps at Picton, 25 Octob<sup>r</sup> 1708. That he and Mr Pember had joined their interests to promote y<sup>e</sup> setting up 2 Charity-Schools at Laugharne and St. Clears in which they had a prospect of Success. That y<sup>e</sup> Rev<sup>d</sup> Mr Meyrick having given a place at Carmarthen for y<sup>e</sup> Library and 22*l*. p. ann. to the Charity-School there a letter of thanks to him from y<sup>e</sup> Society might be of service. He proposes a method for Training up Schoolmasters for y<sup>e</sup> Charity-Schools.

1500. John Pember at Prendergast 13th Nov. 1708. That S<sup>r</sup> John Philipps and himself had lately visited several of y<sup>e</sup> Charity-Schools in South Wales, viz., at Boulston, Bigely, Penaly, and Tenby, Llanychaer, Ruddbaxton, Marloes Hascard, Walton East, Haraldston West, and Prendergast; and that they had some hopes of seeing Schools erected at S<sup>r</sup> Clears & Laugharne.

1650. John Vaughan at Derllys, 28th May 1708, to S<sup>r</sup> John Philipps. He proposes that all Schools in the Kingdom be supply'd with an English expositor, in order to make Children understand what they read.

1734. John Pember at Prendergast, 24th Sept. 1709. That S<sup>r</sup> John Philipps had very kindly erected several Schools in that County, but that he found it difficult to persuade Parents to send their Children and keep them there. Their own want of Education making them stupid as to every consideration of y<sup>e</sup> advantages of it in their children.

1943. John Vaughan, Esq<sup>r</sup> at Derllys, 24th Decr. 1709, to S<sup>r</sup> John Philipps. He proposes to y<sup>e</sup> Society that a Catalogue of Practical Books to y<sup>e</sup> value of 5*l*. for the Libraries for Children may be printed as what would very much promote that design.

1947. Will<sup>m</sup> Lewis at Margam, Glamorganshire, 26 Dec. 1709. That the Private Person who according to y<sup>e</sup> Printed Account of Schools kept 12 poor Children at School is now dead & his Charity with him.

1977. Wm. Pugh at Mathafarn to Mr Nelson of y<sup>e</sup> 9th Novr. 1709. That y<sup>e</sup> Rector of that Parish intends to take an Account of each family, how many can read, & say their Catechism; that those that cannot may be instructed, for which purpose the Parishioners intend to raise a Stock to encourage a Person to keep a School who shall be obliged to catechise as many as come to him on Saturdays in y<sup>e</sup> afternoon. That y<sup>e</sup> Clergy in his neighbourhood have proposed to meet frequently to consult the good of their Parishes.

2152. Mr. Wm. Pugh Sen<sup>r</sup>, at Mathavarn Montgomeryshire 21st June 1710, to Mr Nelson. That at a Parish Meeting y<sup>e</sup> Friday preceeding a good progress was made towards setting up a Charity-School, and also liberal Subscriptions considering y<sup>e</sup> place towards buying practical Books to be distributed among the poor; and that y<sup>e</sup> Householders there present promised to send their Children to be instructed in the Catechism.

2237. Herbert Pye, at Monmouth 28 Aug. 1710. Giving an Account of several discouragements the Charity-Schools there laboured under, and particularly that y<sup>e</sup> Lecturer of y<sup>e</sup> Town had publickly reproach'd y<sup>e</sup> design.

2406. Tho. Williams, at Denbigh, 28th Nov<sup>r</sup> 1710. That about 20 Children are taught there at his own charge join'd w<sup>th</sup> some help out of the offertory.

2426. John Pember, at Prendergast, Pembrokeshire, 19th Decemb<sup>r</sup> 1710. That by S<sup>r</sup> John Philipps's Interest the Charity Schoole at Llanychaer is upheld and a School erected at Puncteston M<sup>r</sup> Jenkin Breckwell is y<sup>e</sup> Master of y<sup>t</sup> at Llanychaer and Mr Gambold of that at Puncteston which was opened the 8th of Novem<sup>r</sup> last. That three poor children of Llangan in Carmarthensh. are taught at his own charge, and 4 poor children are taught at Dynas in Pembrokeshire at y<sup>e</sup> charge of Mr Laugharne Rector of that Parish. That in each of these Schools & in others as far as he knows, the Masters of every Charity School in Pembrokesh. and Carmarthensh. has the liberty to take into y<sup>e</sup> charity Schools children whose parents pay for their teaching, that they may be better qualify'd to stick close to their business and carefully instruct the poor.

2529. Tho. Philipps at Laugharne Carmarthensh. 8th March 1711. That y<sup>e</sup> Accounts of Llanddowror & Laugharne Schools are as formerly.

2567. S<sup>r</sup> John Philipps at Picton Castle Pembrokesh. 7 July 1711. That Mr Pember and he had spent some days in visiting the Charity-Schools in the County of Pembroke & returned last night very well satisfy'd with y<sup>e</sup> diligent attendance of the Masters and good improvement of y<sup>e</sup> children several of whom he hopes will be cloath'd this summer.

2831. John Price at Wrexham, Denbighsh. 19th Octob<sup>r</sup> 1711. That a young Gentlewoman lately deceased has left the interest of 20*l*. p. ann. for ever towards instructing 4 poor Children in a Charity-School, and that he hopes this may prove a foundation for another School beside that already set up.

2840. Herbert Pye at Monmouth, 17th Octob<sup>r</sup> 1711. That some persons had slacken'd the encouragement they at first gave to y<sup>e</sup> Schools at Monmouth, but that others were resolv'd to continue their beneficence by whose means 3 Schools are still kept up but not any cloath'd. And that by y<sup>e</sup> money collected at y<sup>e</sup> monthly Sacrament he had set out 14 poor Boys to honest Trades.

2854. S<sup>r</sup> John Philipps at Picton Castle Pemb. 20th Octob<sup>r</sup> 1711. That he has hopes of setting up a Charity-School at Templeton in Pembrokeshire: That he wishes there were a project for employing the Ladies in some charitable work, that the making of Caps, Kerchiefs, Aprons, Bands, and even Shifts and Shirts for the poor would administer truer comfort to them one day than all the pains & time they spend at their Surbels and Embroidery, that he is glad to, y<sup>t</sup> he has for some time past taken off his Daughter from poring on her Tent to busy her every day in making some provision for the Charity children.

2942. S<sup>r</sup> John Philipps at Picton Castle Pemb. 10 Jan<sup>r</sup> 1711. That a Charity-School was open'd y<sup>e</sup> 7th instant at Templeton in Pembrokeshire for about 20 children & expected to increase.

2962. Evan Griffies, at Carmarthen 26th Jun<sup>r</sup> 1711. That by order of Mr. Meyrick he gives a particular Account of the School of w<sup>ch</sup> he is Master at Carmarthen, where 21 Boys are taught and cloath'd at Mr Meyrick's charge.

3091. Jo. Catlyn, at Kerry Montgomeryshire, 2<sup>d</sup> June, 1712. That he hopes 'ere another 12 months goes about something like a Charity-School may be sett up in his Parish. That he sh<sup>d</sup> be glad to know what is y<sup>e</sup> usual Salary to y<sup>e</sup> Master of a Charity-School, and whether one may be obtained from London, because it will be difficult to get one in those parts that has a just and necessary knowledge in the English Tongue. That if the Society's Packets hereafter consists of more English than Welch, he could dispose of them to more advantage because tho' many in his neighbourhood do talk yet few can read Welch.

3149. S<sup>r</sup> John Philipps at Picton Castle, Pemb. 9th August 1712. That an agreeable Treatise upon Agriculture fitted to the capacity's

of youth may 'tis hoped in some measure prevent the inconvenience of the Children being too much dispos'd of to the Mechanick's Trades.

3404. S<sup>r</sup> John Philipps at Picton Castle Pemb. 13 Dec<sup>r</sup> 1712. That a School is erecting in the Parish of Amroth in Pembrokeshire : That several Ministers in that County teach School, and there are about 6 worthy Clergymen that constantly visit most of the Charity- and Scholars, and have several times expressed their great joy for Schools in that County to examine the Children & exhort the Masters the proficiency of the latter. That he wishes there were a Law for building of Schoolhouses in such Parishes as for want of that or some other conveniency are forced to make use of the Church, where in the Master's absence children will sometimes do things unbecoming & injurious to that holy place.

3843. W<sup>m</sup> Lewis at Margam, Glamorgansh. Jan. 21, 171 $\frac{1}{2}$ . In answer to the Society's Circular Letter, that tho' there is hardly a Parish in that part of the world where there is not a private School for teaching children to read; yet there are few or no Charity-Schools. That he is informed that the School at Neath is sunk; But that there is a School erected at Cowbridge in Glamorganshire.

4306. Tho. Price at Merthir Tedvil, Brecknocksh. 4 Feb<sup>r</sup> 171 $\frac{1}{2}$ . "That the Charity-Schools at Merthir Tedvil may be inserted in the next Account thus. Merthir Tedvil Glamorgansh. 3 Schools, 2 for Boys and 1 for Girls at the expence of one Gent. for the benefit of his poor Tenants."

4355. Moses Williams<sup>1</sup> at Carmarthen, 26 April 1715. That he doubts not but it would be of good consequence if the following alteracons & additions were inserted in the next Account of Schools: viz<sup>t</sup>. Bettws Abergelau, Denbighsh. The Rev<sup>d</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Jones Vicar thereof has given 50s. p. ann. for ever for Teaching Ten poor Children to read Welch. He also finds them Books and bestows Cloaths upon them at Christmas. Also Mad<sup>m</sup> Joanna Griffiths pays for the teaching & cloathing of three poor girls there, and some others of the Parishioners have hitherto been prevail'd upon to subscribe more or less to maintain more children as particularly Mrs Elizabeth Salisbury 20s. M<sup>rs</sup> Gaenor Wyn 10s. M<sup>r</sup> Tho Llwyd 5s. M<sup>r</sup> Robt Evans 7s. &c.

Marchwiall, Denbighsh. John Hill of Sontley Esq gives 40s. p. ann. for teaching 10 poor Boys there.

Wrexham, Denbighsh. The Rev. M<sup>r</sup> Price Vicar thereof pays 40s. p. ann. for a Schoolhouse, and gives a Master 10l. p. ann. and his dyet for teaching all such of his Parishioners as are willing to read and write Welch, & repeat their Catechism &c. He also finds 'em Books.

4368. Theo. Chest at Chepstow, Monmouthshire, 9 May 1715. Enclosing a Letter from Mr. Davies the Curate of Caerleon of the

<sup>1</sup> Rev. Moses Williams, M.A., who traversed North & South Wales during these years, to solicit Subscriptions towards his Edition of the Welsh Bible issued in 1717-8, and to collect materials for his List of Printed Books in Welsh, & Relating to Wales, which was published in 1717.

6th May, Signifying the present state of it: Viz. that there is no School there. That it is a very poor place, and above 100 poor Children unprovided for, which makes great want of a Charity-School, that there is no likelihood of having one, the inhabitants being not able to pay any man of capacity.

4369. Fran. Pettingal at Newport Monmouthsh. 8 May 1715. That having enquir'd into the state of the Town of Caerleon, he finds it a very poor place, the children numerous and destitute of a School and real objects of charity of that kind. That the Minister is Mr Tho. Lingen & his curate Mr Griffith Davies. The value of the living about 20*l.* p. ann. That there is but one church and that in the Patronage of the Chapter of Landaffe. That the prospect of some great advantage design'd [for] this place and others in the same necessitous circumstances, encourages him to recommend the Town of Newport (whereof he is Vicar) to the consideration of all charitable Benefactors as a place destitute of a School, very numerous of poor Children, and affording but a very poor maintenance to its Incumbents, which exceeds not 20*l.* p. ann. as appears by the affidavits made on that behalf upon the Commission for His Majesty to the poor Clergy, the benefit whereof they have not as yet reap'd.

4667. John Pember at Prendergast, Pembroksk. 16 Dec<sup>r</sup> 1715, to S<sup>r</sup> John Philipps. That on the 1 of the month he visited S<sup>r</sup> Issels School, where he found but 12 poor Children tho' 28 belong'd to it, the rest being kept away by y<sup>e</sup> extremeness of the weather. That he heard those that were there read and say their Catechism, and designs to do y<sup>e</sup> same a month hence. That Mr Barlow cloaths and pays for 6 poor Boys and 6 Girls at Slebbech. That Mr Pember himself pays for teaching all y<sup>e</sup> poor children at Lambston. That Bigeley School was shut up at the opening of St. Isells School. That Mr Laugharne's heirs are not pleased to continue the encouragement given by him for the teaching the poor Children of St. Brides Parish. That 12 poor Children were taught in Llanychaer School last quarter day. That Puncteston School fell because y<sup>e</sup> Master could not prevail upon parents to send their children to be taught there.

4726. James Harries at Monmouth, 13 Feb<sup>r</sup> 171 $\frac{1}{2}$ . That Mr Lewis of Hampsh. has a good Lordship in the Parish of Merthir Tedvil (where Mr Price is Minister) and gave 20 pounds p. ann. towards the support of two Charity Schools for the benefit of the sons and daughters of his Tenants, but Mr Lewis for some reasons has withdrawn his Charity. He therefore recommends it to such members of the Society as may be acquainted with him to use their interest to prevail with him to restore his Charity.

4730. Tho. Philipps, at Laugharne, Carmarthensh. 4th Feb<sup>r</sup> 171 $\frac{1}{2}$ . That S<sup>r</sup> John Crow deceased has by his will dated the 22nd of June last bequeathed 320 pounds to the following Charitable uses, viz. :—

	£	s.	d.
To y <sup>e</sup> Town of Laugharne .. ..	200	0	0
To the Parish of Laugharne .. ..	40	0	0
To the Parish of Keffick .. ..	40	0	0
and To the Parish of Marros .. ..	40	0	0

That he has not appointed Trustees nor mentioned any particular uses, and therefore the Executrix and the Inhabitants of Laugharne resolved to have the Bequest confirmed in Chancery, and in order to it Mr Vaughan the present Judge is desired to procure its being appropriated to the uses following, viz. Six Pound per ann. part of the interest of the 200*l.* given to the Town of Laugharne to the Master of the Charity-School there, and the remaining 4*l.* per ann. towards the binding out of poor boys that have their Education in that School. The interest of the 40*l.* given to the Parish of Laugharne to be apply'd towards the settling out of poor Children apprentices, and the like to be done with the Interest of the several 40 pounds given to the Parishes of Keffick and Marros; and for the securing of all, Mrs. Jane Crow y<sup>e</sup> Executrix has charg'd an estate of 30*l.* p. ann. in y<sup>e</sup> Parish of Keffick with 16 Pounds p. ann. for ever being the Interest of the 320 pounds. That it is wished that S<sup>r</sup> John Philipps would take 40 pound sometime since given by David Lloyd of Woodhouse toward the Cloathing of some of the Children of the Charity-School of Llandowror yearly into his care and charge least this Charity should in Process of time be lost. There being at present only one single bond for it & that obtain'd with some difficulty.

4769. Will<sup>m</sup> Hopkin at Lantrithyde Glamorgansh. 7 April 1716. That the Parishioners are oblig'd to a neighbouring School for the Instruction of their youth; that there is a Contribution for some poor Boys, but so small as not to be worthy of publick notice; That if the Society think fitt to dispose of any small Books for y<sup>e</sup> use of the Country Schools he will take care to put them into such hands as will make y<sup>e</sup> best use of them.

4792. Herbert Pye, of Monmouth, 2nd May 1716. That he had sooner acknowledged the Receipt of the Society's Packet, but was in hopes of sending 'em an Account of a new School there for 40 or 50 poor Children in the room of the three Schools which are demolish'd thro' the covetousness of such persons who withdrew their subscriptions. That there is 45*l.* subscribed for erecting the School by the inhabitants of the Town, which he believes would have been much more had not Mr. Rea who was very zealous at first to promote it, taken the Subscriptions with him into Worcestershire, where he and his family reside. That he has to the utmost of his power promoted it, both by his own labour and Example. . . That he hopes to send a more particular Account when Mr. Rea returns to Monmouth. That within these 8 years he has put out 15 Boys to honest callings with y<sup>e</sup> money collected at their Monthly Sacraments, and has near 20*l.* now lying in the Church Wardens hands to put out 4 more. That the Charity-Schools erected by My Lady Granvil one at Monmouth and t'other at Michael Troy are still kept up by her daughter the Duchess of Grafton.

4799. James Harris at Llantrissant Glamorgansh. 13 May 1716. That he was in hopes that the Act of Parliament relating to Parish Benefactions recommended by the Society would have had life before this, it being so useful and so highly wanting in most parts of the Kingdom, and would contribute more Charities for Churches and Charity-Schools than can possibly be imagined. That Mr Charles

Williams of Monmouthshire who lives in Covent Garden intends to erect a Charity-School at Caerleon & to augment the Vicaridge of the Town.

4840. Dr Jo. Jones, Dean of Bangor, at Bangor, Carnarvonsh. 20th June 1716. That a Charity-School is lately erected at Beaumaris, in the County of Anglesey for 12 children taught and Cloathed at the expence of a person of honour; that another School is lately sett up at Llanfihangel in the same County, where 12 poor Children are taught, and another School at Bangor in Carnarvonsh. for 10 poor Children—another at Llanllechyd in Carnarvonsh. for 15 poor Children, another at Gyffin in y<sup>e</sup> same County for 10 poor Children. That it is impossible in those parts to fix the poor children constantly and regularly at School, because they must go ever and anon to beg for victuals, there being no poor rates settled in those parts. It is the constant method to relieve the poor at their doors, and the houses of the several Parishes being scattered about at considerable distances from each other increases the difficulty the poor Children labour under, & in harvest the poor parents take them out of School, and declare they had rather they should not be taught at all than be debarred of the use and service of them.

4863. George Lewis of Dolgelly Merionethsh. 14 July 1716. That there's no Charity-School within many miles of Dolgelly. The Country being generally very poor and the rich not so well inclined to encourage so good a work as they ought to be. That the Town of Dolgelly is the Chief Town in Merionethshire, in the centre of the County, and hath in it many poor boys and girls, who for want of some charitable provision are forced to strole and beg their living; that he believes there are some of the better sort who would contribute to so good a work if such a thing was set on foot. That if the Society should think fitt to sett such a thing on foot, that he would encourage it all that lay in his power.

5008. Humphrey Jorden, at Glasbury Brecknockshire, 15 Nov. 1716. That at Michaelmas last the number of Children in the Charity-Schools there were 57, thó he doubts he shall not be able to kept them on foot, having lost his chief friends Mr. Wyndham and Col. Colchester besides several Benefactors who have discontinued their payments. That the Children receive only y<sup>e</sup> benefit of teaching and Books.

5042. James Harries, at Lantrissant, Glamorgansh. 20 Nov. 1716. That the Charity School which he erected in that Town is still continued under the care of his Curate to the number of 30 Boys.

5160. John Philipps, at Carmarthen, 11th March 1714. That Rev<sup>d</sup> Mr Prichard of that Town & himself collect the Sacrament Money with which they pay for the Schooling and Cloathing of 10 poor Boys beside 12 other poor Boys settled by Mr. Meyrick's Charity. That they have a Stock of 12*l*. to apprentice some of the Boys. That for the future they have agreed to distribute 3 or 4*s* monthly to each of the poor as come frequently to Church, where there is prayers twice every day. That he shall give the Master of y<sup>e</sup> Charity-School all the direcons mentioned in the Society's Circular Letter.

5172. Hum. Jorden, Glasbury, Brecknockshire, 18 March 1714. That he pays for the Schooling and Books yearly of 57 Children, but the number of either sex varies according to the exigencies of the poor in y<sup>e</sup> Parish. That thó they are kept in 4 little Schools in the Countys of Brecknock and Radnor, his Parish being in both, He thinks very well to name them as they are in the List:—1 School &c in Brecknockshire. That he hopes shortly to give an account of some Schools they are going to erect in Brecknock Town.

29 March he writes again that he is informed by a good hand that a Subscription is setting on foot at Brecknock Town for the Girls, by the Women of the place, that the School is open'd and 14 Girls are cloath'd and taught in prospect of a greater number, and that the Gentlemen of the place who are wealthy will come into a like Subscription for the Boys.—5177.

5198. John Pember at Prendergast, Pembrokeshire, 18 April 1717. That some Masters of Charity-Schools in that County have been already, and the rest shall, God Willing, be desired to keep Registers of the names of the Children admitted into their respective Schools, as desired in y<sup>e</sup> Societys Circular Letter. Those Masters that are employed in that part of the County have so far assured him of their good affecon to the King, that they and their Scholars pray daily for K. George & the Royal Family. That the Master of S<sup>t</sup> Issels School and most of the other Masters in that part of the County complain that they cannot prevail upon the parents of y<sup>e</sup> poor Children to keep them constantly. That there are noe poor taught in Haraldston West. That the Master of Walton East School not being able to prevail with parents to send their children there, if S<sup>t</sup> John Philipps pleases to give leave that School might be removed to Usmaston where he is in hopes of having many poor children taught.

N.B.—S<sup>t</sup> John Philipps consents to what he desires.

5219. Herbert Pye, at Monmouth, May 11th 1717. That he was in hopes of informing the Society before now of the progress made in the Charity-Schools there, but has been prevented by the divisions there as to the choice of a Master for teaching the Boys. That himself and others have recommended one Mr. Crofts (who teaches the gentlemen of the Free School to write and cast accompts) a sober, industrious young man qualified in all respects to teach the Boys. But some Gentlemen have objected against him on account that his parents were Dissenters and that this has been industriously suggested to the Lord Windsor & his Brother, who are the founders of the School, and have been so far influenced thereby as to threaten to withdraw their Subscription if he be chose. Notwithstanding he has assured them that the said Crofts has come constantly to Church & received Sacrament almost every month, and that thó it were true (as it is notoriously false) that he was bred a Dissenter, yet he ought to be encouraged because he is now a through Conformist. That all these arguments have not prevailed but the poor man has been sett aside and one David Jones, notorious for drunkenness and swearing chose by the Subscribers, and he has accepted of the business for 10 pounds p. ann. which has given so great a disgust to the generality of ye Town that they will not put their Children to him.

5567. Hum. Jorden, at Glasbury, Breconshire, 12 April 1718. That they have 2 Schools there for 20 Boys and 27 Girls; that the Schools erected last year at Brecknock for 14 Girls is in a flourishing condition, the children being able to read well and say their Catechism in the Church readily, and answer to most of Lewis's Exposition tho they could before speak but little or no English. That the School is visited once a week by the Contributors and is increased to 18 Girls. That at Llandilo in Breconsh. 12 Children are taught at the Charge of the Minister of the Parish.

5599. Herbert Pye, at Monmouth, 17 May 1718. That they have at length sett up a Charity-School for 20 Boys and 10 Girls taught and cloath'd, which he hopes will prosper unless the party divisions that abound among them tumble it to the ground. That they have at present 60*l.* p. ann. Subscribed to it. That they have a very good Master and Mistress who spare no pains to improve the children. That the Boys have made such a progress in the Church Catechism & Mr. Lewis's Exposition on it that they are admired by all who hear them. That the Master's name is Geo. Read, who was sent down from London, and deserves more encourage than at present he meets with.

5639. S<sup>r</sup> Humphrey Mackworth, in London, 5 July 1718. That he intends to wait on the Society before he leaves London, and in the meantime desires to know whether they have yet met with a person to recommend to him for a Master of a School at Neath in Glamorganshire.

5647. John Philipps at Carmarthen, 6 July 1718. That the Charity School there continues in the same state, it was 22 Boys being taught and cloath'd chiefly out of the Sacrament Money.

5807. W<sup>m</sup> Hopkins, at Llantrythyd, Glamorgansh. 29 Nov. 1718. That there are 10 Boys and 10 Girls taught in the School at Cowbridge as allotted at first by Mr. Wyndham's Charity.

5923. Humphrey Jorden, at Glasbury, Brecknocksh. 27 Jan. 1718. A Particular List of the 53 children in the 2 Schools at Glasbury. That there has been disposed on the above Schools in the last eight years 63*l.* 0*s.* 8*d.* towards which he has received in Benefacons 46*l.* 0*s.* 6*d.* so that he is out of pocket seventeen pound and two pence.

5936. Tho. Philipps, at Laugharne, Carmarthensh. 7 Feb. 1718. That the Gentlemen of Laugharne are so well pleased with the Account of the School at Artleborô that they intend to employ the 200*l.* left by S<sup>r</sup> John Crow, & the 120*l.* arrears of Mr Zachary Thomas's Charity to such use as soon as they receive it.

5957. John Griffiths, at Welchpool, Montgomerysh. 13 Feb.<sup>ry</sup> 1718. That he very much wishes a Charity-School was erected at Welchpool and he hopes to be able to effect it when Mr. John Harding, the present Vicar there comes from his residence at Cherbury.

6043. John Harding, Welchpool, Montgomerysh. 9 June 1719. That he is endeavouring to set up a Charity-School in his Parish and hopes to give the Society in a short time a good Account of the success of it.

6117. Mr O'Connor, at Neath, Glamorgansh. 17 Sept. 1719. That he is desired by S<sup>r</sup> Humphrey Mackworth to acquaint the Society that there has been several overtures for a Schoolmaster at Neath, but they seem not altogether qualify'd, especially to sett up the first School. He therefore submits it to the Society's consideration whether it may not be proper to pitch upon one of the best Schoolmasters in London to begin the Setting up of Schools in Wales, who may be a sort of Itinerant Master when he has sett up one School & brought up an Usher then to set up another.

N.B.—Refer'd to the Committee.

6330. John Griffiths, at Welchpool, Montgomerysh. 25 March 17<sup>20</sup>. That they have now fixed a School there for 12 Boys to which there are Subscriptions per annum 26*l*. That he finds by Mr Parker's account a boy of about 9 years old may be Cloathed for 17*s*. 11*d*. and therefore he should be glad to have an entire Suit that he may see the method of it and to know where he may send the Welchpool Carrier for it.

6389. John Pember, of Prendergast, Pembrokesh. 14 May 1720. That children when attained to the age of 13 years think it beneath them to stand before the Reading Desk; that most of the Children of the Charity-Schools in that County go into Service at Sea or in Gentlemen's houses or Farmers, few having been put to Trades. He subjoins an Account of the number of Charity Children in that County taught in the year 1719.

6572. John Vaughan Esq., at Derllys, Carmarthensh. 24 Oct. 1720. He encloses the Case of a Charity-School with respect to a Charity left to it upon which he desires the opinion of some Gent. of the long robe who is a Member of the Society.

6580. Will. Hopkins, at Lantrythyde, Glamorgansh. 14 Oct. 1720. That Cowbridge School in y<sup>e</sup> County continues as mentioned in the account published by the Society. That 2 Schools are Sett up at Neath & Lantwit Major in that County, to the former of which 10*l*. p. ann. for ever, & to the latter 5*l*. per ann. is left for ever.

7075. John Humphreys, at Lanvyllin, Montgomerysh. 20 May 1722, to Mr Downing. That the Schools set up and endow'd by the good Family who desire him as a Trustee to take care of them are as follows. Mrs Vaughan of Llangedwyn, the Lady and Widow of Edward Vaughan, late of Llwydiarth Esq<sup>r</sup> has given 1200*l*. to endow 3 Charity-Schools, one in this Town for 20 Boys & another for 10 Girls, and one in Llanfihangel (a Neighbouring Parish for 12 Boys) all to be cloath'd, taught their Catechism & brought up in the principles of the Church of England, and the Boys taught to read write and cast accounts, & the Girls to read, spin, and sew plain work. That Mrs Strangeways and Mrs Wynne, Daughters and Coheirs of the said M<sup>rs</sup> Vaughan keep 20 more Boys in the School at Llanfihangel with the addition that a meal's meat as their dinner is allow'd to 'em every day they come to School in consideration that they live very far from School. That Mrs. Strangeways keeps also 6 more Girls at Llanvillin and pays for their diet and lodging, they being the Children of such parents as are not able to keep them. That as the

Children are fit to be put out to apprentices one or other of Mrs. Vaughan's family puts them out, he having by his will left 50 pounds for that Service.

7372. Richard Davies, at Brecon, 9 April 1723. That a division lately in the Town had like to have destroy'd the Charity-Schools of that place, but by the application of some worthy Gentlemen with himself those prejudices were overcome and the Subscriptions run higher this year than they had done before.

7874. James Harries, at Llantrissant, Glamorganshire, 22 May 1724. That there is a Charity-School for 20 Boys erecting at Llanwonno near Llantrissant, and that the number of Children is increased in y<sup>e</sup> School at Llantrissant.

8414. Thomas Jones, at Newport, in Wales, 4th Sept. 1725. That he is now Master of a School at Newport, where he purposes to continue till y<sup>e</sup> Society shall have an opportunity of placing him over a Charity-School.

10,371. Griff. Jones, at Denbigh, 2 Sept. 1729. That a Charity-School is set up in that Town endow'd with 40*l.* p. ann. for Cloathing and Teaching 20 Boys.

11,373. Griffith Jones, Landowror, Carmarthenshire, 22 Sept. 1731 directed to Mr Philipps. That it is a very sickly time near his neighbourhood where many die and many more are sick of a nervous kind of feavour. He thinks it a proper time to propose a Welch<sup>1</sup> School at Landowror for all comers to learn to read & be supplied with Books and taught gratis, desiring of the Society 40 or 50 of the small Welch Bibles upon the usual kind terms that they favour their Members with & other Books, this would be great charity to our poor.

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<sup>1</sup> This Letter, and the Welsh School founded at Llandowror soon after this announcement, are the preludes of the New Movement—the "Circulating School" Movement—which followed the "Charity School" Movement in Wales.



## APPENDIX II.

AN ALPHABETICAL LIST OF NAMES, AND THE DATES OF FOUNDATION, OF THE CHARITY-SCHOOLS set up in Wales from 1699 to 1737, as reported in the *Periodical Accounts of Charity Schools*, issued by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, with additional extracts from the Minute Books and Correspondence of the Society.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE REFERENCES TO THE VARIOUS SOURCES IN THE FOLLOWING NOTES:—

A.=Account of Charity-Schools.

Abs.=Abstract of Letter from Letter Books.

M.=Minutes of the Society.

S.=Sermon annually delivered to Patrons of Charity-Schools, and published, with List of Charity-Schools attached.

No.	Name and Situation of School.	Number of Schools.	Date of Foundation, or Date of Report.	Particular Account of Schools, Extracts, etc.
1	<b>Abergavenny, Mon.</b>	1	1707	"Here is about 15 <i>l.</i> per annum subscribed towards a Charity-School."—A. 1707.
2	<b>Abergwilly, Carn.</b>	1	1704	"Eight boys taught. The School endow'd with 6 <i>l.</i> p. annum."—A. 1704.
3	<b>Amroth, Pem.</b>	1	1713	"A Charity-School."—A. 1713.
4	<b>Bangor, Carn.</b>	1	1716	"10 Children taught."—A. 1717.
5	<b>Beaumaris, Ang.</b>	1	1716	"12 Poor Children taught and Cloathed at the expence of a person of honour."—A. 1717.
6	<b>Bettws, Abergele, Denb.</b>	1	1714	"A School for 13 children, 10 of which are taught and Cloath'd at the charge of the Vicar, and 3 girls taught and cloath'd at the charge of a gentlewoman."—A. 1715.

No.	Name and Situation of School.	Number of Schools.	Date of Foundation, or Date of Report.	Particular Account of Schools, Extracts, etc.
6	<b>Bettws, Abergele, Denb.</b> <i>(cont.)</i>	1	1714	"Moses Williams, 26 April 1715. The Rev. Mr. Jones Vicar thereof has given 50s. p. ann. for ever for teaching ten poor children to read Welsh. He also finds them books and bestows cloaths upon them at Christmas. Also Madm. Joanna Griffiths pays for the Teaching and cloathing of three poor girls there."—Abs. 3355.
7	<b>Bigely, Pem.</b>	1	1707	"Here is 3 <i>l.</i> paid yearly to a master for teaching poor Children to read, write and the Church Catechism."—A. 1707.
8	<b>Boulston, Pem.</b>	1	1707	"Here are 19 poor Children taught in like manner. Some whereof are already Cloath'd and the rest will be cloath'd in a little time. And more poor Children may be taught if their parents will send them to School. These two last Schools, as also those at Marloes, Walton-West, Rudbaxton, herein-after-mentioned are set up and maintained by the charity of a neighbouring Gentleman, who as soon as he can find another person willing and fit to teach children to read, write, and the principles of our Holy Religion will also employ him in that work. The Masters of these Schools were recommended by some of the most active and zealous Ministers in the County, who also are pleased frequently to visit

No.	Name and Situation of School.	Number of Schools.	Date of Foundation, or Date of Report.	Particular Account of Schools, Extracts, etc.
8	<b>Boulston, Pem. (cont.).</b>	1	1707	<p>them and to assist in what is necessary for the good regulation and improvement of them."—A. 1707.</p> <p>A. 1709, adds to the above account:—"Landwrough, Monclochogg, Penally, and Hascard." And further adds:—"Care is taken that the Children of these Schools, and those above-mentioned, come constantly to Church, and bring their Bibles and Common Prayer-Books with them and behave themselves reverently there."</p>
9-11	<b>Brecon, Breck.</b> 1. Girls. 2. Boys. 3. Boys.	3	1716 1718 1720	<p>"14 Girls taught and Cloathed here, erected 1716, by a Subscription of the Gentlewomen of the Town, in prospect of a greater number being taught; and the Gentlemen of the place will promote the erecting of another School for Boys."—A. 1717.</p> <p>"A School for 20 Boys cloath'd, supported by the subscription of the Gentry of the Town, besides a School for 20 Girls formerly mentioned."—S. 1719.</p> <p>"A third School for 20 Boys, taught by the Charity of a bequest left by a private Gentleman."—S. 1721.</p>
12	<b>Cardiff, Glam.</b>	1	1710	<p>"Five Hundred Pound lately given for a Charity-School."—A. 1710.</p>
13-14	<b>Carmarthen, Carm.</b>	2		<p>"Here are taught 12 poor Children by a private person gratis."—A. 1707.</p>

No.	Name and Situation of School.	Number of Schools.	Date of Foundation, or Date of Report.	Particular Account of Schools, Extracts, etc.
13-14	<p><b>W. Evans's School.</b></p> <p><b>Edmond Meyrick's Endowed School.</b></p>		<p>1705</p> <p>1708</p>	<p>"Here are also divers other poor children taught, for which 22<i>l.</i> per Ann. is paid by a Reverend Person. The same worthy Gentleman has given two houses here to charitable uses, the one for the School and the School Master, and the other for the use of the Library lately collected, and since set up here for the use of such of the Clergy as it may be helpful to."—A. 1709.</p> <p>"A School for 21 poor children taught and Cloathed at the sole charge of a worthy Divine."—A. 1713.</p> <p>"Evan Griffies at Carmarthen 26 Jan. 171<math>\frac{1}{2}</math>. That by order of Mr. Meyrick he gives a particular account of the School of which he is Master at Carmarthen where 21 Boys are taught and Cloath'd at Mr. Meyrick's charge."—Abs. 2962.</p>
15	<b>Cowbridge, Glam.</b>	1	1706	<p>"Here are divers poor Children taught at the expence of a private person."—A. 1706.</p>
16	<b>Denbigh, Denb.</b>	1	1706	<p>"A School for 20 poor Children supported by the Minister and offertory."—A. 1711.</p> <p>"Griffith Jones at Denbigh, 2 Sept. 1729. That a Charity-School is set up in that Town endow'd with 40<i>l.</i> p. ann. for Cloathing and teaching 20 Boys."—Abs. 10371.</p>
17	<b>Dinas, Pem.</b>	1	1711	<p>"Four Children taught at the charge of the Rector" [Mr. Laugharne].—A. 1711.</p>

No.	Name and Situation of School.	Number of Schools.	Date of Foundation, or Date of Report.	Particular Account of Schools, Extracts, &c.
18	<b>Dolgelley, Mer.</b>	1	1720	"A School for 25 Boys and 25 Girls supported at the charge of a Lady of London."—S. 1721.
19	<b>Esgair Hir Mines, Card.</b>	1	1706	"The Governour and Company of the Mine-Adventurers of England allow 20 <i>l.</i> per annum, for a Charity-School for the Children of the miners and workmen belonging to the said Company. The said Company also give 30 <i>l.</i> yearly to a Minister to read prayers, preach, and catechise the children."—A. 1706.
20-23	<b>Glasbury, Breck. and Rad.</b>	4	1711	"30 Children are taught."—A. 1711. "50 Children taught in several Schools and supplied with Books."—A. 1714. "Humphrey Jorden, 18 March 171 <i>½</i> , pays for the Schooling and Books yearly of 57 children in 4 little Schooles in the Counties of Brecknock and Radnor, his parish being in both."—Abs. 5191.
24	<b>Gresford, Denb.</b>	1	1710	"A Charity-School for 20 poor Children for some years past, 5 of which are paid for by the worthy Minister, and some of the best and ablest Parishioners pay for the rest."—A. 1710.
25	<b>Gyffin, Carn.</b>	1	1716	"10 poor Children taught here."—A. 1717.
26	<b>Haraldston West, Pem.</b>	1	1707	"Ten poor Children are taught to read, write, and the Catechism, at the

No.	Name and Situation of School.	Number of Schools.	Date of Foundation, or Date of Report.	Particular Account of Schools, Extracts, etc.
26	<b>Haraldston West</b> ( <i>cont.</i> ).	1	1707	charge of the worthy Minister."—A. 1709.
27	<b>Hascard, Pem.</b>	1	1707	"A Charity-School. The Master is allowed 5 <i>l.</i> per Ann. and liberty to teach the Children of others, who are able to pay for their Education." See Boulston.—A. 1709.
28	<b>Haverfordwest, Pem.</b>	1	1706	"A School for 31 Children, 25 of which are Cloathed, each of them receive 5 <i>s.</i> a Quarter for their parents. On the School is settled 34 <i>l.</i> per Annum, and the interest of 300 <i>l.</i> for ever."—A. 1710. "A Letter from Mr. Pember was read March 27, 1707, 'that the Charity-School there (which was open'd on 4 December last) was endow'd by a Gentlewoman who died 15 or 16 years ago. That the Master has a good house and 5 <i>l.</i> p. ann. Salary, for which he teaches 20 Boys and 12 Girls to read, write, and Cast Accts., and the Girls are taught to Sew and Knitt.'"—M. 27 March, 1707.
29	<b>Kerry, Mont.</b>	1	1715	"A School erecting. The house being built and Subscription upwards of 10 <i>l.</i> per annum."—A. 1715.
30	<b>Lambston, Pem.</b>	1	1715	"Mr. Pember pays for teaching all y <sup>e</sup> poor children at Lambston."—Abs. 4667, 16 Dec. 1715. "A School for all the poor Children here supported at

No.	Name and Situation of School.	Number of Schools.	Date of Foundation, or Date of Report.	Particular Account of Schools, Extracts, etc.
30	<b>Lambston, Pem.</b> ( <i>cont.</i> ).	1	1715	the charge of a Reverend Divine."—A. 1716.
31	<b>Lampeter Vel-frey, Pemb.</b>	1	1717	"A School supported by Subscription."—A. 1717.
32	<b>Laugharne, Glam.</b> [Llanharan ?]	1	1718	"A School for 20 Boys."—A. 1718 & 1724.
33	<b>Lantwit- Major, Glam.</b>	1	1720	"A School endowed with 5 <i>l.</i> per annum for ever."—S. 1721.
34	<b>Laugharne, Carm.</b>	1	1708	"A Charity-School for 20 poor Boys, kept at the Town-House. Subscriptions 8 <i>l.</i> per Ann."—A. 1710. "Eight Boys sent to Sea."—A. 1713.
35	<b>Lawrenny, Pem.</b>	1	1725	"A School for all the poor Children of the Parish."—S. 1726.
36	<b>Llanboidy, Carm.</b>	1	1711	"9 Children taught at a private expence."—A. 1711.
37	<b>Llandilo, Breck.</b>	1	1717	"Hum. Jordan at Glasbury, Breconshire, 12 April 1718. That at Llandilo in Breconsh. 12 Children are taught at the charge of the Minister of the Parish."—Abs. 5567. See also A. 1718.
38	<b>Llandoverly, Carm.</b>	1	1712	"A Charity-School."—A. 1712.
39	<b>Llandowror, Carm.</b>	1	1707	"A Charity-School. The Master is allowed 5 <i>l.</i> per Annum, and Liberty to teach the Children of others, who will pay for their Education."—A. 1709.

No.	Name and Situation of School.	Number of Schools.	Date of Foundation, or Date of Report.	Particular Account of Schools, Extracts, etc.
39	<b>Llandowror, Carm. (cont.).</b>	1	1707	<p>"A School for 20 Children 7 of whom are clothed by the interests of 40<i>l.</i> left by David Lloyd, a farmer lately deceased."—A. 1713.</p> <p>It is interesting to note here that the Rev. Griffith Jones was promoted to the Rectory of Llandowror by Sir John Philipps in 1716. Clog-y-Fran, an ancient seat of Sir John was close by. It was occupied at this time by John Dalton, Esq., who became a great supporter of Griffith Jones. This School became in 1731 the first Welsh School in the great Welsh movement initiated by Griffith Jones.</p> <p>"Griffith Jones, Landowror Carmarthensh. 22 Sept. 1731 . . . . . He thinks it a proper time to propose a Welsh School at Landowror for all comers, to learn to read &amp; be supplied with Books &amp; taught gratis, desiring of the Society 40 or 50 of the small volume of y<sup>e</sup> Welsh Bible upon the usual kind terms they favour their members with, and other Books, this would be great charity to our poor."—Abs. 11373.</p>
40	<b>Llandyssul, Card.</b>	1	1727	"A School for 10 Boys."—S. 1728.
41	<b>Llanfihangel [Ysgeiflog], Ang.</b>	1	1716	"12 poor Children are taught."—A. 1717.
42	<b>Llanfihangel, Mont.</b>	1	1722	"A School for 32 Boys; 20 of them have a dinner given

No	Name and Situation of School.	Number of Schools.	Date of Foundation, or Date of Report.	Particular Account of Schools, Extracts, etc.
42	<b>Llanfihangel, Mont.</b> ( <i>cont.</i> ).	1	1722	to them every School-day, they being from home."—S. 1722. "Endowed by Mrs. Edward Vaughan, Llangedwyn."—Abs. 7075. 20 May.
43-4	<b>Llanfyllin, Mont.</b>	2	1722	"Two Schools. 20 Boys and 10 Girls clothed and taught to work, endowed by a gift of 1200 <i>l.</i> from a private Gentlewoman from Llangedwyn."—S. 1722. These schools were endowed by Mrs. Vaughan, the widow of Edward Vaughan, of Llwydiarth.—Abs. 7075. 20 May 1722.
45	<b>Llangadock, Carm.</b>	1	1705	"Here is a Charity-School set up by the Bishop, Freeholders, and inhabitants. The subscription is about 30 <i>l.</i> per annum."—A. 1706.
46	<b>Llangan, Carm.</b>	1	1711	"4 poor Children taught at the charge of the Minister."—A. 1711.
47	<b>Llangeinwen, Ang.</b>	1	1714	"A School for 16 poor Children set up at Christmas 1714."—A. 1716.
48	<b>Llangunnog, Carm.</b>	1	1705	"The Lord of the Manor, Freeholders, and inhabitants have built a School-house on the West, and enclosed part thereof, which is to be settled for ever for teaching the poor Children of the Lordship."—A. 1706. <i>Note.</i> —The Minute Book of this School is preserved in Sir John Williams' Library at Llanstephan. It contains the record of a Century.

No.	Name and Situation of School.	Number of Schools.	Date of Foundation, or Date of Report.	Particular Account of Schools, Extracts, etc.
49	<b>Llangunnog, Mont.</b>	1	1712	"A School for 12 Children taught and cloathed at the expence of a charitable Gentlewoman in the neighbourhood."—A. 1712.
50	<b>Llanllechid, Carn.</b>	1	1716	"15 poor Children taught here."—A. 1717.
51	<b>Llanthony, Mon.</b>	1	1720	"A School for 50 Boys opened Michaelmas 1720 at the charge of a private Gentleman."—S. 1721.
52	<b>Llantilo Bertholeu, Mon.</b>	1	1722	"A School supported chiefly at the charge of a private Gentleman."—S. 1723.
53-54	<b>Llantrissant, Glam.</b>	2	1699	"James Harris, Feb. 15, 1699. Saith he hath put up two Schools."—Abs. 33. "A Grammar School newly erected, wherein are about 20 Boys taught, and the children instructed in the Catechism, and examined in the Church on Saturday Evenings, as also on Sunday Evenings, and Prayers are used Morning and Evening in the School."—A. 1716.
55	<b>Llanwonno, Glam.</b>	1	1724	"That there is a charity-school for 20 boys erecting at Llanwonno near Llantrissant."—Abs. 7874, 22 May 1724.
56	<b>Llanyaer, Pem.</b>	1	1707	"A Charity-School here, in which are 24 children, whereof 6 are cloath'd.—A. 1709. "There are good Orders in this School, and great hopes of having the number of Children encreased."—A. 1709.

No.	Name and Situation of School.	Number of Schools.	Date of Foundation, or Date of Report.	Particular Account of Schools, Extracts, etc.
56	<b>Llanychaer, Pem. (cont.).</b>	1	1707	Mr. Gambold was the first Master. He was succeeded in 1710 by Mr. Jenkin Breckwell.
57	<b>Maenclochog, Pem.</b>	1	1708	"Here is a School where several poor children are taught." See Boulston.—A. 1709.
58	<b>Maesgwin, Rad.</b>	1	1722	"A School for 40 Children, supported at the charge of a private Gentleman."—S. 1723.
59	<b>Marchwiall, Denb.</b>	1	1715	"A School for 10 boys taught at the charge of a private Gent."—A. 1715. "Moses Williams, 26 April 1715, John Hill of Sontley Esq. gives 40s p. ann. for teaching 10 poor Boys there."—Abs. 4355.
60	<b>Margam, Glam.</b>	1	Before 1705	Here are taught 12 children at the expence of a Private Person.—A. 1709.
61	<b>Marloes, Pem.</b>	1	1707	"Five pounds are yearly paid to a Master here, for teaching the poor Children to read and the Catechism."—A. 1707. "And six other poor children of this place, ten others from St. Brides, are taught in this School, at the Expence of a Gentleman of Society, who also buys books for them. The Minister visits this School and that at Hascard at least once a month."—A. 1719.
62	<b>Marros, Carm.</b>	1	1712	"A School for all the poor

No.	Name and Situation of School.	Number of Schools.	Date of Founda- tion, or Date of Report.	Particular Account of Schools, Extracts, etc.
62	<b>Marros, Carm</b> <i>(cont.)</i>	1	1712	children of the Parish taught at the sole expence of the Lord of the Manour, who both pays the Master, and provides him an habitation."—A. 1712.
63-5	<b>Merthyr Tyd- vil, Glam.</b>	3	1713-4	"3 Schools erected at the charge of the Lord of the Manour."—A. 1714. "Tho. Price at Merthyr Tydvil 4 Feb. 171½. That the Charity Schools of Merthyr Tydvil may be inserted in the next Account thus:— At Merthyr Tydvil, Glamorgansh. 3 Schools—2 for Boys and 1 for Girls—at the expence of one Gent, for the benefit of his poor Tenants."—Abs. 4306. The Gentleman referred to was a Mr. Lewis of Hampshire, who subscribed 20 <i>l.</i> p. annum.—Abs. 4726, 13 Feb. 171½.
66	<b>Michel Troy, Mon.</b>	1	1717	"12 Poor Children are taught here at the charge of a Lady of Quality."—A. 1717.
67	<b>Mounton, Pem.</b>	1	1705	"A Charity-School set up about 5 years since, by a worthy Gentleman of this Parish, who still continues his Liberality."—A. 1710.
68-70	<b>Monmouth, Mon.</b> <b>Lady Gran- vill's School.</b> <b>Boys' School.</b> <b>Mixed School.</b>	3	1706 1708 1708	"Here is a School for 24 poor children who learn to read and the Catechism at the expence of a Lady of Quality. They are catechised in the Church every Wednesday; and every Friday the children of the other

No.	Name and Situation of School.	Number of Schools.	Date of Foundation, or Date of Report.	Particular Account of Schools, Extracts, etc.
68-70	<b>Monmouth, Mon.</b> ( <i>cont.</i> )	3	17 08	<p>School (which is not a Charity-School) are catechised in the Church. Some of the children of the Charity-School are cloathed. The Dame's Salary is 5<i>l.</i> per annum."—A. 1707.</p> <p>"Besides the School formerly mentioned to be set up here by a Lady of Quality, there are two other Charity-Schools, one for Boys only, who are taught to read and write; and the other for Boys and Girls, who are taught to read by two Mistresses. And in these Schools are above 60 children taught (besides the Scholars in the Lady's School) to which there is near Forty Pounds per Annum Subscribed; Gowns and Coifs for the Girls; and two of the children are yearly to be put out to honest Trades with the money collected at the monthly Sacrament. All the children come orderly to Church, and are Catechised Tuesdays, Wednesdays, and Fridays. The Schools are visited by the worthy Minister and others very often, to see what progress the children make in learning writing and Accounts."—A. 1709.</p> <p>"14 Poor Boys have been put out to honest Trades with the offertory."—A. 1714.</p> <p>"Lady Granville who is said to give 5<i>l.</i> p. ann. to a widow, to teach 24 children,</p>

No.	Name and Situation of School.	Number of Schools	Date of Foundation, or Date of Report.	Particular Account of Schools, Extracts, etc.
68-70	<b>Monmouth, Mon. (cont.).</b>	3	1708	who have also Books and Cloaks at her Ladyship's charge. The Girls are said to be taught to sew and knitt."—M. 13 Feb. 1705.
71	<b>Narberth, Pem.</b>	1	1718	"A school."—A. 1718.
72	<b>Neath, Glam.</b>	1	1706	"The Company of Mine-adventurers pay 20 <i>l.</i> yearly for a Charity-School for the children of the Miners and workmen of the said Company."—A. 1706. "A School for all the poor Children supported by the Lord of the Mannor."—S. 1721. Sir Humphrey Mackworth was a leading supporter of this School.
73	<b>Pembrey, Carm.</b>	1	1712	"A School for 24 Children erected Michaelmas 1712. Salary for the Master 6 <i>l.</i> per ann. About 10 of the poorest of the children have cloaths given them, and their dinner 5 days in the week at a Publick House near the School, at the charge of a Reverend Divine, who has an estate in those parts in conjunction with the principal inhabitants of the Parish, to which the offertory is added, the whole amounting to about 15 <i>l.</i> per Ann."—A. 1714.
74-6	<b>Pembroke, Pem.</b>	3	1710	"Here are 3 Schools, one in the Parish of St. Michael for 18 Children, another in St. Mary's Parish for 7 Girls, and a 3rd in St. Nicholas for 9 Boys."—A. 1710.

