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THE MAGAZINE

OF THE HONOURABLE

SOCIETY OF CYMMRODORION.

VOL. XIII.

*PRODUCED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF
THE EDITORIAL COMMITTEE.*

539149
21.4.52

LONDON :
ISSUED BY THE SOCIETY,
NEW STONE BUILDINGS, 64, CHANCERY LANE.

1900.

DEVIZES:
PRINTED BY GEORGE SIMPSON.

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Y Cymmrodor.

VOL. XIII. "CARED DOETH YR ENCILION."

1899.

Vicar Prichard.

A STUDY IN WELSH BIBLIOGRAPHY.

By JOHN BALLINGER.

THE present chaotic condition of Welsh bibliography would seriously interfere with the work of any historian who desired to write a literary history of Wales, or to take a general survey of the influences which have been moulding the Welsh character during the last three hundred years. I make this remark rather with a view to the future than the past. The amount of pioneer work which has been done by "Gwilym Llyn," the Rev. D. Silvan Evans, and others, under circumstances of the greatest difficulty, and circumstances the full force of which are well-known to me, fills me with admiration, for how could a man compile a bibliography when he had no general collection of books to which he could refer and absolutely no catalogues. This absence of Welsh catalogues is the natural outcome of the absence of Welsh collections of books. There are now signs, however, of the collections, at any rate, being more numerous, if one may judge from the rise in prices which has recently characterised the Welsh book-trade.

This condition of things makes it very desirable that

persons who have an opportunity should devote special attention to the bibliography of one man, or group of men, or of one subject, and collect all the facts obtainable and get them printed for future reference. There are plenty of subjects awaiting careful workers.

The bibliography of Griffith Jones, of Llanddowror, for instance, would probably shed much new light upon the history of the eighteenth century revival in Wales, as would also a bibliography of the Trevecca Press, which played a very important part in the religious movements of the last century. The extensive controversy on baptism, again, offers splendid scope for the labours of a patient investigator.

Mr. J. H. Davies has done a very useful piece of work in his account of Welsh editions of the Bible published in the *Transactions* of the Liverpool Welsh National Society, and also in his account of early Welsh books read before the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion. In the recently published catalogue of the Welsh collection in the Public Library at Cardiff, an effort has been made to lay down lines along which others may travel, by printing suggested bibliographies of important books. These lists were compiled for our own use, but it was thought desirable to put them into print as starting-points for fuller and more complete bibliographies.

One word of caution. We want original work and careful study, not lists made up from matter already in print, accurate and inaccurate. Every point must be made the subject of careful investigation, with the books at the elbow all the time for verification.

A series of bibliographies on these lines would illuminate the later history of Wales as nothing now available can.

The following attempt at a bibliography of Rees Prichard, Vicar of Llandoverly, and author of *Canwyll y Cymry*, is put forward as a contribution on the lines indicated, and is the result of enquiries extending over a considerable time, and an examination of nearly every edition recorded in the list.

Rees Prichard was born in 1579, graduated B.A. from Jesus College, Oxford, in June, 1602, and took his M.A. in 1626. He had been ordained in the April previous to taking his degree, and in August of the same year was appointed to the Vicarage of Llandingad and the Chapelry of Llanfair-ar-y-Bryn, both in the town of Llandoverly. His fame as a preacher was great, and he is described as being both earnest and eloquent, attacking the frivolity and licentiousness of his age, and introducing into his sermons stanzas written in colloquial Welsh, because, as he said, "set preaching did little good, while a snatch of song was always listened to." The poems written for his sermons were extremely popular during his lifetime, and were quoted everywhere, and it is these poems, collected and published after his death, which form what is known to us as *Canwyll y Cymry*, a name, however, which was not used on the title page until the edition of 1681, the seventh item on my list. The name is taken from the Epistle to the Reader.

Rees Prichard died in 1644, and we are informed in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, and in nearly every other account of him, that none of his poems were published during his lifetime, but that a few were printed in 1646 from MSS. then in the possession of Evan Pughe, one of the Vicar's parishioners. This publication is recorded in Rowlands's *Cambrian Bibliography* under the year 1646, but I believe no copy of it is known to have survived.

The statement that none of the Vicar's poems were printed during his lifetime has recently been disproved by Mr. J. H. Davies, who has found one song, "Fanwyl blentyn dere nes," in a small catechism printed in London in the year 1617, of which there is a copy in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

This song is referred to in the address to the reader prefixed to the edition of 1672, brought out by Stephen Hughes. The address, which is in Welsh, says:—

I have been for a considerable time of the opinion that (seeing many perfect things, very finely written with his own hand by the blessed author, and properly arranged in one of the books that came into my hands) he purposed printing a great portion of his own works. In all probability he himself got printed that song, viz.:—*Fy Anwyl Blentyn dere nês*, &c.—which I saw printed many years before I printed his works. But now, in searching here, in order to make a fourth part, old imperfect papers, difficult to be read, in which the Author had written down his first thoughts, I found out what makes it clear enough, that he intended printing his songs. O how desirable it were, that they had been issued perfected by his own hand. It may be understood from the songs that follow, that he had a mind to dedicate his book to some Lord, and to give it this name, viz., *Canwyll y Cymru*. For thus he says in an Epistle to the Reader

Gelwais hon yn Ganwyll Cymro,
Am im chwennyeh brùdd oleuo,
Pawb o'r Cymru diddyse, deillion,
I wasnaethu Duw yn vnion.*

The author wished to call it *The Welshman's Candle*—but for edition after edition the title was printed, "*Canwyll y Cymru*," which is *The Welshmen's Candle*.

The full title of the little book in which the Vicar's work was first printed is as follows:—

* This I've called the Welshman's Candle
As I wished to truly enlighten
All the unlearned, purblind Welshmen
To uprightly serve their God,

Y

Catechism
 neu athrawi-
 aeth Gristianogaul, rhwn
 y mae pob plentyn y ddys
 en. cyn iddo ef gael y vedydd
 Episcob: neu y dderbyn
 yr Cummún ben-
 digedig.

Imprinted at London
 MDCXVII.

The last portion of the book, *i.e.*, “Cyngor Episcob,” is the song by Vicar Prichard (though his name is not given), and begins “Fanwyl blentyn dere nes.” The printer was John Hodgets. The song occupies 14 pages. It would be interesting to discover whether Vicar Prichard is responsible for the whole of the booklet.

Counting the song just mentioned, thirty-four appearances of *Canwyll y Cymry* are now recorded down to 1887. It has also appeared five times in translations, and seven times in selections, or a total of forty-six editions. The following is a tabulated list:—

1. 1617, One Song, “Fanwyl blentyn dere nes,” printed in *Y Catechism neu Athrawiaeth Gristianogaul*, London. The only known instance of the Vicar’s work being printed in his lifetime.
2. 1646, part 1. See Rowlands’s *Cambrian Bibliography*.
3. 1659, part 2, London, Thos. Brewster.
4. 1659, or later, part 2, London, Thos. Brewster.
5. 1670, part 3, London. [? Printer].
6. 1672, 4 parts, London, J. Darby.
7. 1681, London, Thomas Dawkes.
8. 1696, London, J. Moxon and R. Beardwell.
9. 1713, Shrewsbury, T. Durston.
10. 1714, Shrewsbury, T. Durston.
11. [Circa 1715], Shrewsbury, T. Durston.
12. [Circa 1720], Shrewsbury, T. Durston.
13. 1721, Shrewsbury, John Rogers.
14. 1724, Shrewsbury, John Roger.
15. 1725, Shrewsbury, T. Durston.

16. [*Circa* 1730], Shrewsbury, T. Durston.
17. [*Circa* 1735], Shrewsbury, T. Durston.
18. [*Circa* 1745], Shrewsbury, T. Durston.
19. [*Circa* 1750], Shrewsbury, T. Durston.
20. [*Circa* 1750], Shrewsbury, R. Lathrop.
21. 1752, Carmarthen. [No Printer given.]
22. 1766, Shrewsbury, Stafford Prys.
23. 1770, Llandovery, Rhys Thomas.
24. 1770, Llandovery, Rhys Thomas.
25. 1771, Llandovery, Rhys Thomas.
26. 1776, Carmarthen, John Ross.
27. 1798, Carmarthen, J. Evans.
28. 1807, Carmarthen, J. Daniel.
29. 1807, Carmarthen, J. Evans.
30. 1808, Carmarthen, J. Evans.
31. 1841, Llandovery, W. Rees.
32. 1858, Llandovery, W. Rees.
33. 1867, Llandovery, D. J. Roderic.
34. [1887], Wrexham, Hughes & Son.

Translations.

35. 1771, by W. Evans. Carmarthen, J. Ross.
36. 1785, by W. Evans. London, J. Johnson.
37. 1815, by W. Evans. Merthyr, W. Williams.
38. 1821, by J. Bulmer. Haverfordwest, J. Potter.
39. 1830, by J. Bulmer. London—Haverfordwest, J. Potter.

Selections.

40. 1749, by Griffith Jones. London, John Oliver.
41. 1754, Moravian Hymn Book. London. [Translations].
42. 1758, by Griffith Jones. London, John Oliver.
43. 1766, by Griffith Jones. Shrewsbury, J. Eddowes.
44. [1802]. ? Dolgelly, T. Williams.
45. [1882]. Birthday Book. London, R.T.S.
46. 1888, by T. Levi. Newport, W. Jones.

Commencing with the 1646 edition recorded by Rowlands, the editions of *Canwyll y Cymry* divide naturally into three sections, represented by the places of printing. The work of production was confined during the first period (ending in 1696) to London; during the second (ending in 1766) to Shrewsbury, with the single exception of the edition printed at Carmarthen in 1752, and during the

third period (ending in 1867) to Carmarthenshire (Llandovery and Carmarthen.) The only long gaps in the continuous publication occur between 1696 and 1713, 1776 and 1798, and between 1808 and 1841, though it is remarkable that at the close of the nineteenth century the demand for the old Vicar's book has not called for any frequent reprinting.

We will take these groups in order—the London group coming first. Except the one song already referred to, the earliest appearance of any of the Vicar's work was in 1646, two years after his death, and as already stated, no copy is known to have survived of this edition. Rowlands, in his *Cambrian Bibliography*, calls this two parts, but it was only one, and brought out under the editorship of Stephen Hughes. Some of the information about Rhys Prichard given in the *Cambrian Bibliography* was supplied by Mr. Wm. Rees, of Llandovery, the well-known printer, and he is responsible for the statement that two parts of the Vicar's work were issued in 1646, and a third part in 1670. As already stated, the 1646 edition was one part only, and the second was issued in 1659, a fact which does not appear to have been known to Mr. Rees, but he distinctly says that he had never been able to hear of a copy of the 1646 edition. As bearing on this question of the early editions, it is interesting to note that on the last page of the 1659 edition, No. 3 in my list, it is stated that "this is the third time that this book has been printed." The reference to the third time may be construed as applying to one song only, viz., that which appears in the catechism of 1617, but however that may be, one thing is certain, before 1659 the Vicar's work had been printed twice, and I fully expect a copy of the 1646 book to turn up some day.

Passing on to the 1659 edition, we are on firmer ground.

There is a copy of No. 3 in the list in the British Museum, and Mr. J. H. Davies has a fragment of No. 4. Both these are probably what Stephen Hughes in the 1672 Preface calls the second part of the Vicar's work, but this is only a guess, and must remain so until the earlier work turns up. A copy of the titlepage and a collation of the contents of No. 3 will be found in the appendix, and No. 4 apparently is the same, except the last page, which contains an address, "To the Reader," signed "H. M." In the B. M. copy this address begins, in Welsh, but I translate, "Beloved Welshmen—This is the third time this book has been printed," etc. In Mr. Davies's copy, however, "third time" has been changed to "fourth time," and there are other small variations in the address, which prove it to be a re-issue. The date of the re-issue was probably later than 1659.

This address is quaint, and I have had it translated from the second issue of 1659, incorporating, however, some words from the first issue, obviously omitted by the printer—who is probably also responsible for putting the date as "39 Tachwedd"!

TO THE READER.

Beloved Welshman,

This is the fourth time this book has been printed, and in order that thou and all thy countrymen may more clearly understand and more easily read this song, some pains have been taken to correct some errors, and to explain some words, on the margin of the leaf, at least: so that my dear neighbours in North Wales might partake more fully of the beneficial knowledge found in this booklet. Therefore, take advice and exhortation to read this excellent song, and receive it as a message from God,—as the voice of Mr. Prichard (the author) from the grave, and as the first fruit of the light of God in Wales in the age just passed. And so that thou mayst have life and benefit to thy soul from the reading of this book, consider these three things for thy instruction:—Firstly, endeavour to apply and possess, and adapt what thou mayst read in it, to thine own soul and special condition; secondly, beware lest the arrangement of these truths in the form of metre lighten [or make frivolous] thy heart whilst reading

them, and excite thy silly passions. Much of that frivolous spirit and vain amusement obtain among the Welsh even to this day: but beseech thou God to utterly sever and mortify thy heart from such vanity and perishable pleasure, and consider thou the truth of the lessons—not the song—and that profoundly, seriously, and in a sober spirit. Thirdly, place this booklet, and every other means ordained of God for salvation, together with thine own heart, at the foot of the Lord, and pray earnestly that he may bestow a blessing upon the means and upon thy heart: so that thou mayst enjoy it in and through all his gracious means. This is written on request, and so that thou mayst perform this, its weak shoulder bears my prayer in addition thereto, and that of my own true will, who am,

Thine in the Lord,

39 November, 1658.

H. M.

“H. M.” is probably Henry Maurice, an Independent Minister, who was the friend of Stephen Hughes; an account of him will be found in Dr. Thomas Rees’s *History of Protestant Nonconformity in Wales*.

Twelve years elapsed between the publication of the second and third part. The delay was caused by the curtailment of the liberty of the press and the troubled times which followed the passing of the Act of Uniformity. We are told that the ultimate issue of the third part in 1670 was due to the good offices of Dr. William Thomas, Dean of Worcester, through whom sanction was obtained for its publication.

Its appearance is duly recorded by Rowlands, but no perfect copy is known to me, though a fragment was recently discovered by Mr. J. H. Davies. The title is wanting; the fragment begins sig. A 2—with an address from Stephen Hughes to the parishioners of Llandovery, dated June 18, 1670. This is followed by “A letter to the Welsh who will read this book,” of which I translate some passages:—

My Dear Countrymen,

I am now sending amongst you a third part of the works of Mr. Prichard, of Llandovery, hoping for the same blessing upon it as

followed the other two parts: after printing which, multitudes learnt to read Welsh, and bought Testaments and Bibles; and so knowledge and godliness increased in Wales.

* * * * *

If any of you wish to buy "Yr Ymarfer o Dduwioldeb," "Y Llwybyr Hyffordd i'r nefoedd," "Catechism Mr. Perkins," and his "Agoriad byrr ar weddi'r Arglwydd," and "Hanes y ffydd neu'r ffydd ddiffuant," in Welsh, enquire for them at the shops wherein they sell books: and if the merchants see that there is a probability of selling many of those books, I daresay some of them will lay out their money towards printing them. And as to the Welsh Bible, it will be long before it will be printed, unless some monied [arianog] men lay out a thousand pounds towards printing it; the booksellers in London say, we will not lay out our money with this work, because an impression of 6,000 Welsh Bibles will take twenty years, or fourteen years, to sell (while we are selling about 30,000 English Bibles every year), and we, who live by our crafts, cannot wait so long without having our money back. And therefore, my countrymen, petition the great people, the Bishops, and the ministers and monied merchants, to lay out their money (if they have any love for Christ and the souls of men) towards this good work, so that you will not be ruined from the want of knowledge. Hos. 4. 6.

* * * * *

June 22, 1670.

S. H.

This book and the foundation of religion are sold by Mr. Goff at Carmarthen, Mr. Vertue at Abergavenny, Mr. Mathew Jones at Swansea, Mr. Thomas Joseph at Bridgend-upon-Ogmore.

Two years later, in 1672, Stephen Hughes issued the whole book in four parts, and of this there are several copies in existence. The titlepage is quaint, being given in both Welsh and English. The English part is as follows:—

The works of Mr. Rees Prichard sometimes Vicar of Llandoverly in Carmarthen-shire: printed before in three books, but now printed together as one book, though not in the same order as formerly (for a reason given in the preface); with an addition in many things out of manuscripts not seen before by the publisher, besides a fourth part now the first time imprinted. To be sold in Wales for 3s. 6d., bound.

The first item in this volume is an address to the Rev. Dr. William Thomas (Dean of Worcester), Mr. Hugh

Edwards, of Llangaddock, in the county of Carmarthen, Mr. David Thomas, of Margam, Mr. Samuel Jones, of Llangynwyd [known as Samuel Jones, of Brynllwarch], Mr. William Lloyd, of St. Petrox, in the county of Pembroke, ministers of the Gospel. In this address, which is dated "London, March 20, 1671," the editor, Stephen Hughes, refers to the assistance which has been given to him in the work of printing the New Testament, the Psalms, and the Catechism of Mr. Perkins, which were about to be issued.* He also appeals strongly for the whole of the Bible to be reprinted in the Welsh language, saying that it had become very scarce, not more than fifty copies being left unsold.† The passage giving reasons for another Welsh edition is worth translating. He says :

There is a desire on the part of many in our country to buy Bibles as well as Testaments, in Welsh, as the merchants of Wales know full well by the demand which has been frequently made for them during many years at their shops, where they are not to be got for money. There is not left here [*i.e.*, in London], but about half a hundred of them, and those so dear that it is impossible for workmen and people in service, especially poor shepherds, to obtain any, because they must pay more in the country than is paid here for them. However uninstructed and uncared for such ones may be, yet we must think that each one of them has as precious a soul to be saved or lost, as the soul of the greatest prince in the world, and consequently they deserve to be remembered as well as others. Such [people] cannot possibly make any use in the world of the English Bible, neither can thousands of heads of families in Wales, because the language is strange to them. And if, for many generations, thirteen hundred learned conscientious Englishmen were to keep schools at the same time in the thirteen counties of Wales, to teach English to our fellow-countrymen : yet, it were impossible for the commonalty of our country

* The New Testament and the Psalms were issued in Welsh in 1672, but the Catechism of Mr. Perkins was not issued until 1677.

† The Welsh Bible given under the date 1671 in Rowland's *Cambrian Bibliography* is an error.

to lose the language of their mothers for the five hundred years that would follow, if the world lasts as long. For only some of the commonalty are able to keep their children in school. And those that can be kept there, after learning English in school, must say [talk] Welsh at home, else they will not be understood; and when they grow up to be heads of families themselves, it is known that it is Welsh they must say [talk] among their kindred, and generally in the fairs and markets. And how by this time [*i.e.*, therefore] is the Welsh language to be lost? And yet, this is the kind of thing some [people] fancy; and thereupon opine that it is not good to print any kind in the world of Welsh books to maintain the language; but that it is becoming for the people to lose their language and learn English. Very good. But let such remember, that it is easier to say a mountain than to cross it.

There is a "Preface to the Reader," which is signed by Stephen Hughes, and dated London, March 22, 1671, followed by a Table of Contents, and a further address "To the Reader," from which I have already quoted a reference to the song printed in the Vicar's lifetime. The poem beginning "Gogoniant Duw, a lles Britaniaid," prefixed to subsequent editions under the heading "Llythyr arall at y Darllenydd fel y mae'n dybygol," is then given, and is followed by "Llythyr yr Awdwr at ryw Eglwyswr a ddeisyfodd arno droi ar gân Catechism Eglwys Loeger," (A letter from the author to some Churchman who entreated him to turn the Catechism of the Church of England into song); which the author did, and his rhymed version of it will be found in the text. A note at the foot of the last page of introductory matter states that "the Testament, this book, and the Catechism of Mr. Perkins, and other things with it, can be obtained from Mr. Goff in Carmarthen, Mr. Badville in Chester, Mr. Verthey in Abergavenny, Mr. Hughes in Wrexham, and in Swansea." No name is given for Swansea, but Stephen Hughes himself lived there.

The editor had originally allowed himself one forme for the introductions, but, as is not unusual, he under-

estimated, and three formes, or 48 pages, are filled with the preliminaries; these sheets bear the signatures "A," "a," and "(*)". The poem commences page 1, signature B, "O Cais gwr na gwraig na bachgen," the second poem being "Hil Frutus fab Sylfus, Britanniaid brwd hoenus." This order was followed by all the editions before 1770, but Rhys Thomas, of Llandovery, reversed it, putting "Hil Frutus" first, and from this date the order varied with the taste of the editor or printer. Professor Rice Rees's edition, 1841, has "Hil Frutus" first.

On pp. 273-5 is a long note by Stephen Hughes about the Vicar's rhymed version of the Catechism. Mr. Hughes says that he omitted part of this poem from the former edition of the third part of the Vicar's work, because "he was not desirous to displease anybody by telling his mind about some small things in it which were not relevant to the salvation of the people." He goes on "I foresaw, that there would be divisions, and wranglings, and quarrels, and controversies concerning these things, which within the knowledge and experience of hundreds, if not thousands, of Christians who have known grace, is an hindrance rather than a help to spiritual edification." The effort to avoid controversy by suppressing a part of the "Catechism" was, however, not a success, for Mr. Hughes says that offence was taken, and anger shown, and for this reason he now prints the entire poem, adding a long explanatory commentary of his own. On pages 491-499 is given Archbishop Usher's "Daily Examination," and on pages 500-509, a collection of Welsh Proverbs taken from the Dictionary of Dr. John Davies, of Mallwyd, 1632. Then follows the fourth part of the Vicar's Work, to which a separate titlepage appears. At the end of the fourth part is printed for the first time the song to welcome the return of Prince Charles from Spain. This song was

omitted from the subsequent editions until Durston added it to that printed in 1725 (No. 15 in my list).