No.	Name and Situation of School.	Number of Schools.	Date of Foundation, or Date of Report.	Particular Account of Schools, Extracts, etc.
77	<b>Penally, Pem.</b>	1	1708	"A Charity-School."—A. 1708.
78	<b>Penboyr, Carm.</b>	1	1713	"A School for 10 Children erected Michaelmas 1713, and a prospect of having as many more taught and clothed."—A. 1714.
79	<b>Prendergast, Pem.</b>	1	1707	"Six poor Children are taught to read, write, and the Catechism, partly by some of the Communion money, and partly at the expence of the worthy Minister of the Parish, who visits this School, and those at Rudbaxton, Walton-East, Haraldston-West, at least once a month."—A. 1709.
80	<b>Presteign, Rad.</b>	1	1711	"A Charity-School intended to be set up here by a Person of Quality."—A. 1709. "A School opened Christmas 1711 for 13 Children who were Cloathed in March following. The number is now encreased to 20, and most of them continue to be cloath'd, and Books provided for them."—A. 1713. "Endow'd with 44l. per ann. when a lease is expired, and 50l. is left for the poor of that town."—A. 1714.
81	<b>Puncheston, Pem.</b>	1	1710	"A School erected at Puncheston, and Mr. Gambold is Master. . . . Opened the 8th Nov. 1710." Abs. 2407. 28 Nov. 1710.
82	<b>Rudbaxton, Pem.</b>	1	1707	"Four pounds are paid yearly to a Master here for teaching poor children to read,

No.	Name and Situation of School.	Number of Schools.	Date of Foundation, or Date of Report.	Particular Account of Schools, Extracts, etc.
82	<b>Rudbaxton, Pem. (cont.).</b>	1	1707	write and the Catechism, and 20s. more for Books."—A. 1707.
83	<b>Slebech, Pem.</b>	1	1715	"A School for 6 Boys and 6 Girls cloath'd at the charge of a private Gent."—A. 1715. The Gentleman referred to was a Mr. Barlow. Abs. 4667. Dec. 16, 1715.
84	<b>St. Bride, Pem.</b>	1	1708	"A gentleman pays for the teaching of 20 poor Children of this place at the School at Marloes; and hath added six others to that School, and provided them all with Books."—A. 1710.
85	<b>St. Clears, Carm.</b>	1	1708	"St. John Philipps and Mr. Pember had joined their interests to promote y <sup>e</sup> setting up 2 Charity-Schools at Laugharne and St. Clears, in which they had a prospect of success." Abs. 1471. 25 Oct. 1708.
86	<b>St. Issel, Pem.</b>	1	1712	"A Charity-School. John Jones, who had for many years been a faithful Servant in several good families, by his frugality in those services, and some chances in the Lottery, laid up above 300 <i>l.</i> which after the payment of a few Legacies, he left in trust with the Bishop of St. David's for the time being, and several honourable persons in Pembroke-shire, to be applied towards the support of a Charity-School in this his Native place, consisting of

No.	Name and Situation of School.	Number of Schools.	Date of Foundation, or Date of Report.	Particular Account of Schools, Extracts, etc.
86	<b>St. Issel, Pem.</b> <i>(cont.).</i>	1	1712	an equal number of Boys and Girls. The money after the payment of his other Legacies, amounts to near 300 <i>l.</i> and is now out on interest till it can be vested in a proper purchase."—A. 1713.
87	<b>Steinton, Pem.</b>	1	1727	"A School opened 1727, supported by a private Gentleman."—S. 1730.
88	<b>Templeton, Pem.</b>	1	1712	"A School for 20 Children opened in January 171 $\frac{1}{2}$ ."—A. 1712.
89	<b>Tenby, Pem.</b>	1	1708	"There is a School here as at Boulston."—A. 1719.
90	<b>Towyn, Mer.</b>	1	1710	"A Charity-School wherein 15 poor Children are taught to read and write."—1710.
91	<b>Usmaston, Pem.</b>	1	1717	"A Charity-School."—A. 1717.
92	<b>Walton, East, Pem.</b>	1	1707	"There are 4 <i>l.</i> yearly paid for teaching poor Children to read, write, and the Catechism, and 20 <i>s.</i> more for books." See Boulston.—A. 1709. "A Bible is given to each child when he leaves the School."—A. 1714.
93	<b>Walton, West, Pem.</b>	1	1707	"Here are 4 <i>l.</i> yearly paid for teaching poor Children to read, write, and the Catechism, and 20 <i>s.</i> more for Books."—A. 1707.
94	<b>Welshpool, Mont.</b>			"A School for 12 boys supported by a Subscription of about 26 <i>l.</i> per annum."—S. 1718.

No.	Name and Situation of School.	Number of Schools.	Date of Foundation, or Date of Report.	Particular Account of Schools, Extracts, etc.
95	<b>Wrexham, Denb.</b>	1	1701	<p>“Here are 40 poor Children taught, to which the Offerory is apply'd. Also the interest of 20<i>l.</i> left by a young Gentlewoman, lately deceased, for teaching 4 poor Children.”—A. 1713.</p> <p>“Moses Williams, 26 April 1715. The Rev. Mr. Price Vicar thereof pays 40<i>s.</i> p. ann. for a Schoolhouse, and gives a Master 6<i>l.</i> p. ann. and his dyet for teaching all such of his Parishioners as are willing to read and write Welch and repeat their Catechism. . . . He also finds 'em Books.”—Abs. 4355.</p>

## APPENDIX III.

AN ALPHABETICAL LIST OF CHARITY AND ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS set up during the same Period, belonging to the same movement, but not recorded in the Periodical *Accounts*, the *Abstracts*, or *Minutes*, of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. Compiled from the *Report of the Schools Inquiry Commission*, vol. xx, 1870.

No.	Name and Situation of School.	Founder or Benefactor.	Date of Foundation.
96	Aber, Carn. ... ..	John Jones, D.D. ...	1719
97	Aberffraw, Ang. ... ..	Sir Arthur Owen ...	1735
98	Bangor, Flint. ... ..	Dorothy Jeffreys ...	1728
99	Bedwas, Mon. ... ..	Ann Aldworth ...	1729
100	Bryneglwys, Denb. ... ..	Margaret Lloyd ...	1714
101	Caerleon, Mon. ... ..	C. Williams ...	1717
102	Carmarthen, Carm. ... ..	Sir Thomas Powell ...	1729
103	Eglwysilan, Glam. ... ..	Ann Aldworth ...	1729
104	Holt, Denb. ... ..	D. Jeffreys ...	1728
105	Llanbadrig, Ang. ... ..	R. Gwynne ...	1723
106	Llanbedr, Breck. ... ..	Mary Herbert ...	1728
107	Llanbryn-mair, Mont. ... ..	M. Lloyd ...	1702
108	Llandilo Fawr, Carm. ... ..	Mrs. Warner ...	1721
109	Llanerfyl, Mont. ... ..	Priscilla Foster ...	1728
110	Llanfairtalhaiarn, Denb. ... ..	John Jones, D.D. ...	1708
111	Llanfhangel Ysternllewern, Mon. ... ..	Roger Thomas ...	1719
112	Llangelynin, Carn. ... ..	John Jones, D.D. ...	1719
113	Llangollen, Denb. ... ..	J. David ...	1731
114	Llanigon, Breck. ... ..	L. Walkins ...	1714
115	Llanrhaiadr Mochnant, Denb. ... ..	J. Powell ...	1730
116	Llansadwrn, Carm. ... ..	Letitia Cornwallis ...	1731
117	Matherne, Mon. ... ..	Charles Pratt ...	1734
118	Meifod, Mont. ... ..	William Pugh ...	1714
119	Penmachno, Carm. ... ..	Roderick Lloyd ...	1729
120	Pentraeth, Ang. ... ..	John Jones, D.D. ...	1719
121	Rhayadr, Rad. ... ..	D. Morgan ...	1720
122	Ruabon, Denb. ... ..	Griffith Hughes ...	1706
123	Whitford, Flint. ... ..	Pierce Jones ...	1711
124	Whitton, Rad. ... ..	Anna Childs ...	1703

THE  
TRANSACTIONS  
OF  
THE HONOURABLE  
SOCIETY OF CYMMRODORION.

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SESSION 1905-6.

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LONDON :  
ISSUED BY THE SOCIETY,  
NEW STONE BUILDINGS, 64, CHANCERY LANE.

1907.

*See*

**DEVIZES :**  
**PRINTED BY GEORGE SIMPSON.**

## CONTENTS.

---

	PAGE.
<u>REPORT OF THE COUNCIL for 1905-6</u> ... ..	v
<u>STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS for 1905-6</u> ... ..	x
<u>LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY (March 1907)</u> ... ..	xi

---

<u>The SAXON, NORMAN and PLANTAGENET COINAGE of WALES.</u> <u>By P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, F.S.A. (<i>President of</i></u> <u><i>the British Numismatic Society</i>).</u> <i>Illustrated</i> ... ..	1
---	---

<u>Dafydd ap Gwilym a'i Gyfnod. Gan y Parch J. MACHRETH</u> <u>REES</u> ... ..	81
---	----

<u>The Date and Place of Burial of Dafydd ap Gwilym. By</u> <u>LLRWELYN WILLIAMS, M.P.</u> ... ..	55
--	----

<u>Dafydd ap Gwilym—a Further Note. By J. H. DAVIES, M.A.</u>	67
---	----

<u>Ballads of Wales.—The Lay of Prince Griffith. By</u> <u>LLEWELYN WILLIAMS, M.P.</u> ... ..	75
--	----

√ <u>Italian Influence on Celtic Culture. By the Rev. G.</u> <u>HARTWELL JONES, M.A.</u> ... ..	84
--	----

√ <u>Walter Map. By Professor W. LEWIS JONES, M.A.</u> ... ..	161
---	-----

REPORT  
OF  
THE COUNCIL OF THE  
Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion,

*For the year ending November 9th, 1906.*

PRESENTED TO THE ANNUAL MEETING HELD AT THE SOCIETY'S  
ROOMS, ON THURSDAY, THE 22ND DAY OF NOVEMBER, 1906.

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THE Council deeply regret to report that during the last year the ranks of the Society have been sadly thinned by death. Many old and valued members who zealously supported the aims and objects of the Cymmrodorion Society for more than a quarter of a century have passed away. In particular, they would mention the loss of two of their colleagues on the Council, Mr. W. Cadwaladr Davies, whose services to Welsh Education and Welsh Literature gained for him a distinguished place in the history of his Country, and Mr. H. Lloyd Roberts, who for a considerable number of years acted as the Society's Honorary Treasurer. The list also includes two of the Society's Vice-Presidents, the late Judge Gwilym Williams, of Miskin, a warm-hearted Welshman, and Sir Walter Morgan, who for many years upheld the reputation of Wales in the Judicial Courts of the Indian Empire. In addition to these the Society has lost the services of Mr. Humphreys-Owen, the late Parlia-

b

mentary representative of the County of Montgomery, whose unstinted labours in the cause of Welsh University Education cannot be forgotten, Mr. Charles E. Howell, of Welshpool, a generous supporter of the literary work of this Society, Mr. Edward Morgan, one of its oldest members, the Venerable Archdeacon Thomas Williams, Dr. Whitaker, of Shrewsbury, Dr. Thomas Evans, of Newcastle Emlyn, and Mr. Llewelyn Edmunds. These and other losses have caused a great gap in the membership of the Society—a gap which the Council trusts every member will do his utmost to fill.

They are glad to be in a position to report that during the year 57 new members were elected.

In the course of the year the following meetings have been held in London :—

1905.

Nov. 16.—ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MEMBERS.

Dec. 5.—ANNUAL DINNER. Chairman, The Right Hon. the Lord Mayor.

1906.

Jan. 17.—Paper on "Ancient British Coinage", by P. W. Carlyon-Britton, Esq., F.S.A. (*President of the British Numismatic Society*).

Feb. 23.—Paper on "Dafydd ap Gwilym", by the Rev. J. Machreth Rees.

May 10.—Paper on "Italian Influence on Celtic Culture", by the Rev. G. Hartwell-Jones, M.A.

May 23.—Paper on "Walter Map", by Prof. W. Lewis-Jones, M.A.

July 10.—ANNUAL CONVERSAZIONE, at the Mansion House, by kind invitation of the Lord Mayor (Sir Walter Vaughan-Morgan, Bart.) and the Lady Mayoress.

At Carnarvon, in the *Cymmrodorion Section* of the National Eisteddfod, meetings were held :—

On Monday evening, August 20th, 1906, in the County Hall, Carnarvon, when addresses (followed by a discussion) were

delivered on "The Eisteddfod and the Colleges" (Yr Eisteddfod a'r Colegau), by W. Llewelyn Williams, Esq., M.P., and Professor John E. Lloyd, M.A.; Chairman, J. Ernest Greaves, Esq. (Lord Lieutenant of Carnarvonshire).

On Wednesday, August 22nd, at 9 a.m., in the County Hall, A. Perceval Graves, Esq., and Principal Reichel, M.A., read Papers on "Folk Song" (Cân Gwerin); Chairman, Sir William H. Preece, G.C.B.

As a result of the meeting last referred to, it is gratifying to note that a Society has been formed, with a representative Committee, for the purpose of making a systematic collection of the Folk Songs and the Folk Music of Wales.

During the year the Committee have issued:—

*F Cymmrodor*, Vol. XIX, containing an "Ode on Laying the Foundation Stone of the Sanatorium for West Wales by H.R.H. the Princess Christian, 26 April, 1905", by Sir Lewis Morris, M.A.; "The Vandals in Wessex and the Battle of Deorham", by E. Williams B. Nicholson, M.A.; "The Brychan Documents", by the Rev. A. W. Wade-Evans; "Two Charters of Henry VII", by Alfred Neobard Palmer; "An Episode in the History of Clynnog Church", by Edward Owen; "The Selby Romance", by Francis Green; and signed Reviews of Books of special Welsh interest.

The Council deeply regret that the Volume of *The Transactions* which should have been published some months ago is still unissued owing to the delay in obtaining two of the papers which form part of the contents. They are glad to report that the difficulty is now largely at an end, and they hope to issue the number before the close of the year. It contains: "Appreciations" of the late Mr. Stephen Evans, by Sir Lewis Morris and Sir Marchant Williams, and a Portrait of the late Chairman of the Council; the paper of Sir D. Brynmor-Jones on "The Brehon Laws"; Mr. R. A. Griffith's paper on "The Welsh Epic"; Mr. Robert Bryan's paper on "The Melodies of Wales"; and the Rev. T. Shankland's record of "The Life and Work of Sir John Philipps of Picton."

It is a source of the greatest satisfaction to the Council to be able to announce the publication of Part iii of Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, gratuitous copies of which have been placed at the disposal of members through the generosity of the Editor, Dr. Henry Owen. The Council gladly record the fact, that in appreciation of Dr. Owen's generous gift and his services to the cause of Welsh History, one of the members of the Society (Mr. Simner) has made a substantial contribution to the Record Series Fund. They desire to recommend so excellent an example to the consideration of other members of the Society.

*The Transactions* for the current year are in the Press, and it is hoped to issue them early next year. The volume contains the Papers on "Ancient British Coinage", "Dafydd ap Gwilym", "Italian Influence on Celtic Culture", and "Walter Map", read before the Society in the course of last Session. Vol. XX of *Y Cymmrodor* is also in the Press, and contains the Rev. Robert Williams' "Criticism and Translation of the *Ystoria de Carolo Magno*". For the sixth number of *The Record Series* the Council have selected the Early Diocesan Records of St. Davids. These are now being transcribed by Mr. J. Vasey Lyle of the Public Record Office, and will be edited and translated by Mr. Willis Bund, who will furnish the work with an historical introduction. The Council, with the view of securing, if possible, the publication of the work of the Rev. S. Baring Gould and the Rev. John Fisher on *The British Saints*, have authorised the circulation of a prospectus of the work, and if a sufficient number of subscribers is obtained the publication will be proceeded with at an early date.

The arrangements for the coming Lecture Session include promises of papers on subjects of special Welsh interest. Mr. Richard S. Ellis, M.A., will speak on "Edward Lhuyd"; Professor Ffrangcon-Davies, M.A., on

“The present position of Music in Wales”; The Rev. John Fisher, B.D., on “Welsh Saints”; and Mr. Ivor B. John, M.A., on “The Welsh National Emblem”.

The Annual Dinner of the Society will be held on Monday, the 10th of December, 1906, at the Whitehall Rooms, Hôtel Métropole, and the Council are pleased to announce that the Right Hon. D. Lloyd George, M.P., President of the Board of Trade, one of the Vice-Presidents of the Society, has promised to preside. They have also pleasure in announcing that Sir John H. Puleston, who occupied the chair at the preliminary meeting that led to the re-organization of the Cymmrodorion in the year 1873, has accepted an invitation to the Dinner as the guest of the Society.

Under the Society's Rules the term of office of the following officers expires, viz. :—

THE PRESIDENT,  
THE VICE-PRESIDENTS,  
THE AUDITORS,

and ten members retire in accordance with Rule 4, viz. :—

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DR. HENRY OWEN,  
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A vacancy has also arisen through the death of Mr. H. Lloyd Roberts, and Mr. Francis Green having gone to reside in Pembrokeshire desires to tender his resignation of his seat on the Council.

# THE HONOURABLE SOCIETY OF CYMMRODORION.

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To Balance in hand, November 9th, 1905...	83	6 5
" Subscriptions received .. .. .	400	0 0
" Sale of Publications .. .. .	15	15 6

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" Publications: Cost of Printing and Distribution, <i>J. Cymmrodor</i> , Vol. XIX £81 7 11	85	14 11
" Circulars re <i>The British Saints</i> .. .. .	28	2 6
" General Printing .. .. .	50	0 0
" Cymmrodorion Record Series: Donation towards Cost of Printing .. .. .	24	9 2
" Lectures, Meetings, and Conversazione	16	13 1
" Eisteddfod Section Expenses .. .. .	14	5
" Library Expenses .. .. .	33	2 8
" Stationery, Postage, and General Expenses .. .. .	19	16 0
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FOR THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF

*Literature, Science, and Art, as connected with Wales.*

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(Corrected to 31st March 1907.)

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TRANSACTIONS  
OF THE  
**Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion.**

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SESSION 1905-1906.

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THE SAXON, NORMAN AND PLANTAGENET  
COINAGE OF WALES.<sup>1</sup>

By P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, F.S.A.,

*President of the British Numismatic Society.*

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COINAGE OF HOWEL DDA, 913-948.

AN account of the coin of Howel Dda, the obverse of which figured so prominently at the head of the Prospectus of the British Numismatic Society, has been awaited with much interest. This silver penny, with two others of the Saxon King Eadmund, formed Lot 1 at the sale of a collection of coins and medals, "The Property of a Nobleman," by Messrs. Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge, on 29 June 1903, just after the foundation of the Society. The following are the descriptions from the catalogue of the three coins:—

Lot I. Penny of Eadmund—*Obverse.*— + EADMUND REX. Small cross pattée. *Reverse.*— MELPOMNE in two lines, divided by crosses; above and below, rosette (Ruding, XVIII, 4).

<sup>1</sup> Read before the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion at 20, Hanover Square, on 17th Jan. 1906. Chairman, Sir Owen Roberts, D.C.L., LL.D.

Another similar, King's name retrograde, moneyer AFRANDER. Another of Eadgar (?), same type, King's name blundered, moneyer GIL + SVL +, letters in field (Ruding, Plate XXI, 10), well preserved.

The late owner of the coins, the pleasure of whose friendship the writer has had for a number of years, relates that the coins were taken by him to the British Museum, and that one of the officials in the coin and medal department undertook the cataloguing of the collection. To the want of perception on the part of this official, and of the numerous other persons who had the opportunity of seeing the lot, the author is indebted for the acquisition, at a nominal figure, of three very interesting coins.

As the catalogue description is in material respects inaccurate, the correct descriptions of the three coins constituting Lot 1 will now be given, although it is only with the last of them that this paper is immediately concerned.

1. *Obverse*.—EADMYND REX, between two circles; in centre, small cross pattée.

*Reverse*.—M/ELD in the upper line, OMENĒ (the ME in monogram) in the lower line, divided by three crosses; above and below, ornament composed of six pellets around a central pellet. Plate, Fig. 2.

2. *Obverse*.—+FΛDhDΛNDƆE+ (retrograde and reading outwards) between two circles; in centre, small cross pattée.

*Reverse*.—ΛFRΛ in the upper line, IIDER in the lower line; above, ornament composed of seven pellets around central pellet; and below, ornament composed of eight pellets around a central pellet. Plate, Fig. 3.

3. *Obverse*.—+HOP/EL REX.·E between two circles; in centre, small cross pattée.

*Reverse*.—GIL+.: in the upper line, ∞ ZYL+ in the lower line, divided by three crosses; above and below, ornament composed of six pellets around a central pellet. Plate, Fig. 1.

As regards (1), the almost classical MELPOMNE (MELPOMENE!) of the cataloguer is really the well-known moneyer of Chester MÆLDOMEN followed by what is probably intended for the monogram LĒ of the mint name LEIGECEASTER (Chester). This specimen has additional interest in that it is over-struck on a coin bearing a bust, or portrait, but whether of Eadmund or of his immediate predecessor, Æthelstan, is uncertain.

Concerning (2), instead of the moneyer ΔFRANDER we have the moneyer ΔFRA, followed by an abbreviation II for monetarius or moneta, and the mint name DER for DERBY. This is the only coin hitherto noted of Eadmund bearing the name of Derby as its minting-place.

As regards (3), one of the most important coins which has come to light in recent years, the obverse reads with absolute clearness +HOP/EL REX.·E for Howel Rex, the last letter is probably C with a mark of contraction through the upright stroke, for the mark cuts right through the upright, and is intended for Cymriorum, or whatever the Latin equivalent for Cymri in the genitive plural then was.

The reverse discloses the name of the moneyer GILLYZ, viz.: GIL (forward) and LYZ (retrograde), the ∞ (= S) above the Z signifying the possessive case, MOT for MONETA being understood.

The three coins, when they came into the possession of the writer, were coated with the green deposit so usual in the case of coins of the period, and, in addition, No. 1 had some rusty spots and a dark tone, but looking to their general appearance they may well have been discovered



together. After cleaning, Nos. 2 and 3 disclosed white silver, but No. 1 still retains a slightly darker tone. These indications, coupled with the fact that the three coins are of the not far distant mints of Chester and Derby, raise the inference that they were probably found together in north-west Mercia. The coin reading HOPÆL REX is the first coin found or identified bearing the name of a King of Cymru (the land of brothers), or, as the country is called by those not inhabiting it, Wales (the land of strangers). The name Howel is one frequently occurring in the annals of Cambria, and it is now proposed to consider to which of the kings of this name the piece in question may be reasonably attributed.

The types of the obverse and reverse of the coin are common to the Saxon Kings Eadmund, Eadred, Eadwig, and Eadgar, and, like certain types of the Northumbrian Kings Anlaf and Eric, were imitated from those of the neighbouring Kings of Wessex and Mercia. A moneyer Ingelgar, for example, coined for Anlaf, Eric and Eadred at York, as did the moneyer Hunred at the same place for Eric and Eadred.

In like manner the moneyer GILLYS coined for Eadred (no mint specified), and for Eadgar at Chester, and also for Eadgar, in his last type, at Hereford. The following are descriptions of coins by this moneyer:—

1. EADRED 946-955.—*Obverse*: EADRED REX. Small cross pattée. *Reverse*: GILLE, S MOT, ☉++, in three lines; above and below, rosette of pellets. Plate, Fig. 4. *P. Carlyon-Britton*.
2. EADGAR 957-975.—*Obverse*: EADGAR REX. Small cross in centre. *Reverse*: GILLYS MO.OL+EO for GILLYS MO LE in three lines; above and below, rosette of pellets. Struck at Chester. Montagu Sale Catalogue, Lot 713.

3. *Obverse*: Same. *Reverse*: GILLYS MOL+EO, same type. Struck at Chester. Plate, Fig. 5.  
*P. Carlyon-Britton.*
4. *Obverse*: +EADGAR RE+ *Reverse*: GILLYZ OL+EO, same type. *British Museum Catalogue*, vol. ii, No. 28.
5. *Obverse*: +EADGARE. *Reverse*: GILLYS O+O, same type. Weight, 22·9 grains. *British Museum Catalogue*, vol. ii, No. 157.
6. *Obverse*: +EADGAR RE+. *Reverse*: GILLYZ M $\bar{O}$  O+O, same type. Weight, 23·5 grains. *British Museum Catalogue*, vol. ii, No. 158.
7. EADGAR.—*Obverse*: +EADGAR REX ANGLON. Filleted bust to left. *Reverse*: +GYLLIS M $\bar{O}$  HEREFO. Small cross pattée. Struck at Hereford. *Hildebrand*, No. 16.

The coin of Howel bears a nearer resemblance in workmanship to the pennies of Eadmund, 939-946, than to those of the other Saxon kings of about the period when it was presumably struck, the triangle of pellets on both the obverse and reverse, and the extra cross in the upper line of the reverse, being characteristic features of some of Eadmund's coins.

The most celebrated Howel was Howel Dda, or Howel the Good, son of Cadelh, son of Rodri Mawr, or Roderic the Great. From the *Annales Cambriæ* we learn that King Cadelh (Catell, Catel), the son of Rodri, died in A.D. 909, and that Anaraut (Anaraut), King of the Britons (Welsh), died in A.D. 915. The date of Howel's death is given in the *Annales Cambriæ* as occurring in A.D. 950, but in the *Brut-y-Tywysogion* the entry is

“948. And Howel the Good, son of King Cadell, chief and glory of all the Britons, died.”

The years of the *Annales Cambriæ* appear to be alwa-

two in advance of those of the *Brut-y-Tywysogion*, so that the date of the death of King Cadell would, according to the latter reckoning, be A.D. 907, and the death of King Anaraut, A.D. 913. It is presumed, therefore, that the reign of Howel Dda extended from A.D. 913 to 948 or from A.D. 915 to 950, a period of thirty-five years.

During some of these years Eadweard, the son of Ælfred the Great, was King of Wessex, while Æthelflæd, daughter of Ælfred, was Lady of the Mercians until her death in 922, when Eadweard became King of Wessex and Mercia until his death in 925. He was succeeded by his son Æthelstan, who ruled until the 27th of October, 939, when he was succeeded by his brother Eadmund, who reigned until assassinated by Leofa, at Pucklechurch, in Gloucestershire, on the 26th of May, 946. Eadmund was followed by his brother Eadred, who in his turn died on the 23rd of November, 955.

The reign of Eadweard was one of constant strife with the Danes; and in subduing them he was most ably assisted by his equally warlike sister Æthelflæd, Lady of the Mercians. They adopted the system of raising burhs, or fortifications, over against the strongholds of their enemies. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* abounds with accounts of the erection of burhs and with stories of the submission, and rebellion anew, of the Danes and their allies, the Irish-Danes, Scots and Welsh. The Welsh, or Cymri, conscientiously believing in their ancient rights, were always willing to assist a new invader in harassing the older Angle and Saxon usurpers. Under the year 907 in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, we learn that Chester was then renovated, a place, which, in 894, had been described as a desolated city called Legaceaster in Wirrall. In June, 916, Æthelflæd sent a force into Wales and took Brecknock by storm, and there captured the King's wife with four-and-

thirty persons; that she was the wife of Howel Dda is usually accepted, and, in any case, this discloses a state of unfriendly feeling between the Mercians and their more anciently established neighbours in Cymru. In 922 all the people in the Mercians' land, who had before been subject to Æthelflæd, submitted to King Eadweard, and the kings of the North Welsh, *Howel* and *Cledauc* and *Jeothwel*, and all the North Welsh race sought him for lord. This submissive attitude seems to have been chiefly dependent on the warlike king's near presence, as in the year 924, when King Eadweard had nearly completed his victorious career, the *Chronicle* again recounts that he was chosen for father and for lord by the King of the Scots and King Ragnald (who had won York in the previous year), and the sons of Eadulf, and all those who dwelt in Northumbria, as well English as Danish and Northmen, and others, and also the King of the Strathclyde Welsh and all the Strathclyde Welsh.

In this connexion *William of Malmesbury* tells us that King Eadweard, after many noble exploits, both in war and peace, a few days before his death *subdued the contumacy of the City of Chester, which was rebelling in confederacy with the Britons*, and placing a garrison there, he fell sick and died shortly afterwards at Fearndun.<sup>1</sup>

The "subduing" was not, however, very lasting, as in the next year we read that the new king, Æthelstan, subjugated all the kings that were in this island, *Howel*, King of the West Welsh, and *Constantine*, King of the Scots, and *Owen*, King of Gwent, and *Ealdred*, son of Eadulf, of Bamborough; and with pledge and with oaths they confirmed peace in the place which is named *Eámôt* on the twelfth day of July, 926, and renounced every kind of idolatry, and after that departed in peace.

<sup>1</sup> Probably Farndon in Cheshire.

In the year 926 (924) we find from the *Annales Cambriæ* that Howel Dda, the son of Cadelh, went to Rome, and Elen, his mother, died. He seems to have taken the opportunity afforded by the conclusion of peace with King Æthelstan to have gone to Rome to obtain the sanction of the Pope to the celebrated code of laws, more fully referred to hereafter, in respect of which his reputation has been chiefly preserved to this day. In 937 he is believed to have been one of the kings defeated by Athelstan at the great battle of Bremsburgh.

The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, during the reigns of Æthelstan, Eadmund and Eadred, contains no further direct reference to Wales, though, under the year 944, it is recorded that King Eadmund harried over all Cumberland, a province then still claimed by the Welsh, and gave it up to Malcolm, King of the Scots, on the condition that he should be his co-operator both on sea and on land. Eadmund and his brother Eadred seem to have been chiefly occupied in wars with Northumbria and its Hiberno-Danish rulers. The *Chronicle* records the history of successive battles, peaces and renewals of strife, ultimately terminating in Eadred's possession of the Northumbrian realm.

Let us now consider when the coin of Howel Dda is likely to have been minted.

In the preface to the *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales*, 1841 (Aneurin Owen), it is stated that "about the commencement of the tenth century we find Howel Dda, or Howel the Good, a conspicuous king in South Wales, in the government of which he succeeded his father Cadell. He inherited from his mother Elen possessions in Powys, and his influence appears to have been powerful throughout North Wales." As we have seen above, Howel went to Rome in 926, and in the same year his mother Elen died.

The reign of Æthelstan seems to have been one when

the strength of the King of Wessex was fully felt, but, on his death in 940, when his brother Eadmund, a lad of 18 years, succeeded, it may well be that Howel Dda, then in the height of his power, tried to put into execution the Cymric ideal of a ruler of all the Britons, the wearer of Arthur's crown. For this purpose Chester was the best available capital, uniting as it did the land of Cymru and the territories of the Strathclyde Welsh, situate in the fairest vale of the land and commanding the seas leading to and from Ireland, the land of the foes to English rule and the constant invaders of Northumbria.

No coin of Eadweard, Æthelstan, or Eadmund bearing the name of Howel's moneyer, Gillys, has yet been recorded, but as we have seen, the name occurs on those of Eadred and Eadgar, and in the case of the earlier coins of the latter king, in conjunction with the mint of Chester. It is therefore suggested that the coin of Howel Dda is of Eadmund's reign, soon after his accession, and that Gillys continued to coin at Chester for Eadred and Eadgar, just as Ingelgar coined at York for Anlaf, Eric and Eadred.

In the laws of Howel Dda he is styled "Prince of Cymru" and "King of all Cymru". There are three versions of the code, one for Venedotia, or North Wales, a copy being deposited at the King's Court at Aberffraw; one for Demetia, or South Wales, a copy being deposited at Dynevor; and the third for Gwent, or South-east Wales. The laws show that the king had a proper conception of his dignity. In his great hall at Aberffraw, in Gwynedd, the King was inviolable; the violation of his protection, or violence in his presence, could only be atoned for by a great fine—a hundred cows and a white bull with red ears for each cantrev, or hundred, he possessed, a rod of gold as long as himself and as thick as his little finger, and a plate of gold as broad as his face and as thick as a ploughman's nail.

His sons, nephews and any relatives he chose to summon, surrounded him, and could make free progress amongst his subjects. Of the great officers, the chief of the household came next to the King: he was the executive officer of the Court. The chief judge occupied at night the seat occupied by the king during the day, so that justice should always be obtainable. The duties and privileges of all the members of the king's retinue are minutely described. (*Wales*, by Owen M. Edwards, 1903.)

But, like all other men, whether good or bad, Howel the Good departed this life, and his dreams of British unity and one king for all Cymru were dissipated by the quarrels of his sons. Thus we learn that in the year 973 Eadgar brought all his naval force to Chester and there came to meet him eight kings, viz. (according to *William of Malmesbury* and others), Kinad, King of the Scots, Malcolm of the Cambrians, that prince of pirates, Maccus, and all the Welsh kings, whose names were Dufual, Giferth, Huval (Howel ab Howel Dda), Jacob and Judethal. These, being summoned to his Court, were bound to him by one, and that a lasting oath. He exhibited them on the river Dee in triumphal ceremony; for, putting them on board the same vessel, he compelled them to row him as he sat at the prow,<sup>1</sup> thus displaying his regal magnificence, who held so many kings in subjection; indeed, he is reported to have said that his successors might truly boast of being kings of England, since they could enjoy so singular an honour.

The selection of Chester for this ceremony of homage is significant when we now know that it had been chosen by Howel Dda for the exercise of his royal prerogative in the issue of a regal coinage.

<sup>1</sup> According to *Florence of Worcester* he took the helm.

NOTES AS TO HOWEL FROM DR. BIRCH'S  
 "CARTULARIUM SAXONICUM."

No. 663. Witenagemot at Exeter. Grant by King Æthelstan to Frithestan, Bishop of Winchester, of land at Stoke, co. Hants. 16th April, A.D. 928.

Witnesses. Next after Athelstanus.

Ego Howel subregulus consensi et subscripsi.

No. 675. Witenagemot at Worthy, co. Hants. Grant by King Æthelstan to the thegn Ælfric of land at Wæclesford, or Watchfield, co. Berks. 21st June, A.D. 931.

Witnesses. Fourth (after the King and the Archbishops of Canterbury and York).

✠ Ego Hupal subregulus consensi 7 subscripsi.

No. 677. Witenagemot at Luton. Grant by King Æthelstan to the thegn Wulfgar of land "at Hamme", or Ham, co. Wilts. 12th Nov., A.D. 931.

Witnesses. Fourth (after the King and two Archbishops).

✠ Ego Hopæl subregulus consensi et subscripsi.

No. 689. Witenagemot at Middletun. Grant by King Æthelstan to the thegn Æthelgeard of land at Meon, co. Hants. 30th August, A.D. 932.

Witnesses. Fourth (after the King and two Archbishops).

Ego Hopel subregulus consensi et subscripsi.

No. 697. Grant of privileges by King Æthelstan to Chertsey Abbey. 16th of December, A.D. 933.

Witnesses. Second (next to the King).

Ego Hupol subregulus subscripsi ✠

No. 702. Witenagemot at Winchester. Grant by King Æthelstan to the thegn Ælfwald of land at Derantune, near Canterbury, co. Kent. 28th May, A.D. 934.

Witnesses. Fourth (after the King and two Archbishops).

✠ Ego Hopæl subregulus consensi et subscripsi.

No. 703. Witenagemot at Nottingham. Grant by King Æthelstan to St. Peter's Church, York, of

land at Agemundernes, Amounderness Hundred, co. Lancaster. 7th June, A.D. 930 for 934 (?).

Witnesses. Fourth (after the King and two Archbishops).

✕ Ego Howæl subregulus consensi et subscripsi.

No. 1344 (703B) is another form of No. 703.

No. 705. Grant by King Æthelstan to Winchester Cathedral of land at Enedford, or Enford, co. Wilts. 16th December, A.D. 934.

Witnesses. Second (next to the King and before the two Archbishops).

Ego Hupal subregulus.

No. 706. Anglo-Saxon form of No. 705.

Witnesses. Second.

Hupal Vnder cyning.

No. 716. Witenagemot at Dorchester. Grant by King Æthelstan to Malmesbury Abbey of land at Broemel, or Bremhill, co. Wilts. 21st Dec. A.D. 937.

Witnesses. Fifth.

Ego Howel subregulus consensi et subscripsi.

No. 718. Witenagemot at Dorchester. Grant by King Æthelstan to Malmesbury Abbey of land at Wdetun, or Wootton, co. Wilts. 21st Dec. A.D. 937.

Witnesses. Fourth.

Ego Howel subregulus consensi et subscripsi.

No. 719. Witenagemot at Dorchester. Compound Charter of King Æthelstan, embracing the grants in Nos. 671, 672, 716 and 717, etc. 21st December, A.D. 937.

No. 721. Grant by King Æthelstan to St. Peter's Church, Exeter, of land at Topsham, co. Devon. A.D. 937.

Witnesses. Sixth.

✕ Ego Hopel regulus.

No. 815. Poetical grant by King Eadred to Wulfric the "Pedisequus" of land at Workingtone, co. Cumberland (?) A.D. 946.

Witnesses. (After the King, Archbishops, Bishops, and "pontifices".)

✕ Hopæl regulus.

No. 882. Grant by King Eadred to Wulfric, "*miles*", of land at Burgtune, on the River Wenris, or Bourton-on-the-Water, on the River Windrush, co. Gloucester. A.D. 949.

Witnesses. Sixth in the first column (or seventh including Eadred).

Hopæl rex.

No. 883. Grant by King Eadred to Æthelmær, "*præses*" of land at Cetwuda and Hildesdun, or Chetwood and Hillesden, co. Buckingham. A.D. 949.

Witnesses. Twelfth in first column.

✠ Hopæl regulus.

No. 1350 (1044c). Record of the dispute between Huwel Da' and Morgan Hen as to the descent of the Cantreds of Glamorgan, settled by King Edgar in Council. About A.D. 959 (*sic*).

#### COINAGE OF WILLIAM I, RICHARD I AND JOHN AT RHUDDLAN.

We must now pass to the consideration of the Norman coinage of Wales, or rather *for* Wales. This consists of very few pieces, the only coins hitherto described being two, from the same dies, of the last issue (the Paxis type) of William the Conqueror of the Rhuddlan mint. These appeared in the great Beaworth hoard, and were originally attributed by the late Mr. Hawkins to Huntingdon, but are now included in the British Museum cabinet as to one specimen under *Huntingdon* and as to the other under *Romney*.

The two coins are read in Mr. Hawkins's list, ELFPINE ON HVDIN, and the following footnote is given:—

"This letter as much resembles R as H, and the coin may read RVDIN for Rhuddlan, but the name of the moneyer makes H the more probable reading."

What is said as to the moneyer has reference to the coins of the same type reading IELFPINE ON HVT (*Huntingdon*).

<sup>1</sup> Probably Howel the son of Howel Dda.

The Rhuddlan coins, however, really read **\*ÆLFPINE ON RVDILI**, Plate, Figs. 6 and 7, and there can be no reasonable doubt of the Welsh mint being the correct attribution, indeed it was so appropriated by Mr. Brumell as long ago as in 1838. The name IELFPINE occurs on coins of many mints of the paxs-type issue, amongst them, of Hereford, a city on the Welsh border.

From *Domesday Book*, vol. i, folio 269, we learn that Rotbert de Roelent or Rodelend (Rhuddlan) held North Wales of the King at farm for forty pounds. The following entries concerning Rhuddlan also occur in vol. i, folio 269:—

“CHESHIRE.

“IN ATISCROS HUNDRED.

“Earl Hugh (of Chester) holds of the King ROELEND (Rhuddlan).

“There in the time of King Edward ENGLE-FELD lay, and all was waste. Earl Edwin held it. When Earl Hugh received it, it was in like manner waste. Now he has in demesne the half of the castle which is called ROELENT, and is the *caput* of this land. There he has eight burgesses, and the half of the church and of the *minting rights*, and a half of the iron ore that may anywhere be found in this Manor and a half of the water of Cloith (the river Clwyd) and of the Mills and fisheries that may be there, that is to say, in that part of the river which belongs to the fee of the Earl, and a half of the forests which pertain to any vill of this Manor, and a half of the toll, and a half of the vill which is called Bren, &c. &c. . . . .”

“ROTBERTVS de ROELENT holds of Earl Hugh a half of the same castle and borough, in which Rotbert himself has ten burgesses, and a half of the church and of the *minting rights* and iron minerals there found, and a half of the water of Cloith and of the fisheries and mills there made and being made, and a half of the toll and forests which belong to any vill of the above-said Manor, and a half of the vill which is called BREN, &c.

"The lands of this Manor, Roelend and Englefeld, or of the other bailiwicks pertaining to it, were never gelded or hidet.

"In this Manor of Roelend there is made a new castle likewise called Roelent.

"There is a new borough and in it 18 burgesses between the Earl and Robert as above said, and the burgesses themselves have the laws and customs which are in Hereford and in Breuill, that is to say, that for the whole year for any forfeitures they owe nothing except XII pence for homicide and theft and premeditated Heinfar.

"In the very year of this description toll is given to the farm of this burgh for three shillings.

"The rent of Earl Hugh out of Roelent and Englefeld is worth 6 pounds and 10 shillings. Robert's part is 17 pounds and three shillings."

Turning to Hereford, therefore, we find that, according to the survey, the moneyers paid eighteen shillings for their dies and twenty shillings within a month after receiving them: that when the King came into the city they had to mint as much money as he required, and upon their death the King received a heriot of twenty shillings, or if they died intestate a forfeiture of all their goods. It would seem, however, at Rhuddlan, that the Earl and Robert de Rhuddlan stood in the place of the King.

The Rhuddlan mint was again in operation in the reigns of Richard I and John, when short-cross pennies still bearing, as was usual, the name of Henry II, were issued.

These are of Class II, (1189-1205).<sup>1</sup>

- ✦ **ƆALLI ON RVLΛ**, *retrograde, British Museum.*
- ✦ **ƆALLI • ON • RVLΛ**, *retrograde, Plate, Fig. 8. P. Carlyon-Britton.*
- ✦ **ƆALLI ON RVLΛ**, *British Museum. P. Carlyon-Britton.*

<sup>1</sup> See *British Numismatic Journal*, i, p. 365.

- \* **ÐALLI · ON · RVTLAN**, Plate, Fig. 9. *W. Talbot Ready.*
- + **SIMOND ON RVLÆ**, *British Museum.*
- \* **SIMOND ON RVLÆ**, *British Museum.*
- + **TOMAS ON RVLÆ**, Plate, Fig. 10. *P. Carlyon-Britton.*
- + **TOMAS · ON RVLÆH**, Plate, Fig. 11. *P. Carlyon-Britton.*

Class III (1205-1216).

- \* **ÐENRICVS ON RVLÆ**.
- \* **ÐENRICVS · ON · RVTN**, Plate, Fig. 12. *P. Carlyon-Britton.*
- \* **ÐENRICVS · ON RVLTN**, Plate, Fig. 13. *P. Carlyon-Britton.*
- + **SIMOD ON RVLÆ**, *retrograde.*
- + **SIMOND ON RVLÆ**. *P. Carlyon-Britton.*

The reading of the mint names RVLAN and RVTLAN in Class II are fuller than those usually found, and the latter reading has not hitherto been published. In Class III the readings RVTN and RVLTN are also unpublished. After the fresh light these coins throw upon their attribution, the mint need no longer be followed by the query we so often see after it, for the readings can leave no reasonable doubt as to Rhuddlan being indicated.

Rhuddlan was a borough and formerly a seaport in the present county of Flint, its name being supposed to be derived from the red colour of the soil of the banks of the river Clwyd, on which it is situate. The adjoining marsh, called Englefield or "Morfa Rhuddlan", was the scene of a great battle in 795 between the Mercians under Offa and the Welsh under Caradoc, King of North Wales, who was there defeated and slain. In 1015 Llewelyn ab Sytysyllt, King of North Wales, erected (or restored) a fortress and

palace here, which, after his assassination in 1021, continued to be the principal residence of his son and successor, Gruffydd ab Llewelyn. In the reign of Edward the Confessor the castle was captured by Harold. According to the *Domesday* entries, the castle at the close of Edward's reign was possessed by Edwin, Earl of Chester. A new castle was erected, as we have also seen, by Robert Fitz Umfrid, surnamed from this place "de Roelent", who was a cousin of Hugh Lupus, Earl of Chester. In 1109 Gruffydd ab Cynan attacked the castle, burnt the outer ward and killed many of the garrison.

Henry II in 1157 advanced to Rhuddlan, repaired the castle, and garrisoned it with a strong force. This King was again here in 1165, but for a few days only. In 1167 the castle of Rhuddlan, after a gallant defence of two months, was taken by Owain Gwynedd, and later we find it given by Henry II to Davydd ab Owain Gwynedd on his marriage with Emma, natural sister of that King.

Towards the close of the reign of Richard I, Ranulph, Earl of Chester, was besieged in this castle by the Welsh under Llewelyn ab Iorwerth, King of North Wales in succession to Davydd, but after a long siege he was ultimately relieved by Roger de Lacy, the Earl's Lieutenant. King John, in 1211, advanced through Rhuddlan into Carnarvonshire. In the following year the castle was unsuccessfully attacked by Llewelyn, but was captured by him in 1214.

The short-cross coins of Rhuddlan correspond with the events recorded in the reigns of Richard I and John, on occasions when the privilege and duty of minting the king's coins, existing in the Conqueror's reign, would be revived and enforced. The reference previously given to the custom at Hereford, and therefore also at Rhuddlan, of a special coinage whilst the King was there upon an expedi-

tion, may account for these particular issues at Rhuddlan. These pennies are, as is apparent to anyone who examines them, of rougher workmanship than those of other mints issued at the same periods, so that at a glance, and without reading the inscriptions, those having experience can allocate them to Rhuddlan, just as one can in like manner detect the coins of Edward I and II struck at Berwick-on-Tweed.

It is probable, therefore, that in each case the dies were of local manufacture, the reason in the case of Rhuddlan being the special circumstances attendant on the issue of the coins, and in the case of Berwick the remoteness of the place from the die-issuing centre, at that time London. These remarks will equally apply to the next section of the coinage of Wales described—namely, the coinage of St. David's.

The period assigned to the issue of the various classes of short-cross coins are those suggested by Mr. H. A. Grueber in his account of the Colchester find,<sup>1</sup> being, with a slight modification, the classification arrived at by Sir John Evans many years before. The date 1208, however, is corrected to 1205.

In his account of the Rhuddlan mint contained in the same paper,<sup>2</sup> Mr. Grueber remarks that "the absence of any record of a grant of a mint to the place is due to the exigencies under which the coins were struck". He seems, therefore, to have been unaware of, or to have forgotten, the important entries in *Domesday Book* relating to the "moneta" of Rhuddlan and its ownership, which may also account for the allocation of the Rhuddlan coins of William I to the mints of Huntingdon and Romney, in the trays of our National collection.

<sup>1</sup> *Numismatic Chronicle*, 4th Series, vol. iii, p. 156.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 173.

The short-cross coins of Henry II, and his immediate successors, reading **CAR** and **LARD**, formerly attributed to Cardiff, have been rightly corrected to Carlisle (Carduil), and Wales was thus left mintless until a short time since.

NOTES ON RHUDDLAN FROM THE PIPE ROLL,  
14 HEN. II, P. 199, A.D. 1167-1168.

*Windlesores.* (Richard de Luci renders the account.)

Gaufrido de Ver. c ti. ad custodiendā March  
Walie.

\* \* \*

Et Comiti Cestr̄ .xx. ñ ad muniēd Castell de  
Ruelent.

\* \* \*

Et Gaufr̄ de Ver. .iiii. li. \* \* s ad pficiendā libaī  
seruentū i Discessu eīcitu<sup>9</sup> de Ruelēt.

*Anglicized.*

To Geoffrey de Ver £100 for the guarding of the  
Marches of Wales.

\* \* \*

And to the Earl of Chester 20 marks for the  
strengthening of the defences of the Castle of Ruelent  
[Rhuddlan].

\* \* \*

And to Geoffrey de Ver £4 in the furnishing of  
payments to servants in the marching off (? retreat or  
withdrawal) of the army from Ruelent [Rhuddlan].

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COINAGE AT ST. DAVID'S, IN THE TIME OF WILLIAM I.

Among the coins of William I discovered at Beaworth in 1833, there are enumerated, in the account by the late Mr. Edward Hawkins of that find printed in *Archæologia*, Vol. 26, and reprinted in Ruding's *Annals of the Coinage*, five specimens bearing on the reverse the inscription :

+ TVRRI ON DEVITVN.

These are placed under the head of "uncertain", in lieu of being assigned, as are the bulk of the coins, to some definite place of mintage.

By way of an explanation of the uncertainty, the following footnote is added.

"These pieces are probably forgeries, and the names of the mint and moneyer factitious. See the account of some barbarous coins at the end of the catalogue."

Following the direction contained in the footnote we find, not quite at the end of the catalogue, but mixed up with the coins of York :

"16.<sup>1</sup> The workmanship of which is exceedingly bad, and of a peculiar character; on three only of them the King's name is intelligible, and none of the reverses are so, except perhaps one, viz., NVTIVED NO IIVT, *i.e.* TVRRI ON DEVITVN, written retrograde: and it is remarkable that the five coins inserted in the foregoing list, with this legend, are the only ones which resemble these barbarous pieces in workmanship."

To this description is appended another footnote, in the following words :

"It is difficult to ascribe a probable origin to these coins; the workmanship is so bad and so different in style, the inscriptions so entirely without probable interpretation, that they can scarcely be considered to have been struck under the royal authority; and yet the weight and fineness of the metal, equalling that of the authentic coins, seem to take away the great temptations to forgery."

The inconsistency between the first and last footnotes is too obvious to render comment desirable or necessary. The uncertainty and want of logical thought, unhappily so usual in the case of the official numismatist, are here displayed, but fortunately clothed in language too honestly

<sup>1</sup> The number 16 refers to the number of specimens discovered.

simple to disguise the facts. We are able to extract the following points :—

1. That twenty-one coins of this “uncertain” class were examined by Mr. Hawkins.
2. That they came from the great Beaworth hoard in company with thousands of undoubted coins of William I.
3. That six bore the inscription + TVRRI ON DEVITVN, which, in one case, was retrograde.
4. That the remaining fifteen “uncertain” specimens resembled the six “Devitun” coins in being of “bad,” “exceedingly bad,” “different” and “peculiar” workmanship, character and style.
5. That the weight and fineness of the metal of the whole twenty-one “uncertain” coins were equal to those of the undoubted and authentic examples.

The facts that the coins under consideration are of the weight and fineness of the last issue of the reign of William I, the Paxs-type (Type VIII),<sup>1</sup> and were found with a great deposit of money chiefly of that issue, which presents none of the peculiarities alluded to by Mr. Hawkins, should have enabled him to finally dismiss the theory of these pieces being forgeries.

The circumstance of the “uncertain” coins having been found with many others of the same type of good workmanship, precludes the idea of their having been of the later manufacture, and mere degraded reproductions through the faulty copying and recopying over a long period of a well executed original pattern.

It must therefore be concluded :

1. That the “uncertain” coins are genuine, and con-

<sup>1</sup> These numerals refer to the order of types in the writer's *Numismatic History of the Reigns of William I and II*, commenced in Vol. ii of the *British Numismatic Journal*.

- sequently not forgeries of their period of issue or of any subsequent time.
2. That they are of the same issue and period as the other coins of the Paxs-type.
  3. That they were current coin, and, like the remainder of the Beaworth coins, had stood the test of, and had been deposited in, the Royal Treasury at Winchester.<sup>1</sup>

Having deduced these definite conclusions, it is now proposed to closely consider the coins and the inscriptions borne upon them.

The mint named Devitun was for a long time referred to Devizes, in Wiltshire, apparently because of the similarity of the first two syllables. There seems to have been no substantial ground for this attribution, because, as *Domesday* shows us, at the time of its compilation, which was immediately prior to the period of issue of the Paxs-type coins, Devizes was called "Theodulveshide". The present writer, early in 1901, suggested Downton, in Wiltshire, as the place of mintage of the Devitun coins, but was chiefly influenced in that view by the attribution to Shaftesbury of a remarkable penny of the moneyer Godesbrand, more particularly referred to hereafter.

At the time of the attribution of the Devitun coins to Downton it must be remembered that the subject of a Welsh coinage had not received any consideration, or to be more correct, it was then thought that there was no Welsh coinage to be considered.

The Devitun coins consist of several groups, all intimately connected.

1. *Obverse*.—\*PILLEIM REI\* ; similar to the ordinary design of Type VIII—the Paxs-type—but a

<sup>1</sup> *British Numismatic Journal*, i, p. 27.

large annulet intersecting the arches of the crown and a cross pommée on the King's right shoulder.

*Reverse.*—**\*GODESBRAND ON SI**; ordinary design of Type VIII, but of rougher workmanship. Plate, Fig. 14.

2. *Obverse.*—From the *same* die as No. 1.

*Reverse.*—**\*TVRRI ON DEVITVN**; similar to No. 1. Plate, Fig. 15.

3. *Obverse.*—**\*PILLELM REI\***; ordinary design of Type VIII, but of rougher workmanship.

*Reverse.*—**\*TVRRI ON DEVITVN**; from the *same* die as No. 2. Plate, Fig. 16.

4. *Obverse.*—Blundered inscription, three pellets on the King's right shoulder (as is usual).

*Reverse.*—Blundered inscription. Ordinary type but of rough workmanship. Plate, Fig. 17.

5. *Obverse.*—Similar, but cross pommée on the King's right shoulder.

*Reverse.*—Similar to No. 4. Plate, Fig. 18.

It will be noted that Nos. 1 and 2 are from the same obverse die, and that Nos. 2 and 3 are from the same reverse die, so the three pieces are indissolubly connected.

The large annulet which cuts the arches of the crown on Nos. 1 and 2, and the cross pommée forming the ornament on the right shoulder of the King on Nos. 1, 2 and 5, are unmistakable signs of the ecclesiastical origin of the pieces bearing them, although the cross pommée has not hitherto been noticed in this significance on coins earlier than some of the short-cross series of the reigns of Henry II to Henry III.<sup>1</sup>

The conditions require, therefore, the attribution of the Devitun pieces to an ecclesiastical mint situate in a remote

<sup>1</sup> *British Numismatic Journal*, i, p. 38.

district where the coins emanated from dies of local manufacture, and did not possess the good work and neat design existent in the case of coins issued from mints to which dies were supplied from the great centre of London.

St. David's, in the remote west of Wales, the site of an ancient episcopal, if not an archiepiscopal See, the resting place of the Patron Saint of Wales, a celebrated shrine of pilgrimage visited by William the Conqueror himself, seems to fulfil all the conditions required by the money under consideration. *Dewi* is the Welsh for David, and one of the four townships or "cylchs" (= circles, or courses), into which the parish is divided, is even now called Dewiston, just as the peninsula on which St. David's is situate is known as Dewisland. Dewiston and Oppidum Sancti Davidis are the recognised equivalents to St. David's.

To a Norman moneyer DEVITVN was the obvious rendering of Dewiston.

Having now dealt with the mint, let us see what light is thrown upon the matter by the name of the moneyer, Godesbrand, which occurs on No. 3.

The earliest coin known to the writer bearing this name, and having sufficient of that of the mint to definitely determine the place, is one of Type VII<sup>1</sup> (A.D. 1055-1057) of Edward the Confessor, which reads on the reverse, +GODESBROD ON SCR = Shrewsbury.

It is therefore probable that the coins of Type VI (A.D. 1053-1055) and Type IX (A.D. 1059-1061), Nos. 1164 and 1173 in Vol. ii of the *British Museum Catalogue*, must be removed from Shaftesbury to Shrewsbury, together with the writer's coin of Type X, reading +GODESBRAND only,

<sup>1</sup> These numerals, when they refer to coins of Edward the Confessor, are the order of his types in the writer's "Edward the Confessor and his Coins", *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1903.

and the remarkable "mule" reading **+GODE2BRAND ON 2** which is No. 1175 of the *British Museum Catalogue*.

The problem is, however, to some extent complicated by reason of the facts that the name Godesbrand, or Godsbrand, occurs at Shaftesbury on coins of Types VI (Hks. 243), VII (Hks. 239), and VIII (Hks. 241) of William I; on an Exeter coin of Type VII (reading not authenticated); at Malmesbury on the mule VII-VIII (Hks. 240) and Type VIII (Hks. 241); also on coins of Type VIII of **BA** (probably Barnstaple) and **Ɔ** (Cricklade?); and on coins of Type VIII reading **SRI** and **SI** hitherto attributed to Shaftesbury, but which probably ought to be removed to Shrewsbury.

There seem, therefore, to have been more than one moneyer of the name of Godesbrand, but it is at least worthy of note that the name does not appear again after the issue of the last type of the Conqueror's coins.

The Godesbrand who struck at Malmesbury probably exchanged towns with Seward, of Barnstaple, during the issue of Type VIII of William I, as both names occur at each town on coins of that issue, and the last named continued to strike at Malmesbury during the issue of Types 1 and 2 of William II.

Godesbrand of Shrewsbury seems to have gone to St. David's, probably by the direction of Roger de Montgomery, as lord of both Shrewsbury and Pembroke, taking with him, at any rate, his movable upper or reverse die.

His mission there was, we may infer, to instruct Turri, the moneyer of Sulien, Bishop of St. David's, in the art of coinage.

His first act would therefore be to engrave an obverse die and to use it in conjunction with his imported Shrewsbury die. Then came the engraving and use of the die which produced the reverses of Nos. 2 and 3, first with the

obverse die of No. 1, and then with a new obverse die, or, it may be, with the obverse die properly belonging to the reverse of No. 1, as it bears no distinctive ecclesiastical mark and may well have been brought by Godesbrand from Shrewsbury.

Godesbrand seems soon to have left his pupil Turri to do his own work, and coins Nos. 4 and 5 and some variants are attributed to this stage of the proceedings.

Turri would appear to be a form of name derived from Thurgrim, other forms of which are Turgrim, Thurrim, and Thurrin, just as Terri came from Tierri, Thidric, and Theoderic.

We have now shown that there is nothing suspicious about the name of mint or moneyer. The issue of coins at St. David's arose, it is confidently suggested, out of the visit of William I to St. David's, an event which is generally assigned to the year 1081.

The English chroniclers attribute a military motive to the expedition, while those of Wales assign to it a religious character. The actual truth seems to be that William went into Wales to inspect, and, if need be, conquer the land by the sword, but, finding no opposition, he went peacefully to St. David's and gave his action a politic turn in gaining the goodwill of the inhabitants by an act of devotion to their patron saint.

Tribute had been exacted from Wales by Harold on behalf of Edward the Confessor, then his king, and the observance of this financial duty, touching as it did both the pocket and dignity of William I, was one that he doubtless provided should be renewed or continued as a condition of his peaceful withdrawal from the land of Cymru. In this connection it must be remembered that, when in England, the Conqueror's custom was to keep his Christmas at Gloucester, and there he kept his last in the

year 1086. Gloucester was conveniently situate as regards South Wales, and thence any neglect to render tribute could have been speedily punished.

It is possible that coins of Type VI (Hks. 243) and Type VII (Hks. 239) may yet be found of the St. David's mint. Type VI was current at the date of the Conqueror's visit to St. David's in 1081. It is, however, probable that the issue of coins began and ceased with those of the Paxs-type (Michaelmas, 1086, to September, 1087).

The death of William I occurred on the 10th of September, 1087, and Bishop Sulien died in the following year, whilst in that year also St. David's seems to have been utterly destroyed by a foreign foe, probably Danes or Hiberno-Danes.

The following entry is taken from Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, ii, p. 649.

“Anno MLXXXVIII. Sulgenus Episcopus lxxv. ætatis suæ anno moritur, Menevia frangitur et destruitur a Gentilibus.”

Before concluding these remarks on the Mint of St. David's, it is the writer's pleasant duty to acknowledge the co-operation of his colleague, Mr. W. J. Andrew, in the search for a satisfactory attribution of the Devitun coins. Although the likelihood of Devi and Dewi being identical had occurred to the writer during the preparation of the other sections of this paper, the actual crystallization of the idea took place in the course of a discussion with Mr. Andrew on this and other subjects. In making this acknowledgment it is not the writer's wish to burden his friend's shoulders with the arguments adduced in support of the main proposition that the hitherto mysterious Devitun is really no other than the far-famed St. David's of Wales.

It must be remembered that at this period the Bishops

of St. David's still exercised independent archiepiscopal powers, but, under Norman influence, these were waning, and Bishop Bernard, who was elected to the see in 1115, submitted his diocese to the jurisdiction of Canterbury. Upon this event it seems not improbable that the minting rights of St. David's were transferred to the *caput* of the district—Pembroke Castle, the Norman stronghold of south-west Wales.

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#### COINAGE OF HENRY I AT PEMBROKE.

The remaining discovery to be recorded is that of coins minted at Pembroke in the reign of Henry I.

Pembroke (in Cymric "Penvro", signifying a headland or promontory) is situate in the south-westernmost part of Wales, but a few miles from St. David's and near to Milford Haven, where a find of coins of Henry I occurred. Arnulf, son of Roger de Montgomery, Earl of Shrewsbury, entrusted the original fortress, or mound with stake palisade, to Gerald of Windsor, who made it an almost impregnable stronghold. During the reign of William Rufus and the revolts of Gruffydd and Cadogan, Pembroke, under Gerald, was the only castle in the west that held out against them. Early in the reign of Henry I, on the fall of Robert de Belesme, his brother Arnulf de Montgomery and Pembroke also fell, and he was sent into exile. *Orderic* twice styles him an Earl, evidently assuming that he was Earl of Pembroke, but he was probably mistaken, although Arnulf's position in South Wales, as Lord of Pembroke, was but secondary in name to that dignity.

Gerald of Windsor, who married Nest, daughter of Rhys ab Tewdwr, according to Caradoc of Llancarvan (a contemporary of Giraldus Cambrensis) rebuilt the castle of Pembroke in the year 1105 on a stronger site, called

Congarth Vechan. The marriage of Gerald of Windsor with Nest, constituting as it did a tie with the princes of Wales, aroused the jealousy and suspicion of Henry I, who used all means of reducing his authority and influence.

We find, therefore, that in 1138 Gilbert de Clare was created, by Stephen, Earl of Pembroke, and thus became possessed of the castle and extensive territories, and that the Earldom received the privilege of *jura regalia*, so that Pembrokeshire became a County Palatine.

The only three known coins of Pembroke are of Mr. Andrew's Type XIV<sup>1</sup> (Hawkins 262), and are in the cabinet of the writer of this paper. This type was current from 1128 to 1131. They may be described as follows:

*Obverse.*—\* **BENRICVS RE.** Crowned bust facing; sceptre fleury (held in the King's right hand) to the left, and a star to the right of the head; suspended from either side of the crown three pellets. All within a circle springing from the shoulders.

*Reverse.*—\* **GILLEPATRI : ON : PEI.** A large quatrefoil enclosing a star upon a cross of pellets, each foil surmounted by three annulets conjoined; opposite each spandrel, a fleur-de-lys inwards springing from an inner circle. Plate, Figs. 19, 20, 21.

The Pipe Roll of 1129-1130 records that Hait, the Sheriff, rendered an account of the firma of Pembroke, and that he had paid into the treasury £58 18s. 9d. and owed £1 1s. 3d., thus showing that Pembroke paid a firma of £60. A little lower down is another entry bearing directly on the Pembroke coins just described.

<sup>1</sup> *A Numismatic History of the Reign of Henry I.*

“Gillopatric *the moneyer* renders an account of £4 for a forfeiture in respect of the last year's money. He pays £2 into the treasury and owes £2.”

This entry on the Pipe Roll of the very period of the issue of the coins described, containing, as it does, the name of the moneyer, whose name also appears on the coins, is conclusive evidence of their being of Pembroke, and is only one more instance of the value of Numismatic science as a handmaid to historical research.

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DAFYDD AP GWILYM A'I GYFNOD.<sup>1</sup>

GAN Y PARCH J. MACHRETH REES.

Mi gymeraf yn ganiataol fod aelodau Cymdeithas Anrhydeddus y Cymmrodorion yn gydnabyddus a chymaint o hanes personol Dafydd ap Gwilym ag y sydd ar glawr. Fel y mae gwaetha'r modd nid yw hynny yn rhyw lawer, ac nid yw yn agos mor ddiamwys ag y buasid yn dymuno. Anodd dwedyd faint sy'n wir o'r traddodiad am ei eni mewn lle oerach na lletty'r anifail, ac am ei fedyddio ar arch ei fam yn Llan Dâf. Mae'r holl stori honno braidd yn rhy ramantus i fod yn wir llythrennol i gyd.

Ac nid yw terfynau blynyddoedd Dafydd yn glir chwaith. Y cwbl ellir ddwedyd yn sicr ydyw iddo ddechreu a gorffen anadlu o fewn y bedwaredd-ganrif-ar-ddeg. Tueddir fi i gredu mai yn y rhan gyntaf o'r ganrif honno y blodeuai, ac iddo farw cyn 1370. Cafodd noddwr caredig yn Ifor Hael o Faesaleg, crwydrodd drwy Gymru o Went i Wynedd dan farddoni ac yfed gwin a mêdd, a chwedleua ag adar a blodau a rhianedd. Nid oes dim sicrwydd lle y bu farw na pha le y gorphwys ei lwch, er yr ymddengys y dystiolaeth yn troi yn ffafr Talylychau yn hytrach nag Ystrad Fflur.

Mewn ysgrif a ymddangosodd yn un o'r cyfnodolion ychydig dros ugain mlynedd yn ol, dywed y diweddar Ioan Ddu o'r Coedllai:—"Mae enw Dafydd ap Gwilym yn glodfawr yng Nghymru hyd y dydd hwn, a diau y pery felly tra y pery y Gymraeg. Ond eto ychydig o honom a wŷr

<sup>1</sup> Read before the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion at 20, Hanover Square, on 23rd February 1906. Chairman, W. Llewelyn Williams, Esq., M.P.

ddim, neu y nesaf i ddim am dano, heblaw ei enw yn unig.” A'r dystiolaeth hon oedd wir. Wedi iddo fod yn dyddori ac yn diddanu gwerin ei wlad drwy'r canrifoedd, pan ddibynnai poblogrwydd ar gôf a llafar, ac ambell lawysgrif, mor fuan ag yr argraffwyd ei waith fe aeth Dafydd ap Gwilym yn “enw yn unig” i'r mwyafrif. Ac nid yw hynny i ryfeddu ato, oblegid dim ond dau argraffiad o'i waith a gyhoeddwyd yn ystod cant a deg o flynyddoedd—y cyntaf o dan olygiaeth Owen Jones a William Owen yn 1789, a'r ail o dan olygiaeth Cynddelw ymhen pedwar ugain a phedair o flynyddoedd wedyn. Ac yr oedd pris y naill a'r llall o'r argraffiadau hyn yn rhy uchel i'r werin fedru ei gyrhaedd. Erbyn heddyw y mae pethau dipyn yn wahanol. Ysgrifenyd cryn lawer am Dafydd i'r gwahanol gyfnodolion yn ystod y chwarter canrif, a galwyd sylw at doraeth o'i ganiadau, a chyhoeddodd yr Athro O. M. Edwards hefyd ddetholiad bychan tlws o'i waith yng “Nghyfres y Fil” ryw chwech neu saith mlynedd yn ol. Fel drwy'r cwbl y mae'r

“Prydydd a'i gywydd fel gwin”,

wedi dod eto yn rhywbeth “heblaw enw yn unig” ymysg ein cenedl. Y darganfyddiad llenyddol pwysicaf yng Nghymru ynglŷn a'r deffroad diweddaraf yn ddiau fu darganfod Dafydd ap Gwilym. Ni allwn ddwedyd, o ran hynny, mai gyda'r darganfyddiad y daeth y deffroad, ac y mae delw y naill yn amlwg ar y llall.

Ond nid yw y deffroad hyd yma wedi gwneud yr hyn y buasid yn disgwyl iddo ei wneuthur yn gyntaf oll—rhoddi i ni argraffiad newydd cyflawn o farddoniaeth Dafydd—argraffiad y gellid dibynu ar ei gywirdeb. Gwn y cytunwch a mi mai dyna angen llenyddol penaf Cymru heddyw, ac nis gall yr ieithyddwr, hanesydd llên, na'r beirniad wneud ei waith yn effeithiol hyd nes y bo'r angen hwn wedi ei gyflawni. Ni raid wrth nemawr o graffter i weled fod yr

argraffiadau presenol ymhell o fod yn gywir. Argraffwyd y rhan fwyaf o un 1789 oddiwrth gasgliad o lawysgrifau oedd ym meddiant Lewis Morris, Môn. Mae'r casgliad hwnnw yn awr yn yr Amgueddfa Brydeinig. Dywed Dr. Gwenogfryn Evans, yr hwn sydd wedi bod ers blynyddau yn copio ac yn cymharu y gwahanol lawysgrifau sydd ar gael, mai llawysgrif ddiweddar ydyw, a'i bod y fwyaf gwallus o'r holl lawysgrifau o waith Dafydd a ddaeth o dan ei sylw ef. Ond mae'n sicr fod y gwaith fel y ceir ef yn argraffiad Owain Myfyr yn debycach i'r hyn a drôdd Dafydd ap Gwilym allan nag yw yn argraffiad Cynddelw. Cywiro i anghywiro a wnaeth Cynddelw, hynny yw, cywirodd lawer o'r cynghaneddion yn ol y rheolau diweddaraf, a defnyddiodd ffurfiau geiriol nad oeddynt mewn arferiad yn y bedwaredd ganrif ar ddeg.

Ond er mai argraffiad 1789 yw y cywiraf, mae yn hwnnw, yn ddiddadl, lawer o gymysgedd. Rhaid i efrydydd na wŷr ddim am y llawysgrifau, ac na fedd ond gwybodaeth amherffaith o ieithwedd chwe chanrif yn ol, farnu pethau wrth safon syniadau, awenyddiaeth, a dull y crefftwaith. Cymerer y syniadau i gychwyn. Mae'n amlwg fod pwy bynag a gyfansoddodd gorff y casgliad yn meddu syniadau penodol am fywyd, am grefydd, ac yn enwedig am Eglwys Rufain, a'i hoffeiraidd, a'i hathrawiaethau—yr unig eglwys y gwyddai Cymru ddim am dani yn y canrifoedd hynny. Ond ceir ynddo rai darnau sy'n cynwys syniadau gwahanol am y pethau hyn, mor wahanol nes ei gwneud yn anodd iawn, os nad yn amhosibl credu mai o'r un meddwl y deilliasant.

Cymerer yr awenyddiaeth drachefn. Mae toraeth y gwaith yn wir awenyddol, mor awenyddol a dim barddoniaeth sydd yu ein hiaith, a dweyd y lleiaf am dano. Ond ceir ynddo ddarnau pur ddiawen hefyd, darnau na rydd eu darllen unrhyw fwynhad. Mi wn yn dda mai ofer

disgwyl i unrhyw fardd ganu cystal a'i oreu yn wastad. Ni ddaw yr hwyl bob amser, ac y mae anghyfartaledd mawr yng ngwaith yr oll o'r prifeirdd. Ac eto ni fedr y gwir awenydd ganu llawer iawn o linellau heb brofi i ni fod ysbryd y peth byw ynddo, serch nad yw amgen na hanner effro ar y pryd. Gan gadw hyn oll mewn côf, a eill unrhyw un gweddol gyfarwydd a barddoniaeth gredu mai yr un awen a ganodd y caniadau i Ifor Hael ag a ganodd yr awdl Folawd i Ddeon Bangor (Rhif 228 yng nghasgliad 1789)? Nid wyf yn tybied. Ac fe wêl y cyfarwydd fwy nag anghyfartaledd cydrhwng yr awdl farwnad i Ifor Hael a Nest ei wraig (Rhif 13) a'r cywydd olaf a gant y bardd (Rhif 16, Ychw.) yn yr hwn y ceir y llinellau ymofynol:—

“ Mae Ifor am cynghorawdd,  
Mae Nest oedd unwaith i'm nawdd.”

Tarewir nodyn yn y cywydd na fedrodd awdwr yr awdl erioed ei gyffwrdd.

Pan y trown i edrych ar ddull y crefftwaith yr ydym yn gweled mwy fyth o amrywiaeth ac anghyfartaledd. Daw perthynas Dafydd ap Gwilym a datblygiad y gynghanedd a'r mesurau o dan sylw ymhellach ymlaen: yr hyn y dymunwn ei bwysleisio yn y fan hon yw nas gall yr oll sydd yn y casgliad fod yn gynnyrch yr unrhyw grefftwr. Ni gymerwn y cywyddau yn unig, gan adael y darnau eraill o'r naill du. Mae mwyafrif mawr y cywyddau yn dwyn ôl llaw y crefftwr celfydd, y priod-ddull yn naturiol, yr arddull yn loew, a'r gynghanedd yn rheolaidd, ac yn aml yn gywrain. Wrth ddweyd ei bod yn rheolaidd, ni olygaf ei bod yn dilyn rheolau manylaf Dafydd ap Edmwnd, ond ei bod yn dilyn rheolau sy'n glir i bob efrydydd. Yn wir, gellir dwedyd rhagor am lawer o'r cywyddau—na cheir ynddynt nemawr linell y buasai beirniaid manylaf Eisteddfodau diweddar yn eu condemnio. Dyna'r cywydd i wallt Morfudd (Rhif 25)—cywydd o 28 llinell. Nid oes yn

hwnnw ond rhyw dri gwall, a rhyw hanner gwall yw pob un o'r tri. Yng Nghywydd y Fynaches (Rhif 8)—cywydd o 60 llinell, nid oes ond pedair llinell wallus, a digon dibwys yw'r gwall mewn tair o'r pedair. Mae cywydd y Banadlwyn (Rhif 47) a chywydd gwahodd Morfudd i'r Deildŷ (Rhif 83) yn gwbl ddiwall. Ond mewn rhai cywyddau, megys y cywydd i'r Wydd (Rhif 106) mae'r llinellau anafus yn amlach na'r rhai di anaf, a rhai ohonynt yn hollol ddigynghanedd, ac yn afrwydd a chlogyrnog yn ogystal. Cyfeiria Owain Myfyr at y beiau a'r anafau hyn yn ei nodiad "at y Beirdd ac eraill", a sylwa "fod yn ddiamau i lios o naddynt ymlithro i'r gwaith wrth ei amlddadysgrifennu". Diau fod llawer o wir yn y sylw. Ond â Owain Myfyr rhagddo i wneud sylw pellach, fod yn y gwaith "rai beiau cynhenid hefyd, nid o anwybodaeth y Bardd, ond gwamalrwydd a diofalwch yn y cerddi masw caruaid, weithiau yn dibrisio cynghanedd, yn enwedig y braich cyntaf". Dyna fel yr esbonia ef yr anghyfartaledd. Nid wyf yn meddwl y cytuna odid neb sydd wedi astudio'r gwaith yn drwyadl ag ef. Mae'r gwahaniaeth yn rhy fawr i gyfrif am dano yn y ffordd yna. Os Dafydd ap Gwilym a ganodd Gywydd yr Wydd ynghyda rhai eraill a briodolir iddo, yna nid ei waith ef yw y cywyddau i Ifor Hael, a Dyddgu, a Morfudd. Ond hyd nes y ceir argraffiad o'r gwaith fo'n gynyrch astudiaeth gymharol o'r holl lawysgrifau, nid yw'n bosibl penderfynu faint a gyfansoddodd Dafydd, nac ychwaith a yw y gwaith argraffedig wedi ei drwsio gan ryw law ddiweddarach.

Yn gymaint ag i mi son am y gynghanedd dichon mai yn y fan hon y byddai'n briodol cyfeirio at berthynas Dafydd ap Gwilym a'i datblygiad. Mae'r pwnc hwnnw yn teilyngu ymdriniaeth llawer helaethach a manylach nag a gafodd hyd yma, ac na fedraf finnau roddi iddo yn awr. Cynnyrch y bedwaredd ganrif ar ddeg ydyw y gynghanedd

fel yr adwaenir hi gennym ni. Mae geiriau Stephens o Ferthyr ar y pen hwn yn werth eu dyfynnu, Dyma fel y dywed: "Our literary history, from the death of Llewelyn to the time of Dafydd ap Gwilym, shows, in the department of poetry, a most striking feature. A complete revolution had taken place; and a period usually considered to be barren was one of earnest cogitation, zealous reforms, and diligent cultivation. In this period was born the incubus of Welsh poetry; those days of silent gloom, and impenetrable darkness, were pregnant with *cynghanedd*."<sup>1</sup> Mae'n awlwg oddiwrth y paragraff yna, yn ogystal ag oddiwrth aml baragraff arall yn ei waith, na feddai awdwr galluog *Llenyddiaeth y Cymry* fawr o hoffter o'r gynghanedd, os oedd, yn wir, yn ei deall yn drwyadl. *Incubus* y geilw hi. Heblaw hynny, y mae, mi gredaf, yn amseru Dafydd ap Gwilym hanner canrif o leiaf yn rhy ddiweddar. Nid wyf yn deall yn glir beth a olyga wrth ddweyd mai yn y cyfnod hwnnw y "ganwyd" yr *incubus* hwn. Os mai yr hyn a feddylia ydyw nad oes dim cynghanedd o gwbl yng ngweithiau beirdd boreuach, yna y mae'n cyfeiliorni. Tyfiant graddol yw'r gynghanedd, ceir ei blagur yng nghaniadau y Gogynfeirdd, megis Gwalchmai a Chynddelw, heb son yn awr am neb arall. Ond y mae'n berffaith gywir i ddwedyd mai'r cyfnod rhwng cwmp Llewelyn a marw Dafydd ap Gwilym oedd "Mis Mai" y gynghanedd. Dyna'r pryd y blodeuodd hi, ac y daeth, nid yn *incubus*, ond yn un o neillduolion prydferthaf ein barddoniaeth. Ac hyd y medraf fi farnu, Dafydd yn fwy na neb arall biau y clod am hynny. Yr oedd ef yn ddigon o grefftwr ac awenydd i ddarganfod fod yr arfer o ddechreu pob llinell o englyn neu awdl gyda'r un llythyren, a gwneud i ugaiu neu ddeg ar hugain o linellau gydodli, nid yn unig yn caethiwo'r bardd, ond hefyd yn gwneud ei waith yn

<sup>1</sup> *Literature of the Kymry*, p. 226.

undonog ae amhersain. Gwelodd, os oedd ffurfiau felly yn briodol i alarnad neu gerdd ogan, na wnaent mo'r tro i ddesgrifio Anian, ac i ganu rhamant serch. Ac eto yr oedd yn rhaid cael rhywbeth yn eu lle, ac mi welodd y prydydd craff y gallesid gwneud llawer mwy nag a wnelsai neb hyd hynny o odlau amrywiog ac o gyd-darawiad sain a chydsain. Wedi dechreu ymarfer a'r ffurfiau hyn swynwyd ef yn fwy gan eu naturioldeb, a'u tlyzni, a'u perseinedd, a gwelodd yn gliriach eu bod yn hollol gydnaws ag ieithwedd Gymreig, yn ogystal ag yn caniatau pob rhyddid priodol i'r awen. Defnyddiodd hwy yn ddibetrus, a dilynwyd ei esiampl gan y rhai a ddaethant ar ei ol. Fel y dywedwyd eisoes y mae ganddo gannoedd o linellau hollol reolaidd yn ol y deddfau manylaf. Am y llinellau eraill yn ei waith y mae'n amlwg eu bod yn ol rheolau a droed heibio yn ddiweddarach. Mewn cynghanedd groes neu draws gadewir yr *f*, er engrafft, weithiau heb ei hateb. Y mae'r *rhaquant* mewn cynghanedd sain yn deirsill ganddo yn lled aml hefyd, a dim ond y sillaf gyntaf a groesgynghanedda a'r gobenydd, megis—

“Caru dyn lygeid-du lwyd”.

A gwna cynghanedd lusk y tro ganddo os bydd yu odli gyda'r sillaf olaf ond un, serch i'r sillaf olaf fod yn dechreu gyda chydsain, megys,

“Oni'th gaf er cerdd erddrym”.

Hyd y sylwais i, dyna y gwahaniaethau o bwys cydrhwng cynghaneddion Dafydd a chynghaneddion beirdd yr oes hon, heblaw ei fod ef yn llai manwl, hwyrach, nag ydym ni ynghylch yr hyn a elwir yn “rhy debyg” ac yu “dwyll odl”. Gesyd ef saiu y pan y bo'r llafariad olaf mewn gair, i odli hefo sain *u*, a dyna ddylid wneud eto o ran hynny. Yn ol sain gair y barnai Dafydd ei le priodol mewn cynghanedd.

Yn nyddiau Dafydd ap Gwilym yr oedd prydyddu yn



grefft yng Nghymru. A phennod ddyddorol anghyffredin yw hanes y bardd wrth grefft,—bardd yn byw i ganu a dim byd arall. A all rhywun ddwedyd pa mor fore y dechreuodd barddoni fod yn grefft ymysg ein cenedl? Yr oedd felly yn y ddeuddegfed ganrif beth bynnag, oblegid cawn son am y “Bardd Teulu” yr adeg honno. Ac fe barhaodd i fod yn grefft am rai canrifoedd wedi marw Dafydd ap Gwilym. Fe ddywed William Cynwal yn un o gywyddau cyntaf yr ymryson rhyngddo ag Edmund Prys—

“Pregethwr wyd, pleidiwr plwyf,  
Parod ddadl, prydydd ydwyf.”

A cheir cyfeiriadau cyffelyb yn aml yng nghywyddau dilynol y ffræ. Nid dadleu y mae William Cynwal na feddai Edmund Prys mo'r ddawn brydyddol, ac nid dadleu chwaith ei fod ef ei hun yn well prydydd na'r Archddiagon, ond pwysleisio'r ffaith ei fod ef yn fardd wrth grefft, ac nad oedd yn foddolawn fod offeiriad wrth grefft yn ymgymeryd a chreffft bardd hefyd. Daw hyn yn bur amlwg yn y llinellau

“Cymer y maes, laes lwyswar,  
Ddwg gamp wych yn ddigompâr ;  
Maes rhan cerdd, mesur yn cau,  
Yma unwedd i minnau.”

Chwi welwch mai tipyn o *Trade Unionist* oedd William Cynwal, yn eiddigeddus dros safle ei grefft a'r gydnabyddiaeth a delid iddi. Ond y mae'r bardd wrth grefft wedi diflannu o Gymru ers llawer blwyddyn, neu'n hytrach mae'r grefft wedi mynd, ysgwaethyroedd, yn un mor sâl i fyw arni fel na cheir neb o dalent yn ddigon rhyfygus i geisio.

Yn nyddiau Dafydd ap Gwilym, fodd bynnag, yr oedd crefft y bardd yn un anrhydeddus, yn dwyn bywoliaeth dda gyda hi, ac yn sicrhau iddo yntau edmygedd a gwarogaeth gyffredinol, ond yu enwedig edmygedd a gwarogaeth yr uchelwyr. Ac mi gredaf, pe buasai pob un ymgymerodd a'r grefft mor fedrus ynddi ag oedd Dafydd,

y cawsid y bardd wrth grefft yng Nghymru hyd heddyw. Serch i rywun ysgrifennu ar ddiwedd y copi o'r argraffiad cyntaf o'i waith sy'n llyfrgell y Cymmrodorion—"Gwir enw'r llyfr hwn ydyw Pentwr y lol"—serch i Oronwy Owen feio ar ei iaith oherwydd ei fod yn defnyddio cymaint o eiriau estronol ac achwyn arno na chanasai ar destynau mwy dyrchafedig,—a serch i Wilym Hiraethog roddi sel ei gydsyniad wrth feirniadaeth lem Goronwy—y mae'r ddedfryd heddyw, os nad yn gwbl, bron yn unfrydol fod Dafydd, a dweyd y lleiaf am dano, y crefftwr barddonol medrusaf a ganodd yng Nghymru erioed. Gwyddai i'r dim sut i lunio brawddegau naturiol, celfydd, a chain odiaeth, a cheir yn ei waith—a chymeryd yn ganiataol mai efe biau a briodolir iddo—gannoedd o linellau nas gellir gwella dim ar eu mireinder llenorol. Llinellau fel y rhai a a ganlyn er engraifft:—

“ Gyda Gwen wy'n ddibenyd,  
Gwna hon fi'n galon i gyd.”

“ Gofyn oedd gyfion iddi,  
Ddyn fain deg, ddwyn fenaid i.”

“ Beth a dâl anwadalu  
Wedi'r hen fargen a fu ?”

Ac y mae ei awenyddiaeth pan ar ei oreu, yn deilwng o'r creffftwaith. Nid âf i ddadleu dros gywirdeb llythrenol datganiad George Borrow, “Dafydd ap Gwilym, since the time I first became acquainted with his works, I have always considered as the greatest poetical genius that has appeared in Europe since the revival of literature,”—oblegid ofnaf mai nid gwir ragoriaethau Dafydd a ennillodd iddo gamoliaeth Borrow. Ond yr wyf heb ddim petruster yn cydsynio a theyrnged Llewelyn Ddu o Fôn: “Those poems he has taken pains with are inimitable; his images full of life; his language pure and nervous; his prosody unexceptionable according to the new rules then adopted.”

Mae'n debyg mai'r hyn a ddengys y gwir awenydd a'r gwir grefftwr barddonol oreu yw gallu i ganfod ac i drin ffigyrau. Meddai Dafydd y gallu hwn tuhwnt i odid neb o'r holl feirdd Cymreig. Cymerer ychydig esiamplau wedi eu dewis megis ar antur. Dywed am wallt melyngoch merch Ifor Hael ei fod

“Fel goddaith yn ymdaith nos.”

“Lliw'r mellt goruwch y gelltydd,  
Lliw tân y gad Gamlan gynt.”

Desgrifia ddwyfoch wridog fel

“Dwy sêl o liw grawn celyn,  
Dagrau gwaed ar deg eiry gwyn.”

A gwefus a boch Morfudd,

“A'i chlaerwin fin chwerthinog,  
A'i grudd fel Rhosyn y Grog.”

Gwelodd ferch lygatddu deg rywdro, ac eb ef—

“Amrant du ar femrwn teg,  
Mal gwennol ym mol gwaneg.”

Yr oedd yr un mor hapus yn y ffigyrau a ddefnyddiai pan yn duchanu. Clywodd floeddiwr aflafar yn rhywle, a dyma ei ddesgrifiad ohono:—

“Gwr yn gwaeddi, gorn gwaddawd,  
A'i gân fel bran am ei brawd.”

Anaml ryfeddol y deuir o hyd i gymhariaeth anhapus yng nghaniadau goreu Dafydd. Mae un felly yng Nghywydd y Daran lle y cyffelyba swm y daran i swm

“Tarw cryg yn torri creigydd.”

Pan welais y llinell yna fe gofiais am linell ym un o awdlau'r gadair yn Eisteddfod Genedlaethol Aberystwyth a wnaeth i Galedfryn wylltio nes tywallt ar ben ei hawdwr truan raiadrau o wawdiaith frwmstanaidd. Yr Apostol Paul oedd testyn y gadair honno, ac wrth ddisgrifio yr apostol yn ymladd ag anifeiliaid yn Ephesus, fe ddywedai

y cystadleuydd anffodus y cyfeiriwyd ato, fod y llew ymysg yr anifeiliaid hynny yn cwrcydu

“ Fel cath fewn pumlath i Paul.”

Bron na theimlwn innau nad oedd fawr o wahaniaeth cydrhwng trwstaneiddiwch cyffelybu llew i gath a thrwstaneiddiwch cyffelybu rhuad taran i adsain rhuad tarw yn y graig, serch iddo fod yn “darw cryg”. Ac y mae afledneisrwydd y ffigiwr yn fwy amlwg oherwydd ei fod yn dod i mewn ynghanol ffigyrau urddasol a gwir awenyddol, megys—

“ Taran a ddug trinoedd yn'  
Trwst arfau wybr tros derfyn,—  
Tân aml a dŵr tew'n ymladd,  
Tân o lid, dŵr tew'n ei ladd;  
Clywais fry, ciliais o fraw,  
Cawrlais udgorn y curwlaw;  
Creglif yn dryllio ereiglwr,  
Crechwen o'r ffurfafen fawr.”

Ond fe ddichon mai'r engraifft oreu o'r gallu arbennig hwn yn Nafydd ydyw y llinell honno i'r Llwyn Banadl:—

“ Barug haf ydyw brig hwn.”

Gwelsoch lawer gwaith lwyn dan farug gauaf a'i frig cyn wynned agarian. Tybiwch am y byrddydd wedi troi'n hirddydd, gwynder yr eira wedi rhoddi lle i felynder haul, a lle y cewch ymadrodd a ddisgrifia frig y llwyn banadl hafal i'r ymadrodd “barug haf”? Wn i ddim prun ai dieithrwech y cyfuniad neu ynte ei briodoldeb, sy'n fy swyno i fwyaf.

Y dystiolaeth gryfaf i uwchafiaeth Dafydd ap Gwilym yw y ffaith iddo greu cyfnod newydd mewn barddoniaeth Gymreig. I ychydig y rhodded y ddawn i wneud peth felly—y math hwnnw o athrylith a faidd ado'r briffordd, a thorri llwybr iddi ei hun lle ni thramwyodd neb o'r blaen. Ac oni bae fod Dafydd yn ei meddu ni buasai fawr son am dano heddyw. Fe ganodd rai darnau ar fesurau ac yn arddull ac ysbryd y beirdd a'i rhagflaenasant—o leiaf fe

briodolir darnau felly iddo—ond nid oes dim o nodau na medr arbenig Dafydd ynddynt. Mewn mesur newydd, ac destynau newydd, ac mewn arddull newydd y cafodd ef le i brofi beth a fedrai wneuthur. Mae bron yn sicr mai efe ddyfeisiodd fesur cywydd, y mwyaf persain o'r holl fesurau, a'r mwyaf poblogaidd hefyd yn nesaf ar ol yr englyn. Dywed Dr. William Owen Puw iddo ef fethu dod o hyd i un cyfansoddiad o natur cywydd ymysg cynyrchion beirdd boreuach; ac yn y mesur newydd a ddyfeisiodd neu a ddarganfyddodd, fe roes Dafydd farddoniaeth o nodwedd newydd. Tarawodd dant na chyffyrddasai neb ag ef o'i flaen oddigerth, efallai, Rhys Goch ab Rhicert. Sw'n gloywi arfau a mynd allan i'r gâd, sw'n dur yn tincian, sw'n griddfannau a galar sydd yng nghaniadau ein beirdd hynaf o Aneurin a Llywarch Hen hyd Gruffydd ap yr Ynad Coch a alarnadodd gwyp Llewelyn. Glynai pob un o'r beirdd hynny wrth ryw dywysog neu uchelwr, a'i orchwyl ydoedd rhoi mewn cân gofnodiad o orchestion ei arwr, a'r hiraeth a'r galar am dano ar ol iddo syrthio. A'r canlyniad yw fod yn eu cerddi hwy fwy o hanes nag o farddoniaeth yn ystyr briodol y gair. Ond ganwyd Dafydd pan oedd y mynd allan i'r drin wedi peidio, llewyrch olaf anibynnuaeth y genedl wedi diffodd, a *Brut y Tywysogion* wedi ei gau i fynu "o achos dyddiau y dioddefaint oeddynt yn agos". Angenrhaid a osodwyd arno ef i chwilio am destynau newydd, ac fe brofodd pa mor wryfol ydoedd ei athrylith drwy fyned i fyd rhamant ac anian i chwilio am danynt. Nid byd dieithr i'r athrylith Gymreig mo hwnnw chwaith, er ei bod wedi ei esgeuluso am dymor hir. Dyna fyd y *Mabinogion*, ac nis gall neb efrydu gwaith Dafydd ap Gwilym heb gael ei lwyr argyhoeddi mai cydnabyddiaeth a'r *Mabinogion* a'i dysgodd i adnabod ei gryfder. Rhyfedd mor debyg yw Dyddgu a Morfudd i Blodeuwedd ac Olwen. Cyffelyb yw'r nwyfiant chwareugar, y cyfuniad o wên a

deigrn, yr ymhyfrydiad mewn lliwiau disglaer, a'r ceinder iaith sy'n nodweddu cywyddau Dafydd i'r hyn a geir yn y Pedair Cainc a'r Rhamantau boreuaf.

Gan fod cymaint wedi ei ysgrifennu mewn blynyddoedd diweddar ynglylech hoffder Dafydd o Anian ni fanylaf ar hynny. Ond carwn ddweyd ei fod nid yn unig yn ymhoffi yn ngwedd gyffredinol Anian, ond hefyd yn sylwi yn fanwl ar ei hamrywiaeth diderfyn. Nid yw byth yn ailadrodd ei hun wrth son am dani. Bob tro yr edrychai arni fe welai "ryw newydd wyrth". Ac y mae ei ddisgrifiadau o'i helfenau a'i thymhorau, ei llwyni a'i choedydd, ei dail a'i blodau, ei hadar a'i physgod, yr un mor gywir ag ydynt o farddonol. Ni thery nodyn allan o'i gywair. Pan yng nghymdeithas Natur cadwai ei ddarfelydd ei lygad yn agored.