The next edition, 1681, is called "Canwyll y Cymru, that is to say, the works of Mr. Rees Prichard, sometime Vicar of Llandovery," and so on, "whereunto is added the strange but true narrative of the chief things spoken and acted by an unclean spirit at Mascon, translated out of French into English by Dr. Peter du Moulin upon the desire of the Hon. Robt. Boyle, Esq., and now done into Welsh by S. Hughes, of Swansea."

This is the last appearance of the book under the auspices of Stephen Hughes, who died seven years later, in 1688. It omits much of the prefatory matter which appeared in the 1672 edition, and also the long explanation of the "Catechism." The poem by Stephen Hughes, "Cynghor i'r Llyfyr," which first appeared in 1672, is reprinted, slightly revised and much shortened, many verses being omitted. The welcome to Prince Charles is omitted, but a dialogue between two Welshmen on conjurers, wizards, and the like, has been added. This is known as "Dau Gymro," and was not reprinted until 1725, when Durston describes it (and the Welcome to Prince Charles) as "a sixth part never before printed." I shall have something to say later on about Durston's tricks. The "Adroddiad Cywir" referred to on the titlepage, appears at the end of the book, with separate titlepage, pagination, and signatures. It is very likely, therefore, that, in addition to being appended to the Vicar's book, it was printed and sold separately. This is its first appearance, and it is worth noting that "S. H. o Abertawe", *i.e.* Stephen Hughes, is given as the translator. He prints a preliminary letter of eight pages dated "Abertawe, y 13 o Ffis Hydref 1680," all against witchcraft, and appends a further letter, three pages, some of which is worth quoting.

I give a translation :—

* * * * * * *

I hope that the treatise of Mr. Holant [Robert Holland] (formerly the minister of Llauddowror, in Carmarthenshire), will be the means of preventing the common people of Wales, from going in future (as they are wont to do to this day) to conjurers, wizards, and witches, to get their fortune read, etc.

* * * * * * *

It were well for those who have not these books to buy them, viz. :—

Yr Ymarfer o Dduwioledeb.
Hanes y Ffydd.
Cyfarwydd-deb i'r An hyfarwydd.
Bellach neu Byth.
Galwad i'r Annychweledig.
Canwyll Christ.

And look out in a year's time (if some shall live) for "Y Llwybr Hyffordd i'r Nefoedd," in print, which has been the means of doing much good in Welsh and in English.

* * * * * * *

STEPHEN HUGHES.

London, 1680. Dec. 6.

I am uncertain as to the inference to be drawn from the first paragraph in the extract just given. Is Mr. Holland the author of the Dialogue between two Welshmen, "Dau Gymro"? Rowlands interprets the passage in this sense,* and it is quite likely that he is correct. If so, "Dau Gymro" may have been in print before 1681. Very little is known about Robert Holland. He wrote a Welsh book on prayer, "Darmerth, neu Arlwy Gweddi," which is given in Rowlands under the year 1600, and translated the Catechism of Mr. Perkins into Welsh. He was also the author of "The Holy historie of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ's Nativitie," published in 1594. He was born in the year 1557 and died about 1622.

The next edition, 1696, was printed in London by J. Moxon and B. Beardwell for D. Jones. In all the copies

* *Cambrian Bibliography*, p. 223.

I have seen the title is followed by the poetical address from the author to a noble lord, but as this poem begins on Sig. B 2, and the titlepage, at any rate, of one copy is pasted to folio B 8, it is clear that for some reason pages are missing in all the copies. Either the missing pages were printed and afterwards cancelled, or it was intended to insert a preface, but the intention was abandoned, or all the copies seen by me are defective. The rhymed address to the reader is on the verso of Sig. B 2, the poem, "O Cais Gwr," begins on page 1, sig. B 3, and "Hil Frutus" on page 10.

The text of the 1681 edition is followed throughout, slavishly followed page for page, even the catchword DAV on page 456 (wrongly numbered 556) being copied, though "Dau Gymro" is not printed in this edition. A fifth part called "Caersalem newydd" is now printed for the first time, but not having a printed copy to follow, the printers and reader have made numerous mistakes in the ten pages containing this poem. Some of these mistakes I have noted in the appendix. The beginning of the poem may be paraphrased "Ye Britons of South Wales, and all parts, hear the voice of a churchman who tries to call you to paradise." This poem was reprinted in all the Shrewsbury editions.

The poems are followed by Perkins's "Sail y Grefydd," a catechism on the foundations of religion in six questions, and by the Welsh alphabet and words of one syllable designed to teach people to read, the alphabet being printed in four different types. This "egwyddor" became a common feature of Welsh books in the 18th century, particularly, I believe, of those issued under the auspices of Griffith Jones, Llanddowror, who was so active in organising means whereby the Welsh people could be taught to read. This is its first appearance in *Canwyll y Cymry*,

but it had been printed as early as 1649 in Perkins's "Sail y Grefydd," which accounts for its appearance here.

David Jones, who brought out this issue of the *Canwyll*, was a friend of Stephen Hughes, and took an active part in procuring the publication and circulation of the Bible and other books in the Welsh language. Very little is known of his history, but there are some notes of his life in Rees's *History of Nonconformity in Wales*, where it is said that he helped to bring out the edition of 1681, an error for 1696.

This ends the first or London group of editions, confined, it will be noticed, to the 17th century.

THE SHREWSBURY EDITIONS.

Taking the second group of editions, those printed at Shrewsbury in the 18th century, we find remarkable activity in the production of the book, combined with the low-water mark as regards editing and the interpolation of spurious poems. As is well known, Shrewsbury was at this time a most important centre for the production of Welsh books. It is a strong proof of the hold which the Vicar's book had over the Welsh people, that in the years 1713-1766 fourteen editions were issued, thirteen from Shrewsbury and one from Carmarthen. We have no direct evidence as to the number printed for each edition, but from the frequency with which copies turn up, it must have been considerable.

The printers of the Shrewsbury editions were Thomas Durston, John Rogers, Richard Lathrop, and Stafford Prys.

With regard to John Rogers, much confusion has resulted from two paragraphs in Rowlands's *Cambrian Bibliography*, pp. 311 and 341, where it is stated that he

and another Shrewsbury printer, John Rhydderch (who also called himself John Roderick), are identical. Rowlands's statement has misled several writers, who have accordingly treated John Rogers and John Rhydderch as one and the same person, and I have spent many hours trying to make all the facts before me fit in with the one-man theory, with the result that I have proved that John Rogers and John Rhydderch are two persons.

John Rhydderch, who printed in Shrewsbury from 1714 to 1728, is known as Sion Rhydderch, and also as John Roderick, the English form of the name, which he used when printing an English book. He also used his initials J. R., and Rowlands says on one occasion he called himself John Hydderch; but Canon Silvan Evans points out in a note that, in his copy of the book from which this quotation is made, the R is not omitted, so that the copy which Rowlands saw was a defective one, and John Hydderch disappears so far as that particular book is concerned; but there remains a use of the initials "J. H.," always supposed to be John Hydderch, in connection with the later Shrewsbury editions of *Canwyll y Cymry*. This point will be discussed in its proper place.

John Rogers, the other Shrewsbury printer, flourished, or perhaps it would be more correct to say, printed books, between the years 1719 and 1725, and it was he who brought out editions of *Canwyll y Cymry* in 1721 and 1724.

My conclusion that these two men were contemporary printers at Shrewsbury has been arrived at after a careful study of the books printed by both. In the case of Rhydderch it will be found that all the Welsh books issued from his press bear the Welsh form of his name (John Rhydderch), while the only book he printed in English, *The Display of Herauldry*, by John Davies, of

Llansilin, bears the English form (John Roderick). His printing was better than Rogers's, and his office was certainly better furnished with type.

The books printed by John Rogers, however, bear that name without variation. The first book he printed was the *Testament y deuddeg patriarch* (Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs) in 1719. Two years later (1721) he printed *Canwyll y Cymry*; in 1722 four books, and in 1724 another edition of *Canwyll y Cymry* and *Hanes y Byd*, by Simon Thomas. Amongst the books printed by him in 1722 is the *Book of Common Prayer*, with *Llyfr y Psalman Edmund Prys*. On the last page of the *Prayer Book* is an advertisement stating that John Rogers is a bookseller in Shrewsbury, that he prints and sells Welsh books, and that certain books can be had from him. He then gives a list, which includes all the Welsh books we have assigned to John Rogers, but none of those assigned to John Rhydderch. This, to my mind, is conclusive evidence of the existence of two contemporary printers, named respectively John Rogers and John Rhydderch or Roderick.

There are many minor proofs which it is unnecessary to press after what has been said; but it may be worth while to mention that in 1718 John Rhydderch brought out an edition of *Holl ddyledswydd dyn* ("The Whole Duty of Man"), translated by Edward Samuel, and in 1722 John Rogers brought out an edition of the same book by another translator. Each of them also issued an edition of the *Book of Common Prayer*. Rhydderch dated his books in Arabic numerals; Rogers, with one exception, dated his in Roman.

I assume, therefore, that Rowlands was mistaken, and every writer since, relying upon him, has added to the confusion.

About John Rhydderch, John Rogers, and Thomas Durston there is a story in connection with the printing of *Canwyll y Cymry*, which at one time appeared too complicated for solution, but the recognition of Rhydderch and Rogers as two individuals smooths out the kinks in the chain.

John Rhydderch, we are told in Williams's *Montgomeryshire Worthies*, settled in Shrewsbury as a printer about the year 1708, and carried on business there for about twenty years, printing and publishing many Welsh books. He retired, in fact, some time in or before 1729, when he was in London. He printed his own grammar at Shrewsbury in 1728. It is said that he sold his business to Durston, and this is borne out by the fact that the printing and sale of Rhydderch's books were carried on by Durston after 1729.

It is probable, however, that Rhydderch first went to Shrewsbury as a printer in the employ of Durston, and while so engaged prepared for the press Durston's first edition of *Canwyll y Cymry*. The publisher expressly states in a later edition that it was made ready for the press by the hand of a clever Welshman. Afterwards, about the year 1714, John Rhydderch started business on his own account, and an estrangement resulted between Rhydderch and Durston lasting for some years, and marked by some spiteful acts on the part of Durston.

The first Shrewsbury edition of *Canwyll y Cymry*, called the fourth edition on the titlepage, is ascribed to the year 1713 in my list, and is only known from the titlepage which is bound up with the next edition. It is probably identical with the next (1714), to which a new titlepage, the address to Rev. John Vaughan, and the preface, have been added, the old titlepage being also retained. The fact that the titlepage of 1713 is sig. B 1

is explained by reference to the edition of 1696, from which the signatures were copied, as well as the text.

Durston evidently reckons only the editions of 1672, 1681, and 1696, before his own of 1713, which he calls the fourth, while the new titlepage, issued in 1714, describes the book as the fifth edition. This is the only Durston issue with a date on the titlepage. The address to the Rev. and Hon. John Vaughan, of Derllys, in Carmarthen-shire, thanks him for having helped forward the production of the book, and also of the "Dwyfolder Gymmunol" appended to it. This address is signed "John Rhydderch," and is followed by a preface beginning "Anwyl Gyd-wladwyr",* also signed "John Rhydderch." Then we get "An Account of the Reverend Mr. Rees Prichard," etc., constantly reprinted, which ends forme A. Forme B1 is the titlepage of the 4th edition, B2 the letter to a noble lord, B2 verso the letter to the reader, and the text begins on B3, following the London edition of 1696. The fifth part, "Caersalem Newydd," ends the text. The index is a reprint from 1696, with a few verbal corrections, as is also the "Sail Grefydd" and the "A.B.C."

The volume contains 24 more pages, 22 of them being the title and text of the "Dwyfolder Gymmunol," and the remainder advertisements, viz. :—Durston's list of books, and an offer by J. Meredith, of High Street, Shrewsbury, to teach the arts and sciences, including writing. Mr. Meredith advertises in English and in Welsh.

The titlepage of the "Dwyfolder Gymmunol" states that it is translated out of English into Welsh by John Rhydderch. It was reprinted in Durston's two succeeding issues of the *Canwyll*, but the name of John Rhydderch was dropped from the titlepage.

* Dear Fellow-countrymen.

Durston's third issue of the *Canwyll* I have assigned to *circa* 1715, and the fourth to *circa* 1720. Both these are called "chweched" (sixth) on the titlepage, but there are slight differences in them. The address to the Rev. J. Vaughan appears in 1715, but not in 1720. It is the same address, word for word, as in the 1714 issue, but John Rhydderch's name has been removed and Thomas Durston's substituted. The preface was also reprinted word for word in 1715 and 1720, but here again Durston removed Rhydderch's name and introduced his own.

If my theory is correct that John Rhydderch was from 1708 to 1713 in the employ of Durston, and that in the latter year he started in business as a printer on his own account, the action of Durston in removing his former assistant's name out of spite can be understood, but to substitute his own name was dishonest.

The issues of the book by Durston have a peculiarity of their own, which enables them to be divided into two groups, which I call the 1713 group and the 1725 group. There were four issues of the former, viz.:—1713, 1714, *circa* 1715, and *circa* 1720, and of the latter seven, five by Durston and one each by Lathrop and Prys.

Rhys Prichard wrote in the song, "Am Ddiwedd y Byd" (Of the End of the World):—

"Mil a chwechant aethont heibio,
O'r oes hon ac ugain cryno;
Fe all pawb wrth hymny wybod,
Nad oes fawr o hon heb ddarfod."*

* One thousand and six hundred years,
With twenty more as it appears,
Of this are now elapse'd—then mind
There can't be much of it behind.

Evans's translation, 1771.

In the first group of the Durston editions the date in this stanza was altered to 1713, thus,

“Mil a seithgant aethant heibio,
A thair ar ddeg o'r oes mor gryno.”

Later on he again altered it to 1725, thus,

“Mil a Seithgant aethant heibio,
A phump ar hugain o'r oes mor gryno.”

It was by means of this clue that the first step was taken towards the classification of the Shrewsbury editions.

Up to 1720, Durston merely reprinted the book as prepared for the press by John Rhydderch, but in 1721 John Rogers issued an edition of *Canwyll y Cymry* from his press, dedicated to Adam,* Lord Bishop of St. David's. In the dedication he informs the bishop that the edition now published he has “caused to be revised by all the former and purged from their errors, so that, my lord, I may justly say it is the most compleat and correct of any yet published. It is true, another edition has lately been printed at *Salop*, corrected by the printer of it, who knows as little of the British tongue as I do of the Phœncian language, and, as I am informed, has above 4,000 errors in it, for which reason, to do the late Vicar justice, I send this abroad improved by the best hand, and was it possible to obtain some other translations which the author made, or could his exposition of the 39 articles be recovered, I would loose no pains or costs to have them published, but I fear they expired with the author in the year 1644, as well as his charity of £20 per annum for a free school.”

Apparently John Rogers's edition met with success, and in 1724 he issued another, without the dedication and

* Adam Ottley, Bishop 1713-1723.

omitting all reference to any other edition of the work or to the merits of his own. His caustic reference to the errors in the other edition printed at Shrewsbury had, however, stung his rival, Thomas Durston, and may have been the means of promoting a reconciliation between Durston and Rhydderch, for in 1725 Durston brought out another edition, and on the titlepage he informs the public that it is "printed together in six parts more fully and completely than in any other edition that has ever before been issued, minutely revised and carefully corrected of several bad errors and mistakes by John Rhydderch." The last part of the sentence is two-edged. It is not clear whether John Rhydderch made the errors or corrected them. A note at the end of the book is less ambiguous, it says:—

"This is to inform you that the Vicar of Llandoverly's book has just been printed by Thomas Durston, to which has been added the Sixth Part never before printed, and 'Hanes Tudur a Gronwy.' This is the most correct edition ever yet issued, the errors of which have been carefully corrected by 'John Rhydderch.' Therefore, it has been thought necessary to acquaint you, so that the country may not be deceived and disappointed in buying a book of another man's printing, which throughout is full of errors, with whole lines and words omitted, together with hundreds of other literal errors, which may be easily seen by comparing both books with each other."

A compromise between Durston and Rhydderch appears to have been arrived at, for John Rhydderch's name appears on the titlepage, and Durston's initials at the end of the Preface, where he says that he

"set to work to reprint it this seventh time, hoping that it will this time have a full welcome as it was wont to have in Wales: in which you will have the whole work of the Vicar fuller than in any of the previous editions, to which has been added the sixth part never before printed, the Story of Tudur and Gronwy,* the Song to Welcome

* Otherwise known as "Dau Gymro," see 1681 edition.

King Charles the First home from Spain, when he was Prince of Wales, also you may expect this edition to be, not only fuller, but purer from errors and mistakes than any previous edition. And although another edition of the Vicar's work is amongst you, full of monstrous errors, and whole lines omitted, and words too, in consequence of which it has been necessary to sell such for half the value of the book, were it but approximately correct. Therefore my hope is that none of you may think that he lays out his money so unprofitably, and that you will never regret [buying] this book, because it has gone through the hand of a clever Welshman, who carefully corrected the errors of the press, and whatever else that occurred erroneously in the previous editions. I have now but to present it into your hands, without doubting but that this is the most perfect that has come from your

“Obedient servant,

“T. D.”

The two editions of John Rogers are ignored by Durston when he says that he reprints the book for the seventh time, and incidentally he supports my view that the issues of 1713 and 1714 were the same book with a new titlepage, or this would have been the eighth reprint as Durston counted.

An examination of the Durston editions of 1713 and 1725 respectively does not, however, bear out the boastful publisher's claims. The mistakes in the 1713 edition are numerous enough—whether they really number about 4,000, as John Rogers asserts, I cannot say,—but the mistakes in the “revised” Durston of 1725 are very bad; a few trifling things are certainly improved, but in the main the later Durston edition is much worse than the earlier.

Durston's statement that he has added a sixth part *never before printed* is untrue, because as I have already pointed out, “*Dau Gymro*,” or, as he calls it, the “*Story of Tudur and Gronwy*,” appeared in 1681, and the “*Song of Welcome to Prince Charles*” in 1672. The fact is that the editor of Durston's 1725 edition had come across

a copy of the 1672 issue, and taken from it the Welcome to Prince Charles, and the poem by Stephen Hughes, "Cynghor i'r Llyfr."* He had also obtained certain poems which the publisher states were received too late for insertion, so they are printed at the end of the book, following the table. These poems are much below the standard of the Vicar's work, and although retained by Durston and his successors in subsequent editions, they have been rejected with the exception of a poem on the great Civil War, which is accepted as genuine by Professor Rice Rees, though Rhys Thomas rejected it in 1770.

The poems received too late for insertion follow the index on a sheet with the signature Kk, and occupy six pages. The first has no title, but begins

"Grâs a Bonedd cyfiawn, ac urddas mawr a bri."

The titles of the others are "Cân ynghylch holl Bresennoldeb Duw," and "Cân ynghylch y Gwrthryfel a dorrodd allan yn y flwyddyn 1641."

In the subsequent Shrewsbury editions they were printed at the end of the text, other short poems being also added from time to time.

The two editions printed by John Rogers are described in the Appendix (Nos. 13, 14). The text is freer from misprints than in the Durston editions, but as it is not the object of this essay to discuss the literary merits of the various editions, I must leave the charge and the counter-charge as to inaccuracy for others to settle. Rogers adheres to the original version of the date in the song, "Am Ddiwedd y Byd."

*The 1725 Durston reprints this poem as it appeared in 1672, not in the revised form of 1681 and 1696.

The "A.B.C." is printed at the end of the 1721 edition, but omitted in 1724, while the latter has a crude woodcut nearly filling half the last page, the first instance of a cut being used, other than headlines or initials. The 1724 is one of the rarest of the 18th century issues.

Attached to one copy of Rogers's 1721 issue is a Catechism preparatory to receiving the Lord's Supper, "for the use of the parish of Chirk, whose inhabitants are partly Welsh and partly English, by R[obert] R[oberts], A.M. and Vicar of the said parish of Chirk. Printed for the Author, 1720." The full title is given in the Appendix.

Nothing further is heard of John Rogers in connection with *Canwyll y Cymry*, and a year later, 1725, his name disappears as a printer of books. Of his history, beyond what has already been set down no trace has been found.

John Rhydderch also left Shrewsbury within a few years, not later than 1729, when he wrote from London to Lewis Morris "Llewelyn Ddu o Fôn."

Durston continued to reprint *Canwyll y Cymry* from time to time, using the preface prepared for him by Rhydderch. John Rogers said of Durston that he knew as little of the British tongue as he (Rogers) did of the Phœnician language. This ignorance on the part of Durston may be the reason why he continued to reprint the preface complaining about a rival edition long after the rival, and probably his book also, had disappeared.

There are two issues bearing the description "Wythfed argraphiad" (8th edition) on the titlepage, assigned to 1730 and 1735 respectively (Nos. 16 and 17 in list). The second is a reprint of the first, with some typographical errors corrected, or possibly some of the sheets containing the text are the same, while sheet A, and one or two others, Hh for instance, were reprinted. It can be identified by the spelling "ymchwaneigiad" ("yw-

chwanegiad" in the previous issue) and "Printio" ("Brintio" previously) on the titlepage, and the catchword on sig. A3 verso "Llythyr" (formerly "Llythur").