Ac eto, yr oedd hyd yn oed Anian yn ddarostyngedig i Serch. Carai riain yn fwy angerddol nag y carai fanadlen a bronfraith. Efe yw tād ein rhieingerddwyr i gyd, ac y mae ei hiliogaeth, megys hiliogaeth Abram, yn aneirif. Ynglŷn a Dafydd ap Gwilym fel rhieingerddwr, haedda un ffaith fwy o sylw nag a roed iddi hyd yma, sef, ei gydnabyddiaeth a llenyddiaeth glasurol ac a llen gyd-amserol yr Eidal a Ffrainc. Ceir yn ei waith ddigon o brofion o'i gyfarwydd-deb a gweithiau Ovid, a Virgil, a Horace, a Petrarch. Dywedodd un ysgrifennydd flynyddoedd yn ol fod rhai o'i gywyddau, os nad yn gyfieithiadau, eto yn efelychiadau pur hapus o rai o ganiadau yr awduron a nodwyd. Ond tra nad wyf wedi cael allan y gellir cyhuddo y bardd o lenladrad mewn unrhyw fodd, y mae'n ddiddadl fod ysbryd y deffroad oedd eisoes yn gweithio ar y cyfandir wedi ei gyffwrdd yntau.<sup>1</sup> Nid oes lle i ameu

<sup>1</sup> Gofynais farn y Parch G. Hartwell Jones, M.A., Rhiethior Nutfield, gwr sydd mor gyfarwydd a llenyddiaeth glasurol ac Eidalaidd a neb a adwaenaf, am faint dyled Dafydd ap Gwilym i awdwyr

nad oedd Dafydd yn ysgolhaig. Ac y mae'r ffaith hon yn awgrymu yr ynychwiliad hynod ddyddorol, pa fodd y cafodd ei ysgolheigod? A anfonwyd ef i rywle i'r cyfandir i dderbyn addysg. Yr oedd mynych gyrcu i Ffrainc a'r Eidal yn y ganrif honuo. Neu ynte a oedd sefydliadau addysgol o radd uchel yng Nghymru yn y bedwaredd ganrif ar ddeg? A oedd ysgolion ynglŷn a'r mynachlogydd? Tueddir fi i gredu fod, ac mai yn un neu ragor o'r rhai hynny y cafodd y bardd ei hyfforddiant, ac y dygwyd ei feddwl i gyffyrddiad a llenyddiaeth cenhedloedd eraill. Diau fod y mynachod yn ysgolheigion, a llawer o honynt yn dramoriaid o genedl, ac eto anodd synio am danynt yn darllen Virgil ac Ovid a Horace yn gymysg ag astudio ysgrifeniadau Lladinaidd y tadau eglwysig. Ac anaws fyth tybied am danynt yn athrawon i Ddafydd ap Gwilym. Ond sut bynnag y daeth ef yn gydnabyddus a barddoniaeth glasurol ac a barddoniaeth Ffrainc a'r Eidal, fe awgrymodd y gydnabyddiaeth honno iddo faes awenyddol addfed na roisid cryman ynddo eto gan un prydydd Cymreig, ac wrth fedi y maes hwnnw fe enillodd yntau anfarwoldeb.

estronol, ac y mae yntau, yn garedig iawn wedi ysgrifenu y nodiad a ganlyn:—

“The question of Dafydd ap Gwilym's debt to foreign literature is a very interesting one, but requires a more intimate knowledge of both than I possess, and a closer examination than I can devote to it. It seems to me that some Welsh writers have exaggerated the connection between them. Unquestionably there were several channels of communication and not infrequent intercourse between Wales and Italy, but apart from the references to the Papacy, the Roman Catholic Church, and the ecclesiastical organizations, I have not been able to find in Dafydd ap Gwilym's poems more than one direct allusion to Italy. There appears to be no internal evidence to show that he had visited Italy or knew Italian. Many passages, however, prove that he, like several of his contemporaries, was affected by the Revival of Letters and the new spirit which arose in Italy in the Twelfth Century and culminated in the Renaissance. The correspondence between Dafydd ap Gwilym and Italian authors like

Nis gallaf adael Dafydd fel bardd serch heb grybwyll am Morfudd,

“A'i chlaerwin fin chwerthinog,  
A'i grudd fel Rhosyn y Grog.”

Mae ei henw hi a'i enw yntau wedi eu cysylltu a'u gilydd yn anwahanadwy. Ond pwy oedd Morfudd? Haws gofyn nag ateb. Mae'r oll a wyddis am dani yn y cania dau. Desgrifir ei hymddangosiad a'i hagwedd mor glir a chyflawn fel na cheir dim trafferth i benderfynu pa fath un ydoedd. Ond pan y ceisiwn wneud allan pwy ydoedd yr ydym ar unwaith ynghanol dryswch. Gadawer i ni fwrw golwg dros y cyfeiriadau hynny ati ar y rhai y rhaid seilio pob damcaniaeth yn ei chylch. Mewn un cywydd (Rhif 17) gelwir hi yn “Seren cylch Nant y Seri.” Ni feddaf fi ddim dirnadaeth pa le y mae Nant y Seri, ond

Petrarch and Boccaccio, who exerted a profound and far-reaching influence on European literature, seems to consist in general thoughts, and these may well have been derived at second-hand or rather belonged to a common stock-in-trade of the singers of the period, especially in the South of France, between whom and Dafydd there is a close affinity. But when we turn to the Classics, our poets' debt to them is unmistakable. Dafydd ap Gwilym was no slavish imitator. His favourite Latin author was clearly Ovid. He refers to him again and again, and doubtless drew much inspiration from him. His description of *Tadmaeth Serch Morfudd* has been traced to Ovid, but nothing occurs in the *Amores* or the *Ars Amatoria*, nor apparently in any Latin author who would be accessible to him. His adoption of the name Morfudd, to disguise the identity of his ladylove, is thoroughly classical. His poem *Y Drych* is probably a reminiscence, but no copy, of Horace, Epode xv. (*Cf.* Petrarch's sonnet, *Dicemi spesso il mio fidato specchio*). His *Traethodl, Mi a wnaf, a mi a wnaf*, is an expansion of Æsop's Fable *The Ant and the Grasshopper*. A knowledge of Greek was an unusual accomplishment in his day and was practically confined to curious and professed scholars, but our poet was evidently familiar with Greek mythology and story, which reached him probably through a Latin medium. Altogether, there can be no doubt that Dafydd ap Gwilym fell under the influence of the New Learning and the accompanying revival of interest in Antiquity, but it is difficult to trace the influence in detail.”



pâr ffurf yr enw imi dybied ei bod yn rhywle ym Mynwy neu Forganwg. Mewn cywydd arall (Rhif 63) edrydd y bardd hanes ei daith i ymweled a hi, ac fe enwa nifer mawr o fannau y bu ynddynt. Y maent oll yng Ngwent yn rhywle, a'r rhan fwyaf o honynt heb fod nepell o Faesaleg. Gellid meddwl, a chymeryd y cyfeiriadau hyn yn unig, mai un o rianedd y parth hwnnw o Gymru ydoedd Morfudd, a'i bod hwyrach yn ferch i Ifor Hael. Ond ni chrybwyllir ei henw yn yr un o'r cywyddau i Ifor a Maesaleg. Mae'n wir y cysylltir hi ag Ifor a Nest yn y cywydd olaf a gant y bardd (Rhif 16 yn y Chwanegiad) :—

“Mae Ifor a'm cynghorawdd,  
Mae Nest oedd unwaith i'm nawdd;  
Mae dan wŷdd Morfudd fy myd,  
Gorwedd ynt oll mewn gweryd.”

Ond nid yw y cyfuniad yn profi fod unrhyw berthynas rhyngddynt. Ac eto mae'n bur glir fod un, neu ragor efallai, o gariadon Dafydd yn y Deheubarth yn cael ei chyfarch wrth yr enw Morfudd. Mewn cywyddau eraill, rhy liosog i'w nodi, dywedir yn bendant.

“Hon o Wyuedd a henyw.”

Gelwir hi—

“Y fun glaer fwnwgl euraid,  
O Fôn gynt yn fwyn a gaed.”

Erfynia ar Dwynwen, nawdd-sant Llanddwyn ym Mon, wneud llateiaeth rhyngddo a hi. Cymerir yn ganiataol mai hi oedd y wenddyn a welodd Dafydd y tro cyntaf yn Rhosyr, pan yr anfonodd ei was a gwin iddi, ac y tywalltodd hithau y rhodd am ei ben ef. Gelwir hi “Y fun o Eithinfynydd”, yn ferch “Madawg Lawgam”, yr hwn a fynnodd ei rhoddi yn wraig i un Cynfrig Gynin. A gelwir hi hefyd yn “Forfudd Llwyd” droion. Nis gwn i ddim rhagor ynghylch y lleoedd a'r cymeriadau hyn, a thybiaf nas gŵyr neb arall. Dywed Cynddelw iddo ef “fethu

yn lân a chael allan fod y fath le ag Eithinfynydd ym Mon, na'r fath enw a Madawg Lawgam ymysg achau henafiaid yr Ynys". Yr unig gymeriad hanesyddol a nodir yn y cywyddau hyn yw Madog Benfras, ac yr oedd cysylltiad rhyngddo ef a Môn. Mewn dau gywydd (Rhif 41, a 80) lleolir cartre' Morfudd "yng ngoror Dyfi", a'r Forfudd honno a ffodd gyda Dafydd i dir Gwent. Pa gasgliad a ellir yn rhesymol dynnu oddiwrth yr holl grybwylliadau hyn? Ai yr un yw merch Madawg Lawgam a'r "Fun o Eithinfynydd"? Ai y Forfudd honno briododd Cynfrig? Os felly, ai honno breswyliai "yng ngoror Dyfi", ac a ffodd gyda'r bardd? Yn ol traddodiad, ym Mhenllyn, gerllaw y Bala, yr oedd cartre' Cynfrig? Nid yw'n debyg, a dweyd y lleiaf, fod ganddo lys arall yng nghwrr deheuol Meirion. Ond hyd yn oed pe gellid profi mai yr un person oedd y Forfudd a gysylltir a'r holl leoedd hyn yn y Gogledd, y mae'r Forfudd oedd yn "Seren cylch Nant y Seri", a'r Forfudd y bu y bardd yn chwilio am dani ar derfynau Morganwg a Mynwy yn aros wedyn. Deongled arall y dyrysbwnc fel y mynn, ymddengys i mi yn eithaf clir mai *pet name* yw yr enw Morfudd, yr un fath a'r enw Ifor Hael. Mewn geiriau eraill, yr wyf yn gwbl argyhoeddedig na fodolodd y fath bersonau a Morfudd, a Madawg Lawgam, a Chynfrig Gynin ond yn nychymyg ffrwythlawn y bardd. Delfryd (*ideal*) gyffelyb i Laura Petrarch, yw Morfudd Dafydd ap Gwilym, a disgrifiad o'r hyn allasai ddigwydd yw y briodas yn y llwyn, y ffoi i Forganwg, a rhoddi y gariadferch yn wraig i un arall am fod ganddo gyfoeth. O edrych ar bethau yn y goleuni hwnnw y mae y cyhuddiad a ddygwyd gynifer gwaith yn erbyn y bardd o fod yn wamal a thrythyll yn torri i lawr, i fesur beth bynnag. Gwir ei fod o angenrheidrwydd yn benthyca arferion carwriaethol a chymdeithasol ei oes i ddisgrifio helyntion ei ddelfryd. Ond hawdd yw cydsynio

ar hyn a welodd Sion Bradford, medd ef, mewn llyfr ysgrifenedig, gwaith Watkin Powell, "mai er gwyllted a thrythylled gwr y gellid barnu Dafydd ap Gwilym wrth ei gywyddau, ei fod yn ei fywyd a'i ymarweddiad yn ddyd sobr, llonydd, a mwyn iawn oedd; a chyn leied ei siarad, fel braidd y ceid air o'i ben ar un achos; ac mai gwylltineb a chwaryddiaeth awen yn unig yw llawer peth yn ei waith, ac nid effeithiau anian ac anwydau".

Wrth edrych ar Ddafydd ap Gwilym yn ei berthynas a'i gyfnod—a dyna fwriadwn wneud yn benaf pan y dechreuais—y mae un peth yn sicr o daro pob efrydydd, a synnu peth arno hefyd, sef cyn lleied o wladgarwech a geir yn y caniaadau. Dyry ryw fonclust neu ddwy i'r Sais megys wrth fynd heibio. Cafodd bâr o fenyg yn anrheg gan Ifor Hael unwaith, ac yn ei ddiolch am danynt dywedodd

"Menig o'i dref a gefais,  
Nid fel menig sarug Sais."

Ac wrth son am ei serch at Ifor, a serch Ifor ato yntau, eb ef,

"Serch Ifor a glodforais,  
Nid fal serch anfadful Sais."

Ond dyna i gyd. Ac y mae hyn yn rhyfedd pan gofiwn ymha gyfnod yr oedd yn byw. Os ganwyd ef yn y flwyddyn 1300, nid aethai mwy na deunaw mlynedd heibio er cwmp Llewelyn, ac yr oedd yn bymtheng mlwydd oed pan fu gwrthryfel Llewelyn Bren ym Morganwg, ac y llosgwyd Castell Caerffili, lle heb fod nepell o Faesaleg. Gellid meddwl y rhaid fod adlais cryf o'r galar oblegid y darostyngiad yn aros yn awelon y wlad, ac anfoddogrwydd mawr yn y genedl i ddwyn iau orthrymus arglwyddi y goror. Ond nid oes yn holl ganiadau Dafydd na swm galar am anibynnuaeth goll na swm gobaith am ei hennill yn ol, na dim byd i beri i neb dybied na buasai'r bardd yr un mor gartrefol a hapus mewn rhyw wlad arall ag oedd

yng Nghymru, dim ond iddo gael gwin a medd i'w yfed, a llwyni a blodau i syllu arnynt, ac adar i ganu o'i gwmpas, a mun deg i ymddiddan a hi. Wrth i mi bendronni i geisio cyfrif am hyn, daeth syniad i'm meddwl a ymddangosai i mi ar y cyntaf yn ynfyd bron, ac a ystyriwch chwithau, mi dybiaf, yn un rhy ynfyd i'w draethu. Bid a fyddo, mi fentraf roi llais iddo; a dyma fo, Ai tybed fod y nodyn gwladgarol yn gudd yng ngwaith Dafydd? A all cywyddau Morfudd fod yn alegori yn ogystal ag yn ddelfryd? A yw'n bosibl mai personoli ei wlad a'i helyntion blin a wna'r bardd yn y cywyddau hyn? Nid wyf yn sicr nad allasai dadleuydd medrus wneud *case* go gryf dros y syniad—hyd nes y deuai'r dadleuydd i'r gwrthwyneb i'w ddryllio. Nid wyf fi ddadleuydd, ond mi dybiaf mai rhywbeth fel hyn fyddai'r ymresymiad:— Yn y lle cyntaf, nid yw llefaru ar ddameg yn beth dieithr i'r awen Gymreig. A'r adeg honno, ni feiddiai neb roi llais i deimlad gwladgarol oddieithr drwy ddameg. Yr oedd yr awdurdod Seisnig wedi deall mai'r beirdd oedd prif symbylwyr cenedl y Cymry i ymladd dros ei hanibyniaeth ac i wrthryfela yn erbyn yr iau estronol. Ymhlith y deddfau a osododd Iorwerth y Cyntaf ar Gymru ar ol cwmp Llewelyn, yr oedd deddfau i gospi'r beirdd os ceid lle i gredu eu bod yn ceisio ail gynneu tân gwrthryfel trwy ganu cerddi gwladgarol. Yn ail, y mae'n glir mai cymeriad dychmygol yw Morfudd. Os mai delfryd serch yn yr ystyr gyffredin yn unig ydyw, pahan y lleolir hi yng Ngwynedd, ac ym Môn, yn hytrach nag ym Morganwg neu Geredigion, y parthau yr oedd cysylltiad agosach rhwng Dafydd a hwy? Nid wyf yn gweled cysgod o sail i'r dybiaeth i Ifor Hael anfon ei ferch i leiandŷ ym Môn er mwyn ei gyrru o gyrhaedd y bardd. Ond os yw Morfudd yn cynrychioli Cymru, yna daw ei lleoliad ym Môn yn eithaf naturiol a phriodol. Yno y cyneuodd fflam anibyn-

niaeth Cymru olaf o bob man. Yn ynys Môn y gwnaed yr ymgais ddiweddaf i daflu ymaith iau boenus y Sais, a'r arweinydd yn yr ymgais honno ydoedd Syr Gruffydd Llwyd o Ben-y-Garnedd. A chyda llaw, fe elwir Morfudd yn Forfudd Llwyd droion. Yn ychwanegol at hyn, Beth am y "Bwa Bach"? Paham y rhowd yr enw gwawd hwnnw arno? Dywed rhai mai am ei fod yn hen ŵr cefngrwm. Mynn eraill ei fod yn swyddog milwraidd, ac mai i daflu gwawd ar ei fedr milwrol y creodd Dafydd yr enw. Gwnaethai y naill esboniad neu'r llall y tro yn burion pe meddem ryw sail i gredu fod y bersonoliaeth a anrhydeddwyd a'r teitl yn bersonoliaeth wirioneddol. Ond ni feddwn ddim. Eithr onid yw yr enw yn gyfryw ag y buasai yn naturiol i Gymro o'r oes honno ei ddefnyddio i ddirmygus ddisgrifio y Sais milwraidd? Yn ol yr Athro O. M. Edwards "bwa byr" oedd bwa y Sais. Ar ol iddo orchfygu y Cymro a'i ddarostwng y daeth i adnabod ac i ddefnyddio y bwa hir (*long bow*). Rhodder y pethau a nodwyd oll gyda'u gilydd, ac yr wyf yn credu y cytunwch a mi fod llawer mwy i'w ddweyd ym mhlaid y syniad fod Cywyddau Morfudd yn alegori nag sydd iw ddweyd ymhlaid y syniad mai Bacon yw awdwr chwareu-gerddi Shakespeare. Ond ni fynwn bwysu y syniad ar neb ohonoch. Nid wyf wedi argyhoeddi fy hunan eto ei fod yn gywir, er fy mod yn gweled mwy ynddo bob tro y meddyliaf am dano.

Ond er rhoddi o'r neilldu bob cyfyw ddamcaniaeth, y mae'r ffaith fod caniadau Dafydd ap Gwilym mor amddifad o'r teimlad gwladgarol yn aros, ac yn gofyn am ryw esboniad. Clywais rywun yn awgrymu y gallai y bardd fod wedi canu llawer mwy nag a feddwn ni o'i gynyrchion, ac mai y darnau gwladgarol a chenedlgarol o'i eiddo sydd wedi mynd i ddifancoll. Nid wyf yn ameu dim nad yw y rhan gyntaf o'r dybiaeth yn gywir, ond wrth ystyried nodwedd y blynyddoedd a ddilynasant ei flynyddoedd ef ni

welaf rithyn o reswm dros y rhan arall o honi. Mi glywais syniad arall sy'n llawer tebycach i fod yn gywir, sef, mai plentyn Anian oedd Dafydd, rhy lawen â nwyfus o ysbryd, rhy lawn o freuddwydiol serch i ofalu dim am bethau mor ddaearol a helyntion cenedl a gwlad. Ac ni fedrai gwladgarwch, yn y bedwaredd ganrif ar ddeg, fod amgen na phruddaidd a thrwmlwythog a hiraethlawn. Eithr ni oddefai ysbryd hoew Dafydd iddo ef fod yn brudd o dan unrhyw amgylchiadau. Digion iddo ef oedd y presennol, heb alaru ar ol yr absennol na hiraethu am ei ddychweliad. Prin y medraf fi dderbyn yr esboniad yna chwaith fel un cwbl foddhaol, serch fod y disgrifiad o Dafydd sydd ynddo yn lled agos i'r nôd. Mae'n sicr na feddai ef ddim cydymdeimlad a phrudd-der trwmlwythog y cynfeirdd a'r gogynfeirdd, a'i fod yn engraifft i brofi nad oedd Renan yn hollol gywir pan ddywedai fod deigr yn llechu tu cefn i wên y Celt bob amser. Ond mae'r bardd yn anad neb yn gynnyrch ei oes. Ei hysbryd hi sydd yn ei ysbrydoli ef: rhydd ef lais i'w meddwl dyfnaf hi. Mae amddifadrwydd caniadau Dafydd ap Gwilym o'r teimlad gwladgarol yn codi o'r ffaith nad oedd gwladgarwch na chenedlgarwch yn nodwedd arbenig o'r bedwaredd ganrif ar ddeg, yn y Deheubarth yn enwedig. I gael cenedlgarwch rhaid cael cenedl, ac Owen Glyndwr a wnaeth genedl o bobl Cymru. Yr oedd gelyniaeth tywysogion Gwynedd, a thywysogion y Deheubarth a thywysogion Morganwg, a thywysogion Dyfed tuagat eu gilydd bron cyn gryfed a'u gelyniaeth tuagat y Saeson. Er cryfed gwyr oedd y ddau Lewelyn ni lwyddasant i ladd yr elyniaeth honnogelyniaeth sydd yn profi weithiau nad yw eto wedi cwbl drengu. Anibynniaeth y tywysogion oedd yr anibynniaeth a gollasid ac nid anibynniaeth cenedl. Creodd Owen Glyndwr hwnnw, a chollwyd ef pan syrthiodd, ac y mae swm hiraeth am dano, a swm gobaith am ei adferiad yng

nghaniadau beirdd y bymthegfed ganrif. Ac yn eu caniadau hwy y ceir y teimlad gwladgarol cyntaf. Ni wyddai y bedwaredd ganrif ar ddeg am dano, o'r tuallan i Wynedd beth bynnag. Ac yng Ngwent a Morganwg yr oedd y Saeson a'r Cymry wedi dysgu cydfyw yn bur rhyfedd y pryd hwnnw, yn enwedig yr uchelwyr, a mwy na thebyg fod y naill a'r llall wedi cydgyfarfod mewn heddwch i yfed medd ac i gynnal dawns yn neuadd Maesaleg yn ystod y blynyddoedd a dreuliodd y bardd yno.

Y mae y traethiad hwn wedi mynd eisoes mor faith fel na chaf aros gyda'r goleuni a deifl caniadau Dafydd ap Gwilym ar fywyd cymdeithasol Cymru yn y cyfnod, er mor ddyddorol fuasai hynny. Yr oedd yn bur wahanol o angenrheidrwydd i fywyd yr oes hon, a dylid cadw'r ffaith mewn cof wrth ei feirniadu. Mewn un ystyr beth bynnag yr oedd Cymru y bedwaredd ganrif ar ddeg yn rhagori ar Gymru yr ugeinfed ganrif. Os oedd y tywysogion yn eiddigeddus o'u gilydd, ac yn elynol i'w gilydd, ffynnai y teimladau goreu cydrhwng yr uchelwyr a'r werin. Cadwai pob uchelwr dŷ agored. Felly y gwnai Ifor Hael ym Maesaleg ac Arglwydd Rhosyr ym Môn. Croesawid y teithiwr, a'r bardd yn arbenig, a breichiau agored, a llenwid y neuaddau gan acenion Cymraeg a swm tant a cherdd. Os oeddynt yn yfed ar y mwyaf o win a medd yr oeddynt yn ffrindiau calon, ac os oedd eu hiaith dipyn yn arw ac anghoeth weithiau yr oeddynt yn byw'n ddifyr wrth hela'r carw a chwareu ffristial a thawlwrdd.

Er fod ysbryd gwrthryfela yn erbyn awdurdod wladol yn bur llonydd, os nad yn hanner marw yn y bedwaredd ganrif ar ddeg, eto yr oedd yr ysbryd hwnnw yn ymysgwyd mewn cyfeiriadau eraill, ac fe roes Dafydd, yn anad neb arall, lais iddo. Mae swm gwrthryfel yn llawer o'i ganiadau. Tafodd ymaith ffurfiau arferedig a feichient gerdd, a lluniodd rai newydd. Gwrthododd

blygu ei awen hoenus i ganu yn y cywair lleddf fel y gwnaethai y beirdd o'i flaen. Ond yr oedd yn fwy o wrthryfelwr na hynny. Fel y dywed yr Athro O. M. Edwards, y peth mwyaf dyddorol yn hanes Dafydd ap Gwilym yw ei berthynas a chrefydd ei oes. Ni raid adgoffa unrhyw efrydydd mai y grefydd Gatholig—crefydd Rhufain—oedd unig grefydd Cymru yr adeg honno. Yr oedd esgobion Cymru yn gwbl ddarostyngedig i'r Pab ers canrifoedd. Brithid y wlad gan fynachlogydd a lleiandai, ac yr oedd y ddwy urdd o fynachod—y mynachod Llwydion a'r mynachod Duon—iw gweled ymhobman. Edrychai lliaws y brodyr hyn ar y beirdd gyda llygaid eiddigeddus, am fod y beirdd yn cael cymaint o nawdd yr uchelwyr, a'r werin yn edrych i fyny atynt. Ond ni fuasai fawr obaith i'r bardd yn erbyn y mynach oni bae fod syniad y wlad am fynachaeth ac am grefydd yn dechreu newid. Diau fod esgymuno Llewelyn yn un achos paham y newidiodd, yng Ngwynedd o leiaf; ond dirywiad yr urddau cardod eu hunain fu yr achos pennaf. Yn Nafydd ap Gwilym mi gafodd y cyfnewidiad hwn yn syniad y wlad enau a llais. Goganodd ef lawer ar y mynachod, fel y dengys ei gywyddau i'r Lleian ac i'r Brodyr o'r ddau liw, a cheir prawf o chwerwder eu teimladau hwythau ato yn y ffaith na roisant le i gymaint ag un o'i ganiadau yn eu casgliadau o lenyddiaeth Gymreig, megys y *Llyfr Coch Hergest*. Wrth ddweyd fod Dafydd yn wrthryfelwr crefyddol, neu eglwysig yn hytrach, nid wyf yn golygu ei fod ef, na bod y wlad yn ymwrthod a holl athrawiaeth eglwys Rufain, er nad yw Cywydd "Buchedd a Dioddefiadau y Gwardedr" sydd yn y casgliad o'i weithiau yn profi dim, gan fod yn bur glir nad ei eiddo ef ydyw. A chamsyniad fyddai tybied ei fod o ysbryd anghrefyddol ac annuw. Gwir a ddywed un awdwr mai "iaith addoliad yw iaith ei ddisgrifiad o aderyn a llwyn". Yn erbyn gorthrwm y ffurfioldeb anaturiol a gysylltai

eglwys Rufain yn y cyfnod hwnnw a chrefydd y gwrthryfelai Dafydd. Ni fedrai ei ysbryd ymgymodi a'r ffurf o grefydd a gondemniai y byd fel lle pechadurus, a waharddai edmygu tlysni a thegwch, a gauai forwynion prydwedol o fewn muriau diffenestr lleiandai, ac a guddiai eu hwynebau o dan hugan hyll bryd bynnag y caniatai iddynt fynd i olwg y cyhoedd. Dyna gychwyniad cyntaf y deffroad mawr yng Nghymru, dyna yr ysbryd oedd yn ymsymud o'i mhewn yn y bedwaredd ganrif ar ddeg—ysbryd yn hawlio yr hyn sydd naturiol mewn crefydd ac mewn pobpeth arall. Drwy y deffroad hwnnw fe arloeswyd y ffordd i Brotestaniaeth feddiannu Cymru, er na roes Protestaniaeth chwaith yn agos ddigon o le i naturioldeb. Yn llonyddwch cyfnod Dafydd ap Gwilym, ac o dan ei arweiniad ef yn bennaf, wedi colli anibynniaeth wladol, dechreuodd Cymru feithrin anibynniaeth well—anibynniaeth meddwl. Ac wrth feddwl dechreuodd agor ei llygaid i weled fod y goedwig yn gangell gysegredig yn ogystal a'r fynachlog, a bod yr ehedydd a'r mwyalch yn addoli ac yn gwasanaethu Duw wrth delori yr un modd a'r brawd llwyd neu'r brawd du wrth hir-weddio ac ymprydio; dechreuodd gredu nad oedd ymhyfrydu yn nhlysi Anian ac edmygu prydferthwch gwryf yn bechod yn erbyn Creawdwr pob un o'r ddau.

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THE DATE AND PLACE OF BURIAL OF  
DAFYDD AP GWILYM.<sup>1</sup>

By LLEWELYN WILLIAMS, M.P.

By common consent Dafydd ap Gwilym is not only our greatest Welsh poet, but, with the possible exception of Ceiriog, he is probably the only one destined to take his place, once he has been "Fitzgeraldised", among the world's immortals. Welshmen owe to him a debt which they can never redeem. He not only reduced our poetry to form and order, but he revolutionised its spirit, he widened its range, and he cut it adrift from the conventions which shackled the free expression of early poetical thought. No bard that came after him but was profoundly influenced by that creative mind, that lively fancy, and that sense of the magic of style. In the Miltonic grandeur and austerity of Goronwy Owen, no less than in the easy lyrical grace of Ceiriog, we can trace the inspiration and influence of the Master of Welsh poetry.

With what neglect and base ingratitude has he been treated! He has been the poet's poet; he might be, if he were properly treated, the people's poet as well. We have no adequate edition of his works. Dr. Owen Pughe's Edition of 1789 still holds the field. Dr. Gwenogfryn Evans, we have been told, has collated all the known MSS. of his works, but he prefers to publish reprints of the *Black*

<sup>1</sup> Notes of the Address delivered by Mr. Llewelyn Williams, M.P., as Chairman of the meeting held at 20, Hanover Square (see p. 31), on 23rd February 1906.—(E.V.E.)

*Book of Carmarthen* to earning the gratitude of his generation by presenting to us an authoritative edition of Dafydd. No doubt such an edition would be superseded in time, if, by happy chance, an earlier MS. than that of the middle fifteenth century is ever discovered. But no service that Dr. Gwenogfryn Evans has in his power to render his country could equal that of making Welsh scholars and students acquainted with the authentic poems of Dafydd ap Gwilym. Dr. Pughe's text is obviously corrupt. The veriest tyro in the art of criticism can detect that some of the poems that go by Dafydd's name are not the product of his muse. There must be many genuine poems by Dafydd which have never been printed,—some of them, no doubt, of great interest to those who want to know something of the man, even if they will not enhance his reputation as a poet. Few and futile have been the attempts to render him into English. Hitherto English scholars have been indebted to George Borrow for their knowledge of the most original genius that Wales has produced. It is a matter for congratulation that Professor W. Lewis Jones has in the press a volume,—an amplification of his brilliant essay in the *Quarterly Review*,—which will, it is hoped, introduce our Welsh Dafydd to the world of English letters.

How little do we know of his birth and parentage, of his life, or even of the place of his burial. His poems teem with personal allusions. He was mainly concerned with himself,—his emotions, his loves, his sorrows, his misfortunes, his adventures. If he described the golden hair of Morfydd, or the dark beauty of Dyddgu, it was only because he himself had seen them and delighted in them. If he sang in imperishable words the joys of the woodland in May, or the mystery of the wind, or the cold chastity of the snow, or the inspired passion of the nightingale's song,

it was because they reflected some passing phase of his own emotions. He lays bare his soul, he gives us the frank story of his life. He describes to us, with all the ingenuous simplicity of a child, his own appearance, his thoughts, his actions. He is delightfully unconscious of his faults and weaknesses. He never stopped to analyse his feelings or to sit in judgment over his deeds. He was a man in whom Walt Whitman would have delighted, one of those who

“Do not sweat and whine about their condition,  
They do not lie awake in the dark and weep for their sins,  
They do not make me sick discussing their duty to God”,

but they are of “behaviour lawless as snowflakes, words simple as grass, uncombed head, laughter, and naiveté.” He was a “friendly and flowing savage”.

With a little care and industry it would be easy to reconstruct his life from his own writings. What patient scholarship has been expended to worm out of Shakespeare's scanty references to himself something that would tell us what manner of man he was, where and how he spent his early days, what were his interests, his ambitions, his real thoughts. If a tithe of the discriminating ingenuity which has been largely wasted on Shakespeare were bestowed on Dafydd, we should soon know more of him than of any other mediæval Welshman. I offer merely a few suggestions, not in a spirit of dogmatism, but in the hope that they may stimulate others, more qualified by knowledge and more endowed with leisure, to pursue the subject, and rid us of the reproach that we, as a nation, are indifferent to the life-story of the most gifted of our race.

What was the date of Dafydd's death? Was it 1368 or 1400? In favour of the latter date, there is, I believe, no contemporary authority. Dr. John Davies, Mallwyd, who, though he flourished *temp.* James I, is entitled to great

respect owing to his vast acquaintance with Welsh literature and traditions, says of Dafydd in his Dictionary that "*floruit anno Christi 1400*". Dr. Owen Pughe improves upon this, and says that he "died, without doubt, 1400". What authority Dr. Davies had for his statement will probably remain undiscovered. Dr. Pughe undoubtedly based his on Dr. Davies. He realised the difficulties that would confront him if Dafydd lived after 1400, the year of Owen Glyndwr's rebellion.

The evidence in favour of 1368 is superficially more satisfactory. According to the *Iolo MSS.* Hopcin ap Thomas ap Einion o Ynys Dawy, who is said to have been living in 1420, wrote in 1380:—

" Mil meddant trichant trwy ochain—irad  
 Wyth ereill a thrigain  
 Marw y bu Prydydd mirain  
 Mab Gwilym gerdd edlym gain."

This "englyn" was taken by Iolo from a MS. in the Hafod Library, which was afterwards burnt. It is, therefore, impossible now to ascertain, by the judgment of an expert palaeographer like Dr. Gwenogfryn Evans, what was the approximate date of the MS. It may be possible, however, for someone, like Professor J. Morris Jones, versed in the history of the Welsh metres, to determine from internal evidence the date of the "englyn". For my own part, I confess to some scepticism as to the date. The "englyn" seems to me to be too metrically correct for 1380 or even 1420. It is more likely to have been composed after Dafydd ap Edmwnnt had stereotyped the metre at the Carmarthen Eisteddfod of 1451. Nor do I know anything of Hopcin ap Thomas of Ynys Dawy; or of his date.

There is, therefore, no satisfactory direct evidence as to the date of Dafydd's death, and we are driven to try and discover internal evidence in his own works or in those of contemporaries or successors.

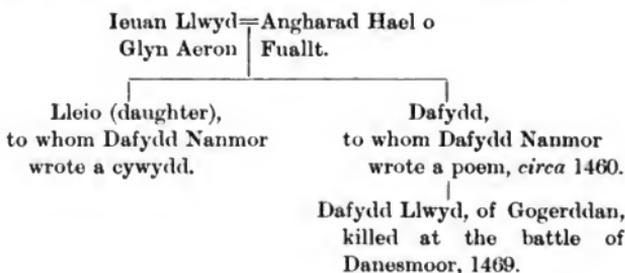
There are many references in Dafydd to contemporaries. Let me name a few.<sup>1</sup> Ifor Hael (poems 1 to 13); Rhys Wgan (99); Rhydderch ap Ieuan Llwyd (234); Hywel ap Tudur ap Ednyfed Fychan, Dean of Bangor (228); Rhys Meigen (230); Llewelyn ap Gwilym Fychan (231-2); Ieuan o Fôn (229); Angharad Hael (233); Madog Benfras (147, 235); Gruffydd ap Adda ap Dafydd (236); Rhys ap Tudur, Harper (237); Morfydd Lwyd, daughter of Madog Lawgam of Anglesea; Cynfrig Cynin, y "Bwa Bach"; Gruffydd Grug; Dyddgu, daughter of Ieuan Gruffydd. This is not an exhaustive list: I have only taken a few at haphazard. If we could only fix the date of three or four of them, we would go some way to solving the mystery which at present surrounds Dafydd's life. Take, for instance, the name of the man whose name is indissolubly connected with Dafydd—Ifor Hael. Who was he? When did he live? We know that he lived at Maesaleg, which was one of the many mansions of the great family of Morgan of Tredegar. Years ago I tried to discover if there was any document at Tredegar which would help us to the knowledge of Ifor Hael's identity. Such a document does not exist. According to the *Iolo MSS.* and G. T. Clark (neither a very trustworthy witness on such matters) Ifor Hael died in 1361. Pughe, in his Introduction, says that "the father of Ifor was Llewelyn ap Ifor ap Llewelyn ap Bledri ap Cadifor ap Gwyn ap Collwyn . . . The eldest son of Llewelyn ap Ifor was Morgan ap Llewelyn, Lord of Tredegar in the parish of Maesaleg; Ifor, the second son, was the Lord of Maesaleg, y Wenallt, and Gwern-y-gleppa. He died without heirs, and the estate went to his nephew, Llewelyn, son of Morgan ap Llewelyn . . . Ifor's mother was Angharad,

<sup>1</sup> *Barddoniaeth Dafydd ab Gwilym* (Llundain, 1789).

daughter of Sir Morgan ap Meredydd ap Gruffydd ap Meredydd Gethin, the son of Rhys ap Tewdwr Mawr."

Mr. J. H. Davies has, I believe, discovered some references in the Record Office which inclines him to put the date of Ifor's birth about 1335. It would be something to the good if Mr. Davies were to publish whatever he has been able to glean on this subject. In my discursive adventures into the unfathomable bog of our Records, I have not happened to come across anything which connects Ifor Hael with Ifor ap Llewelyn, or which helps us in any way in the investigation into Dafydd's date.

Dafydd's Elegy (234) to "Rhydderch" is said to be to "Rhydderch ap Ieuan Llwyd". There is nothing in the body of the poem to bear out the heading. Until we get Dr. Gwenogfryn Evans's edition, we shall not know if the heading was suggested by a late scribe, or even by Pughe's ingenious fancy, or if it appeared in the earlier MSS. If, indeed, it be Rhydderch ap Ieuan Llwyd, it affords a useful clue. We know something of this Rhydderch.



Rhydderch ap Ieuan Llwyd was the owner of *Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch*, the oldest copy of the *Mabinogion*, now in the Peniarth collection. He was alive in 1391 (v. *Arch. Camb.*, 4th Ser., vol. ix, p. 300): he died, according to a note in *Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch*, in 1397. There is this reference to him in Lewys Glyn Cothi (p. 315):—

“Iolo'n wir yng Nglyn Aeron  
A wnaeth wers yn yr iaith hon :  
Eithr y mab oedd athraw mawr  
Ac i Rydderch yn gerddawr.”

If, therefore, Dafydd ap Gwilym wrote the elegy to Rhydderch ap Ieuan Llwyd, it must have been after 1397. But I should like to ask three questions about this “Cywydd”.

1. Is it certain that Dafydd is the author? For my own part, I have little doubt that he was.

2. Is the elegy to Rhydderch ap Ieuan Llwyd? He is only mentioned as “Rhydderch” in the body of the poem. “Rhydderch ap Ieuan Llwyd” was a great patron of the bards, and his name was a famous one among the fraternity for generations. May not some copyist of a later age have for the first time suggested that it was to Rhydderch ap Ieuan Llwyd?

3. Who is the “Llewelyn” mentioned in the poem? Can it be “Llewelyn ap Gwilym” of Emlyn, said to have been Dafydd's uncle?

“Pa dwrwf yw hwn, pryderoch?  
Pefr loes! Pwy a roes yr och?  
Llewelyn, o 'syddyn serch,  
A roddes hon am Rydderch  
Fychan, gerllaw ei lân lys,  
Ffydd-frawd Rhydderch ddiffodd-frys!  
Och Emlyn, ei dyddyn dig,  
Galaeth mammaeth am ewig!”

But Llewelyn was killed presumably when Dafydd was young (231-232).

“Os marw fewythr, ys mawr—o ryfig  
Aur aerfa Cymru fawr!  
Nad oeddwn, ei nai diddawr,  
Nad af y'ngwyllt—Duw fy ngawr.”

Is it not possible to discover when Llewelyn ap Gwilym, of Dolgoch and Cryngae yn Emlyn, flourished?

Another puzzle that confronts the inquirer is, who was Cynfrig Cynin, y "bwa bach", who was married to Morfydd, and who (according to poem 99) went with "Rhys fab Gwgan" to the French wars. So complete is the mystery that envelopes him that some have been driven to conjecture that "Cynfrig Cynin" was not his real name. But who, then, was "Rhys fab Gwgan" who went to the French wars? Is he the same man as the "Rhys Wgawn" who, according to the heading of the first poem ascribed to Iolo Goch in Ashton's collection, was killed at Crecy, and was buried in Carmarthen?

"Yngo fy nghar yn anghudd  
Yng Nghaer fardd Emrys yng nghudd."

I have found no reference to "Rhys fab Gwgan" anywhere in the lists of the captains who took part in the French wars. "He went to France in 1369" according to Owen Pughe; but Pughe, as usual, gives no data which can guide us to a conclusion. There are two, if not more, men of the name of Rhys ap Gruffydd who figured in the wars. In Rymer's *Fœdéra*, one Rhys is said to have joined the expeditions to France in 1345, 1346, and 1352, and he is mentioned also in 1359. Possibly this is the Rhys ap Gruffydd who is mentioned in Carnhuanawc as helping Edward III against his mother in 1327, and is mentioned in the Patent Rolls, Edw. III, in 1328, as aiding against the Scots. But another Rhys ap Gruffydd, according to Rymer, was appointed to guard the Pembrokeshire coast in 1377, and was appointed to hold the Assize of oyer and terminer in the Midlands in July 1379 (Pat. Rolls). In 1380 he died, and his lands are given to others "during the minority of the heir" (4 Rich. II, pt. i, Pat. Rolls). Rymer describes this Rhys as "of Nerber" (Narberth). If Cynfrig was an Anglesea or Merioneth man, it is hardly

likely that he would have joined the force of a South Wales chieftain.

We are on firmer ground when we come to Hywel ap Tudur (poem 228) to whom Dafydd wrote "awdl o folawd", a "Song of praise". Hywel was Dean of Bangor from 1359 to 1370, and Dafydd refers to him as "gwr henaidd". We have it therefore that this poem was written some time before 1370. If Dafydd "flourished" before 1370, it is scarcely conceivable that he lived till 1400: for life was short in the Middle Ages.

But it is in the "ymryson" between Gruffydd Gryg and Dafydd that we find numerous personal allusions. Gruffydd is said to have "flourished" 1340-1370, but how Pughe was able to fix his date is not apparent. In any event, Gruffydd seems to me to have the better of the poetic tournament, though he was, according to his own confession, Dafydd's disciple.

"Disgibl wyf, ef am dysgawdd,  
Dysgawdr cywydd heawdr hawdd."

According to Dafydd, he was a year younger than he "mewn gwaradwydd".

"Gwr iau ydyw mewn gwaradwydd  
Mewn difri na'm fi o flwydd."

Dafydd is said to have been born out of wedlock. Is this a reference to the fact that both he and Gruffydd had both been born "mewn gwaradwydd"?

Gruffydd taunts Dafydd that he is not a Rhys Meigen.

"Medra bwyll, a mydr o ben,—  
Mogel!—nid wyf Rys Meigen.

. . . . .  
A Rhys Meigen, rhos magawd,  
Gwn fo las y gwas a gwawd."

This seems to be an allusion to the tradition that Rhys Meigen was so overcome by Dafydd's satire in the court of

Llewelyn ap Gwilym that he died. Rhys is said to have provoked Dafydd by taunting him,

“Mil trichant, meddant i mi—y ganwyd  
Y genaw dan llwyni.”

No doubt this is a reference to Dafydd's unhallowed birth, but can it mean that Dafydd was said to have been born in 1300? If so, it can only be the poet's license, in order to make the young Dafydd appear older than he was.

That Dafydd was a “plentyn llwyn a pherth” is almost beyond question. But it is curious that Cynddelw should conclude in his Introduction (p. 39)<sup>1</sup> that in “Cywydd yr Oed” the bard alludes to his own birth “under a hedge at Llandaff”.

“Yn wir nos Wener nesaf  
Yw nos Wener haner haf,  
Genyf y mae, gwyn fy myd!  
Ugain haf ac un hefyd.  
Y dydd y lluniwyd Addaf  
Y lluniwyd oed yn Llandaf:  
Dan berth, ni wyr dyn o'r byd,  
Yma haner fy mhenyd.”

But surely this refers to an assignation which he made with his “mun” at Llandaff when he was twenty-one.

When the “ymryson” between the two bards broke out, Dafydd was no longer young and unknown. He had been hymning Morfydd's praises for ten years.

“Er deng mlwydd i heddyw  
Dafydd a ddywawd wawd wiw,” etc.

He taunts Dafydd with his loss of popularity in North Wales.

“Hoff oedd y' Ngwynedd, meddynt,  
Yn newydd ei gywydd gynt.”

The popular idea is that Dafydd, after once meeting Morfydd, remained ever after true “i'r fun o Eithinfynydd”. He himself seems to lend colour to the belief.

<sup>1</sup> *Barddoniaeth Dafydd ab Gwilym* (Liverpool, 1873).

“Pryddydd i Forfydd f'eurferch  
 I'm hoes wyf a mawr yw'm serch  
 Mi ai cerais im cerydd  
 Hoew loer deg er's lawer dydd,” etc.

Yet, in the “ymryson”, Gruffydd says,

“Trwm iawn yth farnaf Dafydd  
 Trist a fu Dyddgu o'r dydd.”

And in the elegy which he composed on hearing a false report of Dafydd's death, he says,

“A synwyr cerdd nawr unud  
 A gwae Dyddgu pan fu fud.”

In his own poem to Dyddgu, daughter of Ieuan Gruffydd, “wyr cyhelyn” (12), he seems to imply that he was an old man.

“Ni'm car hon, fo'm curia haint,  
 Fe'm gad hun, fe'm gad henaint.”

Is it to be concluded that Dafydd came to know Dyddgu after Morfydd? or that “Morfydd” was only a fancy name, like Horace's Chloe or Ceiriog's Myfanwy? This would appear to be his own confession in one of his lightest, liveliest *cywyddau*.

Before closing these haphazard notes, I should like to draw attention to one other vexed question. Where was Dafydd buried? Was it at Talley Abbey, in Carmarthen-shire, or at Ystrad Fflur, in Cardiganshire?

Gruffydd Gryg, in his “false” elegy, says :

“Yr ywen i oreu-was  
 Ger mur Ystrad Fflur a'i phlas  
 Da Duw wrthyd, gwynfyd gwydd,  
 Dy dyfu yn dŷ Dafydd.”

On the other hand, Hopcin ap Thomas ap Einion in the Hafod MS., which I have mentioned before, wrote (in 1380 according to Iolo) :

“Ym medd y gorwedd a'r garreg—arnaw  
 Mawr ernych gloyw ofeg  
 Accw yn ynys cain waneg  
 Lle uwch dwr, Tal-llychau deg.”

But, as I have said, I suspect this and the other “englyn” to be of much later origin than 1380 or 1420. Indeed, the allusion to a stone on the poet's grave seems to me to convict it of a late seventeenth or early eighteenth century date.

Sion Bradford (d. 1785) quotes from *Llyfr Achau Thomas Jones, Fountain Gate* (written circa 1600) that Dafydd was buried in Talley. *Llyfr Achau* is now in the Cardiff Library. Can somebody who has access to the MS. verify Sion Bradford's extract? If so, it would prove that as early as the time of Thomas Jones, *Fountain Gate*, there existed a tradition that Dafydd was buried at Talley, and as Thomas Jones was of Tregaron, near Ystrad Fflur, it would afford some proof that there was no such tradition at the time in favour of Ystrad Fflur even locally.

In one of the *Mostyn MSS.* Thomas William (Thomas ap William) gives a “list of bards and their burial places”. The MS. was written or copied before 1609, and it gives Talley as the poet's burial-place.

These are some of the questions which occur to one's mind after a cursory glance at Dafydd's poems. At present no final or satisfactory answer can be given to any of them. But enough, it is hoped, has been said to show what a fruitful field of enquiry opens before the Welsh student who is willing to devote some attention to the investigation of the life-story of Dafydd ap Gwilym.

## DAFYDD AP GWILYM—A FURTHER NOTE.

By J. H. DAVIES, M.A.

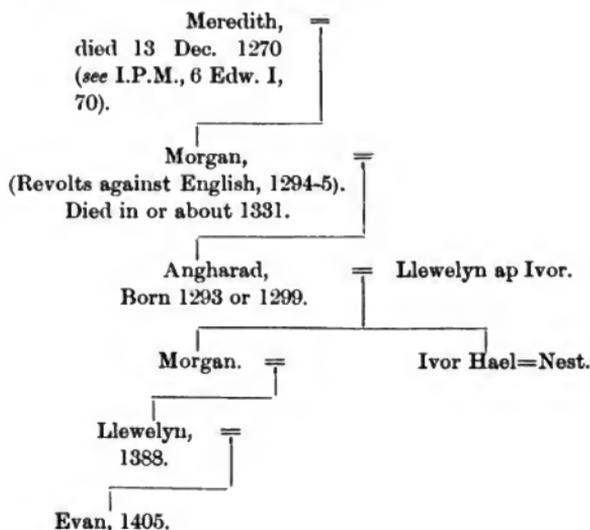
IN consequence of the reference<sup>1</sup> made by Mr. Llewelyn Williams in the foregoing Notes to some data bearing on the history of Dafydd ap Gwilym, which I came across at the Record Office some time ago, I have been asked to add a few observations to what Mr. Williams has already written. In dealing with the poetry of the Welsh bards, it is often difficult to assign certain poems to one out of perhaps three or four contemporary poets. Thus many of the poems attributed to Dafydd ap Gwilym in the printed editions of his works were possibly not written by him, and any argument as to his history founded on such poems would be unreliable. As an instance of this let us take "Marwnad Rhys ab Tudur, Telynor", p. 474, in the 1789 Edition. For various reasons, which it is unnecessary to enquire into here, it is fairly certain that Dafydd did not write this poem. If he did write it, then he must have been alive in 1412, the date of Rhys ab Tudur's death. It is therefore of prime importance to ascertain what poems were really written by Dafydd, before we draw inferences as to his personal history and the period in which he lived.

It may be assumed that Dafydd himself wrote the poems which group themselves around the person of Ifor Hael, for not only does every scrap of tradition which we possess support this view, but the poems themselves reveal his master hand.

It is thus important that we should ascertain who Ivor Hael was, and when he lived. From Poem II it

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, p. 60.—(E.V.E.)

appears that Ifor lived at Maesaleg in the ancient province of Morganwg, and we are thus able to identify him with a certain Ivor ap Llewelyn who lived at Maesaleg during the fourteenth century. This Ivor had an elder brother Morgan, and their father, who in some accounts is called Lord of St. Clears, was married to Angharad, only child and sole heiress of a certain Sir Morgan ab Meredith. I have failed to come across any contemporary reference to Ivor Hael at the Record Office, but there are still in existence numerous records containing references to his mother, his grandfather, and his nephews. The pedigree may be set out in the following way :



In an *Inquisition Post Mortem*, dated 10 Dec. 1331, on the death of Morgan ap Meredith, the jurors "being asked who is the next heir of him Morgan and what age they say that Angharad daughter of him Morgan is his next heir who is thirty-two years of age". In another Inquisition held at Carmarthen in May 1333 the jurors said "that Angharad

the daughter of the same Morgan is his next heir and is forty years of age". In a third Inquisition Angharad is simply said to be of full age. It will be seen, therefore, that Angharad was born either in 1293 or 1299.<sup>1</sup>

There is no reference in either of the Inquisitions to Angharad's marriage, a fact which it might be thought the jurors would be certain to mention. Even if Angharad was married at the time, and if it be conceded that she was born in 1293, her second son Ivor could not have been born much before 1318. If she were not married then he could not have been born before about 1335. Dafydd ap Gwilym was in all probability a younger man than Ivor Hael. If the title of Poem XII is correct, the nun he was accused of courting was Ivor Hael's daughter. If he and the daughter were about the same age, one could not on any hypothesis place Dafydd's birth earlier than 1340.

It will be noticed that according to the above pedigree Ivor Hael's brother Morgan had a son Llewelyn. This Llewelyn ap Morgan is frequently mentioned in records.<sup>2</sup> He was appointed steward of Magor on Oct. 3rd, 1388. He, again, had a son Evan, who witnessed a charter on 21 Oct. 1405.<sup>3</sup> These dates, as far as they go, are an argument for locating Ivor Hael's birth about the beginning of the second quarter of the fourteenth century. As a test of accuracy in pedigrees it is fairly safe to count a generation as thirty years, and applying this to the present pedigree we would find that Angharad, who was born in 1293, should have a son born in 1323, a grandson in 1353, and a great grandson in 1383. These dates fit in

<sup>1</sup> Owing to the distance from London I am not able to give the exact references to these Inquisitions, but they may be easily found by reference to the Calendars of *I. P. M.* for the period.

<sup>2</sup> *Pat. Roll*, 11 Rich. II, pt. 1, m. 7; *P. R.*, 12 Rich. II, pt. 1, m. 16; *I. P. M.*, 10 Rich. II, no. 38; *M. A.*, 1,166, 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Add. Ch.* 20,509.

fairly accurately with the known dates in the above pedigree.

Mr. Llewelyn Williams deals with the points arising out of the elegy written by Dafydd ap Gwilym on "Rhydderch" (No. 234). In Owen Pughe's edition this poem is said to have been written on the death of "Rhydderch ab Ieuan Llwyd o'r Gogerddan". Now this statement is manifestly inaccurate, for Rhydderch ab Ieuan Llwyd, who is frequently mentioned in the records, did not live at Gogerddan. His grandson appears to have been the first of the family to settle there. In the course of the poem the following lines occur:

"Pwy a roes yr och?  
Llewelyn, o 'syddyn serch,  
A roddes hon am Rhydderch  
Fychan, gerllaw ei lân lys;  
Ffydd-frawd Rhydderch ddiffodl-frys,  
Och *Emlyn*, ei dyddyn dig!"

There are two points to note in this extract: in the first place Rhydderch is called Rhydderch Fychan, and this Rhydderch Fychan had a "ffydd-frawd", a "brother in the faith", known as Llewelyn; and secondly the word *Emlyn* is used in Owen Pughe's version, whereas the manuscripts, as far as I have inspected them, invariably have not "Emlyn" but "erlyn".<sup>1</sup>

The word *Emlyn* was imported into the poem, as the transcriber thought the Llewelyn referred to was Llewelyn ab Gwilym Fychan of *Emlyn*. There is every reason to believe that this was not so, because, in the first place, if the reading "Emlyn" is inaccurate, there is nothing whereby to identify Llewelyn ab Gwilym Fychan with the Llewelyn of the poem.

In the second place we have a definite statement in at least one Manuscript (Llanstephan 53, p. 124) that the

<sup>1</sup> *Gorchestion Beirdd Cymru* (Edition 1773) has "erlyn".

Llewelyn referred to was one "Llewelyn Fychan ap Llewelyn Gaplan". The question then arises as to the identity of Llewelyn Fychan, and on turning to the *Myfyrian Archæology* (Gee's Edition), pp. 340, 341, we find two poems addressed to him by Llewelyn Goch ab Meurig hen,<sup>1</sup> a contemporary of Dafydd ap Gwilym. From these elegies it appears that Llewelyn was the abbot of Ystrad Fflur, and that the bard looked upon Llewelyn and a certain Rhydderch<sup>2</sup> as his patrons. Of Rhydderch he says—

"Rhydderch wrth hir-ferch ddigynghorfynt  
Rhi deutu Aeron ein rhaid yttynt  
Rhwydd rhag Llywelyn fo hyn o hynt  
Fychan ddiymgel echel uchynt."

It may be noted in passing that Rhydderch ab Ieuan Llwyd lived at Parc-Rhydderch in the parish of Llanbadarn-odyn, on the banks of the river Aeron. He was "bedellus", or beadle, of Mabwynion in 1387, thus holding the chief official position under the Government in the Crown Manor adjacent to his home. The Welsh poets of the period continually refer to Rhydderch and his family, and his ancestors for many generations had been generous patrons of the bards. Rhydderch was certainly alive in 1392, as he is mentioned in the Patent Roll 15 Rich. II, pt. 2, m. 38. Whether he was the same person as the Rhydderch Fychan of Dafydd's poem it is difficult to say. I have not been able to trace Llewelyn Fychan later than 1381, but references to him will be found in 1369 (Williams' *Strata Florida*, p. 148) and in 1362 (Chamberlain's Accounts 35 Edward III). In the Great Roll of

<sup>1</sup> Iolo Goch wrote elegies on the deaths of Dafydd ap Gwilym and Llewelyn Goch (*Gwiethiau Iolo Goch*, pp. 310, 378).

<sup>2</sup> In the title of the poem Rhydderch is said to be a brother to Llewelyn, but there is nothing in the poem to give colour to this idea, and the titles of Welsh poems are frequently modern additions, and notoriously inaccurate.

Debtors (M. A. 1159, 14) of 23 Richard II (1399) one John was Abbot of Strata Florida, so it is probable that Llewelyn Fychan was dead at that date.

The effect of this evidence is to prove that Dafydd ap Gwilym, who wrote an elegy on Rhydderch ap Ieuan Llwyd, must have been alive in 1392, and if the date of Rhydderch's death as given by Mr. Williams is correct (p. 60), he was alive in 1397.

The other point touched upon by Mr. Llewelyn Williams is far easier to elucidate. In the edition of Dafydd ap Gwilym's poems edited by W. O. Pughe (p. xxxiii) there appear two elegies written by Gruffydd Gryg on the death of Dafydd ap Gwilym. There is a tradition as regards one of these elegies that it was written before Dafydd really died, as the result of a stratagem on the part of one Bola Beuol.<sup>1</sup> The story is set forth in *Llanstephan MS.* 133, p. 1034. After copying all the "cywyddau ymryson" within his reach, the transcriber states :

"Nid oes gennyf fi ond hyn o'r cywyddau ymryson a fu rhwng Dafydd ap Gwilym a Gruffydd Gryg. Mi ddarllenais fod dau ar hugain o honynt, ac yr oedd pob un wedi rhoi ei fryd na chai'r llall y diwethaf. Ac e ddaeth Bola Beuol ac a ddaliodd gynglwst a gwr bonheddig y gwnai fo hwynt yn gyfeillion ac a ddaeth i Wynedd ac a ddywaid i Ruffydd Gryg farw ei feistr Dafydd ap Gwilym ac a wnaeth ynteu Gywydd Marwnad iddo fo, ac a ddaeth yn ol i Ddeheubarth ac a ddywad farw Gruffydd Gryg ac e wnaeth Dafydd ap Gwilym gywydd marwnad iddo yntau ac yna gwedi deallt gwaith Bola Beuol a chlywed marwnad eu gilydd hwy a aethant yn gyfeillion ac yma y canlyn yn gyntaf Marwnad Dafydd ap Gwilym o waith Gruffydd Gryg,

"Dafydd fab Gwilym ymmy," etc.

From this statement it is clear that the so-called "false elegy" is the one beginning "Dafydd fab Gwilym ymmy". Any person who will take the trouble to read the

<sup>1</sup> See 1789 Edition, p. xix.

“cywyddau ymryson” between Dafydd and Gruffydd Gryg will find that the elegy beginning “Dafydd ap Gwilym ymmy” is the natural sequel to these poems. To give a few instances, Gruffydd Gryg states :

“Dewiswn dduchan glanbryd  
O ben Dafydd, brydydd bryd,  
Cyn pryd ym, gloywrym glod,  
O arall, angall yngod.”

Again,

“Cyn ei farw bu gyfarwas  
Rh'of ac ef i bu rhyw gas  
Pwy bynnag, dldinag dldinam  
O ferw cerdd fu ar y cam,  
Maddau i'r prifardd hardd-faeth  
Hoyw Dduw nef heddyw a wnaeth.”

I have looked through Dr. Gwenogfryn Evans's catalogues cursorily for the purpose of finding out which of the two elegies follows the “cywyddau ymryson” in the various transcripts, and I find that in every case I have noticed the one beginning “Dafydd ap Gwilym ymmy” is regarded as the “false elegy”.<sup>1</sup>

If this is the case, then it surely follows that the other elegy was a genuine one, written after Dafydd's death. This elegy begins as follows :

“Yr Ywen i oreu-was  
Ger mur Ystrad Fflur, a'i phlâs  
Da Duw wrthyd, gwynfyd gwýdd  
Dy dyfu yn dŷ Dafydd !”

Dafydd ap Gwilym was undoubtedly buried under a yew-tree in the graveyard of Strata Florida Abbey.

If Dafydd was buried at Strata Florida how is it possible to account for the englynion written by Hopcin ap Thomas ap Einion (who was certainly a contemporary of Dafydd's).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Mostyn MS.* 160, p. 47; *Mostyn MS.* 212, p. 99; *Llanstephan MS.* 133, p. 1034; *Hafod MS.* 26, p. 100; *Curtmawr MS.* 5, p. 347.

<sup>2</sup> There are references to him in the first volume of the *Myfyrian Archaeology*, p. 340, etc. Bradley's *Glyndwr*, p. 198.

The englynion are stated to have been taken from a MS. in the Hafod Library. There is no proof that the MS. has been burnt, for as Dr. Gwenogfryn Evans points out in his preface to Vol. II of his Calendar, twenty-nine of these MSS. are still in existence. The englynion do not occur in one of these twenty-nine MSS. The only suggestion I can make is either that the englynion do not refer to Dafydd ap Gwilym at all, or that they have been fabricated. A great deal of the material relating to Dafydd in the *Iolo MSS.* was undoubtedly fabricated, and it is impossible to draw the line between what is true and what is false in the historical sections of the book.

Mr. Williams lays stress upon the fact that Sion Bradford quotes from *Llyfr Achau Thomas Jones o Dregaron* a statement that Dafydd spent the end of his days at Talley, and was buried there. The *Llyfr Achau* referred to is not in the Cardiff Library. There is a book of pedigrees at the library which has been attributed to Thomas Jones, but it was written after his death.

“The list of bards and their burial-places” given by Thos. Williams may be found in many seventeenth century manuscripts, but it is clearly a late compilation, as it contains the names of bards who died late in the sixteenth century. As regards the latter, it may be admitted as *prima facie* proof, but it can not be considered as an authority of any value with regard to the burial-place of a bard who died two hundred years before it was compiled. The general conclusions I come to are that Dafydd ap Gwilym flourished approximately from 1340 to 1400 and that he was buried at Strata Florida. I hope to have an opportunity soon of publishing a more detailed discussion on the facts of the life of Dafydd ap Gwilym.

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## BALLADS OF WALES.

## THE LAY OF PRINCE GRIFFITH.

BY

LLEWELYN WILLIAMS, M.P.

THE boding clouds hung dark and drear  
 Above the waves of Llangorse mere,  
 While two wayfarers hied their way,—  
 The one a harper, old and grey,  
 Bearing with him his well-lov'd *crwth*,  
 The next, a tall and slender youth,  
 Whose stately mien and comely face  
 Betokened no ignoble race.

On every hand there met their sight  
 Grim traces of the Norman's might.  
 The kindly folk of Brychan's land  
 Were gripped in Bernard's ruthless hand,  
 While fair Glamorgan's wide domain  
 Was mastered by Fitzhamon's train,  
 And proud Dinevor's youthful heir  
 Lay hiding in some Irish lair.  
 The hopes of Wales had fallen low  
 And no one dared withstand the foe.  
 E'en Conan's son, Eryri's pride,  
 In slothful ease had still to bide.

Alone the minstrels fanned the flame  
 That purifies a nation's shame.  
 They sang of Arthur's Table Round  
 And of Avallon's mystic ground,

Where slumbering lay the Hero-King  
Ready to life again to spring,  
Surrounded by his armed knights,  
And deal a blow for Cymru's rights.  
They strove in deathless song to teach  
The splendour of the Cymric speech.  
They tuned their martial airs anew  
And from them inspiration drew ;  
They bade the Cymry lift their head,  
To let the dead past bury its dead,  
And stand erect, a nation free,  
As told by ancient prophecy.  
And of the minstrels none so great,  
None 'gainst the *estron* nursed such hate,  
None strove so hard to lift the ban  
As Morgan Hên of Pen-y-van.

Of Morgan's life strange tales were told  
That blenched the cheeks e'en of the bold.  
His father fell at Harold's hand  
What time the Saxon scoured the land.  
His mother, reft of home and mind,  
Her husband's corse went forth to find,  
And in a lone and darksome glen  
Where lay the bleaching bones of men,  
She died in travail, and her child  
Grew up on whom no mother smiled.  
No woman gave him of her breast,  
With love of maid he ne'er was blest.  
Close by his mother's unmarked grave  
He found a dank and dismal cave,  
Bored in the rock on Merlin's Van  
Far from the ken of mortal man ;  
There he dwelt, a hermit wild,  
Alone with nature, nature's child.

Who taught him in his earliest youth  
 To win sweet music from the *crwth*,  
 Or weave the songs that make the blood  
 Course through the veins in surging flood,  
 No one could tell, and all in vain  
 The curious asked of Morgan Hên.  
 He dwelt alone, apart from men,  
 Nor ever left his lonely glen,  
 Unless some *estron* lord or knight  
 Brought in his train war's fatal blight,  
 Then none so forward in the fray,  
 So ready with a warlike lay,  
 Or mix with sound of harp the strain  
 That lifts the heart as Morgan Hên.

The Van lay hidden 'neath a cloud,  
 Its glens dripped in their vapoury shroud :  
 The shivering trees, like spectres gaunt,  
 The lonesome hillside seemed to haunt :  
 No cry of beast, no scream of bird,  
 No voice of man the dull air stirred :  
 The world in ghastly silence lay  
 And darkness took the place of day :  
 The boldest shepherd lurked at home  
 Nor dared to brave the hideous gloom :  
 The sullen sun ne'er threw a beam  
 To gild the greyness of the stream,  
 Which tumbled down, in angry flood,  
 Past the cave where Morgan stood.

The harper, wrapped in reverie,  
 Gazed with eyes that did not see  
 Into the slowly thickening gloom  
 Which veiled the wildness of the *cwm*,



When suddenly a bugle-horn  
 Awaked the echoes of the morn,  
 And from the mist the lingering strain  
 On Morgan's ear fell once again.  
 While silent still the harper stood,  
 Loth to leave his poor abode,  
 Attracted by the fire's gleam  
 The lonely bugler crossed the stream,  
 And standing, startled and amazed,  
 Before the cave at Morgan gazed.

No manlier form, no nobler face,  
 Did ever classic sculptor trace.  
 The generous look of wholesome youth  
 Was kindled with the fire of truth ;  
 The thoughtful brow, the stately frame,  
 The sparkling eye, so quick to flame,  
 Betrayed, in spite of manner bland,  
 The lifelong habit of command.  
 The stranger gazed in dumb surprise  
 At Morgan Hên's eccentric guise,—  
 The flowing locks in disarray,  
 The unkempt beard, long and grey,  
 The cavernous eye, the withered form,  
 That bore the marks of sun and storm,  
 The sheepskin habit, soiled and torn,  
 The *crwth* across the shoulder borne,—  
 A stranger figure did he seem  
 Than e'er was pictured in a dream.

Anon the youth advanced a pace  
 And spake to Morgan face to face,  
 "A stranger I", he frankly said,  
 "Who from my way have blindly strayed,

The mountain mist obscured my road  
 And drove me loth to thine abode."  
 Morgan scanned with piercing eye  
 The stranger e'er he made reply ;  
 " Fair sir, I cannot bid thee share  
 My poor abode or lowly fare :  
 A summons came but yester e'en  
 To call me to a distant scene.  
 My mission will not brook delay,—  
 E'en now I should be on my way,—  
 If thou my lagging steps canst bide  
 Past Brecon town I'll be thy guide."  
 " I give thee thanks," the stranger said,  
 " Sweeter to me than food or bed,  
 Thy courteous pledge to guide me down  
 From this wild peak past Brecon town.  
 I, too, have tarried on this hill  
 Far longer than has pleased my will."

They started forth, an ill-matched pair,  
 The labours of the way to share :  
 The stranger strode with wingèd heel,  
 Nor seemed the journey's toil to feel ;  
 While Morgan's lithe and lissom frame  
 E'en put his comrade's youth to shame.

The mist in vapoury circles rose  
 As if wild nature to disclose,  
 —The golden gorse of radiant hue,  
 The heather, fragrant with the dew,  
 The foxglove, flaming in the shade,  
 The trefoils carpeting each glade,  
 The mountain ash, the stunted oak,  
 Found slender foothold in the rock,

The silver birch and towering pine  
 Gave shelter to sweet eglantine,  
 While far below them in the sun  
 The devious Towy's waters shone ;  
 —The prospect seemed, so wildly grand,  
 A glimpse at an enchanted land.

Each landmark served to wake some strain,  
 Some subtle chord in Morgan Hên,  
 He weaved brave tales around each spot  
 Of wars and battles long forgot,  
 Of knights who fought our Wales to free,  
 And ancient lore of chivalry.  
 He dwelt on legends that are told  
 Still by the mountaineers bold.  
 He told the story, ever new,  
 Of young Rhiwallon's love so true,  
 That made the Lady of the Lake  
 Become a mortal for his sake.  
 Each place throbb'd with some romance  
 That cause the listener's blood to dance.  
 The youth in lively wonderment  
 The tedious hours of travel spent,  
 Nor reck'd that night was falling fast  
 As Brecon town they gladly passed.  
 Full soon they came to Llangorse mere,  
 They stood beside its waters clear,  
 And in the twilight, dim and cold,  
 This is the tale that Morgan told.

## I.

“Savaddan the Golden, walled city of Dyved,  
 False to Prince Urien, and Arthur his lord,  
 Bribed by false Modred, third curse of Britain,  
 Drew on its *T'wysog* a traitorous sword.

Savaddan the Golden, walled city of Dyved,  
Woe to thy people, a curse on thy name!

## II.

“Merlin enchanter, third wise man of Britain,  
Laid on Savaddan a direful spell,  
Sunk the proud town 'neath seven fathoms of water,  
That sprang at his word from a magic well.  
Savaddan the Golden, walled city of Dyved,  
Woe to thy people, a curse on thy name!

## III.

“Merlin the wizard, third wonder of Britain,  
His weird enchantment laid on the men,  
Bade them assume the form of the waterfowl  
That still haunt unquiet this mere and fen.  
Savaddan the Golden, walled city of Dyved,  
Woe to thy people, a curse on thy name!

## IV.

“Still 'tis decreed by wise Merlin's enchantment  
When Prince Urien's *etivedd* passes this lake,  
The waterfowl fly, in sorrowful penance,  
Around him, their Lord, their homage to make.  
Savaddan the Golden, walled city of Dyved,  
Woe to thy people, a curse on thy name!”

The minstrel ceased, and turned his eye  
In sad and dreamy reverie  
Upon the waters of the flood  
That marked where once Savaddan stood.  
A strange sight met his startled eyes  
And turned him stark with dumb surprise.  
As when, the sun sunk in the west,  
A cloud springs from the ocean's breast,



And mounts aloft the starry sky  
And dims the moon's bright ecstasy,  
And in its wake its kin appear,  
Scudding the sky so lately clear,  
And turn it to a murky pit  
Where wind and storm enthronèd sit,  
Shaking their dank dishevelled hair  
And rolling thunder through the air :  
So now the fowl with raucous cries  
Seemed to the bard's astonished eyes,  
To mount like cloudlets 'gainst the sky  
And form a moving canopy,  
Flapping loud wings, above the head  
Of the tall youth that Morgan led,  
And high aloft, in azure blue,  
The ravens of Dinevor flew !  
" My lord, my prince ! " old Morgan cried  
And knelt in rapture at his side,  
" Hail, Griffith, heir to Rhys's sword,  
Dinevor's heir, all Dyved's lord,  
The spell still works wise Myrddin's will,—  
Dinevor is Dinevor still ! "  
The youth's eyes flashed, and in his mien  
An added dignity was seen.  
He stood revealed, the worthy heir  
Of honours proud beyond compare,—  
The heir of Rhys ap Tewdwr Mawr,  
Of Howell Dda, and Rhodri Gawr,  
Of Urien and of Arthur Great,  
Whose sister Urien took for mate.  
And as he gazed with love and pride,  
His eyes aflame, old Morgan cried,  
" To arms ! my Prince, let Wales be free  
Under her native sovereignty !

No more shall our distressful land  
Groan 'neath the Norman's iron hand !  
No more the Saxon tongue shall sound,  
To our mute shame, on Cymric ground !  
Unfurl the Dragon, my liege lord,  
Win back our freedom with thy sword !”

And from the depths of Llangorse mere  
Savaddan's bells rang sweet and clear.

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ITALIAN INFLUENCE ON CELTIC CULTURE.<sup>1</sup>

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THE Italian and the Celt, in spite of their separation by so many leagues of land and sea and by nations intervening, in spite of the centuries during which they were estranged, in spite of the mosaic of motley elements that made up these races, and the chequered fortunes that each has experienced, still have, at the various epochs of their career, exhibited common characteristics and sustained a similar rôle in the world's history. Let us mention two of these natural qualities common to both. Sentiment is one of them. The Celt has been pre-eminently distinguished by this quality. He has always been marked by a delicate sensibility, a refinement of taste, a quickness of apprehension, a luxuriance of imagination, a sense of proportion, and an appreciation of form, elegance and grace. Such have been some of the plain and unmistakable traits of Celtic character. No less has been the devotion of the Celt to those branches of knowledge for which Nature has fitted him and the impress that he has left on the thought, especially on the literature, of his neighbours. For I suppose no one would venture to deny that the Celt preceded the "Anglo-Saxon", not only in the desire for mental cultivation, but also in the custody of learning and in an eminently characteristic zeal for its diffusion. Hence, Celtic influence, predominant in many direc-

<sup>1</sup> Read before the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion at 20, Hanover Square, on 10th May 1906. Chairman, the Right Hon. D. Lloyd George, M.P. (*President of the Board of Trade*).

tions, is discernible in an alien literature, such as German. Antecedently, therefore, one might conjecture that the Celt, so soon as he found an inspiring teacher, would become at once an apt disciple, a ready instrument, and an ardent missionary of the knowledge that he had acquired. Such a teacher and such a field for his enthusiasm he found in Italy.

To say that Italy was a teacher of the nations savours of a truism. Through a happy combination of events Italy became a foster-mother of culture, and many causes combined to render her a centre of enlightenment and a metropolis of knowledge. Her geographical position, her proximity to the Mediterranean (ever the seat of culture), her extent of seaboard opening Italy to every foreigner, her heirship to the treasures of Greek intellect, her constant communication with the mysterious East,—all these circumstances conspired to make her permanently a depository of literary tradition and canons of taste and the starting-point of more than one Renaissance.

Next, it may be observed that the Celt and the Italian carried these above-mentioned qualities into the province of religion. This point is specially relevant to our purpose to-night. A close connection has ever existed between mental and spiritual refinement, and herein the histories of Italian and Celt present parallels to each other. Thus, just as an Italian Bishop, and indeed a long line of Pontiffs, felt a watchful and earnest solicitude for the welfare of the pagan Saxon, so the Celtic missionaries at a later time reciprocated the feeling and repaid the debt by their missionary enterprise in the Italian peninsula. Just as Monasticism, in the early epoch of Christianity, played a principal part in the religious developments of Italy, and the monastic idea passed from the Valley of the Nile, the land of its birth, to Italian soil and there germi-

nated and throve, so in like manner, although quite independently of Italy, Monasticism spread to Celtic Britain and assumed a like form in the Northern regions as previously in the Southern. Just as Pope Gregory despatched from the steps of St. Andrew's on the Coelian Hill in Rome an Augustine, so, long before this, a galaxy of luminaries—Patrick, Columba, and Dewi and their attendant satellites—had been engaged in evangelising the North and the West.

Yet, after all, the resemblances existing between the mind and the mission of the Italian and the Celt respectively, need not excite surprise, for these were due in a great measure to kinship. Kinsmen the Italians and Celts were, who in an era beyond definite historical investigation, had broken away from the parent-stem, who after an estrangement extending over a thousand years and after being moulded by a hundred races, intersecting and conflicting with some, intermingling and combining with others, yet had succeeded in living on and preserving the characteristics that they both inherited from one and the same source. So true are the words of a Latin poet that though "you may drive out Nature with a pitchfork, she will ever come running back again".

But while we recognize in both Italian and Celt the presence of inherent and inborn instinct operating in the same way, Italy enjoyed greater advantages than her sister country in the North, and was peculiarly favoured by a fortunate combination of qualities and concurrence of events. Italy was the spoilt child of Nature, and History co-operated with Nature in lending her importance, in transforming her into a centre from which artistic and æsthetic influence radiated. She has cast her spell upon various conditions of men in various ages, and the enchantment has remained undissipated to this day. The reasons

are not obscure. Her salubrity, her equable climate, the fertility of her soil, the richness of her products, the material splendour of her cities, the majesty of the Imperial organization,

“Qua nihil in terris complectitur altius aether,”<sup>1</sup>

the beauty of her scenery, the legendary associations that gradually gathered around her, the art of which she was the cradle, the literature that she nursed, the hallowed associations that clustered around many spots—all these considerations have united to invest Italy with a glamour calculated to attract and arrest as well the barbarian, the soldier, the scholar and the saint; in short, to make her at once a battlefield, a pleasure-ground, a resort for the pilgrim and a university for the world. The Celtic countries fared differently. High up in the misty North, within their sea-encircled domain, far distant from the Mediterranean, on whose shore the stirring drama of Man's history has been enacted, unaffected by the epoch-making events, but also secure from the succession of convulsions that were shaking the old world to its foundations, the Celtic races, thanks to their very secluded situation, were able to repay Italy in a tumultuous time and dark hour for benefits previously received, and to come to the rescue of a crumbling civilization. But this was as yet hidden in the future.

Meanwhile it is interesting to observe that there were three links between Britain and Italy which had not been severed. The first was the Army. Although Rome, paralyzed at its centre, was obliged to recall its troops, the connection between Britain and the Army did not entirely cease. The profession of arms must even at that early

<sup>1</sup> The Burgundians embraced the Roman religion because they were impressed by the fact that the “God of the Romans is a strong helper to those who fear Him”. Socrates, *Hist. ecc.*, vii, 30.

day have possessed an attraction for our ancestors, and the glories of the Welsh Fusiliers at Alma and Driefontein, the renown of the South Wales Borderers at Rorke's Drift, and of the Irish Fusiliers at Quatre Bras and many another battlefield, have been foreshadowed. Many of our countrymen must have served in the Roman ranks, though their names have passed into oblivion. So much we might have imagined, and the facts bear us out. The inscriptions that have come to light from time to time in various parts of the old Roman Empire attest the presence of British contingents serving under the Roman eagle. Thus, Celtic soldiers were quartered in the following garrison towns in Italy, one at Camerinum, another at Firmum, a third at Pisaurum, and a fourth at Ariminum.<sup>1</sup> Nay, they are found further afield in Pannonia and Hungary, North Africa and Pamphylia,<sup>2</sup> where by a curious coincidence they would be brought into contact with their kinsmen the Galatians. Centuries before this time these latter had joined in a Celtic incursion into Europe—a favourite diversion of our ancestors—but, becoming separated from the main host, had settled down in the fruitful valleys of Asia Minor.

Nor Britons alone served. The Irish, or Scots, as they were then called, were distinguished for their fighting propensities, and we possess clear evidence in the form of inscriptions proving their presence also in various parts of the Empire, while St. Jerome is a voucher for the existence of an Irish legion or regiment in his time. The Saint, who is writing from Treves in North Germany, bears unequivocal testimony to their warlike qualities, and adds

<sup>1</sup> Orelli, *Inscr.*, *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> Le Bas and Waddington, *Voyage Archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure*, iii, 332. σπείρας Βρεταννικῆς ἰ χειλιάρχων λεγεῶνος ἰ Ἀπολλιναρίας.

that their bravery was popularly attributed to the practice of feeding on human flesh.<sup>1</sup> This testimony is confirmed by witnesses from the Irish side. For when the Empire was in peril, and Aetius was entrusted with the task of defending Gaul against the Franks, Dathi, the High King of Ireland, led an Irish contingent in person to help the Roman general to repel the invaders from the Eastern frontier. He met his death beyond the sea. These circumstances, proved as they are by well-authenticated historical evidence, justify the assumption that in those turbulent times and stirring scenes, when Italy resounded to the tramp of armies marching from one province to another, the sturdy, thick-set Welshman and red-haired Scot fought shoulder to shoulder with blue-eyed Gaul, swarthy Spaniard, and olive-skinned Syrian, against the Goth, Hun, and Frank.<sup>2</sup>

The next link between Britain and Italy consisted in the common use of the Latin language, which was largely due to the diffusion of troops among various nationalities and the existence of a network of colonies throughout the Roman dominions. The Latin language became the vehicle of international intercourse, of the Roman administration, of officialdom, of commerce—not, be it observed, the classical style of Virgil or Cicero, but a lower, debased conversational dialect. There is in language a tendency to “phonetic decay” or corruption, which is

<sup>1</sup> *Epist. II, Adv. Jovinianum* and context. But the Irish had a higher opinion of St. Jerome. So great was his authority in the primitive Irish Church that any who disputed his word on Scriptural questions was regarded almost as a heretic.

<sup>2</sup> The arrival of the captive Caractacus at Rome, and the impression created by his bearing and his speech, are vividly described by Tacitus, *Annals*, xii, 36-38. The story of Claudia (2 *Tim.* iv, 21) and the part supposed to have been played by her in the introduction of Christianity naturally possessed a strong fascination for Welsh historians, and

always operating, and especially active in a state of social chaos or transition, such as ensued upon the fall of the Roman Empire. The dialects of the unlettered classes became predominant. The barbarian intruders carried the process of corruption still further, and introduced a multitude of new words. Ultimately there came into being the *lingua Romanza*, out of which sprang the melodious Italian, the vigorous Spanish and the flexible French. But side by side with this popular *patois*, the masterpieces of Roman genius were passed from hand to hand; the *Georgics* and the Second *Philippic*, Horace's *Satires*, and Martial's *Epigrams*, would be perused and applauded on the banks of the Thames as on the Tiber. The Latin vocabulary also, in its turn, gained something by contact with Celtic tongues. Together with some of the Celtic customs and Celtic objects, the Romans adopted their Celtic names, and even some Welsh words were incorporated into the web and warp of classical Latin. The spread of Latin possesses an historical significance when it is considered that Greek, in which treasures of the intellect are enshrined, was destined to be forgotten during several centuries, and the tradition of intellectual culture to be conveyed through Latin. In this way the world was insured against the consequences of a loss which would have changed the character of civilization. The adoption of Latin as the liturgical language, and its spread into the remotest corners of the West, as for instance to Ireland, strengthened the hold of Italy on

they have woven a tissue of charming idylls around her name. There certainly was a lady of British birth whose gifts and graces were celebrated by the poet Martial in the following epigram:—

Claudia caeruleis cum sit Ruffina Britannis

Edita, cur Latiae pectora plebis habes?

Quale decus formae? Romanam credere matres

Italides possunt, Athides esse suam.

Britain, and contributed largely towards staving off the severance between them.<sup>1</sup>

The third link that bound Britain and Italy together remains to be mentioned, and has a direct bearing on the subject in hand. It formed part of the Roman policy to establish Imperial schools in various parts, and even on the extreme frontier of the Empire. Education was a department of government; schools were set up and professors endowed, just as soldiers were stationed and law courts opened in every considerable city of the East and the West. One was situated at Caerleon, in Monmouthshire. Indeed, respectful mention is made by the Latin writers of the schools in Britain generally, and the popularity of the movement betokens the same aspiration after culture in the Celt at that day that distinguishes him at the present, and has become a permanent Celtic attribute. The withdrawal of the legions from Britain in 407 was a serious reversal of the course of progress, and a blow to the prosperity of Britain, but it would be a mistake to suppose that the connection with Rome ceased altogether. Though denuded of her natural defenders, Britain clung tenaciously and proudly to her Imperial inheritance; in spite of the disintegrating influences that followed, the irruptions of wild hordes, and (worst of all) financial ruin that stared the Britons in the face, it was long before Roman civilization was extinguished.<sup>2</sup>

The series of cataclysms which followed in the sixth, seventh and eighth centuries, undid the work of the soldier and the statesman. Down came the black clouds of wild hordes from the North of Europe, the "Northern

<sup>1</sup> Cf. P. Frédéricq, "Les conséquences de l'évangélisation par Rome," in *Bull. de l'Académie royale de Belgique*, 1903, n. 11, 738-751.

<sup>2</sup> The popularity of Rome as an educational centre is attested by the *Codex Theodosianus*, Liber xiv, Tit. ix, 1 (A.D. 370).



Hive", as it was called on account of the successive swarms that emerged from that quarter of the globe, and swooped upon the plains of the South. Tired of slaying each other out in the dark on the outskirts of the habitable world, they burst into civilized communities like a tempest let loose, and spread havoc and devastation before them. Rome, heaving with internal agitation, was now sufficiently engaged in fighting for her own existence and saving the remnants of a tottering Empire. The outlying portions of that vast organization were left to their fate; adieu to intercourse between Britain and Italy; the very mention of culture was a mockery; the actual aim to exist was occupation enough for mind and body.

So passed away the ancient voices of genius and learning.

The centuries rolled by. After a long period of blank bewilderment in men's minds, so great that they firmly believed that the dissolution of the world was at hand, of widespread ignorance (alike of the clergy, the repositories of knowledge at that age, as of the laity), hope began by degrees to revive. The work of Old Rome was over: her laws had been upset, her civilization quenched, and her Empire torn into fragments. The barbarians had done all in their power to stamp out any element capable of recovery, and destroy every vestige of progress. They felt a joy in their work of destruction. Yet these self-same invaders became both instruments and subjects of a new revival. Under the influence of the Church they unlearned their former ferocity and were vanquished by the captive of their sword and bow. Thus, after a weary interval, a re-action ensued, not only because of the recovery of the afflicted population, but also by means of the incipient domestication of the conqueror; and the introduction of this new and vigorous element recruited a

decaying civilization. To restore the lost treasures of Greek and Latin literature, and fan into activity the sparks of dormant genius, was no slight task, and in fact occupied generations; monk, clerk and layman entered into the work with rekindled hope and renewed vigour, and co-operated to spread the enthusiasm for antiquity. And what country so suited for a Renaissance as Italy, studded with emblems of past glories, intellectual triumphs, artistic and literary achievements, and strewn with the fragmentary monuments of ancient splendour? It was at this point, namely, the era of slow attempts at reconstruction, that the Celt emerged into prominence. He assisted in rebuilding the social fabric fallen into material and moral ruin.

The evolution of culture appears to have followed a natural law, and to be divided into three stages or periods:—

1. The poetical.
2. The scientific.
3. The practical.

To each of these I shall address myself in succession.

### I.

First of all, then, as to the poetical stage. This practically coincides with the period during which the old order was dissolving. As to poetry, in this connection, without committing ourselves here to a definition of it, or trying to state its metaphysical essence, it may be said to address itself to the imagination and affections, and dwell in the realm of the immeasurable, the impenetrable and inscrutable—in a word, the mysterious. Poetry is the attitude or habit of mind that seeks to live in communion with Nature; it is the feeling of the child when he becomes conscious that he knows so little. Such a frame of mind was eminently suited to an age which may be

described as the childhood of that new world already arising out of the ashes of the old. Thus it came about that the care for culture was almost limited to the monks, and the monasteries became a focus for educational effort ; so education partook of a monastic complexion. The times were evil. The ideal of monasticism is expressed in the conception of *beata solitudo* and the *sola beatitudo* which, as it was imagined, only the cloister could afford to the mind. The recluse's first consideration was to be quit of the world, to flee from the stagnant mass of squalor, famine and disease, that festered in the towns. He did not permit himself to indulge any dream for a distant day, to make plans for a future which might never come. It was enough for him to provide for his immediate wants, to till the soil, to fell timber, to meditate and pray, to raise solemn chant or soothing dirge, to toll passing bell, to count the monotonous beats of the pendulum of time. Such was the primary notion and essential genius of monasticism.

Let us return to the crisis in the intellectual history of Italy, and indeed of Europe, in the sixth century. Ruin and desolation had overtaken most civilized countries. What refuge was there for the learning, education and culture of the day, when chased away by the barbarian invader? What city or country could afford them the necessary protection, if they were not utterly to perish? Not Antioch, once the seat of a brilliant civilization, for there, too, the enemy was at the gates. Not hostile Constantinople, New Rome, whither the Emperor Constantine had transferred the government and administration. Not Alexandria, prosperous hitherto but soon to fall. But learning and culture did find a refuge, and that in the two sister islands, Hibernia and Britannia (Ireland and Britain). At that time Ireland was the wonder of all

people, by reason of her knowledge, sacred and profane. There, in the great schools of Bangor, Durrow and Armagh, learning had enjoyed an immunity from the havoc and ravages wrought upon her on the Continent, and had flourished. There the fugitive Muses were accorded an asylum. There the tradition of culture was maintained and learning was saved, and what the haughty Alaric or fierce Attila had driven out from the Continent meditative men in British and Irish cloisters collected, housed, and made to live again. This was in the fifth and sixth centuries.

The British monks thus bridged over the abyss: their services to culture did not terminate there. The mission of these two islands came to an end; the peace that they had hitherto enjoyed was not destined to last for ever, and at last misfortune overtook them also. Ragnar Lodbrog with his Danes began his descents on the Irish and British coasts; ruin and bloodshed marked his footsteps. Neither learning nor sanctity afforded protection; libraries and schools were consigned to the flames, yet not before the two islands had, so to speak, made their wills and bequeathed their system, tradition and professors to another rising power and imposing personality, who was destined afterwards by the fruits of his policy to exert so widespread and so beneficent an influence on European culture—that is, Charlemagne.

The interest now centres in Italy and the outburst of activity displayed there. A phalanx of apostles of Christian culture and dogmatic doctors passed over to the Pagan continent, and not only laboured in Gaul and Germany, but also extended their operations south of the Apennines.

At the same time it is not maintained that the inhabitants of these sister islands were at that day all

cultured any more than they were all Christians. The Monastic Schools were as beacons shiining in the darkness, and the learned monks as voices crying in the wilderness. A re-action set in, and Ireland was again swept into the spiritual federation of the West, of which Rome was the pivot.

The position occupied by Rome is liable to exaggeration. Thanks to the primacy accorded to that See and the prestige that the church enjoyed as successor to the vast organization of the Empire (the very name of which, as we have seen, had awed the races on the frontiers into submission), she tacitly possessed two prerogatives which in course of time made possible a wider sphere of operations. The first was the *Appellate jurisdiction*. Under Pope Leo it assumed special significance and marked an important stage in the advance to spiritual supremacy.<sup>1</sup> Next, appeals for counsel or applications for advice tended to throw further power into the hands of the Papacy or the Bishop of Rome. Although resting on no "formal enactment" there was a custom, at any rate, of referring any debatable or disputed question of principle to Rome. That See took the precedence in point of age, and, as the church of the Capital of the Empire, served for a model. These formal answers were called *Decretals*. But we must guard against misapprehension. Originally the ruling of the Roman See was not binding, but constituted an expression of opinion, invited for the object of securing uniformity of practice throughout the various provinces of the Western Church. The veneration paid to the resting-places of confessors and martyrs offered another and a powerful inducement to

<sup>1</sup> Valentinian I and Gratian had recognized the Roman see as a court of appeal from other ecclesiastical councils of the western provinces of the Empire. This prerogative went back as far as the end of the fourth century. Cf. Bury, *Life of St. Patrick*, p. 62.

visit Italy, and the prospect or hope of securing relics of the saints nerved the pilgrim to the endurance of any discomfort or danger. Relics were believed to possess a dormant, if not an energetic, virtue of supernatural operation. So much store was set upon the possession of them that the discovery of the tomb of an eminent saint caused far-spread excitement and often controversy, as, for example, the notorious contention that arose over the bones of St. Gervasius and St. Protasius of Milan in the year A.D. 386. Similarly other sacred places, churches, bishops, chapters and whole communities vied with each other for the possession of a fingerbone or cerement-cloth of a lesser luminary in the Church Calendar. What miracle might not be achieved by such media of Divine manifestation and graces! But the acquisition of a relic of the Blessed Apostles, whose remains rested at Rome, was an occasion of loud rejoicing, a badge of distinction and a source of wealth. Induced by so great a hope many cheerfully undertook the journey to the sacred shrines of Italy or visited Italy on the way to the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem.<sup>1</sup> If we are to believe the testimony of ecclesiastical writers a cloud of Celtic saints<sup>2</sup> and confessors of all ranks crossed the Alps and Apennines in the earliest centuries, on their way through to Italy. It might appear from the elaborate details drawn from the imagination of these narrators, that there is a tendency to exaggerate with a view to a controversial triumph, but

<sup>1</sup> "Every man of note in Gaul hastens hither; *the Briton, 'sundered from our world'*, no sooner makes progress in religion than he leaves the setting sun in quest of a spot which he knows only through Scripture and common report." *Ep. to Marcella*, in the name of Paula and Eustochium, xlvi, referring to Palestine.

<sup>2</sup> The difficulties of such an extended journey were not so great as might be imagined; the means of communication were various. St. Jerome's letters incidentally furnish evidence on this point. Thus in

there are also well-authenticated proofs of many of these pilgrimages at an early epoch. Towards the end of the seventh century the current to Rome set in strongly, the movement had assumed alarming proportions and was even discouraged owing to the dangers and inconveniences that it entailed. The ecclesiastical authorities were obliged to set their face against the rage for pilgrimages. The Anglo-Saxon Apostle of Germany, Boniface, in some of his letters strongly deprecates the exodus. These pilgrims, he urged, "were continually falling victims to the dangers of the journey or a prey to the temptations that beset their path". Occasionally the pilgrims embraced callings very different from what they contemplated in starting.<sup>1</sup> His testimony may be taken as equally true with regard to the Celts, who were not behindhand in devotion, and embarked on such an enterprise with enthusiasm. True, they had their sanctuaries or sacred shrines nearer home, and to these they flocked in large numbers. If we confine ourselves to Wales, Ynys Enlli, the Isle of the Saints, the burial-place of "twenty thousand saints", was one; Ty Ddewi was another; Sant Ffraid a third place of frequent resort; all three were hallowed by immemorial usage. But Rome possessed higher claims, and a pilgrimage thither was the height of the ambition of the faithful, fired with a hope of seeing for themselves the scenes of the charitable deeds of the good and great, their life-long

his *Letter against Vigilantius*, sec. 17, he speaks of his messenger: "My brother Sisinnius, hastening his departure for Egypt, where he has relief to give to the saints and is impatient to be gone." This active intermediary was constantly on the road between Marseilles and Bethlehem, and probably travelled by way of Sardinia, Rome, Greece and the islands of the Adriatic. Sisinnius's love of gossip and clerical news caused an estrangement between Augustine and Jerome.

<sup>1</sup> Boniface to Cuthbert, A.D. 745. Migne, *Ep.* lxiii, p. 765.

penances, the spots where they had sojourned in life and hallowed by their death.<sup>1</sup> Nor were the Irish slow to obey the call to Rome.<sup>2</sup> They flocked in crowds, and, as we shall see, some of them left a deep impress on Italy and memorials of their visit, which are treasured to this day. Usher<sup>3</sup> notices the "inextinguishable desire of the Irish to visit the relics of the Holy Apostles, Saint Peter and St. Paul." Of these was Palladius, the first Bishop in Ireland who betook himself to Rome to obtain consecration.<sup>4</sup> Of these was St. Finnian of Moville, who came over in the sixth century, became Bishop of Lucca and ended his days in Italy.<sup>5</sup> Of these in the sixth century also was

<sup>1</sup> "Roma semel quantum his dat Menevia tantum,"

ran the adage.

"Dos i Rufain unwaith ag i Fynyw ddwywaith  
Ar un elw cryno a gai di yma ac yno."

The poet Meilir (eleventh-twelfth cent.) in his *Deathbed of the Bard*, reflects the sentiment of his age: Fortune has smiled on him; he has received "heaps of gold and velvet" from princely patrons, but now he feels another impulse:—

"Mi, Veilyr Brydyt, berierin i Bedyr,  
Porthawr a gymedyr gymmes deithi."

Still, he chooses as his last resting-place, the sequestered, untrodden, sea-encircled Isle of Saints—

"Ynys Vair Virain :  
Ynys glân y glain,  
Gwrthrych dadwyrain—  
Ys cain yndi."

Stephens, *Literature of the Kymry*, p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Montalembert says that the journey to Rome or even to Palestine finds a place in the legend of almost every Cambrian or Irish saint.

<sup>3</sup> *Eccles. Antiq.*, ch. xviii, p. 521.

<sup>4</sup> Bury, *Life of St. Patrick*, pp. 54, 298: Prosper, *Epit. s.a.* 431, *ad Scottos in Christum credentes ordinatus a papa Celestino Palladius primus episcopus mittitur.*

<sup>5</sup> His name in religion was Frigidianus, from which is derived the name by which he is known in Italy, Frediano. See G. Fannuchi, *Vita di S. Frediano* (Lucca, 1870); Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, i, p. 794; P. Francatti, *Storia dei Santi di Lucca.*

St. Sillan, known in Italy by the name of St. Silao,<sup>1</sup> who died at Lucca on his return from Rome and was buried there.<sup>2</sup> But none exceed in interest St. Columbanus and his galaxy, like St. Attalus, Dogmael (or as he is called in Italian, Domiziale), Eogain (Egnauo), Eunan (Eunoco), and in the century succeeding, SS. Pellegrinus and Cumnian. Of these in the ninth century was Donatus, who as he passed through Florence on his way to Rome was taken by force, in obedience to an omen, and elected Bishop of Fiesole, Andrew, Archdeacon of San Martino and Mensola, and the Holy Brigid.

The Welsh, in like manner, were well-represented among the pilgrims. Such zeal might have been expected. A race which has always signalized itself by fervent faith, lively sensibility, an impressionable nature and romantic temperament, would feel drawn to a land around which legendary, historic and sacred associations clustered. The visits of saints, who were born in Wales or were naturalized there, are attested in a variety of ways. "Before all things", says Giraldus Cambrensis, "the Welsh preferred to lay their devotions on the Apostles' tomb." Among these Welsh pilgrims appear some notable names. St. Patrick, perhaps a native of Morganwg, certainly a Briton,<sup>3</sup> contemplated a journey thither in the early part of his life and accomplished his purpose at a later day. St. Cadoc and St. Kentigern, who were closely associated with Wales, both claimed to have made the journey seven times.<sup>4</sup> The visits of Pedrog, Beuno, Brynach, Senan, whose names are enshrined in place-names like Llanbedrog, Llanfeuno,

<sup>1</sup> See E. M. Fiorentini, *Vita di S. Silao, vescovo Irlandese*.

<sup>2</sup> Stokes, *Six Months in the Apennines*, p. 107.

<sup>3</sup> Bury, *Life of St. Patrick*, pp. vii, 17, 322.

<sup>4</sup> Montalembert, *Monks of the West*, vol. iii, p. 63. Bollandists, xiii Jan. Mackinlay, *Continuity or Collapse*, p. 56.