The name of John Rhydderch has disappeared from the titlepage of the issue of 1730, and it was partly for this reason that the date assigned was chosen. Directly Rhydderch left Shrewsbury, Durston takes the opportunity of resorting to the old dodge of removing the Editor's name from the book. The initials "J. H." are substituted on this and all the subsequent Shrewsbury editions except 1766. It has always been assumed that J. H. stands for John Hydderch, but as already pointed out, the instance given in Rowlands of this variation of Rhydderch's name does not hold good. It may, nevertheless, be correct that J. H. means John Rhydderch.

The issue of *circa* 1745 (No. 18) is called ninth, "nawfed argraphiad," on the title, and eighth, "wythfed," in the preface. The spelling of the catchword on A3 verso again becomes "Llythur," the length of the printed page is less, and the type is smaller, than in the preceding issues, while the printing has improved a little. There is a list of books advertised at the end of the Table, li 8 verso.

No. 19, the tenth edition of the titlepage is also called eighth in the preface, and is printed on very inferior paper to No. 18. A list of books is advertised at the end of "Dau Gymro," li 6 verso, and the table follows. The date 1750 is assigned to this, the last edition printed by Thomas Durston.

The consideration of No. 20, 1752, Carmarthen, is deferred until the Shrewsbury editions have been disposed of.

The edition printed at Shrewsbury by Richard Lathrop is put by Rowlands under the year 1740, but for reasons which appear to me adequate, I have dated it *circa* 1755.

It is a reprint of the Durston editions, the preface and title being identical, and the initials "T. D." retained at the end of the preface. It is called "Yr Wythfed Argraphiad" on the title and in the preface, and this no doubt is why Rowlands tried to fit it into a place between the Durston issues.

The dates assigned by Rowlands to Lathrop's books are not always correct; to take only two instances: "Trugaredd a Barn" is said to have been printed by him in 1687, and "Cydymaith yr Eglwyswr" in 1699. He did not print either of these books prior to 1740. He was admitted a member of the Booksellers' Guild at Shrewsbury, June 22, 1739,* and in 1764 he is still described as of Salop, Bookseller.†

The latest date given by Rowlands for Lathrop is 1745, but under 1750 he places "Llyfr Meddyginiaeth." This was printed by Lathrop.

I have failed to find any evidence as to when Durston gave up printing. Books are assigned to him as late as 1759, but it must be remembered that he rarely dated his books, and the dates given in Rowlands are only guesses.

If these printers had only put dates upon their books, what a lot of trouble and speculation would have been saved. Stafford Prys, who came immediately after them, has earned our continual gratitude for his thoughtfulness in dating his books.

I have assigned to Lathrop's issue of *Canwyll y Cymry* a date subsequent to Durston's retirement from business, because it is hard to believe that any man would take another's book, and reprint it from end to end, including even the preface and its signature, and that too in the same small town. It is true that very curious acts of

* *Transactions Shropshire Arch. Soc.*, vii, 413.

† *Ibid.*, viii, 392.

piracy were committed by the printers of Welsh books in those days. But this seems too bad.

I find that Lathrop advertises a list of Welsh books, some of them issued from Durston's press, which implies friendly business relations. It is quite likely that towards the end of his career Durston sold to Lathrop whatever rights he possessed in *Canwyll y Cymry*. If that was so, the date suggested is approximately correct, and the appearance of the initials "T. D." at the end of the preface is explained.

Lathrop's edition can be recognised by the woodcuts used as tailpieces on pages vi, 494, 503, and after the index. The printing is better than in most of Durston's issues.

The last of the Shrewsbury issues came from the press of Stafford Prys, and is dated 1766. It is a reprint of the Durston text and accessories, including the preface, but with the initials "S. P." The titlepage varies somewhat. The initials "J. H." are gone, and it is called the 13th edition. It is better printed than either of the preceding Shrewsbury editions.

The Shrewsbury issues from 1725 vary but little, and it is extraordinary that seven issues, from three different presses, should have retained the same preface, almost without variation. In each issue appears the lament about another edition of the Vicar's work "with whole lines left out, and words too." For over forty years this went on. Did either of the three printers know the meaning of what they were printing?

Durston was very bitter about the two editions brought out by John Rogers, and cited his "clever Welshman" to prove the superiority of his own. It will be interesting to read what Rhys Thomas, the Llandovery printer, had to say about it. Before quoting him, however, it will be advisable to deal with the edition printed at Carmarthen

in 1752 and correctly called *Canwyll y Cymry*. The imprint is "Caerfyrddin, Argraphwyd yn y Flwyddyn, MDCCLII." No printer's name is given. There is a small book of Hymns in Welsh by Henry Lloyd dated 1752, with precisely the same imprint, and no printer's name.

Of the Carmarthen printers of the 18th century John Ross is credited with the printing of books from 1743 to 1749, and from 1763 to the end of the century. Rhys Thomas has no book credited to him before 1760. Evan Powel's record is given as being from 1757 to 1764.

The evidence of the typography points to Evan Powel as the printer of the two books issued in 1752. They are not given in Rowlands.

Two woodcuts used as tailpieces in *Canwyll y Cymry* are used in later books bearing Powel's name. It cannot be said positively that it is his work, though it is highly probable. Whoever the printer was, to him belongs the honour of first printing in his native county the works of the great Vicar of Llandoverly.

I was at Llandoverly last Easter, not for the first time by any means, and found that neglect and indifference still prevail there with regard to the sweet singer who, nearly three hundred years ago, sought to lead the people to Paradise. "Yes, sir," said one of the Llandoverians, "a good many strangers who come here inquire about Vicar Prichard, but you see, the people here don't trouble about him, being so near very likely"!!!

To return to Evan Powel. Mr. Alwyn Evans has kindly looked up for me the registers at Carmarthen, and he informs me that "Evan Powell, son of Christmas Powell," was baptized at St. Peter's, Carmarthen, on Nov. 12th, 1730, and that an Evan Powell was buried at the same church on the 18th Dec. 1772. These are the only entries for that name in the register.

If Evan Powell, baptized in 1730, is the printer, he was only 22 years of age when he printed *Canwyll y Cymry* and the other book in 1752. Does the youthfulness of the printer explain the omission of his name? It may be that there is a simple explanation, if it could only be found.

For his text the Carmarthen printer seems to have relied upon one of the Durston issues, discarding the alteration of date in "Am Ddiwedd y Byd," and the doubtful pieces appended to the second Shrewsbury group. He includes, however, "Caersalem Newydd" (known also as the fifth part) and some of the sixth part as produced by Durston in 1725. The table is given at the beginning, and is followed by the "A. B. C." There is no preface or editorial note of any kind, and the text ends with the Song to Welcome Prince Charles from Spain.

This edition does not appear to be much known, and it cannot be said to possess any special merit, yet it has interested me because of the mystery surrounding it, and as the first produced in the Vicar's own county. Copies are not common so far as I know, and it is not mentioned by Rowlands.

THE CARMARTHENSHIRE EDITIONS.

From the Carmarthen edition of 1752 we move naturally to those brought out at Llandovery and Carmarthen when the Shrewsbury issues ceased. Rhys Thomas was printing at Carmarthen in 1760, and removed to Llandovery in 1764. In 1770 he brought out *Canwyll y Cymry*, newly arranged according to the author's copy, which was obtained from a friend at Brecon.

He refers to the publication of the poems by Stephen Hughes in 1672* from MSS. imperfect and difficult to

* Rhys Thomas did not appear to know of any earlier issue.

decipher, as Mr. Hughes described them, but, he says:—

“No one had a better copy for all the editions. Though some at Shrewsbury dared to add to it what they called a sixth part, it is as easy for an intelligent Welshman to believe that it is the work of the reverend author as to believe the *Cywyddau* of Taliesin ben Bardd ei Oes is the work of the sweet singer of Israel. On this account I omitted it, with the exception of what was taken out of the body of the book, and had it not been that I feared to displease my countrymen, I should not have printed one of them, for what good is it to insert the same verse many times over? But this is not all that was done to him at Shrewsbury: he was robbed of many valuable quatrains. To prove this I have inserted some of them in order that the reader may compare them with the text that I have printed from the author's copy, which providence placed in my hands through a friend at Brecon, according to which I have brought out this edition.”*

In a postscript to the preface the printer regrets that he has not been able to print the names of members of the Society of *Cymmrodorion* as subscribers, being about 2,000 in number. He explains that the size of the book has exceeded his calculations, because:—

“Comparing the first edition † and the author's MS. copy with the Shrewsbury editions, I saw that they had curtailed it by taking quatrains out of several carols. Out of one not less than nine were taken (see p. 149, Song 45).”

A note follows the postscript, addressed “*Fy Nghyd-wladwyr*,” ‡ which, translated, reads:—

“God, the author of all blessings, ordained that the MSS. of this pious author should be given to me to make the best of them, and by searching them I found that the greater number of them were his sermons, which had been kept in his study at Llandovery from the day of his death until they came into my hand, and God willing, I

* Griffith Jones, Llanddowror, had access to the Vicar's MSS. some years before Rhys Thomas. See *post* under “Selections from *Canwyll y Cymry*.”

† He means the 1672 edition.

‡ My Fellow-countrymen.

shall venture to offer some of them in print to my fellow-countrymen, trusting that they will not have a worse reception than his carols. The first book will be sold at 1s. Whoever wishes to have it let him write (prepaid), so that I may know how many to print. The type and paper will be the same as this. "R. THOMAS."

There were two issues by Rhys Thomas in 1770. The title of the first states that the book contains 351 additional stanzas. In the same year the sheets from pages 1—532 were re-issued, with four extra pages inserted at the end, and a new title stating that the book contains 359 additional stanzas. On reference to page 532 it will be seen that the catchword "TABL" remains in the second issue, which proves that the sheets of the text were not reprinted. This holds good also for the third issue in 1771. Neither was the table reprinted, for it does not contain the poems of the four inserted pages.

For the third issue, 1771, an entirely new titlepage was designed, and the preface was re-cast. It is now dated Jan. 16th, 1771. A poem by Rhys Thomas, "At y Cymry; yn enwedig Anrhydeddus Gymdeithas y Cymmrodorion,"* follows the preface, and then comes a fresh notice about the MSS. of the Vicar, which is of so much interest that I reproduce it in a translation:—

"Although I had previously obtained many of the poems of the old Vicar, which had not been before published, all of which are inserted in this book, yet God so ordered it that I should, after the work was printed, have the favour to go with two clergymen, on the 11th January 1771, to the library of E. M. D. Howorth, Esq., of Llandovery, where we found a great many of the manuscripts of the old Vicar; and among other things, several very excellent poems, some of which were in Welsh and English in alternate stanzas, and a few altogether in English, but the greater part altogether in Welsh. We also found many sermons, and a catechism, etc.; and because it is a pity that those treasures should be buried in oblivion, I intend, with

* To Welshmen, especially the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion.

God's permission, to publish them in parts, with the same kind of paper and letter as this work, ten sheets for a shilling, and that as long as they last, because I am unable to say how many they may be."

The truth of Rhys Thomas's statement is vouched for by a certificate, in English, printed after the foregoing notice. It reads as follows :—

"On the 11th January, 1771, by examining the papers of the Rev. Rees Prichard, late Vicar of Llandovery, were found many manuscript poems and sermons in the British language, of his own handwriting, that have never yet appeared in print; and as such poems and sermons are (through the indulgence of Ed. M. D. Howorth, Esq., whose property they were) preparing for the press, to succeed the first volume, lately printed at Llandovery aforesaid; We, whose names are hereunto subscribed, do assure the public, that they are authentic, which we can the more confidently affirm, as we have compared them with those already printed; and when the second volume of manuscript-poems appear (*sic*) they will be evidence of themselves sufficiently to prove their being entirely genuine, as the elegance and simplicity of the language contain'd therein, are corroborating circumstances of their authenticity, which are scarce to be found in any other author.

EDW. M. D. HOWORTH.

RICHARD LEWIS, *Clerk.*

JEFFREY GRIFFITHS, *Clerk.*"

The best laid schemes of well-intentioned men go astray. Alas! sometime in the year 1771 Rhys Thomas removed from Llandovery to Cowbridge. He was engaged in printing Walters's *Welsh Dictionary*. Walters lived near Cowbridge, and it was found irksome to send proofs to and fro, so Thomas removed his press to Cowbridge. A part of the dictionary dated March, 1771, was printed at Llandovery as the wrapper shows, but the next part, issued sometime in 1772, is dated from the Cowbridge printing office. A sermon by Wesley, translated into Welsh, was issued from Rhys Thomas's press at Cowbridge, dated 1771.*

* This was probably the first book printed in Glamorgan.

Rhys Thomas took with him to Cowbridge the MSS. of Vicar Prichard. What followed is best told in the words of Mr. William Rees, the Llandovery printer. He says:—

“Rees Thomas took the Vicar’s MSS. to Cowbridge when he removed to that place for greater convenience in printing Walters’s *Welsh Dictionary*, and upon the decease of Rees Thomas, they fell with other papers into the possession of Mr. Walters, and lay unheeded at Mr. Walters’s house for many years, until both he and his son were dead. In 1833 the landlord of the house carted off the whole mass of papers that had from neglect become much decayed, and threw them into a ditch, where they lay rotting unheeded by any except children, who accelerated their decay by searching amongst them for some stray silver coin. And this wholesale destruction of what would have been welcomed with joy by thousands took place only a few months before the publisher of this edition (1841) obtained intelligence of the MSS. having been in the late Mr. Walters’s possession, and the result of a journey he took to Cowbridge in search of these literary treasures was the knowledge of their having been so recently and so shamefully destroyed.”

Rhys Thomas’s good intentions led to the irretrievable loss of the Vicar’s MSS., and deprived Welsh literature of much of the work of one of the most famous authors the Principality has produced.

The few MSS. containing the Vicar’s writing which survived to the present century, have nearly all been lost, as will be shown when dealing with Rees’s edition of 1841.

The scene again shifts to Carmarthen, where in 1776 John Ross printed an edition, to which he attached the preface of Stephen Hughes, first published in 1672. But he did not rely upon Stephen Hughes for his text, preferring to include the doubtful poems of the Shrewsbury editions. He introduced at the end of the volume fourteen poems from the selection of twenty-six made by Griffith Jones, of Llanddowror, first printed in 1758 (list, No. 42).

The connection of John Ross with the printing of Welsh books is well known, though there is no reliable account of him in print. A history of the Welsh Press

and Welsh Printers is much wanted, but the time has not yet come when it can be done satisfactorily.

Two other Carmarthen printers followed Ross in the printing of the book. John Evans in 1798 (Crown 8vo.) and 1807 (Demy 8vo.), the latter with new titlepage being re-issued in 1808. While John Daniel issued an edition in 1807 (foolscap 8vo.).

These editions are fully described in the Appendix, and do not call for any further description; but it may be noted that Evans in 1807 and 1808 begins the title in English, the only instances of this being done. The selections, as printed by Ross, were not inserted by Evans in 1798, but occur in his subsequent issues and also in that of John Daniel.

John Evans followed the text of Rhys Thomas in 1798, but reverted to Ross and the Shrewsbury text for his issue of 1807. John Daniel followed Ross and the Shrewsbury editors.

With 1808 ends the series of issues which began in 1713. For nearly one hundred years the book had been constantly reprinted. Then follows an interval of over thirty years, during which time only translations appeared.

The next move was made by William Rees of Llandovery, the printer of the *Mabinogion*, and of the volumes issued by the Welsh MSS. Society. Latterly, the work of the Rees's as Editors has been called in question to some extent, but there can be no question as to William Rees's ability as a printer or as to his laudable efforts to serve the cause of Welsh literature. And if the scholars of to-day are inclined to criticise the work of fifty years ago, let it be done without harshness, remembering that many opportunities now exist which then were unthought of, and, that in spite of these opportunities, inaccuracies are not unknown to-day in Welsh literature.

The Editors of the 1841 Llandovery edition of *Canwyll y Cymry* went to great trouble to collect information before bringing out the work. A volume now lies before me containing copies of documents, notes, correspondence, biographical data, and other materials relating to the Vicar and his book. It contains all or nearly all the collections on the subject made by Professor Rice Rees and his brother William Rees.

It is worth mentioning that the intention to publish was announced, and the collection of materials commenced, in 1830, eleven years before the book appeared. The first efforts were directed to the recovery of the MSS. removed from Llandovery by Rhys Thomas. Mr. Rees's account of this has already been quoted. Having failed to recover the Vicar's MSS. it was necessary to fall back upon the text of the book as printed by Rhys Thomas.

In the search for information Mr. Rees found a letter to Dr. Oliver Lloyd, "the original of which, in the Vicar's handwriting, is still in being." Later, in 1858, it is stated that the letter was in the library of Mr. Rees at Tonn, Llandovery, and this note is repeated in 1867. The present whereabouts of this letter is unknown. The original is not amongst the Vicar Prichard papers found in the Library at Tonn, to which reference has been made above.

Mr. Rees also found a letter from the Vicar's son, Samuel Prichard, and on the back of it part of a poem in the handwriting of the Vicar. This was, in 1833, the property of the Rev. John Montgomery Traherne, of Coedriglan, near Cardiff. I have inquired, and find that this has gone astray. The present owner of Coedriglan tells me that none of the papers of the Rev. J. M. Traherne are there now, and that he has been unable to trace them.

I mention these two instances because they illustrate how easily valuable documents in private hands are lost

sight of, and too often perish. It is possible that both these letters survive, but I am not hopeful.

The 1841 Llandovery edition contains a valuable introduction, giving an account of the Author, and it is illustrated by a picture of the Vicar's house, now improved beyond recognition. At the end of the introduction is printed a sermon by the Vicar, which is stated to be the only one that Rhys Thomas printed from the MSS. found by him. I cannot find out in what form Rhys Thomas printed it. Mr. Rees says in his notes that it was printed in a magazine published by Rhys Thomas. It was reprinted as a twelve-page tract at Trefecca in 1802.

The name of Professor Rice Rees appears on the title-page as the Editor of this edition, but he died while the work was in progress. The introduction was written by his brother, William Rees, the publisher.

The Llandovery edition appears to have been issued in parts, but I have only seen one number, the first, issued in 1839. It appeared as a volume in 1841 and was re-issued in a cheaper form in 1858, and in 1867, and again about 1887; the last being from the press of Messrs. Hughes & Son, of Wrexham.

TRANSLATIONS OF "CANWYLL Y CYMRŷ."

The first translation into English of the Vicar's work has generally been ascribed to the Rev. William Evans, Vicar of Llawhaden, whose version was first published in 1771. The Rev. Rees Jenkin Jones, of Aberdare, however, recently called my attention to some translations from *Canwyll y Cymry* in the Moravian Hymn Book issued in 1754, under the title *A Collection of Hymns of the Children of God in all ages*. Inquiries revealed a probable solution of this interesting appearance of the Vicar's work. The Rev. John Gambold, born at Pun-

cheston, Pembrokeshire, 1711, a son of Wm. Gambold, the Grammarian, was a prominent Minister with the Moravians and became one of their Bishops. He is known to have been largely responsible for the Hymn Book of 1754, and to have contributed to it original hymns and translations.

Moreover, the writer of the account of John Gambold in the *Dictionary of National Biography* states, "he is said to have translated Rees Prichard's 'Divine Poems' from Welsh into English."

Here we have the clue which explains the appearance of Vicar Prichard in the Moravian Hymn-book. The date of the first printed translations of the Vicar's poems is seventeen years earlier than has been generally accepted.

The Rev. Wm. Evans, whose translation was published in 1771 by John Ross, of Carmarthen, was Vicar of Llawhaden. Rhys Prichard, as Chancellor of St. David's, was Prebendary of Llawhaden. Evans's translation appeared in the same year as Rhys Thomas's amended text, but he has not translated the doubtful poems; he probably used Stephen Hughes' edition of 1681.

Evans's translation was re-issued in 1785 (London) and in 1815 (Merthyr Tydfil).

The third translator, John Bulmer, of Haverfordwest, translated selections of the Vicar's works and published them under the title, *Beauties of the Vicar of Llandoverry, or Light from the Welshman's Candle*. There were two issues, 1821 and 1830, each with a long introduction and notes.

SELECTIONS.

The task of making selections from the *Canwyll y Cymry* was first undertaken by Griffith Jones, of Llan-ddowror, who issued in 1749 a small volume called *Pigion*

Prydyddiaeth Pen-Fardd y Cymry, etc. He gives his reasons for making the selections in the following terms:—

“Owing to the book of Mr. Prichard being too costly for the poor people to buy it, and too large for those who have it to carry with them in their pockets to amuse them in an edifying manner when at work, and that some of these songs were rather long to be learnt by heart, and that the same meaning is found sometimes in several stanzas, I have taken some pains to collect the best poems from the sweetest bunches of grapes found [in the Vicar’s book].”

He goes on to state that the book is intended for the scholars in the Welsh Schools, and that the collection is published at a low price to induce charitable people to present copies to the poor and to children, “on the condition that those who get them shall learn by heart such stanzas as the donor shall select.”

A few years later, in 1758, Griffith Jones brought out another small volume containing selections from the Vicar’s poems, but quite different from that issued in 1749. The selections of 1749 were obviously from printed sources, but those of 1758 were made from the MS. papers of the Vicar, to which Griffith Jones had access, though we are not told in whose possession they were when he used them. He prints in the later volume forty-six poems, not one of which had been printed before, but Rhys Thomas subsequently included one of them, “Crist sydd oll yn oll,” in his editions, and the whole of them are included in the Llandovery edition of 1841, being printed at the end of the volume, except “Crist sydd oll yn oll,” which Professor Rees inserted as a third part to two others bearing the same title, as Rhys Thomas had done. The first issue of this volume was printed in

London by John Oliver, who was Griffith Jones' regular printer. It was re-issued in 1766 by J. Eddowes, of Shrewsbury. It is worth noting that Rhys Thomas makes no mention of this selection; he may not have been aware of it.