Llanfrynach, Llansannan, are merged in considerable obscurity. St. David is also stated to have visited Rome in the company of Saints Fin Barr of Cork, Aidan of Ferns and Eulogius.<sup>1</sup>

When we turn to ecclesiastical historians, Gildas acquaints us with the fact that he visited Rome "to invoke the merits of the Blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, that by their intercession he might obtain from the Lord the pardon of his sins".<sup>2</sup> Others were actuated by less pure motives. Gildas throws a lurid light on the objects that induced some of these votaries to embark on this journey. After condemning the practice of installing traitors "in the chair of St. Peter", he proceeds to speak of "unworthy Britons who found a difficulty in obtaining their dioceses at home", because some people protested strongly against the traffic in church livings. He explains that intriguers of this kind, "covetors of such a precious pearl, delighted to cross the seas and travel over extensive countries after they had carefully sent their messengers beforehand". He has doubtless in mind simoniacal transactions countenanced at Rome.<sup>3</sup>

Although we must attribute some of these statements to party zeal and a desire for controversial triumph, it would seem that the description of a palmer in *Piers Plowman* would be equally realized in Wales as in England, and many a Welsh pilgrim might have been seen wending his way to Italy—

<sup>1</sup> Inde cum S. Davide Menevensi eorum se societate jungente Romam ad limina Apostolorum visenda profecti sunt. See Mackinlay, *Continuity or Collapse*, p. 15. A passing notice of St. David's pilgrimage occurs in Colgan, *Acta Sanctorum*, tom. 1, p. 221, xxxi Jan.

<sup>2</sup> Mabillon, *Acta Sanctorum*, O.S.B., tom. i, p. 142, Vita S. Gildae.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Adam of Usk in the fourteenth century: "Every man who had wealth and was greedy for empty glory kept his money in the merchant's bank ready to further his advancement." *Chronicle* (ed. Thompson), pp. 245-6. (So did Adam himself, see p. 276.)

“ He bare him a staff, with a broad stripe bound,  
 That round it was twined like a woodbine's twist ;  
 A bowl and a bag he bore by his side ;  
 A hundred vials were set on his hat,  
 Signs from Sinai, Gallician shells ;  
 With crosses on his cloak, and the keys of Rome,  
 And the vernicle before, for that men should discern  
 And see by his signs what shrines he had sought.”<sup>1</sup>

With such convincing evidence it would be difficult to question his visit to the chief pilgrim-resorts in Christendom—

“ Sinai and the Sepulchre Holy,  
 Bethlehem and Babylon, I've seen them both,  
 Armenia, Alexandria and other like places.”<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *The Seven Deadly Sins*, 524-5 (edited by Skeat). Cf. Prologue, 46.

<sup>2</sup> The pilgrim movement was not confined to ecclesiastics or ecclesiastical writers, and swept in many personages, who, though themselves men of the sword rather than the pen, turned their faces towards Rome. Tradition tells us that from Strathclyde, Dunwallon, the last champion of the independence of the British remnant in that region, went to Rome and received the tonsure. From Wales Cyngen, Prince of Powys, and Howel, lord of Glamorgan, bent their steps in the same direction. Controversy has gathered around the name of another king, who was believed to have laid his bones in St. Peter's, namely, Cadwaladr Fendigaid. This famous but somewhat nebulous personage took part in the ineffectual struggles of the Welsh of the North and Strathclyde against Oswin. Geoffrey of Monmouth states that he took refuge in Armorica, abdicated his throne and retired to Rome, where he died (A.D. 687-9). This story really arises from a confusion between Cadwaladr or Caedwalla of Wessex who, it is historically ascertained, died at Rome about 688. His epitaph in old St. Peter's has been preserved (Fabretti, *Inscrip. Antiq.*, 1702, Rome, p. 735, No. 463) and is couched in laudatory language. There exists in the Vatican Library a protest addressed to the Pope by a Robertus Oënus, who, jealous of his country's honour, remonstrates against the ascription of the epitaph to Caedwalla, and cites a long list of authorities on his side. But our fellow-countryman might have spared himself the trouble, moderated his indignation and consoled himself with the reflection that Caedwalla himself probably had British blood in his veins, as his name *Mul* (half-breed) seems to indicate.

The popularity of these pilgrimages explains the solicitude on the part of English kings and princes to facilitate the passage of pilgrims, ensure their safety, and promote their comfort on their arrival at their destination. The *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales* show that the Roman pilgrimage was recognized by law. Thus it is enacted that "there are three persons against whom, according to law, no-one is to be 'received or heard': the second is . . . a person who might chance to commit some act so as not to be able to obtain the communion of the Church of God, until he obtained absolution from the Pope, and if, after setting out upon his pilgrimage, a claim should be preferred against him, the plaintiff is not to be heard . . . until a year and a day shall have elapsed."<sup>1</sup> Hitherto the enterprising palmer had depended upon the charity of the religious houses on the road. Every monastery was open to him, and its occupants regarded hospitality towards pilgrims as a pious duty and a sacred obligation. A chain of such foundations stretching across the continent linked far-off Palestine with Britain, and the wayfarer lacked no means of entertainment, or the lack would be supplemented by the benevolence of the

<sup>1</sup> Vol. ii, p. 385. The etymologies of the words for pilgrim point in the same direction and bear unconscious testimony to the prevalence of pilgrimages in the Ages of Faith. "Pilgrim" meant originally "foreigner", "traveller", but the original signification of the word was narrowed down. Under the same category fall the Italian *pellegrino*, Provençal *pelegrin*, French *pèlerin*, and Welsh *pererin*. Rome has left its impress in the following terms for "pilgrim" and "pilgrimage": Romeria, Romipeta, Romipeda, Romerius, and their derivatives in Old Italian, French and Spanish ("*chiamansi romei inquanto vanno a Roma*", Dante, *Vit. nuova*: "*romero quiere decir como ome que va á Roma pora visitar los santos lugares*". Diez, *Etymol. Wörterbuch der roman. Sprachen*). So also the Middle English "Romerenner", "a runner to Rome". Even the Modern English word "roam" and its derivatives, though not from the same root, betray the influence of this idea.

faithful. But soon the kings took these travellers under their protection. Special interest attaches to the *hospitium* for housing English visitors at Rome. St. Jerome alludes to Britain and the hospital for strangers at the mouth of the Tiber<sup>1</sup> as existing in his day (the fourth century), and the first monument of diplomacy relates to negotiations for the protection of pilgrims. For at the end of the eighth century the Saxon Offa arranged a treaty with his rival Charlemagne, guaranteeing the safe conduct of merchants, pilgrims and others who were making their way in growing numbers to Rome. Moreover, Offa founded an *hospitium* to accommodate the English sojourners in the city.<sup>2</sup> Under the patronage of the Normans the Latin Church grew apace, and attention was still more drawn to the claims of the Holy See.

By the way, it may be asked, where are we digressing? What connection has this with Celtic culture? But let me reassure you. I have not lost hold of the thread of the subject; the pilgrim movement could not fail to exert

<sup>1</sup> Mackinlay, p. 41.

<sup>2</sup> So we learn from a Latin document in the Vatican, *Brevis narratio de origine ac progressu Collegii Anglorum in civitate Romana ab anno Dom. 1578, usque 1582*. This institution was subsequently remodelled, and dedicated to the memory of King Edward the Martyr. It was located in Trastevere, perhaps for the benefit of English sailors, either because that class especially needed such an institution or because the overland route was often rendered impracticable by disturbances in the countries through which passed the route to Rome. The *hospitium* was placed under the patronage of St. Thomas of Canterbury. It was afterwards transferred to the inner part of the city, near the *Piazza dei Fiori*, and endowed for the entertainment of pilgrims and the support of chaplains whose duty it was to officiate in the church adjoining and minister to the pilgrims' wants. As will appear in the sequel, it assumed great importance in connection with Wales. Here it may suffice to mention that the *Pilgrim Book* of the College records a succession of visitors from Wales. Dr. Croke's forthcoming book on the English institutions of Rome, in which he will deal with the *Pilgrim Book*, promises to be of unusual interest.

a marked influence upon the intellectual advance of Celtic countries by bringing two consequences in its train. Unquestionably these sojourners in Italy, the chief seat of culture and the centre of Western Christendom, according to the ideas of that day, affected intellectual progress favourably. The missionary system of the Celtic Church was a direct development of the pilgrim movement towards the Continent. For many of the Irish saints who set forth as pilgrims for Palestine or Italy, being profoundly impressed by the multiplied miseries to which Italy had been subjected, the moral and spiritual darkness of the regions which they traversed, and the need of religious teachers, either remained in Italy or returned to found schools and churches. Culture and religion then went hand in hand. The enthusiasm that they displayed in the face of formidable difficulties and depressing conditions compels our admiration, and forms a chapter in human history which demands reverential study. For while the surface of Europe was being agitated and sometimes convulsed by wars, invasions, and social disorders, the Celtic saints helped to keep burning the lamp of religion in the darkest day. But another and more direct advantage accrued. Apart from these enterprising spirits who threw themselves with ardour into their missionary labours, the bands of pilgrims who found their way to Italy year by year brought back with them stores of "spiritual treasures" and a mental equipment, in the shape of precious volumes, copies of the Latin Classics and the Fathers, of the Scripture Oracles, of commentaries, and other ecclesiastical gear.<sup>1</sup> But—more important still—they came back with ideas enlarged,

<sup>1</sup> Bede, on St. Augustine's Mission to England, mentions among the indispensable objects that he brought with him "necnon et codices plurimos". *Hist. Eccles.*, i, 29.

described as the childhood of that new world already arising out of the ashes of the old. Thus it came about that the care for culture was almost limited to the monks, and the monasteries became a focus for educational effort; so education partook of a monastic complexion. The times were evil. The ideal of monasticism is expressed in the conception of *beata solitudo* and the *sola beatitudo* which, as it was imagined, only the cloister could afford to the mind. The recluse's first consideration was to be quit of the world, to flee from the stagnant mass of squalor, famine and disease, that festered in the towns. He did not permit himself to indulge any dream for a distant day, to make plans for a future which might never come. It was enough for him to provide for his immediate wants, to till the soil, to fell timber, to meditate and pray, to raise solemn chant or soothing dirge, to toll passing bell, to count the monotonous beats of the pendulum of time. Such was the primary notion and essential genius of monasticism.

Let us return to the crisis in the intellectual history of Italy, and indeed of Europe, in the sixth century. Ruin and desolation had overtaken most civilized countries. What refuge was there for the learning, education and culture of the day, when chased away by the barbarian invader? What city or country could afford them the necessary protection, if they were not utterly to perish? Not Antioch, once the seat of a brilliant civilization, for there, too, the enemy was at the gates. Not hostile Constantinople, New Rome, whither the Emperor Constantine had transferred the government and administration. Not Alexandria, prosperous hitherto but soon to fall. But learning and culture did find a refuge, and that in the two sister islands, Hibernia and Britannia (Ireland and Britain). At that time Ireland was the wonder of all



horizon widened, a taste for knowledge, a spirit of intellectual adventure, vision cleared by consorting with many minds, richer in experience, in discovery, in information, in the merit of hardships bravely endured and of dangers bravely encountered.<sup>1</sup>

Place beside the above evidence of communication with Italy, the following passage from the life of the Irish saint Senan, which, if it does not prove an intimacy with continental Christianity, adds weight to the evidence already adduced. "While he was on the island of Inis Cara, near Killaloe on the Shannon, there came a ship's crew of the land of Latium (*i.e.* Italy) on a pilgrimage into Ireland. Five decades was their number, all were perfect folk. These pilgrims before starting . . . placed themselves under the protection of one or other of the Irish saints."

The passage does not stand alone. Lives of the Irish Saints afford glimpses of Italy and especially of Lombardy. Thus we read, "Sechnall the companion of St. Patrick, was son of Restitutus of the Lombards of Letha, *i.e.*, Italy." His mother was St. Patrick's sister, Darerca. The passage runs as follows :—

"A Lombard by race was Sechnall,  
Of a pure fierce race, whiteness of colour,  
Lombards of Italy."

Another passage, from Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba*, is interesting at the present moment, when the eruption of Vesuvius is fresh in our memory, and further shows that the monks of Iona in St. Columba's lifetime were in active

<sup>1</sup> The name of one of these itinerant monks, Pelagius, summons up somewhat sinister associations. A native of Ireland, or of one of the Irish colonies in Britain, he settled in Rome, and distinguished himself by his knowledge of Scripture and by his sanctity. But he afterwards developed views of his own, chiefly consisting of an assertion of the dignity of human nature, which brought him into sharp

sympathy and touch with their brethren in Italy. Said the Holy Man one day: "A sulphurous flame from heaven has this hour been sent down upon a city of the Roman Empire, situated within the boundary of Italy, and nearly three thousand men, besides a number of mothers and children, have perished. And before the present year is ended Gallic sailors, coming hither from the provinces of the Gauls, shall relate these same things to thee." Which words, after some months, were proved to have been true. For the same Lugbe (one of the brothers in Columba's community) going with the holy man to the Land's Head (Cantyre) and questioning the captain and the sailors of a bark that arrived, hears narrated by them all those things concerning the city with its citizens just as they were foretold by the Illustrious Man."<sup>1</sup>

This era of ecclesiastical education witnessed the rise of many stars in the intellectual firmament, of whom it might be interesting to speak in detail. Indeed, never in any age did personality wield so great an influence on human history as at that time. But we are chiefly concerned

conflict with the Church. Never a very active propagandist himself, he found a ready instrument for disseminating his ideas in Celestius, a Scottish monk, whom he attached to his cause. His life was largely spent in Italy. There is an anecdote told by a countryman of his, which throws an interesting light on Pelagius's origin and notoriety. St. Mochta, a "Briton" and a disciple of St. Patrick, had in his early life studied at Rome. It would appear that during his sojourn in the capital city, the quidnuncs of the day taunted him with his British faith and fatherland, because the heresiarch Pelagius had hailed from Britain. To which the saintly Briton retorted: "If for the fault of one man (*i.e.* Pelagius) the inhabitants of a whole province (Britain) are to be banned, let . . . Rome be condemned, from which not one but two, three or even more heresies have started." Pelagius, arraigned before several synods and before the Pope, was finally banished from Rome in 418, and from that date disappears from view.

<sup>1</sup> The reference is to *Citta nuova* (the Alvim of Ptolemy), north of the river Quieto, in Istria.



with movements rather than men, and two movements call for special notice.

The sixth century is remarkable for the rise of two great movements and two great centres of intellectual illumination in Italy at opposite ends of the peninsula. The first will be ever associated with the name of St. Benedict, the founder of Monachism in the West, whose rule, composed in the year A.D. 515, became, subject to modifications, adopted generally in the West. His work started from Subiaco; but it was at Monte Cassino, near Naples, that he laid the foundations of the vast organization that was destined in after ages to exert such a far-reaching influence on religious life in the whole of Western Christendom. The religious aspect of his Mission does not particularly affect us to-night, but the provision that he made for the mental exercises of his monks has a distinct bearing on the subject in hand. Though, strange to say, Benedict was himself so little of a scholar that St. Gregory the Great described him as being "learnedly ignorant and wisely unlearned", yet the provision that he made for giving his monks employment proved the salvation of learning in that age. He strictly enjoined the study of literature and the religious duty of instructing the young. At Subiaco and afterwards at Monte Cassino, the metropolis of the Benedictine name, he began the work which came to be regarded as the peculiar and proper occupation of a medieval monk, namely, that of copying, illuminating and embellishing manuscripts, or writing annals or chronicles of the simplest structure and the most artless composition. The Benedictines of a later day established a printing press and introduced the art of printing into Italy. Throughout the early history of the Benedictines the persistency with which they overcame obstacles, rebuilt their houses, when wasted with fire and sword, and began anew in their old quarters

or sought fresh fields, cannot fail to command admiration. The consequence was that from the century which witnessed the educational endeavours of Charlemagne, to the eleventh, education was practically in the hands of these "Black Monks", and the period has been styled the Benedictine Age. In course of time the Order made its way over Western Europe, and among other places to Wales. Under the protection and patronage of the Normans the Benedictines soon gained the ascendancy, sometimes by harsh measures, oftentimes by the adaptability of the Benedictine Rule, but always persistently advancing, until at last this Latin form of monasticism assimilated or supplanted local Orders of an earlier or an independent foundation. The Rule of the Benedictines received the Emperor's sanction, was formally adopted throughout his dominions, and superseded or coalesced with the Celtic monasteries which were organized on a tribal basis. But though the Benedictines gradually extinguished the native houses, they popularized themselves and gained hold of the inhabitants of the countries where they settled. Their advent was not an evil; they brought with them pictures, manuscripts of the Fathers and the Latin Classics, and founded schools. To them and their offshoots, like the Cistercians, was due the preservation of much of our literary lore.

While the disciples of St. Benedict were extending their operations, another torch was lighted in the North of Italy among the deep valleys and hills of Bobbio. This time it was an Irish monk, who had engaged in a like charitable toil, namely, Columbanus.<sup>1</sup> A pupil of the famous school of Bangor, brought up at the feet of Finnian, he had enjoyed exceptionable privileges. For the Irish schools had originally inherited the Roman tradition. St. Patrick, though unlettered himself, had made Latin the ecclesi-

<sup>1</sup> A.D. 543-565.

astical language of the Irish Church and had brought the Irish mind into contact with Roman thought, thereby opening up an avenue to the products of Roman genius. Columbanus was, therefore, well fitted intellectually for the self-imposed task. But to his mental equipment he added an inextinguishable religious fervour and soon made his individuality felt. Fired with religious zeal he flung himself into the work of restoration with all the enthusiasm of which his Celtic nature was capable. Italy afforded an outlet for his exuberant energies. Tradition records that at the age of thirty, whilst an inmate at the Monastery of Bangor, he received an inward intimation that his lifework lay in Italy, or as the narrators put it, "A voice, that spake to Abraham, get thee up out of thy country, and from thy kindred and from thy father's house, unto a land that I will shew thee". Nor was the Saint disobedient to the heavenly vision. Accompanied by twelve trusty companions,<sup>1</sup> burning with zeal like himself, he set out for the Continent. He established three monasteries in France and Burgundy. Still unsatisfied and unwearied he crossed the Alps, and the year 595 found him at Milan combating the heresy of the Arians and especially bending his energies to the task of recalling to the Faith the Lombards, who were tainted with that pernicious error. His biographer Jonas speaks of a book that he wrote here, a book of "abounding knowledge" (*florentis scientiae*), which had apparently a wide vogue in Italy, but has not come down to us.<sup>2</sup> His efforts were crowned by the conversion of the King of the Lombards, Aigulph by name, who held him in high esteem and desired him to remain and stamp out the expiring embers of Arianism. Columbanus yielded to his importunity and spent the rest of his days in Italy. The King presented

<sup>1</sup> Mabillon, *Annal. Bened.*, annot. 6.

<sup>2</sup> C. xxix.

him with the Basilica of St. Peter at Bobbio, high up in the Apennines, which welcomed many a Celtic saint and pilgrim. Some of his original followers were British by birth or naturalisation. As at Bangor-is-y-coed and other monasteries of the ancient Cymric Church, so at Bobbio, in the savage recesses of the mountains, many Welshmen from Wales and Welshmen from Strathclyde, caught by the enthusiasm and fired by the example of Columbanus, came to spend the remainder of their days there.<sup>1</sup> This far-famed house was no exception to the rule that enjoined a strict mental exercise. Of the evidences of their activity displayed there, we have no time to speak in detail. St. Columbanus himself set the example; sermons, tracts, epistles and hymns (a favourite mode of composition with Irish saints) emanated from this source.<sup>2</sup>

The monks were kept "as busy as bees" (says an old writer) and we might try to obtain a glimpse of them. I do not vouch for the historical accuracy of the following description of daily routine in this hive of Christian activity, but it is certainly in keeping with the spirit of monasticism, whether in Wales, Ireland, or Italy. Enter then, in imagination, the *Scriptorium* or writing-room of the monastery of Bobbio or Monte Cassino, and picture the inmates, Irish and Welsh, with a sprinkling of others—for the founders made no distinction of races in their ecumenical work—engaged in copying manuscripts, binding, rubricating, decorating, under the superintendence of the *Cantor*, or librarian, Brother Celestinus; a strict superin-

<sup>1</sup> At Bobbio may be seen frescoes relating to St. Columbanus, and the tombs of Bishop Cummian, Bishop Attala, and other followers of the saint.

<sup>2</sup> *Thesaurus Palaeo-Hibernicus*, by W. Stokes and Strachan, vii, 40. Lovers of romance will remember Barrili's *Le confessioni di Fra Guilberto*, which is based on the supposed discovery of a manuscript at Bobbio.

tendent he was, a very Rhadamanthus and a regular bookworm as well, who would remain in the library for days together. Dead silence reigned while he was there. He used to say "a monastery without a library is no better than a castle without an armoury". No one could escape his watchful eye. He insisted on the copyists taking the utmost care of the manuscripts, because they were more precious than "fine gold", and any maltreatment of his favourites caused him poignant anguish. One day the Cantor came upon Brother Benignus putting straws between the leaves to mark where he was leaving off. The Cantor was appalled. Said he: "That means death to the poor things; the book hasn't a stomach to digest the straws; they swell and rot." He surprised Brother Einion, sleeping with his head on the volume in front of him, and almost danced with rage, as far as it was consistent with the dignity of a Cantor. Just as Brother Seraphinus was reaching a book from the chest, a wasp lighted on his hand, and what should he do but drop the precious manuscript. Meugan was caught cutting the borders of a manuscript to make writing material for a letter. This almost drove the Cantor mad. A brother named Pacifico committed a heinous offence. Actually he had the effrontery to lend a book to a layman, who pretended he could read, and was all the while holding it upside down. Brother Eleutherius sinned grievously. He had been suspected of leanings towards the world outside, and (would you believe it?) one day, forgetting his holy company he swore aloud, saying, "Hang this quill", or something equally shocking, and the words came quite glibly and naturally! The brethren were electrified, and stared at the offender, exchanged glances, then looked towards the Cantor. Thereupon the Cantor was filled with indignation. "O son of Belial", gouth he, "why

swearest thou like a layman? where dost thou expect to go to?" He received pardon this time, but his presumption cost him dear; for soon after he died, and the Cantor said, "*Nid hir y ceidw y diawl ei was.*" There we will leave the monks at their employment, year in and year out, of carefully looping their l's, or shaping elaborate capitals, or embellishing title pages with fantastic figures and grotesque monsters, till at length each in turn is called away from his task, drops his pen and is gathered to his brethren under the shadow of the old abbey.

The Spirit of the Great Reformer Columbanus lived after him, and of the number of Irish manuscripts which at the end of the dissolution of the establishment were scattered abroad, a remnant now repose in the libraries at Turin, Milan, Vercelli, Florence, Naples, Rome and Vienna. Some of them were written in Ireland, like the ancient Antiphony of the eighth century from Bangor; others, written or annotated at Bobbio, survive to this day to attest at once the former wealth of the library at Bobbio and the enthusiasm for knowledge which this Celtic scholar had infused into his followers. And the Benedictines had not allowed the tradition to die out; the new comers added to the store of "rich treasures and precious volumes", as an old writer tells us. Of these the most famous was the Muratorian fragment, now preserved in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana at Milan.

The two monastic houses that we have been describing, that is to say, those at Monte Cassino and Bobbio, paved the way for further development, a fresh stage in the evolution of culture, of which the issues were destined to be momentous. The inaugurator was no other than Charlemagne. The movement began in the eighth century. This enlightened and far-seeing monarch, the commanding figure of his age and the subject of a hundred legends,

initiated it at a time when literature was at a low ebb. Though he was not destined to live to see the fruit of his labours, he imparted an incalculable impulse to intellectual progress by establishing a system of schools, which, while retaining their ecclesiastical tone and character—an inevitable necessity at that day—were yet to be an advance on their predecessors. He devoted special attention to Lombardy, and the establishment of public schools in that province was pregnant with results.<sup>1</sup>

The death of Charlemagne, however, which occurred in 814, checked the progress of the movement. Unrestrained barbarity on the one hand and simony on the other succeeded in stifling the spirit of reform and suspending intellectual activity, so that things were at a standstill till the year 825. The Emperor Lothair, true to his great ancestor's ideal, animated by a like desire for the spread of culture, issued an edict to the following purport: "As regards true teaching, which through the extreme carelessness and indolence of certain superiors is on all sides shaken to its foundations, it has pleased us that all should observe that which we have established." He decreed the establishment of a central seat of learning at Pavia, to which subordinate schools at Milan, Vercelli, Tortona, Lodi, Acqui, Bergamo, Novara, Genoa, Asti, Como, should be affiliated. And what better instrument to execute his will than another Celt, Dungal? Under Dungal's rule Pavia became a nurse and training-ground for theology, jurisprudence, literature and medicine, and moreover, an interesting fact, many English of note like Lanfranc,

<sup>1</sup> His earliest educational measures hardly fall within the scope of our enquiry, for though Clemens and Albinus, whom the Emperor employed to further his policy, may be claimed as the joint products of the Celtic and Saxon Schools, their connection with Celtic culture was indirect.

Archbishop of Canterbury, were educated there. The School of Pavia, with its dependencies and institutions, was the forerunner of educational establishments on a larger and more ambitious scale at Verona and Rome in the tenth century, and at Milan, Parma, Modena, Siena and Rome in the eleventh.

The Universities were now at the door, and their entrance marks a momentous stride, viz., the beginning of the scientific period, which forms our second section. Science now supersedes poetry; poetry becomes ancillary to science.

## II.

The old educational system, with its usual accompaniments, the unambitious teacher of the Benedictine and Columban type, his undisputatious methods, his unexciting studies, was well suited to its time and place. Excellently did these instructors fulfil their meritorious mission. But the times were changed; the instructors of the future were called by the exigencies of the new age to quit the tranquil creeks and safe waters on the coast for the currents and cross-currents of thought, and steer for the open sea; for new forces had come into being, were making themselves felt, and demanded new methods. The system of studies, therefore, underwent a revolution. The old methods, while not entirely abolished, were subordinated to the new-fangled fashions. Theology and the Philosophy that underlies all religion, rather than the forms in which Theology and Philosophy are enshrined, these now began to engage attention. Scholasticism had come, and soon rose into favour. For a time at least it eclipsed its predecessors, pure poetry and pure literature, in public estimation.

This revival, which began as early as the eleventh century, brought in its train far-reaching consequences.

They will become clearer, as we proceed. Meantime it may be well to point out the causes that contributed to swell the current. Of these causes the Crusades were not the least important. The seventh and last Crusade came to an end in the thirteenth century and was synchronous with the intellectual awakening due to the rapid rise of the new studies. Indeed all the Crusades co-operated in a very direct and decisive manner, since they operated in the direction of an enfranchisement of the human mind from the trammels of traditional principles and methods by opening the gates of the East and familiarizing the Westerns with two civilizations richer and more advanced than their own, namely, the Greek and Saracenic. The Welshmen, not a few, who were swept into the movement, were keenly alive, as will appear in the sequel, to these fresh intellectual influences; these felt their vision widened and their ideas enlarged; even those who remained at home could not remain unaffected; they listened with wonder, and passed from mouth to mouth the tales and traditions of the storied Orient.

Another movement, connected with the Crusades, communicated an immense stimulus to intellectual pursuits and was fraught with far-reaching results. This was due to the rediscovery of the Aristotelian writings, which were introduced into Europe partly through the agency of a monk, a Celtic monk too. These writings had fallen into neglect with the decline and final suppression of philosophy in the time of Justinian. But they found zealous patrons in Persia. Afterwards, the Arab conquerors appointed translators, who rendered the whole works into Arabic. It was in the middle of the thirteenth century, *i.e.*, after the last Crusade, that the Greek philosopher's writings were finished. The year immediately following the translation witnessed an extraordinary revival of interest in Aristotle

and a wide extension of the influence of the Aristotelian philosophy or methods. The subjects that formed the staple of scholasticism have in a great measure lost their interest for us; some of the points of hot dispute then are now viewed as axiomatic truths, or relegated to the limbo of exploded errors. Therefore I do not propose dwelling upon them. The personal element, however, enters here, and I might say something of the Celts that bore a leading part in the controversies that raged for at least two centuries and rent the theological world asunder. The irrepressible Scot (*i.e.*, Irishman) was ubiquitous; lecture halls and other arenas of debate rang with his voice. It has ever been the singular and somewhat pathetic lot of Irish genius, and at the same time it is a tribute to its calibre, to have achieved its most brilliant triumphs outside Ireland. This was the case in the age of which we are speaking, and indeed from the eight century onwards the Scot found fullest scope for his intellectual acumen and subtlety of thought in foreign countries. The Irish Scots are mentioned by an ancient writer as "renowned for wisdom", and by another as a "herd of philosophers".<sup>1</sup> Irish monk was almost a synonym for philosopher, and Ireland the very home of speculation. A natural independence of mind, combined with the seductiveness of the new science, often carried away these Scottish thinkers. They incurred consequently the displeasure or provoked the jealousy of their contemporaries and they were publicly pilloried or censured. What Clement, Samson and Virgil were in the seventh century, that and much more were John Scotus Erigena (a son of Erin, as his name clearly denotes), Mannon, Macarius and Patrick (presumably another native of the Emerald Isle) in the fourteenth. These wrote their names large in the scroll of Fame.

<sup>1</sup> Heric of Auxerre; Brucker, *Philos.*, t. iii, p. 574.

It is in no degree disrespectful to our Welsh ancestors to assign the palm in this province of thought at that day to the Scots, for, as we have seen, they were pre-eminently the philosophers of the age. But the Scots did not maintain undisputed possession of the Schools; the Welsh were also represented, and well represented, among these intellectual gladiators. Time would fail me were I to enter into particulars regarding their history, and I can only say, in reference to all of them, that I have recently had an opportunity of seeing how widely their treatises or tracts were circulated in Italy during the Middle Ages.<sup>1</sup> Welshmen were not lacking to throw down or take up the gauntlet in debate. Such, in the thirteenth century, was Joannes Wallensis (John of Wales), a celebrated canon lawyer who taught at Bologna and wrote glosses. Such was Thomas Wallensis, the "enemy of monks", a Franciscan, who was well-known on the Continent. Lord Bacon ranks him among the wise men of old, who studied foreign languages and knew the value of philology (*i.e.*, literature). Such was the Franciscan John Waleys. He enjoyed a high reputation, and his works were frequently reprinted at the end of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth. We have yet another famous Welshman in the person of Thomas Wallensis, the Dominican, a voluminous writer for that age. Though born in London he was a Welshman by descent. In 1305 he was created Cardinal of S. Sabina, and seems to have spent the rest of his life at the Papal Court. In 1310 he was commissioned to dispute with the Franciscan Petrus Johannes Olivi. Another such was his namesake Thomas Wallensis, the Dominican. In

<sup>1</sup> The works of these Wallenses are frequently found in Italy, for example, among the books and manuscripts of the old monasteries of Santa Maria Novella, Vallambrosa, and others, which have now been transferred to the libraries in Florence.

1333 he argued on a certain doctrine before the Cardinals who were then residing at Avignon with the exiled Pope. He was charged with heresy by two Franciscans. This led to his imprisonment in the Inquisitors' prison, and his treatment led to a long correspondence between the Pope, Philip VI, and the University of Paris. Ultimately he was released. He had now gained his point. The Pope had endorsed his view. There is a full account of his trial in the University Library at Cambridge, and in the Vatican there is a document extant in which he speaks of himself as "old, paralysed and destitute". Among his many works is a treatise on the art of composing sermons, addressed to the Bishop of Palermo. The list is not yet exhausted. Laurentius Wallensis or Frater Laurentius Brito, Philippus Wallensis, Frater Johannes Went, were also men of note in the Middle Ages.

We may not suppose that Welshmen resident or sojourning in Italy were entirely taken up with discussions on Nominalism and Realism, all-absorbing and all-important as these disputes were in the eyes of that age; or again with the famous question over which many crossed swords: "How many angels could dance together on the point of a needle?" They were not all of a scientific turn of mind, not all philosophers, not all grammarians. Life had its lighter side. Other arts and sciences, which had risen to notice, gravitated towards Italy and combined to render Italy itself a World's University—for a country, as well as a college or colleges, may furnish all the essential elements of a University. The very word University implies, in its elementary idea, the assembling together of strangers through a wide extent of country, a collection of teachers and learners from every quarter, for the communication and circulation of thought by means of a personal intercourse.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Newman, *Historical Sketches*, iii, 6.

Italy afforded these advantages in an eminent degree. It is in Italy that the interest of that complex movement called the Renaissance, that reached its high-water mark in the fifteenth century, lies in the main. The decline of "New Rome" and the Byzantine Empire generally, the fall of Constantinople before the Turks in 1453, the bequest to Rome of the masterpieces of Greek genius, the rise of various cities and states, like Florence and Venice, to be centres of light and leading, the impulse afforded to the Fine Arts by the munificence of noble families and princely patrons, who vied with each other in the embellishment of their buildings, the competition of craftsmen and the stimulus communicated to talent, the play of genius, fancy, care for physical beauty, the worship of the body, wit, grace and invention—all these considerations co-operated in the result. To Italy, therefore, flocked aspirants after culture from all parts of the civilized world.

The attractions of Italy were reinforced by political events in England. Such an event occurred in the fifteenth century. Owen Glyndwr's negotiations with Charles VI of France and his recognition of Benedict XIII against his rival Innocent, cemented the relations between Wales and Italy. Henceforward the Welsh Bards garnished their war-songs with appeals to St. Peter's Seal to aid their just cause, and invocations of the benediction of the Apostolic See. This organized combination of forces provoked reprisals on the part of the Crown, which, considering the terms of some of Glyndwr's overtures to the French King and the Pope, were not surprising. Thus one proposal ran: "That Henry of Lancaster should be branded and tortured in the usual form" for his acts of sacrilege, and "that full remission of sins should be granted to those who took up arms against the usurper".

Be that as it may, the ill success of Glyndwr's military enterprise dissolved the fair fabric of his dream, namely a National University and a National Church. This reversal of his hopes involved serious consequences to the intellectual life of Wales. Among other projects Owen Glyndwr entertained the idea of founding two universities for Wales, one in the North, the other in the South;<sup>1</sup> but it proved abortive; the hopes raised in that generation were rudely shattered by a stab at the very vitals of Wales. For on the failure of the insurrection Henry IV and his counsellors proceeded to remorseless retaliation. They conceived that the best way of crushing the spirit of Wales was by crippling its youth, thus poisoning the springs of national life, and postponing for generations the realization of Welshmen's educational ideals. Accordingly, in pursuance of his schemes, he denied them the privilege of higher education. The result was that many a young Welshman of the day, who aspired after culture, as all Welshmen do, was compelled to seek it on foreign shores. Then began an exodus towards the Continent which was for a long time uninterrupted.

The upheaval of the Reformation swelled the number of emigrants. Many went into exile for conscience sake. Some of these votaries of knowledge exhibit remarkable instances of a combination of religious conviction, intellectual interest and patriotic zeal.

The name of Gruffydd Roberts, who flourished about the year 1570, is familiar to us. He betook himself to the University of Siena to study medicine. But he did not forget his native land, nor did his departure from Wales diminish his desire to serve it. On the contrary his patriotism was accentuated by exile. In 1567 he published his Welsh Grammar, and those who have seen one

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Wylie, *History of England under Henry IV*, p. 313.

of the two copies extant will recall some of the sentiments expressed in the Preface, where he mentions his reasons for undertaking the task. The whole is a salutary rebuke to the tribe of Dic Sion Dafyddion and ought to find a responsive chord in every Welshman's breast. In 1585 he reappears as the author of another Welsh volume, a Roman Catholic manual, entitled, *Y Drych Christiongawl*, which was published at Rouen under the direction of Roberts's fellow-countryman, Rossier Smith. Sion Dafydd Rhys, another Welshman, found his way to Siena and graduated also in the faculty of medicine there. He afterwards became public moderator of the school at Pistoja, and published two Latin treatises at Venice and Padua respectively. His residence in foreign countries did not cool his patriotic ardour; he also published a Welsh Grammar, which saw the light in 1588. In course of time he returned to his native country and followed his profession near Brecon. These names are comparatively well-known, and therefore I refrain from expatiating upon them, but I may enlarge upon one man who evidently enjoyed a great reputation in his day, namely, William Thomas, Clerk of the Council to Edward VI. He tells us himself that in 1544 he was "constrained by misfortune to abandon the place of his nativity", perhaps on account of his religious opinions. In 1545 he appears at Venice. In 1552 he published a treatise or monograph bearing the title: "*Il pellegrino Inglese nel quale si defende l'innocente e la sincera vita del pio e religioso re d'Inghilterra, Henrico Ottavo.*" In 1548 or 1549 he is found forwarding from Padua to his "verie good friende Maister John Tamworth, at Venice", an Italian primer, which he had undertaken to compose at his correspondent's request. His Italian grammar and dictionary were "the first of the kind published in English", and reveal an intimate knowledge of

Italian literature. Ultimately he returned to England, where he made known the stores of knowledge accumulated during his residence abroad under the title of *The Historie of Italie*. The book was suppressed, but afterwards reprinted. The author perished in the reign of Queen Mary on Tyburn.<sup>1</sup>

There you have some specimens of Welshmen who owed much of their intellectual acquirements to Italy, and whose exile eventually redounded to the benefit of Wales. It would be impossible within the limits that I impose upon myself, to speak of many others, certainly impossible to do justice to their memory. We may notice in passing Giraldus Cambrensis, Gerald the Welshman, that charming, if somewhat egotistical, writer of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. He informs us that his lectures in Paris were so popular that he was credited with having studied at Bologna, pre-eminently the University of Law and the glory of the Middle Ages. Be that as it may, he was, according to his own showing, a frequent and welcome visitor at the Papal Court, and knowing the objects of his errands, we may be sure that he did not let the grass grow under his feet. The indefatigable intriguer, during one of his business visits to negotiate about a benefice or obtain the See of St. David's (a constant bone of contention and theatre of intrigue), presented six copies of his writings to the Pope. The Holy Father was pleased, read them carefully and showed them to the Cardinals; and on the whole was inclined to assign the palm to the *Gemma Ecclesiastica*. The verdict comes down to us on the best authority, Gerald's own, but the *Gemma* did not win the author his suit.

We have again in the fourteenth century that garrulous old divine, Adam of Usk. He also, like the Archdeacon of

<sup>1</sup> See *Dictionary of National Biography*.

St. David's, exhibited an aptitude for wire-pulling and repaired to Rome to push his fortunes. His departure in 1402 was accelerated, if not occasioned, by a charge of highway-robbery, in which he seems to have been implicated,<sup>1</sup> for a King's pardon granted to him is still extant. The existence of a pardon is not absolutely conclusive, for Welshmen were sometimes graciously granted pardons for what they had never done! Still, in the case before us—grievous as it is to relate of a dignitary of the Church and a Doctor of the University of Oxford,—the evidence is awkwardly explicit and circumstantial. However, Adam did not allow these trifles to stand in his way. He succeeded in ingratiating himself in high quarters at Rome, and assures us that he wielded no inconsiderable influence there. Whatever view we may take of his credulity and egregious vanity, certain it is that his *Latin Chronicle*, in spite of all its good-natured garrulity, affords a valuable insight into the social life of the Capital; contains a lively and engrossing narrative of the stirring scenes in which he bore a prominent part; proves him to have enjoyed the favour of the Chief Pontiff, and to have been an acute observer of the progress of events, as well as a consistent place-hunter.

We have yet another Welsh worthy in John Owen of Carnarvonshire, the Latin Epigrammatist of a much later day. He needs no introduction; his epigrams enjoyed quite a European reputation, were translated into several languages, and gave rise to a crop of imitators.<sup>2</sup> But his

<sup>1</sup> The reason alleged for his banishment in 1402 was the boldness with which he criticized King Henry's Government. But it transpires that the real reason was the one stated in the text. (Pardon in 1403 to Edward Usk. *Patent Rolls*, 4 Hen. IV, ii, 22.)

<sup>2</sup> For Owen's influence on German literature see E. Urban, p. 5. "Von diesem Jahre (1606) an ergiesst sich ein Strom von Nachahmungen und Uebersetzungen des Owenus in die deutsche Litteratur:

debt to Italy is unmistakable. For his epigrams are, in their turn, modelled on those of Martial, and he often betrays Italian as well as French influence. He is connected with Italy in another way. A Protestant to the core, he frequently took occasion to gird at the see of Rome, as in the well-known couplet :

"An Petrus fuerit Romae sub iudice lis est  
Simonem Romae nemo fuisse negat."<sup>1</sup>

His temerity cost him dear, for in consequence a relative of his, who was also a zealous Papist, and had intended making him his heir, cut him off with a shilling.

I now turn to a very interesting point ; a point, however, which I have only time to touch upon, namely, whether there is any evidence of reciprocal influence between Celtic and Italian literature.

The Republic of Letters knows no distinction of races, and transcends all limitations of place. It is not too much to assert, though it may sound paradoxical, that the interchange of thought was at that time easier even than now with our improved methods of international intercourse. The reason lies in the general use of Latin by the learned classes at that day, a legacy bequeathed by the Roman Empire and still the medium of communication. Nearly all the disputations of the Schoolmen, to which I referred just now, were conducted in Latin ; theological and philosophical theses were written in Latin. The use of Latin ensured for an author or disputant, if not immortality, at any rate a wide circulation of his theories. Through this medium of exchange Briton, Spaniard, Sicilian,

jeder Dichter erachtet es als eine Zierde seines Werkes, Gedanken des gefeierten Epigrammatikers hier und dort einzustreuen, ohne es im übrigen mit der Quellenangabe sonderlich genau zu nehmen." Cf. pp. 6, 8, *et seq.*

<sup>1</sup> Book I, 8. Cf. III, 139, 141.

and Syrian became neighbours in the commonwealth of letters. Even when Dante and Boccaccio had shaped the Italian language and rendered it a vehicle for expression of thought, the scholastic writers retained a faulty form of Latin. Nay, more, the Italian language was cultivated by those who had pretensions to learning, and some Welshmen were evidently well versed in it. The question therefore arises, did Celtic authors, or *vice versa* Italian authors, imbibe ideas from one another?

Let us turn to Dante, the first to bring learning from the retirement of the cloister into the human community. He reveals an acquaintance with the storehouse of legends, secular and sacred, of Celtic countries, and not only of "Hibernia Fabulosa", as Ariosto calls Ireland; these he assimilated and stamped with the impress of his own genius. Among the wealth of floating tales and tradition whispered with awe and wonder at firesides in the Middle Ages was the Western legend of *Purdan Padrig*, or "Patrick's Purgatory". This had a wide vogue in Wales, for our forefathers revelled in the morbid. The scene is laid at Lough Derg in Ireland and the hero's name is Owain Miles, one of King Stephen's knights. Around him a tissue of legends has been woven, and they almost outdo Dante in hair-erecting incidents. The story runs that he descended by a Hell's mouth into the lower regions to do penance for sins of rapine and sacrilege. Entering by this subterranean passage he witnessed a panorama of lurid horrors, but, by dint of certain ceremonies, he came out of the ordeal unscathed.<sup>1</sup> There can be no doubt that the monkish

<sup>1</sup> The popularity of *Patrick's Purgatory* is shown by a letter from Francesco Chiericato, Apostolic Nuncio in England, to Isabella d'Este, Marchioness of Mantua. The writer mentions that "he is going to Ireland to see St. Patrick's Purgatory and all the other wonderful things which are said and written about it". *Mantuan Archives*, July 10th, 1517, p. 399.

composer was influenced by the Tenth Book of Virgil's *Aeneid*.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, there are good grounds for believing that Dante drew from this source.<sup>2</sup> Parallel passages are readily recognizable. In fact we know that the wild old romance *Guerino il meschino* of the fifteenth century reproduced the main features of *Purdan Padrig* bodily. Eventually the legend fell into disrepute and was suppressed by order of the Pope, but afterwards revived in full force, regained its popularity and enjoyed a long lease of life.

Further, Dante was not insensible to the spell of the Arthurian legends. He introduces the knights of King Arthur's Round Table three times at least. In the exquisite story of Francesca of Rimini and Paolo, who are paying the penalty of their passion as "in a sea in tempest torn by warring winds", Francesca relates that the two lovers at the time they were surprised by the suspicious husband were reading the story of Lancelot's love for Guinever:

"Noi leggevamo un giorno, per diletto,  
Di Lancilotto, come amor lo strinse."

Indeed, Lancelot's liaison seems to have seized Dante's fancy, for he returns to it in the *Paradiso*. Mordrec, the King's son, figures elsewhere:

"tutta la Caina  
Potrai cercare, e non troverai ombra  
Degna piu d'esser fitta in gelatina:  
Non quegli a cui fu rotto il petto e l'ombra  
Con esso un colpo, per la man d'Artù."<sup>3</sup>

The poet is alluding to the incident in which Arthur, having discovered the traitorous intentions of his son,

<sup>1</sup> And the Necyomanteia of the Cave of Trophonius in Greece. Pausanias, ix, c. 39.

<sup>2</sup> See Labitte, *La Divine Comédie avant Dante*, 1843.

<sup>3</sup> *Inferno*, xxxii.



pierces him through with the stroke of his lance, so that the sunbeams passed through his body. The stern Florentine consigned Tristan himself to the *Inferno*, but we may console ourselves that he is in honourable company, for he is a near neighbour to a Pope.

The Scot fared no better than the Knights of the Round Table. Of the astrologers, necromancers and magic-mongers of the Middle Ages no name possessed greater terror or fascination for the public imagination than that of Michael Scotus. He also finds himself among those who, having "pretended to a skill in forecasting" future events, are condemned to have their faces reversed, so that, being robbed of the power to see before them, they are constrained ever to walk backwards:—

"Quell' altro che ne' fianchi è così poco,  
Michele Scotto fu, che veramente  
Delle magiche frode seppe il giuoco."<sup>1</sup>

The explanation of the hold that Michael Scotus possessed on the public mind is doubtless to be found in his reputation for mental accomplishments; a penalty attached to intellectual superiority in that age, until advance in knowledge by disclosing the cause dispelled the fear.<sup>2</sup> He was credited with extensive erudition and practised divination at the court of Frederick II. He "feared neither God nor man", was in league with devils, and addicted to judicial astrology, alchemy and chiromancy. He published many

<sup>1</sup> *Inferno*, c. xx. Boccaccio, *Decameron*, says :—"Egli non ha ancora guari che in questà citta fu un gran maestro in negromanzia il quale ebbe nome Michele Scotto, perciò che di Scozia era."

<sup>2</sup> Benvenuto da Imola says that he foresaw his own death but could not escape it. He had predicted that he should be killed by the falling of a small stone upon his head, and always wore an iron skull cap under his hood, but one day on entering a church a stone fell on his bare head. See also Villani, *Hist.*, lib. 10, C. cv, cxli, and lib. 12, C. xviii; Fazio degli Uberti, *Dittamondo*, lib. 2, C. xxvii. For his notoriety in Scotland see Scott, *Lay of the Last Minstrel*, canto ii.

works, but his chief achievement was the translation of the Arabic Aristotle into Latin, with the commentaries of Averrhoes.<sup>1</sup> He undertook this task in Spain, and was much indebted for help to the Spanish Saracens.

The name of Dafydd ap Gwilym is interesting in this connection. The century to which he belonged, the fourteenth, was marked by literary activity, and was lavishly productive of original literary creations. This poet's are in some respects surpassed by none. His frequent allusions to Latin writers, and the standard of culture that he reveals, have lent colour to the theory that he must have studied in Italy. It is quite within the bounds of possibility. As we have already seen, there is no reason, judging from the experience of other Welshmen, why he should not have visited that country, but in the absence of any allusion to such an event, which would probably have left some trace in his writings, and of any direct evidence of an acquaintance with Italian authors, it seems better to account for his culture in another way. The channels by which he may have derived his knowledge were various; for example, the love of travel, which began with the twelfth century and gradually grew in intensity, the Crusades, the constant communications kept up between the various hospitals of the Knights of St. John and the Templars, the frequent tournaments and wars. Commerce was another agency in the dissemination of literary or legendary lore. Moreover, the monks were continually roaming to and fro, and students regularly passed from one School or University to another. Bear in mind Dafydd ap Gwilym's association with the monastic houses at Talley and Ystrad Fflur! bear in mind also that a gallant of his

<sup>1</sup> Renan thought he was the first to introduce Averrhoes into the Latin schools of Europe.

description, welcomed at every castle or mansion, would experience no lack of avenues to the literary harvest that was springing up at that time!