A booklet of 16 pages appeared at the beginning of the present century, from the press of Thomas Williams, Dolgelly. I have suggested 1802 as the date, but it is a mere guess.

It contains two poems, "Cofiwch Angau" (Remember Death) and "Cynghor i ddarllain a gwrandd Gair Duw," (An advice to hear and read God's word), in Welsh and English, and was intended for children, to ground them in the principles of the Christian religion. The translation is not that of William Evans, but there is no hint as to the translator.

Two other volumes of selections are recorded. The one, a birthday book, was brought out about 1882, by the Religious Tract Society. The selections were made and the book arranged by "S. C. W. E." but I have failed to find the real name of the editor. The last volume of selections was brought out in 1888 under the editorship of the Rev. Thomas Levi, of Aberystwyth, from the press of Mr. William Jones, of Newport, Monmouthshire.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Sermon by Rhys Prichard, printed by Rhys Thomas and afterwards at Trevecca, has already been mentioned, and is fully described in the appendix.

With regard to the biography of the Vicar, it is extraordinary how little has been written apart from the biographical sketch prefixed to so many editions of his works, and the fuller account given in the Llandovery edition of 1841.

A short sketch was published in 1883 by the Religious Tract Society, written by the Rev. Thomas Levi. It was included in a small volume *Cedyrn Cymru*, and also issued separately.

Brief biographies are also given in the following works:—

Wood's *Athenae Oxoniensis*.

Williams's *Eminent Welshmen*.

Foulkes's *Enwogion Cymru*.

Julian's *Dictionary of Hymnology*.

Dictionary of National Biography.

Encyclopædia Cambrensis.

Enwogion y Ffydd.

Owen Jones's *Cymru*.

Hughes's *Welsh Reformers*.

The writer for Julian's *Dictionary of Hymnology* has made a sad muddle of the Vicar's name, for he calls him "Vicard Prichard, M.A., a younger brother of Rhys Prichard"!

The following periodicals contain essays on the Vicar:—

Trysorfa Ysprydol, December, 1801. "Hanes y Parchedig Rhys Prichard" [by Thomas Charles].

Seren Gomer, December, 1825. "Hanes y Parchedig Rees Prichard," by S. Samoth [*i.e.*, S. Thomas].

Y Gwladgarwr, May, 1840. "Cofiant y Parch. Rhys Prichard."

Y Traethodydd, April, 1846. "Oriau Gyda hen Ficer Llanymddyfri" [by Roger Edwards, of Mold].

Yr Adolygydd, March, 1851. "Stephen Hughes a'i Amserau" [? by "Ieuan Gwynedd," Evan Jones].

Tarian y Gweithiwr, about 1877. "Enwogion Sir Gaerfyrddin," by "Dafydd Morganwg", D. W. Jones.

Y Traethodydd, March, 1893. "Y Ficer Pritchard (*sic*), Beibl 1630, a 'Charwr y Cymry'," by Ivor James.
Cymru, October, 1898. "Awdwr Canwyll y Cymry," by W. Tibbott.

I have not attempted to collate the references to the Vicar in such books as Rees' *History of Nonconformity in Wales*. Nearly all deal with him more or less. It is worth noting, however, that the Vicar is one of the characters in the well-known Welsh romance, *Twm Shon Catti*.

Such is the story of what has been in the past, next to the Bible, the most popular book in Wales. It is possible that the points which are left open may yet be decided, especially as to the lost first part, ascribed to 1646, and the sermon published by Rhys Thomas and reprinted at Trevecca. I think, too, that the songs may have been issued as broadsides, or chap books, in the 17th century, possibly during the Vicar's lifetime, and there may yet turn up some publication which has not so far come to my notice.

But, for the present, I have told all that is known to me and to the ardent and generous book-lovers, who have placed their copies and their knowledge so unreservedly at my disposal. I offer a word of cordial thanks to them for their courtesy during the three years or more that the facts for this paper have taken to collect. One learned book-lover, the Rev. Owen Jones, B.A., has gone to his rest. This study of the old Vicar's book owes much to him and to his accurate knowledge of Welsh bibliography. He wrote me a brief note only a few days before his death.

The great Vicar lies in a nameless grave. His poems, as I have tried to show in this essay, have kept their charm for the Welsh people for a period of over two hundred and fifty years.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

No. 1.—1617.

y | Catechism | nev athrawi | aeth Grist-ianogaul,
rhwn | y mae pob plentyn y ddys | eu, cyn iddo ef gael y
vedydd | Episcob: neu y dderbyn | yr Cummûn ben- |
digedig. | Imprinted at London. M.DC. xvii.

Collation.

Catechism=Title Page + 1 to 12.

Gras cyn cinnaw, &c.=4 pp.

Cyngor Episcob y bob enaid oddi vewn y Episcobeth, 14 pp.

Whole book is 41 pp.

The last portion, *i.e.*, Cyngor Episcob, is a song by Vicar P. (though his name is not given), and begins "Fanwyl blentyn dere nes."

No. 2.—1646. Part I.

Recorded in Rowlands's "Cambrian Bibliography," as two parts. Otherwise unknown.

No. 3.—1659, 8vo. Part II.

Rhan o waith | Mr Rees Prichard | Gynt Ficcâr
Llanddyfri yn Shir Gaer-fyr- | ddyn, a osodwyd allan
er Daioni'r | Cymru. | Some part of the works | of | Mr
Rees Prichard | Sometimes Vicker of Llandyfri in the
County | of Carmarthen | Joan 5. 35. Psal. 102. 18. |
Printiedig yn Llundain | ag a werthir gan Thomas
Brewster, tan | lun y tri Bibl yn | ymmyl Pauls. 1659.

Collation.

Sig. A 1, Blank.

„ A 2, Title.

„ A 3-6 verso, “Y Rhag-ymadrodd at y Cymru,” signed “S. H.,” dated “y pedwarydd dydd o fis Mawrth 1657.”

„ A 7, List of Welsh Books sold by T. Brewster.

„ A 7 verso, and A 8 recto, “Y Llythyr,” etc.

P. 1, Sig. B 1, “O cais gwr.” The poems end p. 157, the last piece is “Gwell Duw na dim,” beginning “Os tad os mam, os mab os ferch.”

Pp. 158-9, Index of Contents.

Pp. 160 (last), “Att y Darlleydd,” signed “H. M.”

NOTE.—The address to the reader says this is the *third* time the book has been printed.

No. 4.—1659 or later, 8vo. Part II.

Same as No. 3. No complete copy known. The address to the reader on p. 160 says this is the *fourth* time the book has been printed.

No. 5.—1670, Crown 8vo. Part III.

Y Drydedd Ran o waith Mr. Rees Prichard, gynt Ficar Llanymddyfri yn Sir Gaerfyrddin, gŷda Llythyr at Plwyfolygon Lladdyfri, Llanfair ar Brin, a Llanedi yn sir Gaerfyrddin, a Llythyr at y Cymru a ddarllenant y Llyfr hwn, ynghyd ag Ymholiad beunyddiol o waith Usher, a'r lleill o waith S. Bernard. Llundain.

[Title copied from Rowlands's “Llyfryddiaeth.”]

Collation.

Copy begins Sig. A 2, “At Plwyfolygon Llanddyfri, Llan-fair ar Brin a Llanedi yn Shir Gaer-fyrddyn,” signed “S. H.” 8½ pp.

Sig. a 2, “Llythyr at y Cymru a ddarllenant y llyfr hwn,” signed “S. H.” 5½ pp.

P. 1 (Sig. B.), Text begins with “Genedigaeth, bywyd,” etc.

No. 6.—1672, Crown 8vo.

Gwaith | Mr. Rees Prichard, | Gynt Ficer Llanddyfri
yn Shîr Gaer- | fyrddyn : A brintwyd or blaen mewn | tri

Llyfr, wedi gyssylltu oll a chwbl (er | nid yn yr vn drefn a chynt) ynghyd â | Phedwaredd Ran, y nawr gynta yn | brintiedig. | The Works of Mr. Rees Prichard, sometimes Vi- | car of Llandovery in Carmarthenshire: Printed | before in three Books, but now printed together | as one Book, though not in the same order as | formerly (for a reason given in the Preface); | with an Addition in many things out of Manu- | scripts, not seen before by the Publisher; besides | a fourth Part now the first time imprinted. | To be sold in Wales for 3s. 6d. bound. | Deut. 31. 19 21. Scrifemwch yr awron i chwi y gân hon; | dysc hi hefyd i feibion Israel; a gosod hi yn eu genau | hwynt, fel y byddo y gân hon yn dyst i mi yn erbyn meibion | Israel: canys nid anghofir hi o enau ei hâd ef. | Calvin in Isai. 5. 1. Res insignes & præclaræ Carmine de- | scribi solebant, Ut omnium ore circumferentur, & perpe- | tuum extaret earum monumentum: Sic enim celebrior fit | doctrina, quam si simplicius traderetur. | London, | Printed by J. Darby, viz. one third Part, and the fourth | (now first printed) for Samuel Gelibrand at the Golden | Ball in St. Pauls Church-yard, 1672.

Collation.

Sig. A 1, Title. Verso Blank.

„ A 2, “Ir parchedig Dr. William Thomas,” etc., signed “Stephen Hughes.” 25 pp.

“Y Rhagymadrodd at y Darllenydd,” signed “Stephen Hughes.” 13 pp.

“Tabl” [of contents]. 4 pp.

“At y Darllenwr,” signed “S. H.,” and “Llythyr yr Awdwr at ryw Eglwyswr,” etc. 4 pp.

Sig. B., Text. Pp. 1—592 + 2 + 25 + 13 + 4 + 4 = 640.

NOTE.—Pp. 273—287 contain an address, “At y Darllenydd,” signed “S. H.”

Pp. 491—500 contain “Ymholiad beunyddiol o waith . . . Jaco Usher,” etc.

Pp. 500—509 contain “Diharebion cymraeg . . . allan o Ddictionary Doctor Davies.”

P. 511 is a separate title to the 4th part, thus :—Y Pedwarydd Ran | O Waith | Mr. Rees Prichard, | Gynt Ficcwr Llanddyfri yn Shîr | Gaerfyrddyn : | Y nawr gynta yn Brintiedig. | A Fourth Part of the Works of Mr. Rees | Prichard, formerly Vicar of Landoverly | in the County of Carmarthen, now the | first time imprinted. | Printiedig yn Llundain gan J. D. dros | Samuel Gellibrand tan Lûn y Bêl aur | ym monwent Powls, 1672.

P. 592 contains “Tabl y Bedwarydd Ran.”

No. 7.—1681, Crown 8vo.

Canwyll y Cymru : sef, gwaith Mr. Rees Prichard, gynt, Ficcwr Llanddyfri. A brintiwyd o'r blaen yn bedair rhan, wedi ei cyssylltu oll ynghyd yn vn Llyfr. The Divine Poems of Mr. Rees Prichard, sometimes Vicar of Landoverly, in Carmarthen Shire. Whereunto is added the Strange but True Narrative of the Chief Things, spoken and acted, by an unclean Spirit at Mascon. Translated out of French into English by Dr. Peter Du Moulin upon the desire of the Hon. Robert Boyle, Esquire, and now done into Welsh, by S. Hughes, of Swansea. London, Printed by Tho. Dawkes, his Majesties British Printer. Sold by Enoch Prosser, at the Rose and Crown in Sweeting Rents, at the East End of the Royal Exchange, 1681. The Price, bound, 2s. 6d.

Collation.

Sig. A, Title. Verso Blank.

Preface. 4 pp.

“Llythyr yr Awdwr,” etc. 1 p.

“Llythyr Arall,” etc. 1 p.

Sig. B. Text begins with “Cynghor i wrando,” etc. Pp. 1-456.

Pp. 10-16, “Hil Frutus.”

Pp. 457-468, “Dav Gymro yn taring,” etc.

Separate Title, thus :—A droddiad Cywir, | o'r | Pethau pennaf, ar a wnaeth, ac a ddwedodd | Yspryd Aflan, | yn | Mascon yn

Burgundy ; | Yn Nhŷ un | Mr. Francis Pereaud, | Gweinidog Eglwys y Protestaniaid | yn y Dref honno : | A Ossodwyd allan yn Frangaeg gantho ef ei hun ; a chwedi hynny | yn Saesoneg, gan un ac oedd a gwybodaeth neilltuol ynghyleh | y Stori hon : | Ac yn awr wedi ei gyfieithu yn Gymraeg, gan S.II. o | Abertawe. | Ai Brintio yn Llundain gan T.S. yn y flwyddyn 1681. |

Collation of "Adroddiad Cywir."

P. 1, Title.

Pp. 2-3, "I'm Parchedig . . . Peter Du Moulin," signed "Robert Boyle."

Pp. 4-7, "Ir Anrhydeddus . . . Robert Boyle," signed "Peter Du Moulin."

Pp. 8-15, "Llythyr at y Darllenwyr," signed "Stephen Hughes."

P. 16, Blank.

Pp. 17-44, "Adroddiad Cywir," etc.

Pp. 45-48, "Angwhanegiad Cyfieithydd y Llyfr o'r iaith ffrangeg ir Saesneg."

Pp. 48-49, "Canmoliaeth yr Awdwr," etc.

Pp. 50-52, "Llythyr at y Darllenwr," signed "Stephen Hughes, y 6 Dydd o Fis Rhagfyr 1680."

No. 8.—1696, Crown 8vo.

Canwyll y Cymru : | sef, | Gwaith | Mr. Rees Prichard, | gynt | Ficcwr Llanddyfri, | A brintwyd or blaen yn bedair rhan, wedi ei cyssylltu | oll ynghyd yn un Llyfr. | The Divine Poems | of | Mr. Rees Prichard, | Sometimes Vicar of Landoverey in Carmarthenshire. | London, | Printed by J. Moxon and B. Beardwell for D. Jones, | in the Year, MDCXCVI.

Collation.

Sig. B 1, Title. Verso Blank.

Sig. B 2, "Llythyr yr Awdwr at ryw Arglwydd," etc. 1 p.

" " Verso, "Llythyr arall at y Darllenwr," etc. 1 p.

Sig. B 3, Text begins with "Cynghor i wrando," etc. Pp. 1-10.

Pp. 10-16, "Hil Frutus."

Pp. 16-20, "Truenus gyflwr dyn," etc.

Pp. 83-88, "Cynghorau Duwiol. F'anwyl blentyn, dere nes."

P. 222, "Gweddi cyn derbyn y cymmum. Arglwydd grasol, rhwn y roddaist."

P. 454 [*sic* 466], "Finis."

Sig. Hh 4, "Dangosiad ym-ha ddalen y caer pôb cân," etc. pp.

Pp. 460 [*sic* 472-3], "Sail y Grefydd Gristianogol," etc.

Pp. 461-3 [*sic* 473-5], "A.B.C.," etc.

Last page (476), Blank.

Total Pp., 2 + 476 = 478.

NOTE.—Pp. 467-454 [*sic* 457-466] contain "Y Bummed Ran o waith Ficcwr Llan-ynddyfry ynglych Caersalem Newydd."

P. 460 is followed by p. "449," which is a repetition, word for word, of 460; the verso of "449," sig. Hh, then follows correctly.

No. 9.—1713, 12mo.

Canwyll y Cymru : | sef, | Gwaith | Mr. Rees Prichard, | gynt Ficcwr Llanddyfri. | A brintwyd or blaen yn bedair rhan, wedi ei | cyssylltu oll ynghyd yn un Llyfr. | The Divine Poems | of | Mr. Rees Prichard, | Sometimes Vicar of Landoverey in Carmarthenshire. | Y Pedwerydd Argraphiad. | Argraphwyd yn y Mwythig ac ar werth yno Gan | Thomas Durston, am 2s. y Llyfr wedi en Beindio.

NOTE.—Only known from titlepage bound in a copy of No. 10, with which this is probably identical, except as to title.

No. 10.—1714, 12mo.

Canwyll y Cymru ; | sef, | Gwaith | Mr. Rees Prichard, | gynt Ficcwr Llanddyfri. | A brintwyd or blaen yn bum rhan, wedi ei | cyssylltu oll ynghyd yn un Llyfr. | The Divine Poems | of | Mr. Rees Prichard, | Sometimes Vicar of Landoverey in Carmarthenshire. | Y Pummed Argraphiad gyda'r ymchwaniad helaeth. | Argraphwyd yn y Mwythig ac ar werth yno Gan | Thomas Durston yn y Flwyddyn 1714.

Collation.

Sig. A 1, Title. Verso Blank.

Sig. A 2, "I'r Parchedig a'r Anrhydeddus John Vaughan," etc., signed "John Rhydderch." 2 pp.

Sig. A 3, "Y Rhag-Ymadrodd," signed "John Rhydderch." 1½ pp.

- Sig. A 3, verso, "An Account of the Reverend Mr. Rees Prichard," etc., ends Sig. A 4, verso.
- Sig. B. 1, Titlepage of fourth edition (1713), verso blank.
- Sig. B. 2, "Llythyr yr Awdwr," etc. 1 p.
 „ Verso, "Llythyr arall," etc. 1 p.
- Sig. B 3, Text begins with "Cyngor i wrando," pp. 1-460.
 Pp. 10-16, "Hil Frutus."
 Pp. 16-20, "Truenus gyflwr dyn," etc.
 P. 276, Date in stanza, 1713.
 P. 460, "Diwedd."
- Sig. Hh, "Danghosiad ym-ha ddalen y ceir pob cân," etc. 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ pp.
 „ Hh 3, "Sail y Grefydd Gristianogol," etc. 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ pp.
 „ Hh 4, "A.B.C." etc. 2 pp.
 „ A 1, "Dwyfolder," etc. 21 $\frac{1}{2}$ pp.
 „ B 3, verso, Advertisements. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ pp.

NOTE.—"Dwyfolder Gymmunol" has a separate title thus:—
 Dwyfolder Gymmunol | neu | Ddefosiwnau | Sacrament-
 aidd | Sef | Amryw o weddiau am wir | ymbaratoad i'r
 Cym- | mun Sanctaidd ac eraill | ar ei dderbyniad yng- |
 hyd a Diolchgarwch | Gymhesur i'w harferu ar | ei ol. |
 A Gyfieithwyd o'r Saesnaeg i'r Gymraeg gan | John
 Rhyddereh er Ileshâd y Cymru. | Argraphwyd yn y
 Mwythig gan Tho. Durston.

No. 11.—[Circa 1715], 12mo.

Canwyll y Cymru, | sef | Gwaith | Mr. Rees Prichard, |
 gynt Ficcwr Llanddyfri. | A brintiwydd or blaen yn bum
 rhan, wedi ei cyssylltu oll ynghyd | yn un Llyfr. | The
 Divine Poems | of | Mr. Rees Prichard, | Sometimes Vicar
 of Llandovery in Carmarthenshire. | Y Chweched Argraph-
 iad gyda'r ymchwanegiad helaeth. | Argraphwyd yn y
 Mwythig gan Thomas Durston, lle y gellir chael | Printio
 pob math ar Copiau am bris gweddaidd, a chael | ar werth
 amryw Llyfrau Cymraeg a Saesnaeg.

Collation.

Sig. A 1, Title. Verso Blank.

Sig. A 2, "I'r Parchedig . . John Vaughan," etc., signed "T. D."
 2 pp.

"Y Rhag-Ymadrodd," signed "T. D." 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ pp.

"An Account of . . Rees Prichard," etc. 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ pp.

Sig. B, "Llythyr yr Awdwr," etc. 1 p.

Verso, "Llythyr arall," etc. 1 p.

Sig. B 3, Text begins with "Cyngor i wrando," etc. Pp. 1-460.

Pp. 10-16, "Hil Brutus."

P. 276, Date in stanza, 1713.

Sig. Ih, Pp. 461-465, "Danghosiad ym-ha ddalen y ceir pob cân," etc.

Pp. 465-466, "Sail y Grefydd Gristianogol," etc.

Sig. Hh 4, Pp. 467-468, "A. B. C."

"Dwyfolder Gymmunol." 21½ pp.

"Llyfrau Cynraeg . . . ar werth," etc. 1½ pp.

"Advertisements." 1 p.

Total pp., 10 + 460 + 8 + 21½ + 1½ + 1 = 502.

No. 12.—[*Circa* 1720], 12mo.

Canwyll y Cymru ; | sef | Gwaith | Mr. Rees Prichard, |
 gynt Ficcwr Llandlyftri. | A brintiwydd or blaen yn bum
 rhan, wedi ei | cyssylltu oll ynghyd yn un Llyfr. | The
 Divine Poems | of | Mr. Rees Prichard, | Sometimes Vicar
 of Llandovery in Carmarthenshire. | Y Chweched Argraph-
 iad gyda ymchwanegiad helaeth. | Argraphwyd yn y
 Mwythig gan Thomas Durston, lle y | gellir chael Printio
 pob math ar Copiau am bris | gweddaidd, a chael ar werth
 amryw Llyfrau Cym- | raeg a Saesnaeg.

Collation.

Sig. A 1, Title. Verso Blank.

Sig. A 2, "Y Rhag-Ymadrodd," signed, "T. D." 1½ pp.

„ "An Account of the Reverend Mr. Rees Prichard," etc.

2½ pp.

Sig. A 4, "Llythyr yr Awdwr." 1 p.

„ „ Verso, "Llythyr arall," etc. 1 p.

Sig. A 5, Text begins with "Cyngor i wrando," etc. Pp. 1-460.

Pp. 10-16, "Hil Brutus."

P. 276, Date in stanza, 1713.

Pp. 461-465, "danghosiad," etc.

Pp. 465-466, "Sail y grefydd Gristianogol," etc.

P. 467, "A. B. C."

P. 468, "Dwyfolder Gymmunol," etc.

P. 469. 2nd page of "A. B. C." [wrongly imposed].
 P. 470-493, "Dwyfoder Gymmunol," etc. [continued].
 "Llyfrau Cymraeg heblaw'r' Llyfr hwnyn," etc. 2 pp.
 Last page, Blank.

Total pp., 8 + 460 + 36 = 504.

No. 13.—1721, Crown 8vo.

Canwyll y Cymru, | sef, | Gwaith | Mr. Rees Prichard, |
 gynt Ficcwr Llanddyfri, | Yn bum Rhan. | The Divine |
 Poems | of | Mr. Rees Prichard, | Sometimes Vicar of
 Landoverly in Carmarthenshire. | Argraphwyd yn y Mwy-
 thig gan John Rogers. | MDCCLXXI.

Collation.

Sig. A 1, Title. Verso Blank.

Sig. A 2, "To the Right Reverend Father in God, Adam," signed
 "J. Rogers." 4 pp.

"Llythyr yr Awdwr," etc. 1 p.

Verso, "Llythyr arall," etc. 1 p.

Sig. B, Text begins with "Cyngor i wrando," etc. Pp. 1-481 [*sic* 471].
 P. 276, Date in stanza, 1620.

Pp. 482-486 (not paged) [*sic* 472-476]. "Dangosiad," etc.

Pp. 487-484 [*sic* 477-478], "A. B. C."

Appended to one copy is a catechism, with a separate title, thus:—

A Sacrament	Sacrament
Catechism,	Catechism
or, a	neu
Catechism	Catechism
Preparatory to the receiving	i barattoi rhai i dderbŷn
of the Sacrament of the	Sacrament
Lord's Supper, etc.	Swpper yr Arglwydd, etc.

For the Use of the Parish of Chirk, whose inhabitants are partly
 Welsh and partly English. | By R. R., A. M. and Vicar of the
 said Parish of Chirk. | Printed for the Author 1720. | 40 pp.
 Imperfect.

No. 14.—1724, Crown 8vo.

Canwyll y Cymru | sef, | Gwaith | Mr. Rees Prichard, |
 gynt Ficcwr Llanddyfri, | Yn bum Rhan. | The Divine |

Poems | of | Mr. Rees Prichard, | Sometimes Vicar of
Landoverly in Carmarthenshire. | Argraphwyd yn y Mwy-
thig gan John Roger. | MDCCXXIV.

Collation.

Sig. A 1, Title. Verso Blank.

Sig. A 2, "Llythyr yr Awdwr," etc.

Verso, "Llythyr arall," etc.

Sig. A 3, Text begins with "Cyngor i wrando," etc. Pp. 5-484.

Pp. 15-21, "Hil Frutus."

P. 290, Date in stanza, 1620.

P. 485, Blank.

Pp. 486-490 (not paged), "Dangosiad," etc. Woodcut at end.

No. 15.—[1725], 12mo.

Canwyll y Cymru : | sef, | Gwaith | Mr. Rees Prichard, |
gynt Ficerer Llanddyfri, | Wedi ei Argraphu ynghyd yn
Chwe Rhann, yn fwy | cyflawnach a helaethach nag un
Argraphiad a fu allan | erioed o'r blaen, a chwedi ei fanwl
chwilio ai ddiwy- | gio'n ofalus o amryw feiau a changym-
meriadau anafus | gan John Rhydderch. | The Divine
Poems | of | Mr. Rees Prichard, | Sometime Vicar of Llan-
dovery in Carmarthenshire. | Y Seithfed Argraphiad gyda
ymchwaniad helaeth. | Argraphwyd yn y Mwythig gan
Thomas Durston, lle y | gellir cael Printio pob math ar
Gopiau am bris | gweddaidd, a chael ar werth amryw
Lyfrau Cym- | raeg a Saesnaeg.

Collation.

Sig. A 1, Title. Verso Blank.

Sig. A 2, "Y Rhag-Ymmadrodd." 1¼ pp.

"Hanes Rhys Prichard," etc. 2¼ pp.

Sig. A. 4, "Llythyr yr Awdwr," etc. 1 p.

Verso, "Llythyr arall," etc. 1 p.

Sig. A 5, Text begins with "Cyngor i wrando," etc. Pp. 1-488.

Pp. 10-16, "Hil Brutus."

P. 276, Date in stanza, 1725.

Pp. 488-500, "Dau Gymro," etc.

Pp. 501-504 (not paged), "Danghosiad," etc.

P. 504, "Rhybudd."

Sig. Kk, Pp. 505-510 (not paged), "Y Caniadau canlynol," etc.

Total pp., $8 + 500 + 4 + 5 = 518$.

No. 16.—[*Circa* 1730], Crown 8vo.

Canwyll y Cymru; | sef | Gwaith | Mr. Rees Prichard, |
 gynt Ficcwr Llanddyfri. | Wedi ei Argraphu ynghyd yn
 Chwe Rhann, yn | llofnach a helaethach nag un Argraphi-
 ad a fu | allan erioed o'r blaen, a chwedi ei fanwl chwilio, |
 ai ddiwygio yn ofalus o amryw Feiau a Cham- | gymmeria-
 dau anafus, gan J.H. | The Divine Poems | of | Mr. Rees
 Prichard, | Sometime Vicar of Llandovery in Carmarthen-
 shire. | Yr Wythfed Argraphiad gydag ywechwanegiad
 helaeth | Argraphwyd yn y Mwythig gan Thomas Durston, |
 lle y gellir cael Brintio pob math ar Gopiau am | bris
 gweddaidd, a chael ar werth amryw Lyfrau | Cymraeg a
 Saesnaeg.

Collation.

Sig. A 1, Title. Verso Blank.

Sig. A 2, "Y Rbag-Ymadrodd," signed "T. D." $1\frac{1}{2}$ pp.

"Hanes . . Rhys Prichard," etc. $2\frac{1}{2}$ pp., with woodcut as tail-piece.

Sig. A 4, "Llythyr yr Awdwr." 1 p.

Verso, "Llythyr arall," etc. 1 p.

Sig. A 5, Text begins with "Cyngor i wrando," etc. Pp. 1-489.

P. 275, Date in stanza, 1725.

Pp. 490-499, "Dau Gymro," etc.

Pp. 500-503 (not paged), "Danghosiad," etc.

P. 504 (not paged), "Y Llyfrau sy'n canlyn," etc.

Total pp., $8 + 504 = 512$.

No. 17.—[*Circa* 1735], Crown 8vo.

Canwyll y Cymru; | sef | Gwaith | Mr. Rees Prichard, |
 gynt Ficcwr Llanddyfri. | Wedi ei argraphu ynghyd yn
 Chwe Rhann, yn | llofnach a helaethach nag un Argraphiad
 a fu | allan erioed o'r blaen, a chwedi ei fanwl chwilio, | ai

ddiwygio yn ofalus o amryw Feiau a Cham- | gymmeriadau
 anafus, gan J.H. | The Divine Poems | of | Mr. Rees
 Prichard, | Sometime Vicar of Llandovery in Carmarthen-
 shire. | Yr Wythfed Argraphiad gydag ymchwanegiad
 helaeth. | Argraphwyd yn y Mwythig gan Thomas
 Durston, | lle y gellir cael Printio pob math ar Gopiau am |
 bris gweddaidd, a chael ar werth amryw Lyfrau | Cymraeg
 a Saesnaeg.

Collation.

Sig. A 1, Title. Verso Blank.

Sig. A 2, "Y Rhag-Ymadrodd," signed "T.D." 1½ pp.

"Hanes . . Rhys Prichard," etc. 2½ pp. with woodcut as tail-
 piece.

Sig. A 4, "Llythyr yr Awdwr," etc. 1 p.

Verso, "Llythyr arall," etc. 1 p.

Sig. A 5, Text begins with "Cyngor i wrando," etc. Pp. 1-489.

P. 275, Date in stanza, 1725.

Pp. 490-499, "Dau Gymro," etc.

Pp. 500-503 (not paged), "Danghosiad," etc.

P. 504 (not paged), "Y Llyfrau sy'n canlyn," etc.

Total pp., 8 + 504 = 512.

No. 18.—[*Circa* 1745], 12mo.

Canwyll y Cymru ; | sef, | Gwaith | Mr. Rees Prichard, |
 gynt Ficcer Llanddyfri. | Wedi ei Argraphu ynghyd yn
 Chwe Rham, yn llownach | a helaethach nag un Argraphi-
 iad a fu allan erioed o'r | blaen, a chwedi ei fanwl chwilio,
 ai ddiwygio yn | ofalus o amryw Feiau a Chamgymmeriadau
 anafus, | gan J.H. | The Divine Poems | of | Mr. Rees
 Prichard, | Sometime Vicar of Llandovery in Carmarthen-
 shire. | Yr Nawfed Argraphiad gydag ymchwanegiad
 helaeth. | Argraphwyd yn y Mwythig gan Thomas
 Durston, lle y | gellir cael Brintio pob math ar Gopiau am
 bris gwedd- | aidd, a chael ar werth amryw Lyfrau Cymraeg
 a | Saesneg.

Collation.

Sig. A 1, Title. Verso Blank.

Sig. A 2, "Y Rhag-Ymadrodd," signed "T.D." 1½ pp.

"Hanes . . Rhys Prichard," etc. 2½ pp., with woodcut as tail-piece.

Sig. A 4, "Llythyr yr Awdwr," etc. 1 p.

Verso, "Llythyr arall," etc. 1 p.

Sig. A 5, Text begins with "Cyngor i wrando," etc. Pp. 1-489.

P. 275, Date in stanza, 1725.

Pp. 490-499 (not paged after 490), "Ddau Gymro," etc.

Pp. 500-503 (not paged), "Danghosiad," etc.

P. 504 (not paged). [List of books.]

Total pp., 8 + 504 = 512.

No. 19.—[Circa 1750], 12mo.

Canwyll y Cymru; | sef, | Gwaith | Mr. Rees Prichard, |
 gynt Ficcer Llanddyfri. | Wedi ei Argraphu ynghyd yn
 Chwe Rhann, yn lllownach | a helaethach nag un Argraphiad
 a fu allan erioed o'r | blaen, a chwedi ei fanwl chwilio, ai
 ddiwygio yn | ofalus o amryw Feiau a Chamgymmeriadau
 anafus, | gan J.H. | The Divine Poems | of | Mr. Rees
 Prichard, | Sometime Vicar of Llandovery in Carmarthen-
 shire. | Yr Degfed Argraphiad gydag ymchwanegiad
 helaeth. | Argraphwyd yn y Mwythig gan Thomas
 Durston, lle y | gellir cael Brintio pob math ar Gopiau am
 bris gwedd- | aidd, a chael ar werth amryw Lyfrau yn
 Gymraeg a | Saesnaeg.

Collation.

Sig. A 1, Title. Verso Blank.

Sig. A 2, "Y Rhag-Ymadrodd," signed "T.D." 1½ pp.

"Hanes y Parchedig Mr. Rhys Prichard," etc. 2½ pp.

Sig. A 4, "Llythyr yr Awdwr," etc. 1 p.

Verso, "Llythyr arall," etc. 1 p.

Sig. A 5, Text begins with "Cyngor i wrando," etc. Pp. 1-489.

P. 275, Date in stanza, 1725.

Pp. 490-500 (not paged), "Ddau Gymro," etc.

P. 500 (half page), "Y Llyfrau a Argraphwyd," etc.

Pp. 501-504 (not paged), "Danghosiad," etc.

Total pp., 8 + 489 + 15 = 512.

No. 20.—1752, 12mo.

Canwyll y Cymru ; | sef, | Gwaith | Mr. Rees Prichard, | Gynt Ficer Llanddyfri, | Yn Chwech Rhan. | The Divine Poems, | of Mr. Rees Prichard, | Late Vicar of Landoverly, in Carmarthenshire. | Caerfyrddin : | Argraphwyd yn y Flwyddyn, MDCCLII.

Collation.

Sig. A 1, Title. Verso Blank.

Sig. A 2, "Dangosiad," etc. 5 pp.

Pp. 8-9, "A.B.C."

P. 10, Blank.

P. 11, "Llythyr yr Awdwr," etc.

P. 12, "Llythyr Arall," etc.

Sig. B, Text begins with "Cyngor i wrando," etc. Pp. 1-561 [*sic* 562].

P. 324, Date in stanza, 1620.

Total pp., 12 + 562 = 574.

No. 21.—[*Circa* 1755], Crown 8vo.

Canwyll y Cymru ; | sef, | Gwaith | Mr. Rees Prichard gynt Ficer | Llanddyfri. | Wedi ei Argraphu ynghyd yn Chwe Rhann, yn | llofnach a helaethach nag un Argraphiad a fu | allan erioed o'r blaen, a chwedi ei fenwl chwilio, | ai ddiwygio yn ofalus o amryw Feiau a cham- | gymmeriadau anafus, gan J.H. | The | Divine Poems | of | Mr. Rees Prichard, | Sometime Vicar of Landoverly in Carmarthenshire. | Yr Wythfed Argraphiad gydag ymchwanegiadau helaeth. | Argraphwyd yn y Mwythig gan Richard Lathrop. Lle | y gellir, cael Brintio pob math ar Gopiau am | bris gweddaidd, a chael ar werth amryw Lyfrau | Cymraeg a Saesonaeg.

Collation.

Sig. A 1, Title. Verso Blank.

Sig. A 2, "Y Rhag-Ymadrodd," signed "T.D." 1½ pp.

"Hanes . . Rhys Prichard," etc. 2¾ pp., with woodcut as tail-piece.

Sig. A 4, "Llythyr yr Awdwr," etc. 1 p.

Verso, "Llythyr arall," etc. 1 p.

Sig. A 5, "Text begins with "Cyngor i Wrando," etc. Pp. 1-494
[sic 492], with woodcut as tail-piece.

P. 275, Date in stanza, 1725.

Pp. 491 [sic 493]-503, "Dau Gymro," etc. Woodcut as tail-piece to
p. 503.

Pp. 504-508 (not paged), "Danghosiad," etc. Woodcut as tail-piece
to p. 508.

Total pp., 8+508=516.

No. 22.—1766, 12mo.

Canwyll y Cymru ; | sef, | Gwaith | Mr. Rees Prichard, |
Gynt Ficer Llanddyfri. | Wedi ei Argraphu ynghyd yn
Chwe Rhan, a chwedi | ei fanwl chwilio, a'i ddiwygio yn
ofalus o amryw | Feiau a Chamgymeriadau anafus. | The
Divine Poems | of | Mr. Rees Prichard, | Sometime Vicar
of Llandovery in Carmarthenshire. | Y trydydd Argraphiad
a'r Ddeg, at ba un y chwanegir | y seithfed ran i'r sawl
a'i Dymuno. | Argraphwyd yn y Mwythig gan Stafford
Prys, | lle y gellir cael Brintio pob math ar Gopiau am
bris | gweddaidd, a chael ar werth amryw Lyfrau
Cymraeg | a Saesnaeg, 1766.

Collation.

Sig. A 1, Title. Verso Blank.

Sig. A 2, "Y Rhag-Ymadrodd," signed "S.P." 1½ pp.

"Hanes . . Rhys Prichard," etc. 2¾ pp.

Sig. A 4, "Llythyr yr Awdwr," etc. 1 p.

Verso, "Llythyr arall," etc. 1 p.

Sig. B, Text begins with "Cyngor i wrando," etc. Pp. 1-454.

P. 251, Date in stanza, 1765.

Pp. 455-465 (not paged), "Ddau Gymro," etc.

Pp. 466-469 (not paged), "Danghosiad," etc.

P. 470 (not paged), "Y Llyfrau Cymraeg," etc.

Total pp., 8+470=478.

No. 23.—1770, Crown 8vo.

Y | Seren Foreu, | neu | Ganwyll y Cymry. | Gan Rhys
Pritchard A.M. gynt | Ficar Llanymddyfri. | At yr hwn
y | Chwanegwyd, | Ynghylch 351 | o | Benillion, | a |
gymerwyd allan | o | Scrifen-Law yr Awdwr ei hun | pa
rai | Nas Cyhoeddwyd yn un | o'r | Argraphiadau
Cyntaf. | A gyhoeddwyd, ac a Argraphwyd yn Llan-
ymddyfri | gan Rhys Tomas, (Pris 3s. 6d. bound.) |
MDCCLXX.

Collation.

Sig. a 1, Title. Verso Blank.

Sig. a 2, "Egwyddor i'r Anllythrennog," etc. 1 p.

Pp. 4-7 (not paged), "Yr Argraphydd at y Darllenydd."

P. 8 (not paged), "Fy Nghyd-Wladwyr," etc.

Sig. b, pp. i—ii, "Hanes . . Rhys Pritchard," etc.

Sig. b, pp. iii—vi, "Cyngor i'r Llyfr," signed "Stephen Hughes."

P. vii, "Llythyr yr Awdwr," etc.

P. viii, "Llythyr arall," etc.

Sig. A, Text begins with "Annerchiad i'r Bruttaniaid," etc. Pp. 1-532.

P. 334, Date in stanza, 1620.

Pp. 533-536 (not paged), "Tabl i gael un rhyw Gân," etc.

Total pp., 16 + 536 = 552.

No. 24.—1770, Crown 8vo. [2nd issue].

Y | Seren Foreu, | neu | Ganwyll y Cymry. | Gan Rhys
Pritchard A.M. gynt | Ficar Llanymddyfri. | At yr hwn
y | Chwanegwyd, | Ynghylch 359 | o | Benillion, | a
Gymerwyd allan | o | Scrifen-Law yr Awdwr ei hun, | pa
rai | Nas cyhoeddwyd yn un | o'r | Argraphiadau
Cyntaf. | A gyhoeddwyd, ac a Argraphwyd yn Llan-
ymddyfri | gan Rhys Tomas, (Pris 3s. 6d. bound.) |
MDCCLXX.

Collation.

Sig. a 1, Title. Verso Blank.

Sig. a 2, "Egwyddor i'r Anllythrennog," etc. 1 p.

Pp. 4-7 (not paged), "Yr Argraphydd at y Darllenydd."

- P. 8 (not paged), "Fy Nghyd-wladwyr," etc.
 Sig. b, pp. i-ii, "Hanes . . . Rhys Pritchard," etc.
 Sig. b, iii-vi, "Cynghor i'r Llyfr," signed "Stephen Hughes."
 P. vii, "Llythyr yr Awdwr," etc.
 „ viii, "Llythyr arall," etc.
 Sig. A, Text begins with "Annerchiad i'r Bruttaniaid," etc. Pp. 1-534.
 P. 334, Date in stanza, 1620.
 Pp. 534-536, "Gymry Hawddgar," etc.
 Pp. 537-540 (not paged), "Tabl i gael un rhyw Gân," etc.
 Total pp., 16 + 540 = 556.
-

No. 25.—1771, Crown 8vo.

Y | Seren Fore ; | neu | Ganwyll y Cymry. | Gan | Rhys
 Pritchard, A.M. | gynt | Ficcwr Llanymddyfri. | Gyd â
 'Chwanegiad o | Dri Chant a Hanner o Bennillion, | A
 gymmerwyd allan o | 'Sgrifen-Law yr Awdwr ei hun, |
 Na's Cyhoeddwyd yn un o'r Argraphiadau cyntaf. | A
 gyhoeddwyd ac a Argraffwyd yn | Llanymddyfri, gan
 R. Tomas. | M,DCC,LXXI. | Pris Tri Swllt a Chwe'-cheiniog
 yn rhwym.

Collation.

- Sig. A 1, Title. Verso Blank.
 Sig. A 2, pp. iii-vi, "Y Rhag-Ymadrodd," etc.
 P. vii, "At y Cymry," etc.
 „ viii, "Hyspysiad."
 Sig. A, Text begins with "Annerchiad i'r Bruttaniaid." Pp. 1-534.
 P. 334, Date in stanza, 1620.
 Pp. 534-536, "Gymry Hawddgar," etc.
 Pp. 537-540, "Tabl i gael un rhyw Gân," etc.
 Total pp., 8 + 540 = 548.
-

No. 26.—1776, Crown 8vo.

Canwyll y Cymry : | sef | Gwaith | y Parchedig | Mr.
 Rees Prichard, M.A. | Gynt Ficer Llanymddyfri. | The |
 Welshman's Candle : | or the | Works | of the Reverend |

Mr. Rees Prichard, M.A. | Sometime Vicar of Landoverly. |
Deut. xxxi. 19, 21. | Caerfyrddin, | Argraffwyd gan Ioan
Ross, | yn Heol-y-Prior. | MDCCLXXVI.

Collation.

Sig. A 1, Title.

Verso, "Hanes . . . Rees Prichard," etc. 2 pp.

Sig. A 2, verso, "Y Rhagymadrodd at y Darllenydd," signed "S.
Hughes." 10 pp.

Pp. xiv-xxii, "Cyngor i'r Llyfr, gan Stephen Hughes."

P. xxiii, "Llythyr yr Awdwr," etc.

P. xxiv, "Llythyr arall," etc.

Sig. A, Text begins with "Cyngor i Wrando," etc. Pp. 13-468 [*sic*
1-456].