The task of discovering parallels between our poet's writings and others of the confraternity in Italy lies outside the scope of this paper. I hope that Professor Lewis Jones or the Rev. Machreth Rees will undertake the work and give us the results of his research. Meanwhile, there may be room here for one or two observations. The fourteenth century, in which Dafydd ap Gwilym flourished, witnessed an intellectual awakening in Europe which, in the Middle Ages, had gradually slumbered and finally sunk into exhaustion. It saw the supersession of Latin as the literary language, and the rise of Italian literature. It was the age of Francesco Stabile, Cecco d'Astoli, Francesco da Barberino and Cino da Pistoja. Above all, it was the century that produced Petrarch and Boccaccio. In the fourteenth century, Chaucer, "the master of the science, the theology, and the literature of his time", visited Genoa and Florence, where he may have come into contact with the two chief luminaries of the new learning, namely, Petrarch and Boccaccio. This visit proved the turning-point in the poet's literary life. He returned to England enriched with stores of knowledge, ideas and inspirations. Perhaps he had already conceived and adumbrated, in imitation of Boccaccio's *Decamerone*, his *Canterbury Tales*, the magic mirror of the fourteenth century, that stirring and "gaily appavelled time".<sup>1</sup> It would be strange, therefore, if Dafydd ap Gwilym were unaffected by the movement, which was operating far and wide. There is an additional reason for thinking so. Chaucer's voice awoke no echo, and this "first burst of English song died suddenly and utterly away". But it so happened that

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Peter Borghesi, *Boccaccio and Chaucer*, Bologna, 1903.

Wales was well fitted for the reception of these new ideas, and had already shaped and moulded its language. Welsh poets had already arisen, and the relation borne by the poets above mentioned to Petrarch and Boccaccio may be paralleled by the relation of Rhys Goch ap Rhicert to Dafydd ap Gwilym. There is, therefore, a strong presumption in favour of connecting our poet with this widespread and many-sided movement, which, beginning in a tentative manner, and gradually gathering force, passed out of the winter of the Middle Ages and finally burst forth in the summer of the Renaissance. The supposition derives additional colour from the fact that there was frequent intercourse between England and the Continent. Military expeditions, ecclesiastical errands, and political missions at once made necessary and formed channels of communication between the northern country and the southern. Dafydd ap Gwilym's own writings contain evidence of a cultivation of continental customs in Wales.<sup>1</sup> Nor were political exigencies the only occasions for intercourse. Reference has already been made in these pages to the constant communication between the various branches or provinces of the Church. Whatever the defects may have been which drew down upon it the denunciation of a Petrarch, Rome was still the centre of authority. The mutterings of the coming storm that culminated in the Reformation were as yet hardly audible; the network spread by Rome was unbroken; the machinery rolled on as usual. Learning was still largely in the hands of the monks, though their monopoly was broken down. It is not improbable that our poet may have owed part of his mental equipment to the monasteries, for

<sup>1</sup> References to France occur in XXVI, CXXXVII, CCII, CCXIII, CCXX (Cynddelw's edition, 1873).

“Skilled” were “its holy monks of orders grey  
In Latin lore and in poetic lay.”<sup>1</sup>

But learning was far from being the exclusive possession of the religious orders. The Bards enjoyed a reputation, and, in fact, combined in their own persons the functions of chroniclers, genealogists, and instructors of youth in music and poetry, thereby intruding on the special province of the monks, which doubtless was one cause of the friction and feud that arose between the two classes.

Further, Dafydd ap Gwilym reveals a knowledge of the classic poets. Whether he knew Greek, as has been asserted, is open to question, for that accomplishment was confined to the curious and professed scholar, but that our poet was imbued with Homeric legend appears from several passages. Comparing Morfudd to three heroines of Greek story, he sings :—

“Cyntaf o'r tair disglaerloyw  
A'i cafas ehudwas hoyw—  
Polisena, ferch Bria,  
Gwaisg o grair yn gwisgo gra ;  
A'r ail fu Diodema,  
Gwiwbryd goleudraul haul ha' ;  
Trydydd fun, ail Rhun y rhawg  
Fu Elen felinwen fanawg,  
Yr hon a beris yr ha'  
A thrin rhwng Groeg a Throia.”

But these legends may well have been derived from a Latin source.<sup>2</sup> Of his acquaintance with the poets of the Augustan age there can be no doubt. Ovid, a kindred

<sup>1</sup> *Johnes's translation*, p. 384 ; compare :—

“A brodyr a wyr brydiaith,  
Llwydion a wyr Lladin iaith  
O ran mydr o ramadeg.”

<sup>2</sup> XXIX. Other classical allusions occur in VIII, LIX, XCIV, CXX XVIII.

spirit in more senses than one,<sup>1</sup> as well in his lays as his loves, would naturally possess an attraction for him, and we find our poet writing to a nun, probably his patron's daughter, who had been placed in a nunnery owing to an attachment that had sprung up between her and the poet, her tutor, and bidding her—

“Forsake the cloister cell,  
Dispense with *Pater nosters* and give o'er  
The Romish monk's religious lore,”

and—

“Haste to the knotted birchen tree,  
And learn the cuckoo's piety.  
There in the green wood will thy mind  
A path to Heav'n, O lady, find.  
There Ovid's volume shalt thou read  
And there a spotless life we'll lead.

Nor is it harder to reach Heav'n  
For those who make the groves their home,  
Than to the sojourners at Rome.”<sup>2</sup>

On the whole the evidence points to a connection between Dafydd ap Gwilym and the revival of learning, as some further considerations may serve to show. The two writers with whom Dafydd possessed the closest affinity are, as it happens, just those who determined the course of the principal streams of poetry in all the languages of Europe for more than two centuries after their lifetime, and in some important respects even to the present time,<sup>3</sup> namely, Petrarch and Boccaccio, who took

<sup>1</sup> It is a remarkable fact that Ovid's *Ars amatoria* was widely read in Wales at a very early period. There is in the Bodleian Library at Oxford a manuscript, belonging to the ninth century, of the first book, with a large number of Welsh glosses or explanations of the words. See Zeuss, *Grammatica Celtica*, p. 1054.

<sup>2</sup> To the above evidence may be added the reputation for knowledge of foreign tongues which earned for him the title of *Pensaer yr ieithoedd*. The phrase occurs in Iolo Goch's elegy on his death. But it is possible to lay too much stress on it.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. W. P. Ker in *Mediæval Literature*, pp. 64, 357.

the lead in emancipating humanity from the superstitions of the Middle Ages—Petrarch,

“Whose retorique sweete enlumyned  
al Itail of poetrie,”

the creator of Italian lyric poetry, distinguished by his airy grace, delicacy of sentiment, exquisite sensibility and elevation of tone, Boccaccio, the moulder of Italian prose, even-tempered, sanguine, a master of the light and lively tale.

The love of Nature is a marked feature in Dafydd ap Gwilym's poems. He delighted to paint her in all her moods. His appeal to the nun already mentioned, his summons to her to forsake her cell and come with him and worship in the temple of Nature, is one illustration. His commissions to the birds and beasts to act as his *llatteion* and convey messages to Morfudd is another. It is tempting to connect this attitude of mind with the spirit of freedom that sprang up in the Renaissance. This spirit is discerned in the province of the imagination. Art was beginning to display a fearless love of Nature, and was no longer subordinated to human interest. Literature now treated Nature not as a background, as a set-off or setting to the pleasant indolence of man, but for its own sake. The delight in Nature therefore reveals Dafydd ap Gwilym as a forerunner of the Renaissance. But his writings suggest another parallel; the spirit of intellectual liberty, the revolt against the narrowness and limitations of the Middle Ages, the spirit of a large humanity, the freedom from convention and superstition, formed another marked feature of the European movement. This unconventionality shows itself in the writings of several poets long before the Renaissance in the strict sense of the term. Petrarch's sensitive soul relieves itself in the form of righteous indignation against abuses; Boccaccio, tranquil,

comfortable, flippant, ironical, finds food for mirth in the merry jest or scurrilous tale at the expense of a corrupt Church. Langland's *Piers Plowman*, in his passion for reform, avers—

“With the rest and the remnant by the rood of Lucca!  
I will worship therewith Saint Truth, while I live,  
And at plough be His pilgrim for poor men's sakes.”<sup>1</sup>

“*Religion in reason hath somewhat for certain.*”<sup>2</sup>

Nor is Dafydd ap Gwilym less ready than his contemporaries to throw off the trammels of conventionality and break loose from the fetters forged in days of ignorance and superstition, and rivetted by the custom of ages on the heart and imagination. As an example of his attitude the following lines may be cited.<sup>3</sup> The poet has been taken to task by a monk for his vagaries:—

“Minau atebais i'r Brawd  
Am bob gair ar a ddywawd,  
'Nid ydyw Duw mor greulon  
Ag y dywaid hen ddyinion;  
Ond celwydd yr offeiriaid  
Yn darllain hen grwyn defaid;  
Ni chyll Duw enaid gwr mwyn,  
Er caru gwraig na morwyn.  
Tri pheth a gerir trwy'r byd,  
Gwraig a hinon ac iechyd,  
Merch fydd decaf blodeuyn  
Yn y nef ond Duw ei hun!”

The thought re-appears in the same poem:—

“Gwir a ddywed Ystudfach,  
Gyda'i feirdd yn cyfeddach,—  
'Wynneb llawen llawn ei dŷ,  
Wynneb trist drwg a ery.'  
Cyd caro rai sancteiddrwydd,  
Eraill a gâr ganghaneddrwydd;  
Anaml a wyr gywydd per,  
A phawb a wyr ei bader.”

<sup>1</sup> *The Ploughman and Hunger.* Passus, vi, 103.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 153.

<sup>3</sup> *Traithodl*, cXLIX.

The genius of the poet, however, though it burst its bonds, yet carried a few links of the old chains after the spring into liberty.<sup>1</sup>

It might, perhaps, be possible to trace parallels between Dafydd and his Italian contemporaries, but it is certainly difficult to draw out the correspondence in detail. Thus, his escapade, which forms the subject of his poem *Y dyn dan y gerwyn*, might be an echo of a tale in Boccaccio's *Decameron*.<sup>2</sup> But it would probably be nearer to the truth to say that the poets of the day, whether Italian *improvisatore* or Provençal *troubadour*, German *minnesinger*, or Celtic bard, laid under contribution a floating fund of folklore, legend, and tradition, the origins of which may have been various and are now obscure, but that each class of poet moulded them after its own fashion.

So, too, with regard to the relations between Dafydd ap Gwilym and Petrarch. The curious may find scope for speculation and the exercise of their ingenuity in comparing such poems as the following :—

Dafydd ap Gwilym.	Petrarch.
<i>Gorllucyn ydd wyf, ddyd geirllaes.</i>	<i>Tra quantunque leggiadre donne e belle.</i>
<i>Dodes Duw, da o dyst wyf.</i>	<i>L'aura celeste ch'è'n quel verde Lauro.</i>
<i>Y ferch borffor ei thorn.</i>	<i>Quando'l sol bagna in mar l'aurato carro.</i>
<i>Ni thybais ddewdrails ddir- dra.</i>	<i>Dicemi spesso il mio fidato spoglio.</i>
<i>Curiodd anwadal galon.</i>	<i>Quanto più m'avvicino al giorno estremo.</i>

<sup>1</sup> Though, for example, he had chafed against artificial religious restraints, he has not given up his belief: CI, CXIX, CXLIX, CCXXXIX, CCXLVIII.

<sup>2</sup> *Giorn.* vii, Nov. 11.

*Galar ar ol mabolaeth.*

*Alla dolce ombra de le belle  
frondi.*

*Che fai? Che pensi? Che  
pur dietro guardi.*

*Tennemi Amor anni ventuno  
ardendo.*

But the parallels were doubtless accidental. While, therefore, it is not difficult to trace general resemblances between the writings of the two poets, these may with more probability be attributed to the similarity of subject or situation. The stages in the advance of the love passion and the accompanying symptoms, the sleeplessness of the distracted lover, the imminent dissolution of the poet unless his prayer be granted, the rapture over the lady's hair, the dialogue between Phyllis and Damon, the lover carried captive by Cupid, the love-god's dart, torch, and the rest of his armoury, the lover's comparison of his divinity to the Sun, the attachment to the spot where the lovers first met, the complaint against fair Inamorata's disdain, the lament over the sear and yellow leaf—all these traits Dafydd possesses in common with Petrarch, and with love poets in general.

Yet again there are certain passages in our poet which are direct imitations or reminiscences of the classic poets of Rome. This interest in the Latin classics was another result of the general excitement and enlightening of the human mind that arose in his day. His *Cywydd*, called *Y Drych*, or the Mirror, bears a general resemblance to one of the *Epodes* of Horace.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> IV, 10. The adoption of the name Morfuidd as a disguise (which might be thought an imitation of Petrarch's address to Laura) is really a commonplace of classical poetry: Propertius's divinity was Cynthia, Tibullus's Delia, Ovid's Corinna. Many passages occur which seem to be echoes of the classics. Compare *Dymuniad o foddi y Bwa Bach*, xcix, Horace *Epodes* x; xxxiv, *Morwyn yn pennu oed heb gywiro*, Horace, *Epod.* xv, Ovid, *Amores* iii, 3; cviii, *Tri phorthor Eiddig*, Ovid, *Amores* i, 6, Horace *Odes*, iii, xii. xxxviii, *Tadmaeth*

The origin of the following light and airy poem, so much in harmony with the subject, is unmistakable. It is an expansion of Æsop's fable:—

*“Y ceiliog Rhedyn a'r Grugionyn.*

“Mi a wnaf, a mi a wnaf,  
I'r wraig aeth i daith yr haf,  
Fel y gwnaeth y grugionyn  
A'r ceiliog rhywiog rhedyn—  
Y ceiliog rhedyn a fu  
Yn llemain ac yn llamu,  
O wyl Ieuan yn yr haf,  
Oni ddaeth dyw-c'langauaf.

“Dyw-c'langauaf, y bore  
Fe a droes y gwynt o'i le,  
I odi, ac i luchio,  
Oddiar lechwedd Moel Eilio,  
I luchio, ac i odi,  
Oddiar ystlys Eryri.

“Fal yr oedd y grugionyn  
Yn ei esmwyth glyd dyddyn,  
Wedi cael yn ei gywair,  
Ei gynnyd, a'i yd, a'i wair;  
A'i *larder* i nen ei dŷ,  
A'i farch is traed ei wely;  
A'i wraig yn chwilio ei ben,  
Yn hyfryd ac yn llawen:  
Fo glywai o gil y ddôr  
Egwan yn erchi egor.

“Nid er d'ofn, nid er d'arswyd,  
Ond er gofyn pa un wyd?’

“Myfi sydd redyngar geiliog,  
Dy frawd fydd a'th gymydog,  
A'th gâr, a gwr o'th unwlad,  
Yn dyfod i west atad.’

---

serch Morfudd. I have seen the last-mentioned spoken of as a paraphrase of Ovid, but this must be a mistake, as it does not occur in the lighter poems. The general character of the poem is very Greek, and is not unlike the description of Eros in Theocritus and Bion.

“Mae yma y grugïogyn,  
 Dy frawd fydd a'th gyl-dyddyn ;—  
 Ple buost ti'r haf hirwyn ?  
 Neidio a llamu rhedyn ?  
 Rhodia eto, llama'n dda,  
 Heno ni ddoi di yma.’

“Duw bellach a'm cynghoro !  
 I ble'r af finau heno ?  
 Os myn'd i bare y glyn,  
 Lle bum gynt yn feistr rhedyn.  
 Mi daria' yma'n agos ;  
 Ni bydd marw march er unnos !’

“Yna doedai rai doethion,  
 Pe bai gorphydd oedd galon ;—  
 Yna doedai rai doethiaid,  
 Pe bai gorphydd oedd enaid.  
 Dyna gïgle, ni cherddodd  
 Led yr erw oni rynodd !  
 Fel dyna'r modd y darfu  
 I'r ceiliog rhedyn cynta' fu.  
 A phoed felly y darffo  
 I'r ceiliog rhedyn cynta' fo.”

The benefits of education, as we have seen in the case of Michael Scotus, appear not to have been appreciated to the full in the Middle Ages. Indeed, high attainments were sometimes a positive disadvantage. But the populace possessed diversions of their own.<sup>2</sup> To beguile a leisure hour our ancestors had an abundance of material, for instance, *Historia Septem Sapientum Romae*, which was

<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to compare the Welsh version with La Fontaine's, two hundred years later:—*La cigale et la fourmi. Livre i, Fable i.*

<sup>2</sup> Landau, *Die Quellen des Dekameron*, p. 2. “So begannen zur Zeit Boccaccio's schon überall in Europa die bürgerlichen Erzählungen in Mode zu kommen, während die ritterlichen Gattungen auch noch eifrig gepflegt wurden. In Italien hatte das Ritterwesen nicht recht gedeihen können, frühzeitig hatte sich dort ein kräftiger wohlhabender Bürgerstand und mit ihm auch eine bürgerliche Literatur entwickelt; in Frankreich aber hatte sich die Chevalerie und die sie begleitende Literatur zur üppigsten Blüthe entfaltet.”

accessible in vernacular translations. The argument turns upon the attempt made by a queen, a second Phaedra, on the virtue of her stepson. Unable to convince her consort of the son and heir's guilt, the stepmother poisons his mind and plays upon his weakness by warnings of worse woes to come, if he turns a deaf ear. To this end she speaks in parable and adduces instances of treachery, insisting upon the fatal consequences of cunning on the one hand and credulity on the other. But "the Seven Masters", who are the lad's tutors, reply in turn with a story of the very opposite tenour, to frustrate her designs. The pendulum swings from side to side; the feeble, irresolute king is distracted. For as soon as his trusty counsellors have left his presence, by a strange coincidence his wife enters, and the king's resolution vanishes. One day he vows: "To-morrow he shall die"; when to-morrow dawns he wavers, and pleads: "Indeed, I cannot doom him."

The method by which these strange stories were transmitted is merged in obscurity.<sup>1</sup> Many of them bear evidence of an Eastern origin, a fact which is probably traceable to the Crusades and the Arabs in Spain. But, whatever their precise origin, they filtered through Europe and were acclimatised on European soil. Thus the concluding story in this literary agglomerate, told by the victim of the plot, who has now recovered his speech, appears in the *Cento Novelle* of Sansovino.<sup>2</sup> Compositions

<sup>1</sup> Landau, *Die Quellen des Dekameron*, p. 3. "Der lebhafteste Verkehr mit dem Orient, theils durch die Kreuzzüge, theils durch die Araber in Spanien und die Mongolen im östlichen Europa gefördert, brachte orientalische Bildungselemente nach dem Abendlande, und das Christenthum durchdrang wieder mit seinem eigenthümlichen Geiste die Cultur und Literatur Europa's." Cf. p. 4, etc. For the Italian versions, see Landau, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

<sup>2</sup> *Giorn.* viii, Nov. 4.

of the same class as "The Seven Wise Masters" were thrown into the form of dialogue or drama. India was the Eldorado of story-tellers, and the wondrous, monstrous legends of that country were in great request. But a remarkable change came about. A distant scene in an Asiatic country was considered to be an unsuitable theatre for the characters represented in such popular dialogues. It was felt that the stage must be laid somewhere nearer home, and what place summoned up such grand and glorious associations as Rome! And what place actually had illustrated the perils encompassing an heir to a throne as Rome!

But another consideration lent importance to Rome. This was the prejudice with which Greece and the Greeks were regarded. The Middle Ages viewed antiquity through a distorting medium. For the Christian nations of that time, engaged, as they were, in a bitter and protracted struggle with the Saracen, included the pagan Greeks, and Romans also, in the same category. The wars between Cross and Crescent found an echo in popular literature. Western races transferred to their writings their rooted animosity against Islam. They pronounced the gods and goddesses of the Greek Pantheon to be devils and demons, and the Greek Olympus, a mountain where the deities "dwelt at ease", to be a hob-goblin. For the Greeks themselves they felt a special aversion, and in the accounts and recitals of the Trojan war, the Christian of the West instinctively took sides with the Trojan against the Greek. On the other hand, the power, majesty, and order of the Roman Empire<sup>1</sup> were fresh in their recollection. Roman institutions had left behind them a deep mark; Roman buildings or their ruins were so familiar to the eye that they moderated their resentment, overcame their prejudice,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 87.

and were proud to claim connection with a power so ancient, so august, nay, almost supernatural. They traced their descent from the ancestors of the Romans, namely, the Trojans. Priam III, a grandson of the Great Priam, becomes the progenitor of the Franks. Dante regards their Trojan descent as established.<sup>1</sup> Boccaccio does not doubt the Trojan origin of the Romans, but questions whether the Franks have the same ancestry, and utterly repudiates the pretensions of the Britons, who tried to embellish and dignify their barbarian origin by smuggling a Brutus into their genealogical tree.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, the heroes of romance and chivalry reminded them forcibly of Æneas, the reputed founder of the Roman line of kings, whose exploits Virgil chronicles. The poet's *Eclogues* were contrasted with Homer's *Odyssey* and *Iliad*, to the prejudice of the latter. He contained so much of the Christian element that he, rather than Homer, became the favourite Christian poet of the Middle Ages. Boccaccio rejects Homer as a partisan of Achilles.<sup>3</sup> Pride and prejudice therefore conspired to attract the Middle Ages to Rome. To Rome the oriental scenes of "The Seven Wise Masters", actors and paraphernalia, were transferred; the simple king of these stories takes the name Diocletianus or Pontianus.

The process of adaptation of these Eastern tales to European surroundings is illustrated in the well-known story of Prince Llewelyn and his trusty hound Gelert, whom he slays under the impression that the hound has killed his son, and is afterwards stung with remorse. It comes from "The Seven Wise Masters". There, however, the aggressor

<sup>1</sup> *Convito*, iv, 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Geneal. Deorum*, vi, 24, 57 (Cf. Spenser, *Faerie Queen*, x, 9). For Boccaccio's ideas of Wales, see *Decamerone*, *Giorn.* ii, *Nov.* viii.

<sup>3</sup> *Gen. Deorum*, vi, 13.

is not a wolf but a serpent.<sup>1</sup> The frequency with which animals are introduced in these mediæval tales, as endowed with human speech, would in itself indicate their oriental origin, and in matter of fact the original source of the story of Prince Llewelyn and Gelert is the Indian collection of the *Pantchatantra*. But in course of transmission the venue is altered; in the East and in Egypt the aggressor is a snake; in Italy it is a snake also; but by the time the story has reached Wales, the form is again adapted to its new environment. Since Wales is not a land infested with cobras or boa-constrictors, the aggressor is transformed into a wolf.

“Yr oedd marchog cadarn gwych yn Rhufain, a'i lys wrth ystlys y gaer. Ac un diwrnod yr oedd dwrdd mawr rhwng arglwyddi, a marchogion, a gwyr mawr; ac yna myned a wnaeth yr arglwyddes a'i mamaethod i ben y gaer i edrych ar y chwareu, a'r holl ddynion i gyd, heb adael neb yn y palas. Eithr mab bychan oedd i'r marchog llai na blwydd, yn y gadair yn cysgu yn y neuadd, a milgi yn gorwedd ar y brwyn yn ei ymyl. A chan weryriad y meirch ac angerdd y gwyr a thrwst y gwyr yn curo wrth y tarianau, y deffroes gwiber o wâl y dref, a chyrcu tua neuadd y marchog, ac arganfod y mab yn cysgu yn ei gawell, a dwyn hynt tuag ato. A chyn i'r sarph gael gafael yn y mab, bwrw naid o'r milgi, a gafael yn y wiber, a'r wiber ynddo yntau; a chan eu hynladd ill dau, troi o'r cawell a'i wyneb i waered, a'r mab ynddo; a'r milgi a laddodd y wiber, a'i gado yn ddrylliau yn ymyl y cawell. Yna, pan ddaeth y mamaethod i mewn, a gweled y cawell a'i wyneb i waered, a'r gwaed o bob parth iddo, myned a wnaethant dan lefain at eu harglwyddes, a dywedyd wrthi

<sup>1</sup> In the *Sindibâdnâmeh* the aggressor is a weasel or *ichneumon*; in some versions the rescuer is a bird, a goshawk, a falcon, or an *ichneumon*.

i'r milgi ladd ei hunig fab hi, yr hwn oedd yn cysgu yn y cawell. Myned a wnaeth hithau dan lefain at y marchog, gan ffusto ei dwylaw yn nghyd, a dywedyd i'r milgi ladd ei unig fab ef. A'r milgi oedd yn gorwedd yn lluddedig yn ymyl y cawell. A phan glywes y milgi ei feistr yn dyfod i fewn, codi a wnaeth i'w gyfarfod; a'r marchog a dynodd ei gledd, ac a dorodd ben y milgi oddiar ei gorph. O achos cyhuddiad y mamaethod, ac er dyddanu yr arglwyddes, y marchog a droes y cawell a'i wned i fynu; ac yno yr oedd y mab yn holl iach, dan y cawell yn cysgu, â'r wiber yn ddrylliau mân yn ymyl. Ac yna yr ymofidiodd y marchog ladd o hono ar arch ei wraig filgi cystal â hwnw."

The next specimen that I shall give of legendary lore in the Middle Ages was known as Virgil's Tower, or *Salvatio Romae*, and held rather a prominent place. It is interesting, inasmuch as it gives an insight into the beliefs prevalent in the Middle Ages, the distortion of history, and the disregard of anachronisms in the mediæval mind. Virgil is a magician.<sup>1</sup>

"Yr auiser yr oedd Fferyll" yn Rhufain, efe a blanodd

<sup>1</sup> Nor here alone. See Arturo Graff, *Roma nella memoria e nelle immaginazioni del Medio Evo*, p. 196. The versions vary; in some of them a statue is substituted for the pillar, images (representing the several provinces of the Roman dominion) for the magic mirror, and Merlin for Virgil. The end of the story seems to be an echo of the history of Crassus, whose head was cut off by the Parthians and treated with indignity. Other stories in this Welsh collection are echoes of the Classics. The *Boar and Shepherd* recalls the Greek legend of the Boar of Erymanthus; *The thieves who slay their father to avoid detection*, appears to be an imitation of the story of Rhampsinitus, King of Egypt. Cf. Pausanias, ix, 37. *The wife confined in a castle*, bears a close resemblance to the plot of the *Miles Gloriosus* of Plautus. *The faithless wife who is locked out and pretends to throw herself into a pond and locks out her husband in his turn*, appears in Boccaccio, *Decamerone*, *Giorn.* vii, 4.

<sup>2</sup> The Latin poets, from being read in schools, came to be looked upon as scholars rather than poets. Like Virgil, Horace and Ovid obtained a name for science.

golffen yn nghanol Rhufain; ac ar ben hono yr oedd drych o gelfyddyd Igmars;<sup>1</sup> ac yn y drych hwnw y gwelai Seneddwyr Rhufain pa deyrnas bynag a fyddai'n troi yn erbyn Rhufain. Yna, yn gyflyn hwy aent am ben y wlad hono, ac a'i troent tan Rufain yr ail waith. A'r golffen hono oedd yn peri i bob teyrnas ofni Rhufain yn fwy na dim; ac am hyny y cynygiodd brenin y Pwyl<sup>2</sup> beth difesur o dda i'r neb a gymerai arno fwrw y golffen hono i lawr, a thori y drych. Yna y codes dau frawd i fynu yn y fan, a dywedyd fel hyn:—'Arglwydd frenin, pe caem ni ddau beth a geisiem genyt, ni a fwriem y golffen i'r llawr, a'r drych a dorem.' 'Beth yw hyny?' ebai'r brenin. 'Nid amgen na'n dyrchu ni mewn cyfoeth ac anrhydedd o hyn allan; a rhaid i ni gael cyfreidiau priodol yr awr hon, nid amgen na dau farilaid o aur; canys chwanocaf gwr o'r byd i aur yw'r ymherawdwr.' 'Hyny a gewch chwi yn llawen,' ebai'r brenin. A'r aur a gawsent, a phen y daith a gyrhaeddasant; ac ar hyd nos hwy a gladdasant y ddau farilaid aur mewn dau fan gerllaw pyrth y dref yn ymyl y ffordd; ac i'r dref yr aethant y nos hono, a lletya. Dranoeth, daethant i lys yr ymherawdwr, a chyfarch gwell iddo, a deisyf cael bod o wasanaeth iddo. 'Pa wasanaeth a fedrwch chwi ei wneuthur?' ebai'r ymherawdr. 'Ni a fedrwn fynegi i chwi a fo aur neu arian cuddiedig yn eich teyrnas chwi; ac o bydd, peri i chwi eu cael hwynt oll.' 'Ewch heno ac edrychwch erbyn yforu a oes aur neu arian i'm teyrnas i; ac o bydd, mynegwch i mi; ac o chaf hwy, mi a'ch gwnaf chwi yn anwyliaid im'.' Ac i'w llety yr aethant y nos hono. A thranoeth y mab ieuangaf a ddaeth ger bron yr ymherawdwr, ac a ddywedodd gael ohono mewn dewiniaeth wybod pa le yr oedd barilaid o aur yn ymyl porth y dref, yn nghudd. Yna y peris yr ymherawdwr fyned i geisio hwnw; ac wedi ei gael a'i

<sup>1</sup> A corruption of *nigromans* ("necromancy").

<sup>2</sup> Poland.

ddwyn iddo, efe y cymerth y gwas yn anwyl wasanaethwr. A thranoeth y daeth y gwas arall ger bron yr ymherawdwr, a dywedyd gael ohono, ar freuddwyd, wybodaeth pa le yr oedd barilaid o aur yn nghudd, yn ymyl porth arall i'r dref. Ac wedi profi hyny, a'i gael yn wir, credu iddynt o hyny allan, a mawr fu gan yr ymherawdwr am danynt, a'u cymeryd yn anwyliaid iddo. A'r dydd nesaf hwy a ddywedasant fod aur o dan y golfen a gyfoethogai'r deyrnas. Yna y dywed Seneddwyr Rhufain, o ddiwreiddio'r golfen, na byddai cyn gadarned deyrnas Rhufain o hyny allan. Eithr nid adawodd chwant yr aur a'r arian i'r ymherawdwr fod wrth gynghor y Seneddwyr, nes diwreiddio'r golfen a'i bwrw i lawr, a thori y drych yn llaprau. A phan ddarfu hyn, dyfod am ben yr ymherawdwr a wnaethant, a'i ddal, a'i rwymo, a chymhell arno yfed aur berwedig, gan ddywedyd wrtho, 'Aur a chwenychaist, ac aur a yfi.'"

### III.

There remains the third period, or, perhaps we should say the third aspect, of culture, an aspect which is in some senses the most interesting of all. This phase dates from the Reformation. Its dominant note is practical sense, and its field pre-eminently ecclesiastical politics. Here we are introduced to the company of Celts, and especially Welshmen, of a different character than have hitherto appeared on the stage, creatures of the age in which they lived. They move in an atmosphere of intrigue, secrecy, and mystery. The Society of Jesus was now called into being by the political and ecclesiastical exigencies of the time to restore the fallen fortunes of the Romish Church. To that monument of religious genius has been assigned, by common consent, the palm of what is technically called Religious Prudence, namely, discretion and wise government.

The Reformation changed for a time the aspect of Welsh education and culture. Recusants withdrew to the Continent. Then began that network of intrigue which Mr. Llewelyn Williams has skilfully unravelled for us.<sup>1</sup> He has brought before us vividly the main actors in the drama. He has reminded us how Roman Catholics were divided into two distinct and antagonistic parties, how the Jesuits realized that Queen Elizabeth, that "infamous Jezebel" as she was sometimes called, would never be dethroned except by the aid of a foreign force, and how the Company accordingly bent their energies to accomplish that object, how the opposite party on the Continent, notably the Welsh, were desirous of bringing England back to the Catholic fold by pacific methods and shrank from subjecting her to a foreign yoke. But into this we need not enter, since as for the Welsh participators in these stirring scenes and all that they did, are they not written by Mr. Llewelyn Williams in the chronicles of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion?

The following extract from a letter<sup>2</sup> of Thomas Morgan to his brother Rowland Morgan, dated 1589, and intercepted by emissaries of the Government, throws an interesting light on the movements of Catholic Welshmen abroad, and bespeaks their activity and influence. I give an extract only. Says the writer:—

"Lewis Hughes is household chaplain to my Lord of Cassano. His nephew, Mr. Hugh Griffith, is Provost of Cambray. He thinks by this time that he and some others that travel here in England would have sent over some toward youths of that country from Wales for learning; whereof he wills him to confer yet with Mr. Gwinne whose

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<sup>1</sup> See *The Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*, Session 1901-1902, "Welsh Catholics on the Continent" (p. 46), by W. Llewelyn Williams.

<sup>2</sup> *Cecil MSS.*, iv, 6.

person and merit he honours. If any of their cousins and friends' children be apt for learning, he would have him bring some of them over, where they should edify themselves to their comfort and service of their country hereafter. He thinks there should be some toward youths in Tredegar, the Vanne, Lanternam and Beduelly, the lords of which place he honours and remembers them all to God. He desires Powel the priest try and send Mr. Lewis of St. Por, of that side the seas, well appointed. If he would come and be content to be advised, he might prove a good instrument for his friends; wherefore Mr. Powel being *in vinculis Evangelii* he would have the purpose continued by some other. If Mr. Lewis would come to him he would be glad, so he would conform himself to the Catholic Faith."

The reference in "my Lord of Cassano" is to Owen Lewis, a staunch Catholic, who suffered exile for his faith, devoted all his energies to its restoration in England, rose to considerable eminence, and, first as Archdeacon of Cambay, and afterwards as a trusted agent of the Pope, exerted considerable influence in the councils of the Church on the Continent. What especially concerns us is the share Lewis had in the establishment of the colleges, or at least one of the colleges, set up on the continent for training Roman Catholics, especially priests, who were destined for work in the "English Vineyard". Of these the first in point of time was the college at Douay in Belgium; there were several in Spain also, but the English college at Rome, owing to the prestige attaching to the capital city and the metropolis of Catholic Christendom, eclipsed the others in importance. The English college at Rome, then, was founded at the instance and through the instrumentality of a Welshman. Lewis was fully alive to the necessity of making special provision for the priesthood in England. Cambay was evidently a rallying point for Welshmen who had gone into exile for conscience sake. He proposed that the old *hospitium* or place of entertainment for pilgrims at Rome should be turned into a college,

or, at any rate, that its scope should be enlarged to admit young priests who might be prepared for work in England. The pensioners, he urged, were no students. Though his claim to the initiation of the idea was afterwards disputed, and abuse was heaped on his head, Owen Lewis and no other was responsible for the suggestion, which redounded, for a time, at least, to the benefit of his religious communion. The Pope applauded the Archdeacon's sagacity and foresight; appointed him *Referendarius Apostolicus*, and entrusted to him the management of nearly all business relating to England and Ireland. But he was not allowed to enjoy his preferment undisturbed. He had no sooner gained the confidence of the Chief Pontiff than the caballing and wire-pulling began. The English college reflected all the bitter controversies and national rivalries that the conflict called into play. The Jesuits were divided against the reactionaries, and the Englishmen against the Welshmen. To illustrate the heat of party passion and racial rancour of the period, I will put together a few extracts from reports, petitions, and counter petitions, which place the situation in a tolerably clear light.

Owen Lewis bore the brunt of the attack. "He and his bosom friend, Dr. Maurice Clenocke, a Welshman of course, were pushing their own fortunes at the expense of the English. He was guilty of the grossest favouritism to Welshmen in domestic details. He shielded Clenocke and played into his hands." Such was the burden of the charge. Complaints poured in from various quarters, and, suspiciously enough, they were couched in similar language. Clenocke had procured the insertion in the college statutes of a clause permitting inmates to remain at college as long as they liked, instead of going to England to face toil and tortures. It is strange to relate, the beneficiaries were all Welshmen! A youth of the name of Price had recently

arrived. He was a person of no culture, yet Owen Lewis and Maurice Clenocke together secured his admission. This was too much for flesh and blood. The Englishmen indignantly protested against the admission of such a man to the company of "learned men" like themselves. Moreover letters from Owen Lewis and Maurice Clenocke were said to have been intercepted, in which Welshmen were urged to come over in shoals and take possession of the college. But that was always the way with Welshmen. It was their nature, when they were isolated and few in number, to be sweet-tempered and submissive towards the English, but let them have an opportunity of attaining to supremacy by hook or by crook, there was no end to their rancour. St. Augustine had made the same remark. The Venerable Bede had expressed a similar opinion in his day, and asseverated that they were always persecuting the innocent English, and even went the length of refusing them the means of salvation. The two doctors were probably thinking of the attitude assumed, and the answer given by the British, when asked to co-operate in the conversion of the Saxons. They replied in effect that they would not help, for if the Saxon got heaven, heaven would be unendurable.

Again, they proceeded, at the English Universities, the founders of some colleges had distinctly stipulated that no Welshmen were to darken the doors of the institutions, not because those holy men (to wit, the founders), who wished to benefit those who were unknown and yet unborn, were at all acceptors of persons, but because Welshmen were always caballing against the amiable and loving Englishman. Had not the same thing been illustrated in connection with the Court of Arches in London? It was notorious that in that august body, which is only open to doctors and canonists and professors of civil law, some

Welshmen had managed to creep in and actually gain the upper hand and exclude the unoffending English. This being the case, every kind of inconvenience was to be apprehended, unless offices were conferred on Welshmen in strict moderation, owing to their rooted malevolence towards the English!

You can well imagine that such taunts were not calculated to soothe the susceptibilities of the choleric Welsh, nor to promote peace. The upshot of the matter was that the English left in a body and said they would walk home across the Continent, and leave the college, as they did, to the unfeigned joy and delight of the Welshmen. The college chronicler relates, that, as they were taking their leave, Hugh Griffith, a fiery spirit and stormy petrel, "gave a leap in the college hall and shouted, 'Who now but a Welshman?'" But they did not quit Rome. Their unhappy condition evoked widespread sympathy, and subscriptions for their maintenance and journey home poured in. Matters had now reached a crisis. The Pope was alarmed. He sent for the English malcontents, and the picture of the interview is too good to be missed. The rebels were ushered into the presence-chamber; they laid their case before His Holiness with a flow of language and a flood of tears, the Sovereign Pontiff weeping with them. He promised to settle everything, and was good as his word. The arrangement, however, resulted in nothing but a truce; for dissension broke out again, in which Welshmen bore no hand.

The best vindication, if it be required, of Owen Lewis's policy and devotion, is the history of the English college itself at Rome. They were never a very happy family, and dissension broke out again. Just as before, petitions and counter-petitions were signed and presented, and the parties bandied mutual and lively recriminations, charges

and counter-charges. Just as before, reports were made by Cardinals and other high dignitaries, and remarks passed to this effect: "This college at Rome enjoys an unenviable notoriety for frequent disturbance." Just as rebellious spirits rose against Lewis and Clenocke, so the English, who had studied at English Universities, assumed airs of superiority over their comrades, lodged complaints against their teachers, and, as the price of their remaining, clamoured for the appointment of an Englishman to act with the Jesuit fathers or the establishment of another college in Italy, to be presided over by another religious Order. The recalcitrants were here hinting at the supersession of the Jesuits and substitution of the Dominicans, their rivals.

Meanwhile, Owen Lewis's career proves that he was not as black as he was painted by contemporary critics. He enjoyed the Pope's confidence, and executed several important commissions on his behalf; he was Cardinal Borromeo's right-hand man; as we have seen, he became Bishop of Cassano, near Naples, and bequeathed legacies to the college. In the chapel of the present English college an epitaph, couched in terms of high panegyric, records the versatile gifts, the Christian graces of the benefactor of the institution, and commemorates the name of Owen Lewis of blessed memory. As each year comes round, October 14th is set apart for a mass in honour of this patron.

So much for the circumstances that led to the foundation of the English College. The motives that prompted the originators, it must be confessed, did credit to their foresight and zeal. The cosmopolitan character of the college is a sufficient refutation of the charges levelled against the first founders. In matter of fact, the majority of the students were English, and, as the Jesuits gained

the upper-hand, the influence of the English became supreme. The Irish Celts were not represented there in large numbers, for the obvious reason that the Irish possessed a college of their own. But their names appear interspersed throughout the college calendar. Thus in 1761 a student, Thomas Plunkett, arrives from St. Omer's and is admitted. He is an Irishman all over ; he excels in the knowledge of Latin and Greek, and is a first-rate comic actor. Such is his repute for piety and blamelessness of life, that he has more than once been elected Prefect of the Sodality of the Blessed Virgin Mary. But he does not appear to have stayed within its walls, and was probably sent to the Irish college.

The presence of the Irish lent colour and picturesqueness to Roman life, and the following incident may fitly find a place here, inasmuch as it throws light on the life of the period, and serves to illustrate the racial rivalries which were brought into play in the Eternal City. This time the collision is not between the English and the Welsh, but the Irish and the English. The incident illustrates the amenities of clerical life and the amiable qualities of our Celtic cousins across the Irish Channel. The Irish apparently nourished a grievance against the English, and were not slow to vent their spleen on any individual Englishman. The Dean of Lincoln, an Englishman, happened to be staying in Rome. Certain of the sons of Erin heard of his arrival and thought it an opportunity not to be lost for a manifestation against this representative of a race which had treated the Emerald Isle so ill. Biding their time, they delivered an assault on the Dean's lodgings. The dignitary was in danger and took measures for his defence, drew a knife in the *mêlée* and stabbed an aggressor. This episode affords us an interesting insight into the habits of the age. Everyone of consequence went

about armed and bore at least a knife, nominally to cut bread.

With the above instances I dismiss the Irishmen.

The traditional connection of Welshmen with the English college was maintained in spite of the practical monopoly of it by the Society of Jesus. This may be explained by the tenacity with which the Welsh people, as opposed to the aristocracy, clung to the Catholic cause, a tenacity which postponed the adoption of the principles and retarded the spread of the doctrines of the Reformation in Wales for many years after the adoption and diffusion of those principles in England. There are to this day traces of their devotion in customs whose origin have long been forgotten. But the association of Wales with the English college was, in a measure, attributable to the activity displayed by well-known Jesuit leaders, who laboured in the Principality or upon its borders. Their enthusiasm and address dazzled some young Welshmen, who had been brought up in the Reformed Faith, and especially those who came of families distinguished by a long line of Catholic ancestors, and were themselves inclined to a religious life by the family tradition. Several Welsh recruits were drafted into the society. Finally, the racial pride in the Tudor strain on the one hand, and the designs of the Jesuits on the other, provoked a reaction, and threw the Welsh into the arms of the progressive party, with the result that Wales became as distinctly Puritanical as she had been previously Catholic.

The number of Welshmen who held offices in the English college and became rectors of it affords evidence of the influence of Catholicism in Wales, and, at the same time, is a curious commentary on the controversies that raged within the college walls. Of Maurice Clenocke, the bone of contention, we have already spoken. He was, according

to the testimony of Dr. Allen, "an honest and friendly man, and a great advancer of the students and seminarie's cause",<sup>1</sup> but these qualities were outweighed by his inexperience. He resigned his post, as we saw, but misfortune dogged his steps; he was afterwards drowned at sea.

Thomas Owen succeeded Robert Parsons in the headship in 1609, but he disappears from view in 1618. His administration was marked by a fact which is interesting in this connection. Under his rule, as we learn incidentally, the last Welsh student entered the Society of Jesus. His original name was Evans, and his birthplace Carnarvonshire. His missionary life was spent in North and South-West Wales. He was twice Superior of that province.<sup>2</sup> A third rector of Welsh origin figures on the list in the person of William Morgan. He assumed the office in 1683, but his tenure was short, for his name does not appear after 1686 or 7. Yet another rector was Francis Powell, who does not seem to have held the post more than four years.

Let us turn to the *alumni* of the English college. The incidental allusions to their experiences bear eloquent, if unconscious, testimony to the disturbed condition of the country, the state of society, and the currents of religious opinion that prevailed from the time of the Reformation onward. The antecedents of the students who sought admission to the Roman college were various, as seen by the *scrittura* or applications for admission.

One native of Wales tells us that he had embraced the Catholic Faith at Venice. He came to Rome and was admitted as an *alumnus*. But as he was said to have a wife in Prussia, and he could not deny the impeachment,

<sup>1</sup> In a letter to Dr. Owen Lewis from Paris, May 12th, 1579. Dodd, vol. ii, p. 366.

<sup>2</sup> Foley, v, p. 936.

he was dismissed the college. Roger SAYS describes himself as a native of Bowton, Llantwit Major, in Glamorganshire. His father was an esquire, justice, and attorney-general to King James. His family had migrated to Swansea, and he received his early education at Catsash in Monmouthshire, and at Swansea. Thence he proceeded to Rupella<sup>1</sup> in France, and continued his studies at Monasterium Enclastrense,<sup>2</sup> near Poitiers. He was an out and out Protestant (*omnino haereticus*), but was converted at Rupella. His conversion was effected in this way. He lodged with a writer in order to learn to write. It so happened that a young Irish Catholic who also stayed there invited him to come and see the church of St. Margaret's. Climbing over the city walls they found two fathers of the Order of the Oratory walking below. These hailed the Irishman, whom they knew. He explained who he was. The conversation led to a further acquaintance, and they advised him to go to the monastery at Les Chateliers. He acted on their advice, but was robbed on the way and arrived at the monastery almost naked.

William Morgan had already experienced a chequered career. He was a native of the county of Flint, and had been educated at Westminster School, where he was elected King's Scholar, and thence he went to Trinity College, Cambridge, and studied philosophy, "as it is taught there". He had completed two years at Cambridge when the Civil War broke out, and he took up arms for the Royalists, leaving college on the orders of the Earl of Manchester. Under the King's banner he served for two years. Taken by the Parliamentarians at the battle of Naseby he was thrown into prison in London. But in six weeks' time he received permission to cross over to Belgium, where he served in Colonel Cobbe's English regiment and fought

<sup>1</sup> La Rochelle.

<sup>2</sup> Les Chateliers.

for His Catholic Majesty. Afterwards he went to Ghent to complete his studies and proceeded to Louvain. He is now in Rome and wishes to embrace the religious life.

The destinies of the *alumni* varied no less than their antecedents. Some of them entered one or other of the religious Orders. David Lloyd, a native of Carnarvon, and an exemplary student, left for Piacenza, where he presided over a college for many years. Ultimately he set out for England to settle business, and was drowned in the "British Sea"; another, John Owen, a native of the diocese of Bangor, lapsed from the Faith and became a schoolmaster; a third, Robert Roberts, did not complete his studies. During his sojourn he had distinguished himself by his seditious behaviour, and, true to himself, was false to the Faith. But such instances were exceptional. Most of them identified themselves with the rising glory, aims, and ascendancy of the company which succeeded in enlisting in its services the zealous youth. The monopoly of the English college which the Society secured, and the indomitable energy and statesmanlike sagacity of Parsons, who remained at its head for years, imparted an incalculable impulse to the movement, nor were Welshmen insensible to its attractions.

The best testimony perhaps to the high qualities of the Welsh (in spite of allegations to the contrary) is to be found in the fact that these very Jesuit leaders, no mean judges of merit and capacity, were glad to enlist Welsh adherents, and that their decision was justified eventually. Some of the Welsh Jesuits, like Robert Jones, Charles Baker, and Thomas Pennant, or Conway, occupy a prominent place in the annals of the Society of Jesus.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to observe that some of the English authors of the Company hailed from Wales or were of Welsh descent, among them, Michael Alford 1587-1652, *vero nomine* Griffiths, the celebrated

But while many of the *alumni* espoused the Jesuit cause with all the fervour of which the Celtic character is capable, others shrank from schemes for overthrowing the dynasty. Parsons, for all his insight, had miscalculated his plans and mistaken his men. The scheme for placing a foreign prince on the throne had miscarried, and certainly did not find a ready response. The Welshmen, who had obtained an insight into Jesuit methods and had been repelled by the proposals, threw their weight into the opposite scale and played a prominent part in the developments that followed. Animated, as they were, by a desire to restore the Catholic Faith in their mother country, and reluctant to become tools of a political party, their first step was to break with the prime movers, the Jesuits. But here suffice it to mention one important result that ensued. The triumph of the Jesuits reacted prejudicially against the success of the Roman church in Wales, and issued in the revulsion in favour of Puritanism.

I have now completed my task. Were I given to moralizing I might be tempted to draw one or two lessons from what has been said.