P. 253, Date in stanza, 1620.

Pp. 446-468 [*sic* 434-456], "Chwanegiad rhai Lloffion."

Pp. 457-460 (not paged), "Tabl," etc.

Total pp., 24 + 460 = 484.

No. 27.—1798, Crown 8vo.

Y | Seren Foreu; | neu, | Ganwyll y Cymry: | sef, |
Gwaith | y Parchedig | Mr. Rees Prichard, M.A. | Gynt
Ficcer Llanymddyfri. |

"Bydd fyw'n gywir ac yn gynnil, |

"Fel pe baet heb un Efengyl; |

"A bydd farw'n gystal d'obaith, |

"A phe baet heb wel'd y Gyfraith." |

Deut. xxxi. 19. | Ysgrifennwch yr awr hon gan hynny i
chwi y Gân hon; dysg | hi befyd i feibion Israel; a gosod
hi yn eu genau hwynt, fel | y byddo'r gân hon yn dyst i
mi yn erbyn meibion Israel. | Caerfyrddin: | Argraphwyd
ac ar werth gan I. Evans, | yn Heol-y-Prior.—1798. |
[Pris 2s. 6ch. i'r Rhagdalwyr, a 3s. 6ch. i eraill.]

Collation.

Sig. A 1, Title.

Verso, "Yr Egwyddor Gymraeg."

Sig. A 2, pp. 3-4, "Hanes . . . Rees Prichard," etc.

Pp. 4-8, "Cyngor i'r Llyfr, gan S. Hughes."

Pp. 8-9, "Llythyr yr Awdwr," etc.

Pp. 9-10, "Llythyr arall," etc.

Pp. 10-12, Subscribers' Names.

Sig. B, Text begins with "Annerchiad i'r Brytaniaid," etc. Pp. 13-463.

P. 287, Date in stanza, 1620.

Pp. 464-468, "Tabl i gael unrhyw Gan," etc.

No. 28.—1807, Foolscap 8vo.

Canwyll y Cymry : | sef. | Gwaith | y Parchedig | Mr. Rees Prichard, M.A. | Gynt Ficer Llanymddyfri. | The | Welshman's Candle : | or, | The Works | of the Reverend | Mr. Rees Prichard, M.A. | Sometime Vicar of Landoverly. | Deut. xxxi. 19, 21. | Ysgrifennweh yr awr hon gan hynny i chwi y gân hon ; dysg | hi hefyd i feibion Israel ; a gosod hi yn eu genau hwynt, | fel y byddo'r gân hon yn dyst i mi yn erbyn meibion | Israel : canys nid anghofir hi o enau ei hâd ef. | Caerfyrddin : | Argraphwyd ac ar werth yno gan J. Daniel, yn Heol y | Farchnad Isaf : Ar werth hefyd gan Mr. North, yn | Aberhonddu ; Mr. Jenkins, yn Abertawe ; | a Messrs. Milner a Kaye, Liferpwl. | 1807.

Collation.

P. 1, Title.

Pp. ii-iii, "Hanes . . . Rees Prichard."

Pp. iv-xiii, "Y Rhagymadrodd," signed "S. Hughes."

Pp. xiv-xxiii, "Cyngor i'r Llyfr, gan Stephen Hughes."

P. xxiv, "Llythyr yr Awdwr," etc.

P. xxv, "Llythyr arall," etc.

Pp. 26-472, Text.

P. 266, Date in stanza, 1620.

Pp. 473-476 (not paged), "Tabl."

P. 477 (not paged), "Yr Egwyddor."

Pp. 1-3 [i.e., 478-480], "Llyfrau Cymraeg ar werth," etc.

Date on last page, 1808.

No. 29.—1807, Demy 8vo.

The Welshman's Candle. Canwyll y Cymry : sef, Gwaith y Parchedig Mr. Rees Prichard, M.A. gynt Ficer Llan-

ymddyfri. Ynghyd a chwanegiad rhai Lloffion o waith yr un awdwr ; o gasgliad y Parchedig Mr. Griffith Jones, Llanddowror. Deut. xxxi. 19, 21, etc. Caerfyrddin : Argraphwyd ac ar werth gan J. Evans, yn Heol y Prior. 1807.

Collation.

Sig. A 1, Title. Verso Blank.

Sig. A 2, pp. iii-iv, "Hanes . . Rees-Prichard."

Pp. v-x, "Y Rhagymadrodd," signed "S. Hughes."

Pp. xi-xiv, "Cyngor i'r Llyfr gan Stephen Hughes."

P. xv, "Llythyr yr Awdwr."

P. xvi, "Llythyr arall," etc.

Sig. A, Pp. 17-470, Text : begins with "Cyngor i wrando," etc.

P. 261, Date in stanza, 1620.

Sig. 3 L 3, pp. 471-2 (not paged), "Tabl."

No. 30.—1808, Demy 8vo.

The | Welshman's Candle. | Canwyll y Cymry : | sef |
Gwaith | y Parchedig | Mr. Rees Prichard, M.A. | Gynt
Ficer Llanymddyfri | Ynghyd a | 'Chwanegiad Rhai
Lloffion, | o waith yr un awdwr ; | o gasgliad y Parchedig |
Mr. Griffith Jones, Llanddowror. | Deuteronomium xxxi,
19, 21. | Ysgrifwench yr awr hon gan hynny i chwi y Gân
hon ; dysg hi hefyd i | Feibion Israel ; agosod hi yn eu Genau
hwynt, fel y byddo'r Gân hon yn | Dyst i mi yn erbyn
Meibion Israel : canys nid anghofir hi o Enau ei Hâd ef. |
Caerfyrddin : | Argraphwyd ac ar werth gan J. Evans, yn |
Heol-y-Prior. | 1808.

Collation.

Sig. A 1, Title. Verso Blank.

Sig. A 2, pp. iii-iv, "Hanes . . Rees Prichard."

Pp. v-x, "Y Rhagymadrodd," signed "S. Hughes."

Pp. xi-xiv, "Cyngor i'r Llyfr gan Stephen Hughes."

P. xv, "Llythyr yr Awdwr."

P. xvi, "Llythyr arall," etc.

Sig. A, pp. 17-470, Text : begins with "Cyngor i wrando," etc.

P. 261, Date in stanza, 1620.

Sig. Pp. 471-472 (not paged), "Tabl."

No. 31.—1841, Crown 8vo.

Y Seren Foreu, | neu | Ganwyll y Cymry ; | sef | Gwaith Prydyddol | y | Y Parch. Rhys Prichard, M.A. | gynt Ficer Llanymddyfri ; | ynghyd a | Nodau Eglurhaol, a Bywgraphiad yr Awdwr, | gan y diweddar | Barch. Rice Rees, B.D. | O Goleg Dewi Sant, Llanbedr, ac aelod o Gymdeithas Goleg | yr Iesu, Rhydychen. | Llanymddyfri ; | Argraphwyd a Chyhoeddwyd gan W. Rees, | ar werth hefyd | Gan H. Hughes, a D. Williams, Llundain, | a chan holl lyfrwerthwyr | y Dywysogaeth. | MDCCLXLI.

Collation.

Pp. i-ii, Frontispiece, "Y Nenadd."

P. iii, Title.

Verso, Blank.

P. v, Dedication, "I'r Parch. William Morgan," etc.

Verso, Blank.

Pp. vii-viii, "Rhagymadrodd," signed "Y Cyhoeddwr."

Pp. viii-lxiii [*sic* ix-lix], "Hanes . . . Rhys Prichard."

Pp. lxiii-lxx [*sic* lix-lxvi], "Pregeth."

Pp. lxx-lxxii [*sic* lxvi-lxviii], "Cyngor i'r Llyfr," etc.

P. lxix (not paged), "Llythyr yr awdwr," etc.

Verso, "Llythyr arall," etc.

Pp. lxxi-lxxii (not paged), "Dangoseg," etc.

Pp. 1-598, Text begins with "Annerchiad i'r Britaniaid."

P. 337, Date in stanza, 1620.

Pp. 598-599, "Gweddi."

Pp. 599-600, "Dangoseg o'r Testunau."

Total pp., 72 + 600 = 672.

No. 32.—1858, Demy 8vo.

Y | Seren Foreu | neu | Ganwyll y Cymry ; | sef | Gwaith Prydyddol | y | Parch. Rhys Prichard, M.A. | gynt Ficer Llanymddyfri ; | ynghyd a | Nodau Eglurhaol, a bywgraphiad yr awdwr, | gan y diweddar | Barch. Rice Rees, B.D. | O Goleg Dewi Sant, Llanbedr, ac aelod o Gymdeithas Goleg yr Iesu, | Rhydychen. | Ail Argraphiad

| Llanymddyfri : | William Rees ; Llundain, Longman a'i Gyfeillion, | ar werth hefyd | gan holl lyfrwerthwyr y dywysogaeth. | MDCCCLVIII.

Collation.

Frontispiece.

P. i, Title.

Verso, Blank.

P. iii, Dedication, "I'r Cymry," etc.

Verso, Blank.

Pp. v-vi, "Rhagymadrodd," signed "Y Cyhoeddwr."

Pp. vii-viii (not paged), "Dangoseg."

Pp. 9-11, "Cynghor i'r Llyfr, gan Mr. S. Hughes."

P. 12 "Llythyr yr Awdwr" and "Llythyr arall," etc.

P. 13-297, Text: begins with "Annerchiad i'r Brutaniaid."

P. 169, Date in stanza, 1620.

P. 298 (not paged), "Gweddi."

Pp. 299-317, "Hanes . . . Rhys Prichard."

Pp. 318-322, "Pregeth."

Pp. 323-324, "Dangoseg o'r Testunau."

No. 33.—1867, Demy 8vo.

Y Seren Foreu | neu | Ganwyll y Cymry ; | sef | Gwaith Prydyddol | y | Parch. Rhys Prichard, M.A. | gynt Ficer Llanymddyfri ; | ynghyd a | Nodiadau Eglurhaol, a Bywgraffiad yr Awdwr, | gan y diweddar | Barch. Rice Rees, B.D. | O Goleg Dewi Sant, Llanbedr, ac aelod o Gymdeithas Goleg yr Iesu, | Rhydychen. | Trydydd Argraffiad. | Llanymddyfri : | D. J. Roderic ; Llundain, Longman a'i Gyfeillion ; | ar werth hefyd | gan holl lyfrwerthwyr y dywysogaeth. | MDCCCLXVII.

Collation.

Frontispiece—"Y Neuadd."

P. 1, Title.

Verso, Blank.

P. iii, Dedication, "I'r Cymry."

Verso, "Hiliogaeth Ficer Prichard."

Pp. v-vi, "Rhagymadrodd," signed "Y Cyhoeddwr."

Pp. vii-viii, "Rhagymadrodd i'r trydydd argraffiad."

- Sig. B, pp. 9-11, "Cynghor i'r Llyfr, gan Mr. S. Hughes."
 P. 12, "Llythyr yr Awdwr" and "Llythyr arall," etc.
 Pp. 13-297, Text : begins with "Annerchiad i'r Brutaniaid."
 P. 169, Date in stanza, 1620.
 P. 298, "Gweddi."
 Pp. 299-320, "Hanes . . . Rhys Prichard."
 Pp. 321-324, "Pregeth."
 Pp. 325-326, "Dangoseg o ddechreu 'r canau."
 Pp. 327-328, "Dangoseg o'r testunau."



No. 34.—[1887], Demy 8vo.

Y Seren Foreu | neu | Ganwyll y Cymry ; | sef | Gwaith
 Prydyddol | y | Parch. Rhys Prichard, M.A., | gynt Ficer
 Llanymddyfri ; | ynghyd a | Nodiadau Eglurhaol, a
 bywgraphiad yr awdwr. | Gan y diweddar | Barch. Rice
 Rees, B.D. | O Goleg Dewi Sant, Llanbedr, ac aelod o
 Gymdeithas Goleg yr Iesu, | Rhydychen. | Trydydd
 Argraphiad. | Wrexham : | Hughes and Son, 56, Hope
 Street. | Llundain : Simpkin, Marshall and Co. | Ar werth
 hefyd | gan holl lyfrwerthwyr y dywysogaeth.

Collation.

- P. i, Title.
 Verso, Blank.
 P. iii, Dedication, "I'r Cymry."
 Verso, "Hiliogaeth Ficer Prichard."
 Pp. v-vi, "Rhagymadrodd," signed "Y Cyhoeddwr."
 Pp. vii-viii, "Rhagymadrodd i'r trydydd argraphiad."
 Pp. 9-11, "Gynghor i'r Llyfr."
 P. 12, "Llythyr yr Awdwr" and "Llythyr arall," etc.
 Pp. 13-297, Text : begins with "Annerchiad i'r Brutaniaid."
 P. 169, Date in stanza, 1620.
 P. 298, "Gweddi."
 Pp. 299-320, "Hanes . . . Rhys Prichard."
 Pp. 321-324, "Pregeth."
 Pp. 325-326, "Dangoseg o ddechre 'r canau."
 Pp. 327-328, "Dangoseg o'r testunau."

SELECTIONS.

No. 35.—1749, Foolscap 8vo.

Pigion | Prydyddiaeth | Pen-Fardd | y | Cymry : |
sef, | Caniadau, Hymnau, | ac | Odlau Ysbrydol ; | Allan o
Waith | Y Parchedig Mr. Prichard, | Gynt Ficcer Llan-
ymddyfri. | Wedi eu casglu er Llesiant i'r sawl a
ewyllysio | fyw'n dduwjol yng Nghrist Jesu. | Preswylid
gair Crist ynnoch yn helaeth, ym | mhob doethineb ; gan
ddysgu, a rhybuddio | bawb ei gilydd, mewn salmau, a
hymnau, ac | odlau ysbrydol, gan ganu trwy râs yn
eich calon- | nau i'r Arglwydd. Col. iii. 16. | Argraphwyd
yn Llundain, gan | Joan Olfir, ym Martholomy Clôs, ger |
llaw Smithffild Gorllewinol. | M.DCC.XLIX.

Collation.

Sig. A 1, p. i, Half-title : " Pigion Prydyddiaeth Pen-Fardd y Cymry."
Verso, Blank.

Sig. A 2, p. iii, Title.
Verso, Blank.

Sig. A 3, pp. v-xiv, " Y Rhagymadrodd."
Pp. xv-xix, " Y Tabl."
P. xx, Blank.

Sig. B, pp. 1-195, Text : begins with " Budd ac Anhepcorweh," etc.
P. 196, Blank.

Total pp., 216.

No. 36.—1754, Demy 8vo.

A Collection of Hymns of the Children of God in all
Ages, from the beginning till now. In two parts. London,
1754.

[Note.—Hymns 415-421 in Part I are translations of poems
from "Canwyll y Cymry," viz. :—

415, "Awn i Fethlem."

416, "Christ yw Oen y Pasc, a'n Haberth."

417, "Dere, hên bechadur truan."

418, "Cred yn nghrist, llêf am dy Geidwad."

419, "Os Tâd, os mam, os mâb, os merch."

420, "Er fy mendith nac anghofia."

421, "Dysg fy mâb wrth Godwun Adda."

No. 37.—1758, Foolscap 8vo.

Lloffion | Prydyddiaeth | sef, | Ynghylch chwech a
deugain o | Ganuau duwiol | O waith | Mr. Rees
Prichard, | gynt Ficer Llanymddyfri, | wedi | Eu casglu
ynghyd, yn ddiweddar, allan | o'i Baprau ef ei hun ; (sef,
y cyfryw | na phrintiwyd erioed o'r blaen) a'u | gosod
mewn Trefn a'u diwygio : | Mor fuddiol i adeiladu, | Ac
mor deilwng i'w printio ag unrhyw Ran o | waith yr
Awdwr parchedig. | Joan vi. 12. | Cesglweh y briwfwyd
gweddill, fel na choller dim. | Argraphwyd yn Llundain,
gan Joan | Olfir, ym Martholomy Clôs, ger llaw | Smithffild
Orllewinol. | M.DCC.LVIII.

Collation.

Sig. A 1, p. i, Half-title : "Lloffion Prydyddiaeth y Cymry."

Verso, Blank.

Sig. A 2, p. iii, Title.

Verso, "Y Cyssegriad."

Sig. A 3, p. 5, "Egwyddor i'r Anllythyrennog."

Verso, Blank.

Sig. A 4, pp. vii-viii, "Y Tabl."

Sig. B, pp. 1-86, Text : begins with "Am Hollbresenoldeb Duw."

Total pp., 8 + 86 = 94.

No. 38.—1766, Foolscap 8vo.

Lloffion | Prydyddiaeth | sef. | Ynghylch chwech a
deugain o Gan- | nau duwiol, | o waith | Mr. Rees
Prichard, | Gynt Ficer Llanymddyfri, | wedi | Eu casglu
ynghyd, yn ddiweddar, allan o'i | Baprau ef ei hun ; (sef,
y cyfryw na phrin- | tiwyd erioed o'r blaen) a'u gosod mewn
| Trefn, a'u diwygio : | Mor fuddiol i adeiladu, | Ac mor

deilwng i'w printio ag unrhyw Ran o | waith yr Awdwr
 parchedig. | Joan vi. 12. | Cesglweh y briwfwyd gweddill,
 fel na choller dim. | Argraphwyd yn y Mwythig, gan J.
 Eddowes. | MDCCLXVI.

Collation.

Sig. A 1, p. 1, Half-title: "Lloffion Prydyddiaeth y Cymry."

Verso, Blank.

Sig. A 2, p. iii, Title.

Verso, "Y Cyssegriad."

Sig. A 3, p. v, "Egwyddor i'r Anllythyrennog," etc.

Verso, Blank.

Pp. vii-viii, "Y Tabl."

Pp. 1-86 [2], Text begins with "Am Hollbresennoldeb Duw."

Total pp., 8 + 86 = 94.

No. 39.—[1802,] Crown 8vo.

Dewisol Rannau o Ganiadau | y Parchedig | Rees
 Prichard, | Gynt Ficer Llanymddyfri: | Ar ddull Gairlyfr
 Cymraeg, a Saesnaeg, hynod o | hawdd, a gwasnaethgar i
 ddysgu plant ieuange, | a'u hegwyddori yn y ddwy iaith yn
 y Grefydd | Gristnogol. | Select pieces of the Poems | of
 the | Rev. Rees Prichard, | Formerly Vicar of Llan-
 dovery: | Dictionary-like in Welch and English, very easy |
 and useful for young Children, to ground them | in the
 Principles of the Christian Religion, in | both Languages. |
 Dolgellau | Argraphwyd, | gan Thomas Williams.

Collation.

P. 1, Title.

Pp. 2-16, Text: begins with "Cofweh Angau."

No. 40.—[1882,] Duo.

Gwreichion | o | Ganwyll y Cymry, | a | Chofnodydd |
 Dydd Genedigaeth, etc. | Y penillion wedi eu cymeryd o
 waith | yr "Hen Ficer." | Gan S. C. W. E. | "Mae amser
 i eni, ac amser i farw."—*Solomon.* | Llundain: |

Cymdeithas y Traethodau Crefyddol, | 56, Paternoster Row ; 65, St. Paul's Churchyard ; | 164, Piccadilly.

Collation.

P. 1, Title.
 Verso, "Er Coffadwriaeth."
 P. 3, "Nodiad."
 Verso, Blank.
 Sig. B, p. 5, *et seq.*, Text.

No. 41.—1888, Crown 8vo.

Canwyll y Cymry. | Crynodeb o Ganeuon | Llyfr Ficer Prichard, | o | Llanynddyfri. | Wedi eu dethol gan | Thomas Levi, Aberystwyth. | Newport, Mon. : | W. Jones. Cambrian Works, Commercial Street. | 1888.

Collation.

P. i, Half-title : "Canwyll y Cymry."
 Verso, Frontispiece : "Ty Ficer Prichard."
 P. iii, Title.
 Verso, Blank.
 Pp. v-vi, "Rhagymadrodd," signed "Thos. Levi."
 „ vii-ix, "Cynwysiad."
 „ x-xvi, "Haws . . . Rhys Prichard."
 „ 17-128, Text : begins with "Llythyr yr Awdwr," etc.

TRANSLATIONS.

(*See above, No. 36.*)

No. 42.—1771, Demy 8vo.

The | Welshman's Candle : | or the | Divine Poems | of | Mr. Rees Prichard, | sometime | Vicar of Landoverly, in Carmarthenshire, | Now first translated into English Verse | By the Rev.¹ | | Carmarthen, | Printed for the translator by J. Ross. | M,DCC,LXXI.

¹ William Evans, Vicar of Llawhaden. The name is not printed on the title.

Collation.

Sig. A, p. 1, Title.

Verso, Blank.

Pp. iii-vii, Translator's Preface.

Pp. viii-ix, "The Life of Mr. Rees Prichard."

Pp. x-xvi (not paged), "Subscribers' Names."

Sig. B, pp. 17-480, Text: begins with "An Epistle from the Author," etc.

Sig. Hh, pp. 481-483 (not paged), "Contents."

Pp. 484 (not paged), "Errata."

No. 43.—1785, Demy 8vo.

The Morning Star; | or, the | Divine Poems | of | Mr.
Rees Prichard, | sometime | Vicar of Llandoverly, in
Carmarthenshire. | Translated into English verse. |
London: | Printed and Sold by J. Johnson, | Whitechapel-
Road-Side; | J. Pridder, Bookseller, Fleet-Street; and |
T. Baldwin, Pater-noster-Row. | MDCCLXXXV.

Collation.

P. 1, Title.

Verso, Blank.

Pp. iii-vii, Translator's Preface.

Pp. viii-ix, "The Life of Mr. Rees Prichard."

P. 10-472, Text.

Pp. 473-475 (not paged) "Contents."

„ 476-480 (not paged) "Subscribers' Names."

No. 44.—1815, Demy 8vo.

The | Morning Star, | or, the | Divine Poems | of | Mr.
Rees Prichard, | formerly | Vicar of Landoverly, | in |
Carmarthenshire. | Translated into English Verse | By the
Rev. William Evans, | Vicar of Lawhaden. | Merthyr
Tydfil: | Printed by W. Williams, and sold in London, by
Long- | man, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown; Baldwin, |
Cradock and Joy. | 1815.

Collation.

Sig. A, p. i, Title.

Verso, Blank.

Pp. iii-iv, "An Account of Mr. Rees Prichard."

Sig. B, pp. 1-445, Text: begins with "An Epistle from the Author."

Pp. 446-448, "Contents."

Total pp., 4 + 448 = 552.

No. 45.—1821, Foolscap 8vo.

The | Vicar of Llandoverly, | or | Light | from the |
Welshman's Candle. | By John Bulmer. |

Tale tuum carmen nobis, divina poeta,

Quale sopor fessis in gramine, quale per æstum

Dulcis aquæ saliente sitim restringuere rivo.—*Virgil.*

Haverfordwest: | Printed and sold by Joseph Potter; |
Sold also in London by John Offor, 44, Newgate-street; |
and | by J. Evans, Carmarthen. | 1821.

Collation.

P. i, Title.

Verso, Blank.

P. iii, Dedication: "To the Rev. Benjamin Hobson."

Verso, Blank.

Pp. i-xxi [*sic* v-xxv], "Preface."

P. xxvi. "Errata."

„ xxiii-xxv [*sic* xxvii-xxix], "Contents."

„ xxx, Blank.

„ 1, Half-title, "The Vicar of Llandoverly. Book I."

„ 2, "Subject of the First Book."

Pp. 3-173, Text: begins "Necessity and Excellence," etc.

P. 62, Blank.

„ 63 Half-title, "The Vicar of Llandoverly. Book II."

„ 64, "Subject of the Second Book."

„ 115, Half-title, "The Vicar of Llandoverly. Book III."

„ 116, "Subject of the Third Book."

„ 143, Half-title, "The Vicar of Llandoverly. Book IV."

„ 144, "Subject of the Fourth Book."

„ 174, Blank.

„ 175, Half-title, "Notes."

P. 176, Blank.

Pp. 177-240, "Notes."

Sig. I. i, pp. 241-246 (not paged), "List of Subscribers."

Total pp., 30 + 246 = 276.

No. 46.—1830, Foolscap 8vo.

Beauties | of the | Vicar of Llandovery; | or | Light |
from the | Welshman's Candle, | with notes. | By John
Bulmer. |

Tale tuum carmen nobis, divina poeta,

Quale sopor fessis in gramine, quale per æstum

Dulcis aquæ saliente sitim restinguero rivo.

Virg.

Second Edition. | London: | Holdsworth and Ball, | 18,
St. Paul's Church-yard. | 1830.

Collation.

P. 1, Title.

Verso, Blank.

Pp. iii-xxii, "Preface."

„ xxiii-xxiv, "Contents."

Sig. A, pp. 1-278, Text: begins with "Book I. Scripture Doctrines."

Errata slip pasted on p. iii.

Total pp., 24 + 278 = 302.

SERMON.

No. 47.

Pregeth | o Waith y | Parchedig a'r Enwog |
Rhys Pritchard, A.M. | Gynt o Lanymddyfri. | Wedi ei
chymmyrd allan yn ofalus, | a Ffyddlon, o'i 'Sgrifen Law
ef ei Hun, lle | y gellir canfod ei fod ef mor Hynod yn ei
ddull o | Bregethu, ag yn ei Brydyddu. | Heb. xi. 4. | Y mae
efe wedi Marw, yn llefaru etto. | Awdwr y Bregeth hon a
ddiweddodd ei oes mewn Tangneddyf, | yn Llanymddyfri, ac
a gladdwyd yn yr Eglwys honno, yn Mis | Tachwedd, yn y
Flwyddyn 1644, yn 65 o'i Oed. | Trefecca: | Argraphwyd,

Gan E. Roberts & Co. | 1802. | Pris Dwy-Geiniog, neu Ddeunaw y ddwsen.)

12 pp., Crown 8vo.

First printed by Rhys Thomas at Llandovery *circa* 1771, see *ante*, p. 39. Reprinted in editions of 1841, 1858, 1867, and 1887.

BIOGRAPHY.

No. 48.

Traethodau Bywgraphyddol. | Rhys Prichard, | Ficer Llanymddyfri. | Gan T.L. | [Woodcut of "Y Neuadd."] | Llundain: | Cymdeithas y Traethodau Crefyddol, | 56, Paternoster Row, 65, St. Paul's Churchyard, | and 164 Piccadilly. | Liverpool: Slater Street. Manchester: Corporation Street. | [1883].

32 pp., Crown 8vo.

ERRATA.

Page 5, line 2 from bottom, for "Roger" read "Roger[s]".

Page 6, Nos. 20 and 21 in list to be revised as follows:—

20. 1752, Carmarthen [Evan Powel].

21. [*circa* 1755] Shrewsbury. R. Lathrop.

Page 14, line 6 from bottom, after "first appearance," add "in Welsh."

A Collation of Rees' Lives of the Cambro-British Saints.

By PROFESSOR KUNO MEYER.

THE importance of the various Latin and Welsh texts collected in this volume would warrant a careful examination and minute description of the MSS. from which they are taken, and a diplomatic edition of the kind to which Mr. Gwenogfryn Evans and Mr. Morris Jones have accustomed us. Meanwhile the following list of corrigenda will be acceptable. It is based upon a collation originally made by Mr. Whitley Stokes, who kindly allowed me to use it for my own purposes. Obvious misprints, which are particularly numerous in the Latin texts, have been passed over. Nor have I thought it necessary to indicate throughout where *y* is written *ý* in the MS., or where *6* is used instead of *w*, or where an accent is put to distinguish the letter *i*, or, in Latin words, to mark the stressed syllable, as *fugérunt* (p. 51, 4), *érutum* (p. 70, 14), etc.

I. VITA SANCTI BERNACI.

EDITION.

THE MANUSCRIPT.

Vespasian A. xiv, fol. 77b.-80b.

P. 7, 6 Cleddyf

Cledyf

8, 18 Never

Neuer

33 Bernaco percum-
benti

Sancto Bernacho percum-
bente

III. VITA SANCTI CADOCI.

EDITION.	THE MANUSCRIPT.
	Vespasian A. xiv, fo 17a.—43b.
P. 22, 5 Britannice	Brittánnice
6 Gluigijs	Gluigujs
19 Etelichion	Etelicchion
20 Seruguund	Seruguumid
21 Cornouguil	Cornouguill
ib. Cornoguatlan	Cornoguatlaun
23, 14 legittime	legittimo
25 Talgarth	Talgard
24, 7 Bochriucarn	Boch-riu-carn ¹
35 Altgundliu	Alltgundliu ²
25, 4 Gladusa	Gladusam
16 quos	quum
26 diliculo	diluculo
26, 26 <i>dele</i> nomine Snaud- rentia ³	
27 vocem	voce in
27, 15 eruditur	traditur
30, 28 Hiuguel	Huiguel
31, 31 Pennychen	Pénnychen
32, 13 Nant	Nant (i. flumen)
36, 20 Gnavan	Gnauan
38, 4 insonsuit	insonuit
ib. 13, 15 Landcarvan	Landcaruan
39, 23 Cov	Cób
29 Nantcaruguan	Nant caruguan
40, 14 Brevi	Breeui
42, 26 castigationem	castigationem vel correp- tionem
44, 8 Finnianum	Finniannum

¹ Marks of division inserted.² The second l imperfectly erased.³ Misread out of uoce in audientia.

	EDITION.	THE MANUSCRIPT.
		Vespasian A. xiv, fo. 17a—43b.
P. 44,	9 Finnianus	Finiannus
45,	3 Ethni	Echni (<i>Vesp.</i>)
	4 Nantcarvan	Nantcaruan
	8 adurnis	aduenis
	12 Gunluc	Gunliauc
	ib. Fynnon Hen	Fynnon Hén (<i>Tit.</i>), Fennun (<i>Vesp.</i>)
	13 Rymni	Rym[n]i
	14 Gulich	Golich (<i>Tit.</i>), Gulych (<i>Vesp.</i>)
	ib. Nadauan	Nadamiam (<i>Tit.</i>), Nadauan (<i>Vesp.</i>)
	ib. Penntirch	Penntirh (<i>Tit.</i>)
	16 Gurimi	Gorenni (<i>Tit.</i>)
	ib. Remni	Rymi (<i>Vesp.</i>)
	27 Midgard	Medgart
48,	7 Lyuguri	Lÿuguri
	12 Lauhiir	Lauhíir
	32 Reneder	Keneder
49,	5 tribundas	tribuendas
28	& 29 Kei et Bedwir	Chei et Bedguur
50,	20 Trefredinauc	Tref redinauc
	21 placitum	placitum <i>vel</i> actio litis
	22 Rithguutebou	Rith (i. uadum) guurtebou
	30 Guinnedotiorum	Guinedotiorum
51,	5 pleraque	pleraque <i>vel</i> magna
	7 Finnun Brittrou	Finnun ¹ (i. fons) Brittrou (<i>proprium nomen</i>)
	9 Gunlienses	Gunliuenses
	11 Guinedotorium	Guinedotorum (<i>Vesp.</i>), Snau- dunensium (<i>Tit.</i>)

¹ Altered into fennun.

EDITION.	THE MANUSCRIPT.
	Vespasian A. xiv, fo. 17a.—43b.
P. 51, 19 Gundliaiuc	Gundliauc
52, 6 misericors	misericors <i>vel</i> deprecabilis
21 Runn	Rúnn
53, 12 XII cim	XUcim
13 Nadavam	Nadauan
31 Rein ... alca	Run ... alea
32 eunuchis	eunuchis <i>vel</i> apparatoribus
54, 1 eunuchos	eunuchos <i>vel</i> assedas
10 XII	Xu
26 Rein	Rún
36 Rein ... Vario	Run ... Uario
55, 1 Osci	Oscæ
2 Lancarvan	Landcarvan
4, 10 Need	Nééd
5 elixatam seu assatam	elixaturam seu assaturam
11 Bycheiniauc	Brecheiniauc
17 Gundliuiti	Gundliuïte
20 Pullrud	Pullrud
34 Debunn	Dibúnn
56, 2 ergo	<i>quod</i>
5 (Telianus) .. Maidac	(i. Telianus) . . Maidoc
60, 10 quo a me	quod á me
19 Lanncarvan	Lanncaruan
30 Gundlei patris	Gundleii regis patris
61, 5 ad collem	ad collem <i>vel</i> ad proclium
30 exista	existas
63, 7 Fennuan Hen	Fennúnn Hæn
9 Naduan	Nadauan
18 Igglis	Egglis
21 Walees	Waléés
24 Gualches	Gualehes
25 qui	que

	EDITION.	THE MANUSCRIPT.
		Vespasian A. xiv., fo. 17a.—43b.
P. 63,	26 Barran	Barren
64,	7 Gualees	Gualéés
65,	30 Riderch	Riderh
66,	18 Lanncarvan	Lanncaruan
68,	30 Lanncarvan	Lanncaruán
76,	20 Quinimo	Quinimmo
77,	5 Morcanentium	Morcannentium
	9 usque	usque ad
	34 Margetud	Margetud
78,	24 Limphi	Liphi
79,	10 clunererunt	<i>apud</i> Clunerert ¹
	17 Reinuc . . Cinan	Reinmuc . . Cínán
	18 Carguinu	Carguinn
	22, 27 Ned	Ned
	25 Reinuc	Reinmuc
81,	23 Lettau	Lettau (i. Brittones)
	25 <i>twice</i> Gluigius	Gluigius
	30 Biscetbach	Brisceathach
	31 <i>twice</i> Aulach	Anlach
82,	2 <i>twice</i> Abattach	Aballach
	ib. <i>and</i> 3 Baallad	Báállad
	4 <i>twice</i> Outigirim	Outigirun
	5 Ritigurinum Ritigir	Ritigirimum Ritigirn
	7 <i>twice</i> Teuchuant	Teuhuant
	10 <i>twice</i> Cimmarch	Cinmarch
	12 Meuric Meuricus	Mouric Meouricus
	ib. <i>twice</i> Erbie	Erbic Erbicus
	13 <i>twice</i> Idnerth	Idnerh
	ib. <i>twice</i> Teitpall	Teitfall
	17 <i>dele</i> Gladuse	

¹ *I.e.*, Clúain Eraird, now Clonard, co. Meath.

EDITION.	THE MANUSCRIPT.
	Vespasian A. xiv, fo. 17a.—43b.
P. 82, 19 <i>twice</i> Abellach	Aballach
20 <i>twice</i> Baalad	Báállad
ib. <i>twice</i> Euguem	Euguein
21 <i>twice</i> Brithguem	Brithguein
25 <i>twice</i> Guoreing	Guorceng
28 Gunleii Gunleius	Gunleii Gundleius
83, 12 Tremgueithen	Treimgueithen
15 Aidanbloch . . Nioy- sgurthin	Aidan bloch . . Niaýsgurth in
24 Tremycrucou	Trem ýrucou
26 Cymmyoucyti	Cýmmýou cýti
30 Pistilcatue . . . Ar- guistel	Pistýl Catue . . Arguistil
31 dymbrych	dumbrych
33 Eida . . Trefhenun	Elda . . Trefhinun
34 Ecclussilid	Ecclus silid
84, 3 Caerydicycit	Caýrdicýcit
5 Carthay	Carthau
85, 12 Finniannum	Finiannum
ib. Gnavanum	Gnavanum
86, 25 <i>and</i> 30 Conige	Conige
87, 1 Curhiter	Curhitr
3 Conige	Conige
11 Howhoer . . Coelbiu	Houhoer . . Colbiu
12, 23 <i>and</i> 30 Conige	Conige
13 Atern . . Minuocioi	Ætern . . Minnocioi
26 Bronotguid	Bronnotguid
30 Junemet	Iunemet
31 Mannocioi	Mannocoi
88, 1 Cuan Bunry	Euan Buurs
3 Eltuith . . Cuam	Eltuth . . Euan
4 Cuan	Euan

	EDITION.	THE MANUSCRIPT.
		Vespasian A. xiv, fo. 17a.—43b.
P. 88,	6 Catlen	Catlon
	7 Lanhoitlan	Lan hoitlon
	10 Merchiawn	Merchiaun
	16 Cethy . . Seoctus	Cethij . . Scottus
	23 Macmoillo	Mach moilo
	25 Maemoillum	Macmoilum
	30 Hoduan	Boduan
89,	1 Gwallouer	Gualloir
	2 <i>and</i> 8 Pencarnoy	Pencarnov
	3 Gwallouer	Gualluir
	7 Quinimo	Quinimmo
	9 Judriou	Judnou
	11 Guenlion . . Thuiuc	Guenlioui . . Thiuc
	21 Curnuet Cogale	Curnet Congale
	22 Alderreg	Atderreg
	30 Guonan . . Soy	Gnouar . . Son
	31 Cingrat . . Elinniu . .	Cungrat . . Eliunui (?) . .
	Rimogcat	Rimogeat
90,	4 Nadauan	Nadhauan
	14 <i>and</i> 27 Cradoc	Cadroc
	34 Guorgethen	Guonguethen
91,	22 Cadoc . . Cleopas	Catoc . . Cleophas
	23 Conachan	Conocan
	34 Connul . . Brunonoi	Conuul (?) . . Biuonoi . .
	. . familie	familia
	35 Guidgen	Guedgen
	36 Tenbiub	Tenbuib
92,	3 Guorcinnim	Guorcinnun
	12 Cornounano	Cornouano
	15 vere	vero
	16 Guorcim	Guorcinn
	17 tua possessione	tuam possessionem

EDITION.	THE MANUSCRIPT.
	Vespasian A. xiv, fo. 17a.—43b.
P. 92, 19 idoneis	idoneis
20 subsribuntur	subscribuntur
21 Dogwini Jacob	Docgwini Jacobus
22 familie	familia
23 Conmoe . . Connil	Conmoe . . Corniul (?)
24 Catgeni	Catgen
25 Mauricus	Mouricus
26 Guorbis	Guorbes
27 Hilou	Hilon
29 Rearthr	Reathr
93, 2 Conige	Conige
3 coucuum cyrograph- um	concuum i. cyrographum
9 Merchiun	<i>perhaps</i> Morchuin
10 reddibus . . Docwin- no	redditus . . Docgwinno
13 Jonab	Jouab
14 Morcant . . Quoid- nerth	Marcant . . Guoidnerth
21 Cassoc	Gassoc
27 Guodgeu	Guodgen
29 Commogoc	Commogoe
30 Beuonoc . . Heargin Cutegurn	Beuonoe . . Hearngin . . Outegurn
33 Guedgan	Guedgen
34 Morceneo	Morcenev
94, 4 Malguni	Mailguni
5 Malgonus	Malconus
17 bile	Bile
19 Crucglas	Cruc glas
23, 33 Argantbad	Argantbael (?)
30 diliculo	diluculo

EDITION.	THE MANUSCRIPT.
	Vespasian A. xiv, fo. 17a.—43b.
P. 94, 33 Cadocum	Cadócum
95, 23 Glewisiæg. . Gun- liauc	Glewisiæg <i>vel</i> Guent . . Gun- liuuc
29 Gunliuuc	Gunliūc
96, 14 Gundliuuc	Guundliuuc
25 <i>in the margin</i> Helia- nus	
27 Seru	Serú

IV. VITA SANCTI CARANTOCI.

Vespasian A. xiv, fol. 93a.

P. 97, 6 ex chere ircinis	exchere uicinis
15 9. t. h. f.	9. i. h. f. ¹
19 perexit	perrexit
23 Thuthaius	Thuihaius
24 Anpachus	Anpacus
99, 2 Kerediciaun	Kerediciaum (i. Keredigan)
5 postea ad Sabrinam	postea ad Sabrinam (hoc est mait)
11 Carrum	Carrum (i. locus)
21 <i>over dedit is written</i> misit	
100, 7 Carrou	Carrov
31 Britguenin	Britguenni
32 Avallach	Aballach
36 Mertaun	Mertiaun
101, 3 Etery	Etern
4 Dobyр Duis	Doubýr Dviv
6 Kerediciaun	Kerediciaun (i. Keredigan)

¹ *I.e.* "quam iucundum habitare fratres," Psalm cxxii, 1.

VI. VITA SANCTI DAVID.

EDITION.	THE MANUSCRIPT.
	Vespasian A. xiv, fo. 61a.
P. 117, 19 Linheulanum	Lin henlan ú
119, 21 Cruvnter	Criumther
34 compus	campus
120, 5 offerandas	offerendas
34 Belue Menevien- sium	Helue Meneviensium (<i>vel</i> Muminensium)
123, 24 Bathboniam	Bathoniam
27 at . . Colquan	et . . Colguan
28 Legminstre	Leuministre
30 Raglan	Raglam
34 Martuin	Maitium (?)
124, 1 Guislianus	Guistilianus
11 Ysmahel	Ismahel
125, 21 ludite	ludicra
126, 15 <i>and</i> 24 Dunant	Dunaut
21 cuput	caput
29 Paucant	Paucant
129, 33 <i>dele</i> Abbatem	
131, 30 Scutinus. .Scolanus	Scutínus . . Scolánus
133, 32 Cruedin	Cruedín
135, 3 calcia	caltia
136, 25 Langemelack	Langemelach
29 inserens	ínserens
137, 10 Brevi	Breui
138, 7 ulutatus	ululatus
10 ululatus	ubi luctus
144, 6 <i>twice</i> Docil	Doeil
8 <i>twice</i> Amgueret	Amguerit
10 <i>and</i> 11 <i>twice</i> Fugen	Eugen
11 <i>twice</i> Fudolen	Eudolen

VII. VITA SANCTI GUNDLEII.

EDITION.	THE MANUSCRIPT.
	Vespasian A. xiv, fo. 13a.
P. 145, 6 Gliiusus	Gliuisus
3 Gunlyuuauc	Gunluývauc
23 Gulatmorgantie	Gulat Morgantie
148, 23 Gunliiu	Gunlyu
34 Dutelich	Dutelic
35 tali	taliter
151, 22 Saverna	Savernam (<i>vel</i> Sabrinam)
34 Guinodocie	Guinodocie (.i. Snaudune)
152, 4 victorie <i>written over</i> monie	
6 commovuit	commonuit
12 Safrunicum	Safrunicum (.i. Sauerna)
153, 36 Gulatmorgantiam	Gulat Morgantiam
154, 21 obsecratione viola- turis	obcecatione violatoris
156, 25 Gunleii	Gundleí
28 Gunlyu	Gunley
157, 4 Gunlyu	Gundleý
9 publice	puplice

VIII. VITA SANCTI ILTUTI.

	Vespasian A. iv, fo. 43b—52a.
P. 158, 5 Letavia	Letavia (.i. Britannia minor)
17 dlectus	dilectus
159, 13 catecuminacione	catieuminacione
27 Arthuri	Arthurii
35 Morcaniensium . . Trynnihid	Morcanensium . . Tryñihid
162, 7 connubia	conubia
16 peremitariam	heremitariam
167, 31 Dewi	Dewi (.i. David)

EDITION.	THE MANUSCRIPT.
	Vespasian A. iv, fo. 43b.—52a.
P. 170, 26 Letavia	Letavia (.i. Brittannia minori)
171, 1 persolatus	<i>pro</i> solatíis
2 lacrimabile	lacrimabili
3 illico erupit	ilico erúpit
35 Trinihid	Trinihid
172, 36 Meirchiaum	Meirchianum
173, 1 ut	ud
177, 8 Lingarchicam	lingarthicam
13 Garthica	lingarthica
28 latronibundis	latronibus
30 latrunculi	latrunculi de regione Brecheniauc
178, 28 Letavia	Letávia id est minor Brittannia
179, 11 pollictia	pollicito
24 que qualitate	et equali[ta]te
182, 13 Guynedotie	Guýnedotiæ (spaudune)

IX. VITA SANCTI KEBII.

	Vespasian A. xiv, fo. 86a.—88a.
P. 183, 8 Gerenit	Gereint
23 Kengar	Kengair
184, 2 Decendit	Descendit
14 Lankepi	Lan Kepi
15 Landaverguir	Landaver guir
16 cimbalum	cimbalum (.i. nola)
20 and 31 Arum ¹	Aruin ¹
23 eui	eui

¹ *I.e.*, the oblique case of the Irish name of the island (*'Aru* f., dat. acc. *'Arainn*).