There is much that appears trivial in the academic life of the Middle Ages. It would, however, be wrong to conclude that solid work was not done and valuable results achieved. The chronicles of representative Universities place on record what is palpable, striking, exceptional, but external to the real life of a seat of learning; what they have not recorded is the intangible, the unobtrusive, the inward and the normal employment of seekers after truth; what these chronicles could not record is the elusive

annalist. (See De Backer, *Bibliothèque des écrivains de la Compagnie de Jésus*, 1869, i, 70.) John Salisbury was another. He translated into Welsh Cardinal Bellarmine's *Larger Catechism*, and various other works. See *Records of S. J.*, vol. iv, series x, part i.

atmosphere of a seat of learning, the taste, the stimulus, the incommunicable charm, that is inseparable from such a place and haunts it like a shadow. Granted that many went up to a mediæval university from mere love of adventure or from a desire to see the world, from a social instinct, or even thirst for booty! Granted that many students "went down" as ignorant as when they went up! Granted that discipline was lax and the times violent! Still, this very circumstance affords an indirect proof of intellectual enthusiasm. Could that be languid, half-hearted interest which brought thousands of men and boys over half Europe and nerved them to inconveniences and perils—perils by land, perils by sea, perils from their own fellow men?

The past never returns; times and conditions change; there is one thing that remains unchanged from age to age, namely, the intellectual enthusiasm of Wales. *Gwell dysg na golud*. I cannot forget that the Celt has imparted dash and fire to the character of the British race, fervour to its religious temperament, and a tender, delicate sentiment to its literature. I cannot forget the aspiration after culture that has always characterized Welshmen. I cannot forget the yearning which has possessed the Welsh people, the multitude, for opportunities of self-improvement and enlightenment. I cannot forget the disinterested devotion with which some of their leaders have procured for them the educational privileges on which they had set their heart. This yearning and this endeavour unite the centuries one to another. Such has been the history of Wales, time out of mind, in its steady ascent up the slope of progress. When the mountaineer is bent on climbing one of the Alps, he starts in the evening from the foggy flats below. Night falls; darkness envelops him, but he pursues his way. It is midnight; he has to grope step by

step. Anon he begins the ascent; crevasses offer a treacherous footing; precipices yawn. But lo! a bright light glimmers through the gloom; it is the welcome morning star, the harbinger of day. By and bye the dawn approaches, tinging the landscape with violet and purple, and ushering in the sun, which rises amid a mantling, molten mass of fire and touches the countless cloud-forms with gold. At length the mountaineer's efforts are rewarded. He stands upon the summit. So shall it be with Wales. Hitherto she has climbed through a hundred difficulties, through mists of prejudice, through the darkness of disappointment. So may she continue to rise superior to every obstacle, higher, higher, higher still, until she has surmounted the crest of the hill and planted her banner with the ringing shout: "Who art thou, O great mountain? before a Cymro thou shalt become a plain."

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WALTER MAP<sup>1</sup>

BY PROFESSOR W. LEWIS JONES, M.A.

FEW periods are of greater interest to the student of literature than the twelfth century. Overshadowed though it be in literary history by the age of the great Italian Renaissance, the twelfth century it was that witnessed the first real and effectual break with the tyranny of an effete Latin culture, and the birth of the modern national literatures of Europe. It was the age of the Crusades, and they mark the beginning of an international intercourse which influenced the development of art and letters no less profoundly than the fortunes of kingdoms and dynasties. The crusading impulse, writes William of Malmesbury, fell upon "all who had heard the name of Christ, whether in the most distant lands or savage countries. The Welshman left his hunting; the Scot his fellowship with vermin; the Dane his drinking party; the Norwegian his raw fish; lands were deserted of their husbandmen; houses of their inhabitants; even whole cities migrated." Thus under the banner of the Cross there came to be ranged a motley crowd of men drawn from every part of Western Europe, and their contact with each other, and with the rich and strange civilisation of the East, stimulated their imagination and quickened their wit. Their social intercourse led to an

<sup>1</sup> Read before the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion at 20, Hanover Square, on Wednesday, May 23, 1906. Chairman, Professor W. P. Ker, M.A., LL.D.

interchange of the folk-tales of every European tribe, and produced an international stock of lively popular *fabliaux* upon which even great literary artists, such as Boccaccio and Chaucer, delighted subsequently to draw. Oriental tales of magic and wizardry, and the mystic lore of Arabia, of Byzantium and of Alexandria, were diverted into European channels, to become in time the literary capital of a host of lay and clerical scribes.

The intellectual awakening thus caused synchronised with the hey-day of chivalry and courtly knighthood. Hence the most popular and characteristic literary compositions of the time were romances of adventure. The three staple "matters of France, of Britain, and of Rome the great" now came to be exploited by literary craftsmen who were thoroughly alive to the demands of the hour and quick to appropriate for their purposes all the new lore that had come into circulation. Of the various romantic "matters", that of Britain rapidly established for itself an unquestioned pre-eminence. Alexander and Charlemagne were altogether overshadowed by the mighty and mysterious figure of

"Uther's son,  
Begirt with British and Armoric knights."

"Alexander", writes M. Jusserand, "had been an amusement; Arthur became a passion". Arthurian romance owed its astonishing vogue and supremacy largely to its mystic and symbolical suggestiveness, no less than to the novelty and the strangeness of its adventurous incidents. The ideals both of chivalry and of the church came, ultimately, to be wedded in the Arthurian legend; until—with all its romantic extensions, its varied conceptions of knighthood, its magic tales, its perilous quests, its tragic loves, its mystic Grail—Arthurian story emerges, in Malory, as the most composite and *bizarre* literary product of the Middle Ages.

Were it possible to accept without question the authenticity of all the works attributed to him, Walter Map would stand unchallenged as by far the most representative writer of this eager and stirring age.<sup>1</sup> His *De Nugis Curialium* preserves for us its courtly gossip and several samples of its popular tales. The Latin poems associated with his name are caustic examples of the satire in which so many mediæval writers indulged at the expense of ungodly priests. The great French romances, which are ascribed to him with even more confidence by many literary historians, constitute a contribution of unique importance to the development of Arthurian story. Thus so far as tradition goes, no writer of the twelfth century is entitled to a more conspicuous place in the House of Fame than Walter Map. To Welshmen, in particular, his repute and actual career ought to be matters of peculiar interest; for he had, almost certainly, Welsh blood in his veins. He is known, at any rate, to have been the intimate friend of Giraldus Cambrensis, and exhibits, in the *De Nugis Curialium*, his close acquaintance both with the Welsh people and with much of their folk-lore. Again, in many literary histories he contests with another probable Welshman, Geoffrey of Monmouth, the pride of place as a contributor to Arthurian literature. At one time, indeed, he was thought to be the very "Walter, archdeacon of Oxford", who instigated Geoffrey to write his *History of the Kings of Britain*, and who, according to Geoffrey's own account, furnished him with that mysterious book in the British tongue which "did set forth the

<sup>1</sup> Miss Kate Norgate (*England under the Angevin Kings*, vol. ii, p. 449), who gives Map the credit of all the works ascribed to him, says that "every side of the intellectual movement which, throughout the latter half of the twelfth century, was working a revolution in English thought and life, is reflected in Walter Map".

doings of them all from Brutus, the first King of the Britons, down to Cadwaladr, the son of Cadwallo, all told in stories of exceeding beauty". It was the sixteenth-century antiquary, John Leland, who started the figment that Walter Map was Geoffrey's archdeacon, and it was accepted as a fact by many reputable literary historians down to very recent times, among them being Thomas Stephens, the author of *The Literature of the Kymry*. Map, as we shall see, was indeed archdeacon of Oxford in his time, but he was probably only some twelve years old when Geoffrey of Monmouth died. His name, however, has always loomed so large in the history of the Arthurian legend that one naturally associates it with that of Geoffrey, although there is no evidence to prove that he was acquainted with Geoffrey's book. It is scarcely credible that he was altogether ignorant of so famous a work; his friend, Giraldus, at any rate, knew it well, and has told us pretty plainly what he thought of it. Geoffrey, Gerald, and Walter Map, together, stand out as by far the most interesting and picturesque literary figures of the twelfth century; and it is significant to note that the three were, if not actually Welshmen, men who lived in close touch with Wales and Welsh traditions.

Geoffrey of Monmouth it was, unquestionably, who first perceived the possibilities of the Arthurian stories as matter of literary entertainment. For English literature, at least, his "History" stands at the fountain-head of Arthurian romance. Those, however, who seek to belittle Geoffrey's influence upon the development of the Arthurian legend point out how crude and elementary, after all, is his presentment of it. Professor Saintsbury, for example, in a chapter on "The Matter of Britain" in his book on *The Flourishing of Romance and Allegory*, bids us "notice how little, if Geoffrey really did take

his book from 'British' sources, those sources apparently contained of the Arthurian Legend proper as we now know it. An extension of the fighting with Saxons at home, and the addition of that with Romans abroad, the Igraine episode, or rather overture, the doubtless valuable introduction of Merlin, the treason of Mordred and Guinevere, and the retirement to Avalon,—that is practically all." Well, in view of the little that was really known about these things until Geoffrey made them common literary property, this would appear to be a good deal. Mr. Saintsbury does, indeed, admit that Geoffrey "set the heather on fire, and perhaps in no literary instance on record did the blaze spread and heighten itself with such extraordinary speed and intensity". Surely, Geoffrey is entitled to his full credit for this admittedly unparalleled conflagration. But Prof. Saintsbury is far more concerned with his deficiencies. Geoffrey gives us, he says, "no Round Table, no Knights", "an entire absence of personal characteristics about Guinevere", "and, most remarkable of all, no Lancelot, and no Holy Grail".

Mr. Saintsbury all but seems to imply that these omissions are due to the fact that Geoffrey was a Welshman; he certainly, and explicitly, attributes his failure to mention them to the poverty of the Welsh, or native British, sources at his command. Mr. Saintsbury is anxious, above everything, to prove that it was neither a Welshman, or one borrowing from Welsh sources, like Geoffrey, nor yet a Frenchman, like Wace or Chrétien de Troyes, who set the seal of consummate artistic achievement upon the Arthurian legend in its early stages, but an Englishman. Now, the Englishman who so succeeded is, according to Mr. Saintsbury, Walter Map. But as Map was almost certainly of Welsh descent, if not an

actual Welshman, Mr. Saintsbury's argument only serves to enhance the glory of "the Celtic fringe" in the exploitation of Arthurian romance. A few more quotations from Mr. Saintsbury are worth giving, as indicating how imposing a figure Map becomes in the imagination of those who are disposed to take all his alleged literary performances as his authentic works:—

"A consensus of MS. authority ascribes the best and largest part of the *prose* romances, especially those dealing with Lancelot and the later fortunes of the Graal and the Round Table company, to no less a person than the famous Englishman, Walter Mapes, or Map, the author of *De Nugis Curialium*, the reputed author of divers ingenious Latin poems, friend of Becket, archdeacon of Oxford, churchman, statesman, and wit. No valid reason whatever has yet been shown for questioning this attribution, especially considering the number, antiquity, and strength of the documents by which it is attested. Map's date (1137-96) is the right one; his abilities were equal to any literary performance; his evident familiarity with things Welsh (he seems to have been a Herefordshire man) would have informed him of Welsh tradition, if there was any, and the *De Nugis Curialium* shows us in him, side by side with a satirical and humorous bent, the leaning to romance and to the marvellous which only extremely shallow people believe to be alien from humour. But it is necessary for scholarship of the kind just referred to to be always devising some new thing. Frenchmen, German, and Celticising partisans have grudged an Englishman the glory of exploit; and there has been of late a tendency to deny or slight Map's claims. His deposition, however, rests upon no solid argument, and though it would be exceedingly rash, considering the levity with which the copyists in mediæval MSS. attributed authorship, to assert positively that Map wrote *Lancelot* or the *Quest of the Saint Graal*, it may be asserted with the utmost confidence that it has not been proved that he did not." <sup>1</sup>

Again,—

"If, as I think may fairly be done, the glory of the

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<sup>1</sup> *Flourishing of Romance and the Rise of Allegory* (1897), pp. 99-101.

Legend be chiefly claimed for none of these, but for English or Anglo-Norman, it can be done in no spirit of national pleonexia, but on a sober consideration of all the facts of the case, and allowing all other claimants their fair share in the matter as subsidiaries. From the merely *a priori* point of view the claims of England—that is to say, the Anglo-Norman realm—are strong. The matter is “the matter of Britain”, and it was as natural that Arthur should be sung in Britain as that Charlemagne should be celebrated in France. But this could weigh nothing against positive balance of argument from the facts on the other side. The balance, however, does not lie against us. The personal claim of Walter Map, even if disproved, would not carry the English claim with it in its fall. But it has never been disproved. The positive, the repeated attribution of the MSS. may not be final, but requires a very serious body of counter-argument to upset it. And there is none such. The time suits; the man's general ability is not denied; his familiarity with Welshmen and Welsh tradition as a Herefordshire Marcher is pretty certain; and his one indisputable book of general literature, the *De Nugis Curialium*, exhibits many—perhaps all—of the qualifications required: a sharp judgment united with a distinct predilection for the marvellous, an unquestionable piety combined with man-of-the-worldliness, and a toleration of human infirmities.”<sup>1</sup>

No one would quarrel with this estimate of Map's literary genius could it be proved to demonstration that the romances attributed to him are his own genuine productions; but the curious thing about it all is, of course, that Mr. Saintsbury takes every possible advantage of an assumption in order to exalt “the claims of England”, as against those of Wales and France, in the artistic development of Arthurian story.

Of the chief incidents of Map's life we possess much more authentic testimony than in the case of Geoffrey of Monmouth; for his own well-known work, the *De Nugis Curialium*—“Of Courtiers' Triflings,”—furnishes us with

<sup>1</sup> *Flourishing of Romance and Rise of Allegory*, p. 141.

several interesting details. Some uncertainty, however, prevails as to his precise origin, and as to the exact date and place of his birth. His name would certainly appear to be Welsh,—Map, as has been pointed out by more than one of his biographers,<sup>1</sup> being equivalent to the Scottish Mack, which is still retained as a surname in the Highlands. The name appears to have been fairly common in the twelfth century, for there are documents which show that in Herefordshire alone there were, in Mr. Ward's words, "a series of Walter Maps of some local importance between 1155 and 1240".<sup>2</sup> There seems to have been no ground at all for calling him "Mapes", as the late Thomas Wright, among others, did in editing his *De Nugis Curialium*, except that "Mapes" is supposed to be an appropriate English equivalent to the Latin *Mapus*; for Giraldus speaks, in his *Speculum Ecclesiæ*, of his friend as *nomine Walterus, cognomine Mapus*.<sup>3</sup> Walter himself, in the *De Nugis*, calls himself Map.<sup>4</sup> Furthermore, in the same work, he describes himself as "a marcher of Wales",<sup>5</sup> and calls the Welsh his "fellow-countrymen".<sup>6</sup> Again, he says in the same book, "Among our Welsh people the fear of God is seldom according to knowledge".<sup>7</sup> Dr. Henry Owen, as a loyal upholder of the genius of Pembrokeshire, would claim him for that county.<sup>8</sup> Mr. Kingsford, however, in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, rejects the evidence for his Pembrokeshire origin as being altogether

<sup>1</sup> *Dictionary of Nat. Biog.*, xxxvi, p. 109; Ward, *Catalogue of Romances in British Museum*, vol. i, p. 736.

<sup>2</sup> *Cat. of Rom.*, i, p. 738.

<sup>3</sup> See H. Owen, *Gerald the Welshman* (new Ed.), p. 188.

<sup>4</sup> *De Nugis* (Camd. Soc.), p. 235.

<sup>5</sup> *De Nugis*, Dist. i, cap. 23.

<sup>6</sup> *De Nugis*, Dist. ii, cap. 20.

<sup>7</sup> Dist. ii, 20.

<sup>8</sup> *Gerald the Welshman* (new Ed.), pp. 82, 83.

inadequate. It is far more probable that he was a native of Herefordshire, for he was throughout his life more or less connected with the city of Hereford. One further point may be noticed. Map was an intimate friend of that many-sided Welsh patriot, Giraldus Cambrensis; and Gerald nominated him in 1203 as a possible candidate for the vacant see of St. David's.

The date of his birth is uncertain, but we shall probably not be far wrong in fixing it a year or two before 1140. At any rate, we know from his own testimony<sup>1</sup> that he was a student at Paris between 1154 and 1160, and he relates in connection therewith an incident which throws a lurid sidelight upon the sanguinary riots with which the University youths of those days occasionally varied the monotony of their studies. His parents appear to have been of sufficient position to render substantial service to King Henry II, both before and after his succession. Through their merits, he tells us,<sup>2</sup> he had been fortunate enough to win the King's favour and affection, and we find him, at the threshold of manhood,—certainly before 1162, while Thomas à Becket was still chancellor<sup>3</sup>—attached to King Henry's Court. He was appointed one of the clerks of the King's household, was employed on several diplomatic missions,<sup>4</sup> and in 1173 was acting as a justice itinerant of Gloucester. Later on he frequently represented the King as one of his justices in eyre, or circuit judges of assize. Giraldus, in his *Mirror of the Church*, gives us in his anecdotal way, several scraps of information about Walter's judicial career and his ready shrewdness as a wit and as a manager of men.<sup>5</sup> One

<sup>1</sup> *De Nugis*, v, 5; ii, 7.      <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, v, 6.      <sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, 23.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*; Giraldus, *Opera*, iv, 229; Eyton, *Itinerary of Henry II*, pp. 176, 223, 265; *De Nugis*, ii, 3; v, 5; i, 31.

<sup>5</sup> See H. Owen's *Gerald* (New Ed.), pp. 188, 189.

example of his wit which Gerald quotes may be given here. When King Henry was once hunting in the Forest of Dean, certain abbots who were quarrelling about some lands laid their claims before him. One of the parties to the dispute, knowing that King Henry desired worldly glory above all things, gave God as their surety that, should the King decide in their favour, his name and fame would be greatly enhanced before the year was out. Map happened to be in attendance, and the King asked him what he thought of this pledge; he replied "My liege, as they offer you a surety, you ought first to hear what the surety has to say for himself!" It is Gerald, also, who tells us that when Map took the oath to administer justice to all men, he expressly excepted Jews and Cistercian monks. Map had a grudge against the Cistercians because of their encroachments upon the lands attached to his living of Westbury-on-Severn, a Gloucestershire vicarage to which he appears to have been presented at a fairly early period in his career. Not only did he visit his vengeance upon them in his capacity as a judge; he became, in his writings, their merciless satirist.

In 1176, Map was made a canon of St. Paul's; he was already, besides being vicar of Westbury, a canon and precentor of Lincoln, and he subsequently became chancellor of Lincoln; so that he seems to have had, during an active lifetime, a very fair share of the good things of the church. With the death of Henry II in 1189, his connection with the Court appears to have ceased. In 1197 he was appointed archdeacon of Oxford, and two years later, when a vacancy occurred in the see of Hereford, the chapter wished to have Map for their bishop. The appointment, however, lay with King John, who, soon after his accession, gave the bishopric to Giles de Braos, a son of William de Braos, of Brecon. In 1203 he was

among those nominated, not perhaps very seriously, by Giraldus as possible candidates for the see of St. David's. He died some time between 1208 and 1210. In the preface to his *Expugnatio Hibernica*, or Conquest of Ireland (1210), Giraldus refers to him as apparently but lately dead. In that preface Gerald quotes Map as having depreciated his own "talk", or *dicta*, as being of little value compared with Gerald's writings, or *scripta*. "I talk", Map is made to say, "in the vulgar tongue",—*i.e.*, in French,—"which everybody can understand, whereas you write in Latin, for learned and liberal princes, and there are not many of them about in these days." In quoting his old friend's words Gerald prays God "to have mercy on his soul". Map doubtless needed all the prayers he could get; for while he was far from being the "jovial", or, in other words, the bibulous "archdeacon" of some people's fancy, there had been much in his conversation—using the word both in its scriptural and in its narrower conventional meaning—that called for a liberal exercise of the divine mercy.

To the student of literature there can be few more perplexing tasks than that of solving the riddle of Map's literary reputation. For a riddle it is, and a riddle in all probability it will long, if not always, remain. If every literary work attributed to him be undoubtedly his, no one will question his claim to rank, in the words of Henry Morley, as "the man of highest genius" in the literature of these islands up to the time of Chaucer. We have already seen how important a place in the development of Arthurian romance Professor Saintsbury assigns to him. But it so happens that nothing is more difficult than to prove his authorship of all the works, and especially of those dealing with the Arthurian legend, which are attributed to him. The only absolutely authentic work of his that we have is

the curious medley from which we derive so much information about his personal history—the *De Nugis Curialium*. To add to the confusion, the *De Nugis*, which palpably embodies the accumulated lore of many years, neither contains a single fragment of Arthurian tradition, nor gives any indication that its author was even remotely interested in Arthurian romance. Again, while Map's close friend, Giraldus, knew Geoffrey of Monmouth's famous History, and took most of it for a bundle of lies, there is no trace of evidence that Map, the presumed paragon of all the earlier Arthurian romancers, knew anything of Geoffrey's exploitation of Arthurian traditions. Map's alleged romances were written in French; but his fame also rests upon the attribution to him of certain poems in Latin. Now, few things could have less in common than the Goliardic poems and the stately romances of Lancelot and of the Holy Grail. The late Professor Henry Morley would indeed bridge the chasm by claiming for the Latin poems a didactic motive which only found its highest expression in the lofty idealism of the romances. "Map's aim", he tells us, "was not more pure when he set the Holy Grail among King Arthur's knights, and placed in the seat perilous, at their table, Sir Galahad for their true pattern, than when he gave a seat on the bench of Bishops to Goliath, of whose life it was the crowning hope that he might die drunk in a tavern." This is a somewhat large assumption, and one which it would be difficult, we fear, to establish, by a strictly critical examination of the Latin poems.

Readers of Chaucer's Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales*, will be familiar with a line in his description of the Miller, which tells us that that sturdy pilgrim was noted as "a jangler and a goliardeis". Even easy-going students of Chaucer will not need to be told that "jangler" is the

same word as the French *jongleur*, and means a teller of tales, while "goliardeis" is summarily interpreted as "a ribald jester". The term "goliardeis" had, long before Chaucer's time, come to have an almost technical meaning in the heterogeneous artistic world of the Middle Ages. During the thirteenth century frequent mention is found of a class of persons designated as Goliards, or *Goliardi*, and—according to Matthew Paris—*Goliardenses*. They appear to have been, originally, clerics, who among their order performed much the same function as the jongleurs and minstrels did among the laity. By the end of the thirteenth century the name was applied to any jongleur, or teller and singer of more or less unsavoury tales and songs.<sup>1</sup> Even Chaucer's use of the word implies that it was in his day a term of contempt, and the truth is that it was never anything else. In the year 1841 the distinguished antiquary, Thomas Wright, published, under the auspices of the Camden Society, *The Latin Poems commonly attributed to Walter Mapes*, and gave to readers of printed books their first opportunity of becoming acquainted with the poetry which furnished the Goliards both with their models and with their name. Map, assuming him to have been the author of these poems, appears in them in the disguised name and character of a bishop called Goliath, for the purpose, as his interpreters tell us, of satirising the gluttonous clergy of his day. As an example, once more, of the best interpretation that can be put upon Map's motives and genius, let us hear Henry Morley:—

"As he (Map) had painted in his fiction the purity of a

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<sup>1</sup>The name *Goliath* was in use as an opprobrious appellation quite three centuries before Map's time; for we learn that during the lifetime of Gautier, archbishop of Sens, who died in 923, a sentence of condemnation was passed on certain *clerici ribaldi, maxime qui vulgo dicuntur de familia Goliæ*.

Galahad, and spiritualised the King Arthur romance, leaving his wit to do its wholesome work without drawing attention, after the manner of the Pharisees, to the righteousness of his intent, so we find him at court spending his genius on the creation of a fat mock-bishop, who is the familiar pattern of all that is gross and worldly among men professing to be spiritual guides."

Two of the poems bearing the name of Goliath have, according to Professor Morley, "by constant tradition been ascribed to him, never to any other writer",—viz., those named, respectively, the "Apocalypse" and the "Confession" of Goliath. It is strange, however, that Giraldus, who refers to, and quotes from, the Goliath poems in his *Mirror of the Church*, gives no indication that he knew Map to have been their author. Dr. Henry Owen would have us believe that that is only Gerald's "fun", and that he knew only too well who the author was.<sup>1</sup> There is, perhaps, something to be said for this assumption, and, accepting it as at least probable, charity bids us further follow Dr. Owen in the belief that Map is not to be "identified with his drunken bishop", but is "really a temperance lecturer in disguise". In his "Confession" Goliath frankly admits himself to have been a notorious evil liver. Among other things, he remembers the tavern which was one of his favourite haunts, "the tavern which he has never scorned, nor ever will scorn, until he hears the holy angels coming to chant over his dead body the eternal requiem". Then, there immediately follow the lines which, taken out of their context, have been made to do duty as a celebrated drinking-song,—one that has been frequently translated into English, and on the strength of which Map has won his not very enviable reputation as "the jovial archdeacon": *Meum est propositum in taberna mori*, etc. Of

<sup>1</sup> *Gerald the Welshman* (new ed.), p. 190.

the English versions of this famous song, that of Leigh Hunt is, perhaps, at once the most spirited and best known. Hunt informs us that his translation aims at reproducing the "intermixture of a grave and churchman-like style" which flavours "this reverend piece of wit". He also quotes the learned Camden's description of the author as one "who filled England with merriments and confessed to his love of good liquor in this manner"—

"I desire to end my days—in a tavern drinking.  
 May some Christian hold for me—the glass when I am shrinking;  
 That the cherubim may cry—when they see me sinking,  
 God be merciful to a soul—of this gentleman's way of thinking.<sup>1</sup>

\* \* \* \* \*

Every one by nature hath—a mould which he was cast in;  
 I happen to be one of those—who never could write fasting;  
 By a single little boy—I should be surpass'd in  
 Writing so: I'd just as lief—be buried, tomb'd, and grass'd in.

Every one by nature hath—a gift too, a dotation;  
 I, when I make verses—do get the inspiration  
 Of the very best of wine—that comes into the nation:  
 It maketh sermons to abound—for edification.

\* \* \* \* \*

Neither is there given to me—prophetic animation,  
 Unless when I have eat and drunk—yea, ev'n to saturation;  
 Then in my upper storey—hath Bacchus domination,  
 And Phoebus rusheth into me, and beggareth all creation."

Assuming this poem to be the authentic work of Map, let us hope that it was really meant as a temperance lecture. Satire, we know, has many methods; and temperance reformers in their time have not disdained to gain their ends by burlesquing the utterance and the motions of the drunkard. The greater part of the rest of the Goliath poetry associated with Map's name is neither of very great interest nor of a high degree of inspiration. One of

<sup>1</sup> The verse attempts at representing the exact rhythmic movement and the rhymes of the Latin original.

the songs, which appears to have been extremely popular in the Middle Ages, is a caution against marrying a wife,—a poem which connects itself with a well-known prose tract on the same subject included in the *De Nugis*. Another is a rhymed description, in some four hundred short Latin lines, of Wales. A fifteenth-century English version of this poem is extant,<sup>1</sup>—a sorry enough sort of doggrel, but one from which the curious reader may draw some mild amusement. The “mervailles and wonders” of Wales are recounted in the poem after the following manner—to choose an instance which should be of interest to Carnarvonshire folk,—

“At Nevyn in Northwalis  
 A litill ilonde there is  
 That is called Bardisey ;  
 Monkes dwelleth there alway ;  
 Men lyve so longe in that hurst  
 That the oldest deyeth first.”

There, men say, lies the grave of Merlin, about whose strange personality the poet theorises thus :—

“Clergye maketh mynd  
 Deth sleeth no fendes kynde ;  
 But deth slowe Merlin ;  
 Merlin was *ergo* no goblin.”

Well, neither this descriptive poem, as may be guessed, nor the Goliath songs are of a high order of literature, and to assign them definitely to Map would not greatly enhance his reputation. As it happens, it is impossible to claim them as his authentic productions. In no case are the MSS. which ascribe them to him older than the fourteenth century, and by that time his reputation as a wit and a possible poet had grown to such an extent as to make it quite natural for facile scribes to borrow the authority of

<sup>1</sup> Printed by T. Wright in appendix to his Ed. of *Poems of Walter Mapes*. (Camd. Soc.)

his fame for all the flotsam and jetsam of the Goliardic poetry. We know from the testimony of Giraldus not only that Map was a noted wit, but that he was a writer of verse; for in a long letter addressed to him,<sup>1</sup> Gerald refers to Walter's poetic tastes, and has also preserved for us twelve lines in Latin elegiacs which Map wrote in reply to a poem of his own. The only absolutely authentic poem of Map is this brief effusion vouched for by Giraldus.

Very different in character from his alleged poems, and of far higher argument and literary quality, are the Arthurian romances in French prose commonly attributed to Map. But here, again, the evidence of authenticity is so precarious that no stable conclusion can be built upon it. The problem presented by the authorship of these romances is so complex, and so devious in its ramifications, that I cannot here do more than give a bare statement of its main factors. The romances which, from the thirteenth century downwards, the MSS. explicitly assign to Map are written in French prose, and deal with some of the more picturesque and symbolical developments of the Arthurian legend. A full account of them is given in Vol. I of the late Mr. Ward's *Catalogue of Romances in the British Museum*, and the question of Map's authorship is there discussed by him at considerable length. A shorter account of them will be found in Vol. III of Henry Morley's *English Writers*. Prof. Morley states that Map "indisputably wrote" one of the Grail romances usually assigned to him, and that he "invented the ideally pure character of Sir Galahad". The great Lancelot romance, also, according to Morley, is his; for "where" he asks, "was there an author able to invent it and to write it with a talent so prodigious, except Walter Map?" The romances ascribed to Map centre round the figure of Sir

<sup>1</sup> *Opera*, i, 271-89.



Lancelot, and may be regarded as branches of a great Lancelot-saga. They fall into three clear divisions—the first usually called the *Lancelot* proper, the second the *Quest of the Holy Grail*, and the third the *Morte Arthur*. “The greatest artistic stroke in the whole (Arthurian) Legend,” writes Professor Saintsbury, speaking of the Lancelot story—

“And one of the greatest in all literature, is the concoction of a hero who should be not only

‘Like Paris handsome, and like Hector brave’,

but more heroic than Paris and more interesting than Hector,—not only a ‘greatest knight’, but at once the sinful lover of his queen and the champion who should himself all but achieve, and in the person of his son actually achieve, the sacred adventure of the Holy Graal. If, as there seems no valid reason to disbelieve, the hitting upon this idea, and the invention or adoption of Lancelot to carry it out, be the work of Walter Mapes, then Walter Mapes is one of the great novelists of the world, and one of the greatest of them.”

Now, let us see what are the main points of the evidence for and against his authorship. In the first place, in all, or nearly all, the oldest and best MSS. of these romances Map is expressly mentioned as the author. As some of the MSS. date back to the thirteenth century, that is much. Moreover, a poet who wrote at about the close of the twelfth century the romance of *Ipomedon*—one Hue de Rotelande, apparently a native of Herefordshire, and one whose somewhat obscure name has been interpreted as being equivalent to the Welsh “Hugh of Rhuddlan”,—apologises for his romance-writing in the following words, “I am not the only one who knows the art of lying, Walter Map knows well his part of it”.<sup>1</sup> This would seem to indicate that, by about 1185, Map enjoyed some reputation

<sup>1</sup> “Sul ne sai pas de mentir lart,  
Walter Map reset ben sa part.”

*Ipomedon*, fo. 82, ll. 29, 30.

as a writer of imaginative romances or poems, although some people might argue that all Hue meant was that Map was well known—a fact which, of course, Giraldus's testimony supports,—as a first-rate retailer of fancy, or “cock-and-bull”, stories. Mr. Ward—and he is one of the most competent authorities—on the strength of a comparison of the passage in Hue de Rotelande's poem in which the reference to Map occurs “with the incidents and rubrics of the prose Lancelot”, concludes that Map was “the author of part of that romance”. Map's biographer in the *D. N. B.* thinks that “the foundation of the prose ‘Lancelot’ was an Anglo-French poem by Walter Map”. On the other hand, the late Gaston Paris, another eminent authority in matters of this kind, denies Map any share in the composition of any one of the branches of the Lancelot story, on the ground, mainly, that his authenticated works show no trace of interest in the Arthurian legend at all. Mr. Nutt, again, in his *Studies in the Legend of the Holy Grail*, fails to reconcile Map's authorship with his busy public life, especially “when it is remembered how slow literary composition was in those days”. An examination of the evidence leads Mr. Nutt to conclude that, “whether or no Map wrote the Lancelot, it may be safely assumed that he did not write the *Quest of the Holy Grail*”. “The tradition as to his authorship of these romances”, Mr. Nutt continues, may “have originated in Geoffrey's mention of the Walter, archdeacon of Oxford, to whom he owed his MS. of the History of the Kings of Britain.”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Miss Jessie L. Weston, who is well known as a learned and suggestive contributor to the critical literature of the Arthurian legend, discusses in a small volume called *The Three Days' Tournament* (Nutt, 1902) the problems raised by the reference in the *Ipomedon*, and, in particular, Map's authorship of the prose *Lancelot*. Miss Weston is of opinion that “it seems impossible to doubt that, when Hue de

The chief difficulty, when all is told, about assigning these romances to Map lies in the utter absence of any indication in his one authentic work—the *De Nugis Curialium*—that Arthurian fable ever had an engrossing interest for him. For, if these great romances are held to be his work, Arthurian story must have been the obsession of a great part of his lifetime, and as the *De Nugis* is a sort of common-place book in which he jotted down at various periods odds and ends of curious lore, some fragments at least of Arthurian tradition must have found their way into it. But there are none; Arthur's name, even, does not once appear in its pages, nor is there the remotest allusion either to Lancelot or to any other knight of the Arthurian court. And yet the book contains a good deal of matter gathered from the "shores of old romance", matter that, sometimes, transports us to the borders of fairy-land or into the misty regions of primitive British legend. Among the "marvels" which he recounts, however, there is one which bears some analogy to a famous element in Arthurian fable, and which is cited as such by Professor Rhys in his *Celtic Folklore*.<sup>1</sup> It is a legend which tells us about the origin, and the end, of a certain

Rotelande referred to Walter Map, in connection with the tournament episode of *Ipomedon*, he had in his mind a version of the *Lancelot*, which also contained such a story, and which was attributed to the latter writer". She also inclines to the belief that, while it was not impossible for Map to have composed a *Lancelot* poem earlier than Chrétien de Troyes' *Erec*, he might very well have written one before Chrétien's *Cligès*, and thinks it "highly probable that Chrétien borrowed from Map in the latter poem". Towards the close of her book Miss Weston makes a suggestion which all workers upon the origins and growth of the Arthurian legend will do well to note, viz., that "a careful investigation into the literary patronage exercised by Henry the Second, and his interest in Arthurian traditions," is a line of research likely to lead to important results.

<sup>1</sup> Vol. ii, p. 496.

Trinio, who, among other things, fought a battle with the celebrated Brychan of Brycheiniog, presumably in the first half of the fifth century. In this battle Trinio was defeated, and was never afterwards seen, but, as Map tells us, people said that he had been rescued by his mother—a fairy,—and that he still lived with her in a lake which is supposed to be the lake of Safaddon or Syfaddon. Here we have a popular variant,—and folk-lore furnishes many of them—of the legend of the Arthurian lady of the lake. As the story of Trinio embodies traditions which are common to many primitive folk-tales, a portion of it is worth quoting as a sample of the kind of “marvellous” gossip which Map thought it worth while to include in his courtly medley:—

“The Welsh relate to us another thing, not so much a miracle as a portent, as follows:—They say that Gwestin of Gwestiniog dwelt beside Brecknock Mere, which has a circumference of two miles, and that on three moonlight nights he saw in his field of oats women dancing, and that he followed them until they sank in the water of the mere; but the fourth time they say that he seized hold of one of them. Her captor further used to relate, that on each of these nights he had heard the women, after plunging into the mere, murmuring beneath the water and saying, ‘If he had done so and so, he would have caught one of us’, and that he had been instructed by their own words as to the manner in which he caught her. She both yielded and became his wife, and her first words to her husband were these, ‘Willingly will I serve thee, and with whole-hearted obedience, until that day when, desirous of sallying forth in the direction of the cries beyond the Llyfni, thou shalt strike me with thy bridle’—the Llyfni is a burn near the mere. And this came to pass; after presenting him with a numerous offspring, she was struck by him with the bridle, and on his returning home, he found her running away with her offspring, and he pursued her, but it was with difficulty that he got hold even of one of his sons, and he was named Trinio (?) Faglog.”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Rhys's translation.



It was not alone from Wales and the Welsh marches that Map drew his fairy-stories; some of those which follow the one I have just quoted appear to have been fairly common all over Western Europe. These tales, and others of a more or less romantic character, some of them even drawn from the East, were probably garnered from the recitals of pilgrims, minstrels, crusaders and other inquisitive travellers of the time. Map himself was evidently interested in all kinds of folk-lore, and is a remote forerunner of those who, in our time, have made it a subject of systematic and learned study.<sup>1</sup> Included as they are in what purports to be a miscellany of Court gossip, these folk-tales may well be regarded as specimens of the higher order of after-dinner stories with which the travelled courtiers and knights of those days regaled themselves in hall and castle.

The title of the *De Nugis Curialium* is not original to Map. It had been already used by his contemporary, John of Salisbury, a well-known courtier and diplomatic agent of Henry the Second's, as a sub-title to his *Polycraticus*<sup>2</sup>—a work which combined satire of the Court manners of the time with learned disquisitions upon politics and philosophy. Except in its satirical portions, Map's book bears little resemblance to John of Salisbury's, and is what its name implies, a collection of "trifles", grave and gay, including both shrewd comments upon public affairs and characters, and a variety of pleasant anecdotes. Only a brief description of the work can here

<sup>1</sup> Miss Weston not inaptly remarks: "Had he lived in the nineteenth-twentieth centuries, instead of the twelfth-thirteenth, Map would undoubtedly have been a prominent member of the Folk-Lore Society."—*The Three Days' Tournament*, p. 44.

<sup>2</sup> The full sub-title of John of Salisbury's book is *De Nugis Curialium et Vestigiis Philosophorum*.

be given. It was evidently composed by instalments, begun probably about 1180 and put into its final form about 1193. In the First of his five Books,—or “Distinctions”, as he calls them,—Map, starting with a comparison between the English Court and the infernal regions, proceeds to tell a number of stories relating to the follies and crimes of Courts. Soon after, he turns to another subject, and gives us an account of the origin of some of the monastic orders, together with severe animadversions upon their growing corruption. This affords him an opportunity for making a violent attack upon his particular enemies, the Cistercians. Then follow accounts of the rise of certain heretical sects, of which the most interesting and important, historically, is that of the Waldenses (ch. xxxi). The First Distinction closes with a short chapter describing the remarkable penitential labours of three hermits. This short summary of the First Book will show that Map has little regard for the orderly arrangement and connexion of his matter. At the very end of his Second Book he expressly claims the liberty of a desultory writer. His readers must, he says, dress for themselves the dishes which he brings them; he himself is simply the huntsman who provides the game.<sup>1</sup> The Second Distinction indeed requires, even more than the First, some such apology; for it is altogether a very odd medley. The first seven chapters contain stories of some pious monks and hermits, and their supposed miracles. In the eighth chapter we are, without any premonition, transported into Wales, and Map’s first reflection upon those whom he subsequently calls his “compatriots” is as follows: “Among every people, as it is elsewhere said, he that fears God is acceptable in His sight; seldom amongst

<sup>1</sup> *Venator vester sum, feras vobis affero, fercula faciatis.* Dist. II, ch. xxxii.

our Welsh is the fear of the Lord according to knowledge." This and other chapters in the Second Book, in which Map comments on the Welsh character in a vein that reminds us of Giraldus, require a fuller notice later on. In addition to reflections upon the manners and customs of the Welsh people, we have chapters embodying fragments of Welsh tradition and history. Two (ch. xxii, xxiii) deal with incidents in the life of Gruffydd ap Llywelyn;<sup>1</sup> while others tell us anecdotes of a certain Helias, a Welsh hermit (ch. ix), of Cadoc, king of the Welsh<sup>2</sup> (ch. x), of Conan, a knight of Wales (ch. xxiv), of Cheueslin, a thief of North Wales (ch. xxv). The Book also contains a number of fairy-legends, including the one we have already quoted. The Third Distinction is composed entirely of romantic tales. The Fourth opens with the well-known treatise, long supposed to have been by St. Jerome, called the Epistle of Valerius to Rufinus upon the folly of marrying a wife. This curious tract unfolds, in a long procession of instances from Adam's experience downwards, the dangers and the miseries of the married state. Chaucer was well acquainted with this Epistle, for the Wife of Bath gives us an account of it as one of the favourite books of her fifth husband, the clerk Jankyn. The rest of the Fourth Distinction comprises another series of stories, some of them being lively folk-tales, while others deal with historical incidents and personages. The Fifth, and the last, Book is almost entirely historical, and gives us much valuable information about the Anglo-

<sup>1</sup> By some mistake, Map refers to him as "Llywelyn ap Gruffudd", but there can be no doubt that the prince to whom he refers is Gruffudd ap Llewelyn ap Seisyll, who died in 1023. See Prof. J. E. Lloyd's article on "Wales and the Coming of the Normans", in *Cymmrodorion Transactions*, 1899-1900, p. 127.

<sup>2</sup> This brief chapter ends, curiously, with the words: "Haec de Cadoco Brenin."

Norman Kings. It also includes the chapter which furnishes us with all our available autobiographical detail about Map himself.

It remains to give a brief account of the chapters in which Map comments upon the character and habits of the Welshmen of his time, and which suggest many interesting points of comparison with the fuller and the much better known picture of the social and moral condition of Wales given by his friend Gerald in his celebrated *Itinerary*. Despite the manifest interest which Map felt in Wales and in its people and its legends, it must be said that he speaks of his "compatriots" generally with an air of detachment which tends to make us question whether he really considered himself one of them. He stands, at any rate, at such a distance from them in culture, courtliness and worldly wisdom as to indulge in some very frank criticism of their weaknesses. The statement,<sup>1</sup> already quoted, that "seldom among our Welsh is the fear of God according to knowledge", is illustrated by a brief character-sketch of "a certain Welshman of high birth", who belonged to the military entourage of William de Braos. This man's devotion, as certified by William himself, was such that "each night at the first crowing of the cock he would rise from his bed, and naked as he was would kneel on the bare ground and keep vigil and pray until dawn". So abstinent, also, was he in his habits, and so close a guard did he keep over himself, that one might imagine him to be little lower than the angels.<sup>2</sup> "But should you see how foolish this man could be in his conversation, how ready to shed blood, how careless of his own safety, how eager for the death of others, how joyful in committing some crime, even murder,—then indeed you would not

<sup>1</sup> Dist. II, ch. viii.

<sup>2</sup> "*Si cognosceres eum supra hominem angelis putares proximum.*"



doubt that he was wholly given over to iniquity." Such inconsistency of character is, to Map, typical of the man's race; for the chapter closes with the reflection: "So firmly, and as it were by nature, is there rooted in these Welshmen a blunted sense of what constitutes gentle conduct<sup>1</sup> that, if in some things they may appear to be moderate, yet in many do they show themselves ill-tempered and savage."

Here is a general estimate of "the morals of Welshmen", in which the same strange inconsistency is more fully dwelt upon:—

"Our Welsh compatriots, though they are altogether unfaithful to everyone, as much to one another as to strangers, are yet honest. I do not say that they are good in virtue or distinguished in ability, but in bitterness of fighting and in keenness of resistance they are honest,—honest, that is to say, in their very dishonesty. They are prodigal of life, covetous of liberty, careless of peace, warlike and cunning in arms, quick to revenge; (yet are they) very generous of everything, each most sparing of food towards himself, but bountiful of meat to others, so that each one's food is anybody's. And none among them has any need to ask for bread, but may take without challenge what he finds and whatever victuals he may discover ready for eating. And to disprove the charge of avarice, they hold in such sacred regard the tradition of open-handedness and hospitality, that no one who has entertained a guest asks before the third day whence or who he is."<sup>2</sup>

In another chapter (Dist. II, xxvi) he animadverts severely upon the "fury of the Welsh", and tells a tragic story in illustration of it:—

"To shew how full of rash and fatuous fury are the fits of the Welsh, a youth of a town called Hay, went out to cross the river Wye: he was carrying a bow with two arrows, and happening to meet two of his enemies he took to flight.

<sup>1</sup> *Hebetudo mansuetudinis*.

<sup>2</sup> Dist. II, ch. xx.

As he fled, one of them followed so close that he seemed like to catch him. But the youth shot him with one of his arrows in the middle of his breast. The stricken man said to his comrade: 'Follow him, for I am dying, and bring me back my life from him.' The other then pursued the youth towards the next town as far as he could, and then returned to his comrade. But as he made his way back, he in his turn was followed at a distance by the youth, who wanted to know the end of his fellow. The youth then saw that when the man who was unhurt came to his wounded comrade, lying in a thicket, the latter asked him whether he had brought him back his life from the youth. When he replied that he had not, 'Come here,' said the wounded man, 'to take from me a kiss for my wife and children, for I am on the point of death.' While the unwounded man was in the act of kissing his sick comrade, the latter, as he lay beneath him, stabbed him to the heart with a knife, saying, 'Lose thy life, thou who through thy cowardice hast failed to bring back mine!' But the man who was on top cut him, in the same way, with a knife to the heart, saying, 'No boast shalt thou make of my death, and my only misfortune is that the wounds thou hast given me compel me to die before I have passed on such kisses to thy wife and children!' Behold how foolish and unjust is the anger of the Welsh, and how swift they are to shed blood!"

The extracts here given, together with a few other scattered references in the *De Nugis*,<sup>1</sup> would seem to shew that Map held no very high opinion of Welshmen as he knew them. Nor can we make very much, when all is told, of his connection with Wales and Welsh life, apart from his relations with Giraldus. But, like Giraldus and Geoffrey, he undoubtedly belongs to "the Celtic fringe", having, like them, both Norman and Welsh blood in his veins. The three stand together as the most notable

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dist. II, ch. xxiii *ad finem*. "Ego vobis ex hoc facto notifico fidem Walensium, quod dum tenebitis ensem supplicabunt, cum ipsi tenuerint, imperabunt" . . . . . "In rapina et furto gloria Walensium, et adeo eis utrumque placet, ut improprium sit filio si pater sine vulnere decesserit. Unde fit ut pauci canescant."

figures in the literary history of Britain during the twelfth century, and are typical representatives of the intellectual interests quickened and fostered by the revival of learning under the Norman and Angevin kings, and by the newly awakened zest for romance. Whether Walter Map was the actual author of the Arthurian romances attributed to him or not, his name has been so persistently associated with them from so early a date that he must have had something to do with either their suggestion or their actual compilation. A fuller investigation and, if possible, the determination of this vexed question, is a task—difficult, indeed, but not without many attractive possibilities—which challenges the enterprise of our younger Arthurian scholars to-day. Equally desirable and necessary is an amended text of the *De Nugis* from the solitary known MS. in the Bodleian.<sup>1</sup> It is certainly a reproach to modern scholarship that the writings, actual or alleged, of an author whose celebrity in literary history is so great as Map's should still be awaiting the hand of a critical and competent editor.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Wright's printed text is, obviously, imperfect, and he complains in his preface that there were difficulties in the way of his "collating the text himself with the original".

<sup>2</sup> After this paper had been prepared for the press, a copy of a learned and suggestive Latin thesis on Walter Map and his works was very kindly sent to me by its author, Mons. J. Bardoux of Paris. (DE WALTERIO MAPPPIO: *Thesim Parisiensi Universitati proposuit J. Bardoux. Columbariis: ex typis P. Brodard, 1900.*) It contains by far the most exhaustive account of Map's life and literary labours yet published, and an English translation of it is much to be desired. M. Bardoux is inclined to give Map the full credit of the great literary reputation which is traditionally his, and adduces strong arguments in support of his view.

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THE idea of the publication of Welsh Records, which had for some time occupied the thoughts of leading Welsh Scholars, took a definite and practical shape at the meeting of the Cymmrodorion Section of the National Eisteddfod held at Brecon in 1889. In the papers which were read at that meeting it was shown that a vast quantity of material necessary for understanding the history of Wales still remained buried in public and private Libraries, and also that such of the Welsh Chronicles as had been given to the world had been edited in a manner which had not fulfilled the requirements of modern scholarship.

As it appeared that the Government declined to undertake any further publication of purely Welsh Records, it was suggested by Sir John Williams that the Council of the Cymmrodorion Society should take the work in hand, and establish a separate fund for that purpose.

The Council are of opinion that a work of this magnitude cannot be left to private enterprise, although they thankfully acknowledge the indebtedness of all Welshmen to such men as Mr. G. F. Clark of Talygarn, the Rev. Canon Silvan Evans, Mr. J. Gwenogfryn Evans, Mr. Owen Edwards, Mr. Egerton Phillimore, and Professor John Rhys, and they fully appreciate the valuable work done by members of the various Antiquarian Societies.

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