EDITION.	THE MANUSCRIPT.
	Vespasian A. xvi, fo. 86a.—88a.
P. 184, 27, 28 &c., Fintam	Fintan ¹
185, 6 alligebatur	alligabatur
9 Arum	Aruin
29 Vobyun	Vobvún
36 materim	materim
37 Crubthirfintam	Crubthir Fintan
186, 17 Caffo	Caffó
27 Gwenidocie	Gwenedocie

X. VITA SANCTI PATERNI.

	Vespasian A. xiv, fo. 80b.—84b.
P. 189, 29 Corus	corus
35 Hetinlau	Ketinlau (?)
190, 37 Cerirguen	cirguen ²
191, 7, 18 and 21 Nimanauc	Nimannauc
30 proclivum Clarach	perelivum Clarauch
192, 18 Illico	Ilico
21 Retiaul	Reciaul (?)
193, 27 Bretbras	Brebras
197, 7 Maelgun	Mailgun
16 caput	capud ³
28 Liulunum	Liuluuin
29 Retiaul	Reciaul (?)

XI. VITA SANCTE WENFREDE.

	Claudius A. v, fo. 138a—145b.
P. 198, 12 Abelityc	Abeluyc
15 nuncupata	numpecupata
199, 25 Beluye	Beluyc
201, 31 benedictionem	benedictionem

¹ In line 34, however, the MS. has Fintam.

² *In marg.* nomen baculi pacificatur.

³ Cf. *ud* for *ut*, p. 173, 1.

EDITION.	THE MANUSCRIPT.
	Claudius A. v, fo. 138a.—1
P. 205, 1 nichilominus	nichillominus
209, 11 ecelsiam	eclesiam

APPENDIX.—I. BUCHEDD CATRIN SANTES.

Titus D. xxii, fo. 175a.

P. 211, 9 nyd	nyt
231, 31 benedictionem	benedictionem
10 yggwasanaeth	yggwasanaeth
13 Cristnoygon	Cristogyon
21 o hir . . dygassant	ohir . . dugassant
212, 3 yn y ffyd	myn y ffyd
16 lawenyd	lewenyd
18 vedylyaw	vedyllyaw
25 goruot	oruot
27 ni	ny
213, 15 ysgriuenedic	yscriuenedic
17 allen	allei
30 o honunt	ohonunt
36 disgybl . . heb y Katrín	disgyble ¹ . . heb Katrin
214, 1 Yspryd	yspryt
8 dywawt	[d]ywawt
9 kyvreith	kyfreith
12 Alexandria	Alexandra
18 y gwr	yr gwr
19 llydyawd	llidyawd
20 wasanaethwyr	wassanaethwyr
21 wrthynt	wrthunt
35 wasanaeth	wassanaeth
215, 1 ysgriuenmu	yscriuenmu
10 hwy	wy

¹ le added over the line.

EDITION.

THE MANUSCRIPT.

Titus D. xxii, fo. 175a.

P. 215,	11 calonneu	callonneu
	13 Thernagawnt	Theruagawnt
	16 chwy	chwi
	21 yr Iessu	y Iessu
	22 <i>and</i> 23 Tad	tat
	27 ygwasanaethwyr	y wassanaethwyr
216,	9 dylyy	dylyy di
	18 duywen	dwywen
	31 parth y nef	parth ar nef
	32 val	ual
217,	9 Ni	Ny
	14 hynuydrwyd	hynuytrwyd
	18 gwreic	gwōreic.
	20 emelltigedic	emelldigedic
	25 ysgriuenedic	yscriuenedic
	26 Cristiawn	Cristawn
	27 ynotti	ynot ti
	28 yn	ym
	29 diffye	diffryt
	34 folineb	ffolineb
	36 gorchymynnaf vy hyspryt	gorchymynnafi vy yspryt
218,	1 gannatau . . dyred	ganhatau . . dyret
	10 diodefyeint	diodefyeint
	14 iachawdyr	iachōyawdyr

III. VITA SANCTI AIDUL.

Vespasian A. xiv, fo. 96b.

P. 232,	6 Maccuates	Maccuaies
	8 Driumlethan	Druimlethan
	13 antiqui	antequam
235,	6 Ammerus	Ainmeri

EDITION.		THE MANUSCRIPT.
		Vespasian A. xiv, fo. 96b.
P. 235,	7 sub tectas	subiectas
	10 Ammerus	Aimmerus
	13 semetipsum	semetipsum
234,	19 Siniuch	Sinnich
	23 Bosargente . . Oruntham	Bosargenti . . Crimthain
	24 demersi	dinersi
	25 perfundum	profundum
	35 Cuchait	Euchait
237,	23 latvunderi	latrunculi
	24 noscerent	nocerent
238,	7 Dunma	Dimma
	22 mater Choche	matrem Chóche
	26 Accel	Accell
	33 Ierthnandesse	Ierichnandesse ¹
	36 Nambri	Naubri
239,	27 Vuainmar	Cluain mar
	30 Ammereth	Aimmereth
243,	16 Cogin	Eogin
	17 Coci	loci
	22 concutiatis	conculcans
241,	27 Cochae	Eochae
242,	3 uncula	anela
	7 in Bererintham	Inbercrimthain
	30 Aidi	Aido
243,	17 terminavit	ieiunavit
	28 Imgout	Imgoui
244,	5 Hirlcore	Hirloere
	6 Mochve	Mochúe
	27 Cluam claidbich	cluain claidbich ²

¹ *I.e.*, i crich na nDése.² *In l.* 16 for Clabdig (*sic MS.*) read Cladbíg.

EDITION.

THE MANUSCRIPT.

Vespasian A. xiv, fo. 96b.

P. 244, 29	Brundub	Brandub
245, 10	Connacta	Connacte
	35 Moloceo	Molocca
246, 35	Sarran	Saran
247, 3	et	ei
	25 Quodam	Quadam
248, 1	Locram	Lochrē
	24 labiis	labiis illius
249, 7	brensei	brenlei (?)
	14 Ameredii	Aineredii
250, 4	Athu . . galq . . ceu	A Ihu . . galar . . cen ¹
	6 oroferor	orofetor
	7 mertha	m̄tha
	9 itru . . arcet	Ihu . . arceec

¹ On p. 573 there is printed an attempt by O'Curry to make sense of the Irish sentences so sadly miswritten by the Welsh scribe. But O'Curry does not seem to have observed that these sentences are in the form of three quatrains, a circumstance which affords material help in their reconstruction. Other quatrains ascribed to St. Moling will be found in Stokes' edition of *Féilire Oengusso*, p. ciii, and in the *Revue Celtique*, xiv, p. 190. I propose to restore the three quatrains as follows:—

A 'Isu, ó rofetor ar sáethu,
galar fil form, inmain de cé nombebad, a 'Isu.

A 'Isu, ó rofetor ar lussu,
nommicc, nádab iar n-assu, nimhá liaig acht tussu.

Do chroch, a meic Dé bí, ar cech galar madomthí:
minomicca sin, ní fil arde nodicca fo nim.

'O Jesu, as Thou knowest our afflictions,
The disease which is on me, it is welcome, though I should die of
it, O Jesu!

'O Jesu, as Thou knowest our (healing) herbs,
Heal me, let it not be too late! I have no leech save Thee.

'Thy cross, O Son of the living God, against every disease, if it
come to me.

Unless that heal me, there is not under heaven a sign that heals it.'

EDITION.

THE MANUSCRIPT.

Vespasian A. xiv, fo. 96b.

P. 250, 10	minerica	miñica
11	dormivit	dormiret

IV. VITA SANCTI BRENDANI.

Vespasian A. xix, fo. 104b—105b.

P. 251, 4	Tinloc	Finloc
5	Cogeni Stragule . .	Eogeni. Stagnile . .
	Numensium	Mumensium
10 and 19	Barurchus	Barinthus
253, 32	Mernos	Mernóc
254, 13	Brendatus	Brendanus
16 and 28	Barurchus	Barinthus

V. VITA SANCTI TATHEI.

Vespasian A. xiv, fo. 88b—92a.

P. 256, 16	<i>Here the MS. has the heading</i> De transitu ad Britanniam	
258, 12	Ynyr	Ynyrii
262, 18	Tesychius	Tesychius

VIII. DE BRACHAN BRECHEINIAUC.

Vespasian A. xiv, p. 602.

P. 272, 6	Theuderic	Teuderic
8	Brancoyn	Bran coyn
10	apprime	apprime
14 and 21	Aulac	Anlac
15	Lansevinin	Lan-semin or perhaps Lan- senun

EDITION.	THE MANUSCRIPT.
	Vespasian A. xiv, p. 602.
P. 272, 18 Metbrun	Metbrum <i>or perhaps</i> Meth- rum
273, 3, 7 <i>and</i> 26 Aulach	Anlach
9 dicit Emfernach . .	dicitur Enifernach . .
Lathmilich	Lithmilich
10 Mainaur . . Lounoie	Mainaur . . Louuoic
13 Brecheiniauc	Brecheniauc
28 oppressit	oppressit Banadlinet
35 Tewderic	Teuderic
274, 2 Clytuin	Clytguin
4 Clytguin	Clytguein
6 manie.Dingat	mannie.Dynigat
9 Rydoc vel Judoc	Rydoch (.i. Judoc)
10 Ridoch de vent Windourth	Ridoch (.i.eurus) windouith de vent
14 Enivel . . Hynyd	Euineil . . Hunyd
15 Melthreu	Meltheu
16 cof	cof (.i. memorie)
18 Cantre bychan . . Kebinagyr	Cantrebochan . . Kehingayr
19 Karedic	Keredic
20 fuit David	fuit sancti David
21 Cadeathuc	Cadeathuc
22 Brochuael Schitrave	Brochuail Schitrauc (v. cum dentibus)
23 Mugh . . Sanans . . Sanans	Meigh . . Sanand . . Sanant
25 Gerenerth . . Powys . . Joruerdiaun	Gereuerth . . Powis . . Joruerthiaun
27 Aithen Bradoc	Haidani bradoc (.i. in- sidiosi)

EDITION.	THE MANUSCRIPT.
	Vespasian A. xiv, p. 602.
P. 274, 28 a gorwed yn Nhywyn ym Meirion	que iacet in Thywin in Merioneth
ib. Nyneir	Nyuein
29 Konvar . . Meir- chiawn	Kenvarch . . Meirchiaun
30 Urien mater Cuer- delid mater . . Elidur Goscordd vawr	Vruoni matris Euerdel mat- ris . . Elidir Coscor vaur (.i. magne familie)
31 <i>dele</i> mater Elidir coscornaur	
32 Ledanwen	Lidanwen
33 hen	hen (.i. ueteris)
35 Gurind barmberuch	Guruid barmbetruch
36 Ciliveth	Eiliveth
37 ygryge gors anail	y gruge gors auail (.i. in agere lacus caltronis)
275, 1 ythrauit ogmor kedeython	ythraul ogmor. Keueython
2 cheunot	cheuor
3 Dewyn . . Anglis	Duyn . . . i. in Anglese
6 Brochan	Brachan
8 Aulach	Anlauch
9 Lanespetit	Lan espetit
10 Ribrawst et Roistri	Ribraust et Proistri
11 Keredigaun	Keredigan
16 Gwyncedyburdh	Gugancedyburdh
ib. fil . . (<i>thrice</i>)	filius . . filii . . filii
17 Karanone fil	Karanouc filius
18 fil . . Ker	filius . . Keredic
20 Tydiuc	Tyduic (?)

X. EPITOME HISTORIAE BRITANNIAE.

EDITION.

THE MANUSCRIPT.

Titus D. xxii, fo. 22a.

P. 278,	3 Anno mo.	Anno m°.
	26 Faganum et Diwanum	Ffaganum et Dubanum
279,	20 Morgannuc	Morgannuci
	23 Post	Et post
	29 Fortigerni	Ffortigerni
280,	23 vociferaret	vociferarent
	34 YOUR	zour
282,	5 Kereticus	Kareticus
284,	15 usque ad	usque ad Adam
	20 Ioruerth droyndon	Ioruarth droynd6n
285,	6 decolatus	decollatus
	9 Revel	Reuel
	19 Lantressen	Lantreissen
	29 biviis serutatas	biviis seruatas

(To be continued).

Further Notes on the Court of the Marches.

(WITH ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS.)

By D. LLEUFER THOMAS.

THE following observations are intended to preface, and in some degree to elucidate, a few documents relating to the history of the Court of the Marches. A sketch of the general history of that Court, with a more particular account of its personnel and jurisdiction, both immediately after the Act of Union and also some forty years later, was contributed to the last number of this journal by His Honour the late Judge David Lewis. This account was largely based upon contemporary letters and reports preserved at the Record Office, a selection of which Mr. Lewis had intended to have printed at length by way of Appendix to his paper. His untimely death, however, intervened, and the publication of the documents referred to had consequently to be deferred till the present number. While endeavouring to avoid a mere repetition of what has already been written on the subject, it is necessary to bring into saliency a few facts which may tend to show to what extent was there any continuity in the methods and policy of the Court and how far they were also varied from time to time. Several points not hitherto dealt with will also be briefly noticed.

It was in the reign of Edward IV that Ludlow was first established as a sort of capital of the Welsh Marches.

That king was the first to send the heir-apparent to the throne to hold Court in Ludlow. Born in November 1470, the King's eldest son—afterwards the ill-starred Edward V—was created Prince of Wales on 26 June, 1471. On 17 July of the same year, he received formal grants of the Principality of Wales, the counties palatine of Chester and Flint, and the Duchy of Cornwall. About the same time the King appointed a Council for the infant Prince, for the control of his education, and the management of his household. A business council for the affairs of the Principality was also appointed on 20 February, 1473;* and shortly afterwards, if not indeed previously, the Prince was sent down to Ludlow to keep court there with his mother, the Queen. "On 23 September the King drew up a set of ordinances alike for the 'virtuous guiding' of the young child, and for the good rule of his household, in which a more special charge was given to Earl Rivers (the Prince's maternal uncle) and John Alcock, Bishop of Rochester, than in the appointment of 1471."† Furthermore, on the 10th of November, Earl Rivers was appointed the Prince's governor, and Bishop Alcock his schoolmaster and President of his Council. Honours and special privileges were from time to time bestowed on the young Prince by his royal father, who also granted him numerous castles and lordships in Wales and the Marches. Of greater constitutional significance, however, was his appointment as Justiciar of Wales on 2 January, 1476, and the conferment upon him, on 29 December of the same year, of power to appoint

* Patent Roll, 12 Ed. IV, part 2, memb. 21.

† Mr. James Gairdner's article on Edward V in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, quoting the *Collection of Ordinances for the Household*, published by the Society of Antiquaries, 1790, pp. [*27] sq.

other justices in the Principality and Marches—a power which was, of course, to be exercised by his Council. It was subsequent to this, namely, in April, 1478, that the Prince and his Council paid their visit to Shrewsbury (referred to in *Y Cymmrodor*, xii, 21-3), sitting there in the Town-hall and making “certayne ordonances for the weale and tranquillitie of the same Towne.” What other visitations were made it is difficult to say, but the probability is that the young Prince spent most of his time at Ludlow, where he was still residing at the death of his father in April, 1483.* Though young Edward must have spent fully ten years in the Marches, very little is known concerning the work of his Council. Gerard tells us that his “Councillors were not resident,”—from which we may perhaps infer that they were merely summoned at irregular intervals or on emergencies. It is not unlikely that the Lord President busied himself more with the education of the young Prince than with any schemes for reforming the chronic lawlessness of the area under his jurisdiction.

We hear no more of a Court at Ludlow for a period of some ten years. Meanwhile, Henry VII had ascended the throne, and about 1493 he appears to have decided on repeating the Edwardian experiment, by sending his then heir and eldest son, Prince Arthur, to Ludlow. The castle there was refitted for the Prince’s reception, and another residence was also provided by the erection of a palace, amidst picturesque surroundings, on the western banks of the Severn, at Tickenhill, near Bewdley, in Worcestershire. During the Prince’s lifetime, the Court which he held at Ludlow bore no other name than “Prince

* On 26 Feb., 1483, or exactly six weeks before his death, the King granted to the Prince the lordships of Usk and Caerleon. It was, perhaps, the last token of his parental affection for his son.

Arthur's Council." Owing to his youth—he was only sixteen when he died in 1502—the task of presiding over the deliberations of the Council must have been performed, as in the case of Prince Edward, by one of the Councillors, most probably William Smith, or Smyth, Bishop of Lincoln. At all events, it is he that is mentioned in the Court's own records as being the first Lord President of the Council, Alcock's previous tenure of the office being ignored.

From his youth upwards Smith, who has been described by a recent biographer* as "one of the enlightened statesmen prelates of his age," had the good fortune to enjoy the patronage of Henry VII and his mother, Margaret, the Countess of Richmond. It was in the latter's household, where a sort of private school was maintained, that, according to a probable tradition, he had received his early education. At the beginning of 1493, when he was only about twenty-three years of age, he was made Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield,† while even two years previously the temporalities of the see had been unconditionally

* Mr. I. S. Leadam, in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. This work, it may also be mentioned, contains articles on all the Lords President (with some four or five exceptions) from the establishment down to the abolition of the Court.

† This was the usual title of the Diocese of Lichfield down till 1836. At the time referred to in the text, it was colloquially known as the Diocese of Chester, though strictly speaking there was no Diocese of that name before 1541, when the Chester Diocese was carved out of that of Lichfield. The important border towns of Chester and Shrewsbury lay within its limits, though Ludlow and Bewdley were in the Diocese of Hereford. The Diocese of Lichfield still extends westwards nearly to Wat's Dyke, and actually includes within its boundaries one small bit of Wales, namely, the ecclesiastical parish of Penley in Flintshire. It is to be noted that four out of the eight bishops who became Presidents of the Council were or had been Bishops of Lichfield, while a fifth had been Chancellor and Vicar-General of the diocese.

granted to him, for his own personal use if so he thought fit to apply them. He at once diligently applied himself to his episcopal duties, but his attention was almost immediately withdrawn from them by Welsh affairs, for within three months after arriving in his diocese he was acting as a member of Prince Arthur's Council. Scarcely did a year elapse before he found it necessary to appoint a suffragan, so as to enable him to be in continual attendance at the Council, from which, during the next few years, he seems to have been seldom absent. Though translated in January 1496, from Lichfield to Lincoln, he was unable to find time to make his first entry into the cathedral city of his new diocese before the spring of 1501, a projected visitation in the previous year having been frustrated by a sudden recall to Bewdley on business relating to the Marches. It was on 22 August 1501, however, that he was formally appointed Lord President of the Council, being in fact the first on whom the title was conferred; but as a matter of fact he had been president in all respects but the name for several years previously. In September of the same year (1501), Prince Arthur paid a visit to Oxford, accompanied by Smith, who was then Chancellor of that University. Some two months later (Nov. 14) the Prince was married to Catherine of Arragon, and shortly afterwards he returned with his bride to Ludlow, attended as before by Smith, whose presidency has been erroneously described by most authorities as dating only from the time of the Prince's return after the marriage. Within less than five months, namely, on 2 April, 1502, the Prince died at Ludlow, and during the remainder of his reign the royal parent does not appear to have taken any further interest in the Council which had been named after the Prince whom he had now lost. The second son, Prince Henry (afterwards Henry VIII),

was, it is true, created Prince of Wales about twelve months later, but he was never, like his brother, sent to Ludlow, nor does it seem that the now neglected Council of the Marches was ever called after his name. After Prince Arthur's death, Bishop Smith, too, though he continued President, was much less occupied with the business of the Council. With the death of both his royal patrons—Henry VII and the Countess of Richmond—in 1509, his name practically disappears from the Domestic State Papers. His later years he appears to have wholly spent within his diocese, where he died on 2 January, 1514.

Smith was not only the first, but also one of the greatest of the many prelates who presided over the Council of the Marches. His fame as an administrator has, to some extent, been eclipsed by that of Bishop Lee, of whom we shall speak presently—partly because a policy of repression, such as the latter pursued, leaves a more abiding impression on the public mind, and furnishes more tangible material for the historian than a policy of conciliation. Lee was undoubtedly a strong personality; but without the strength of Thomas Cromwell to support him, not to mention that of Cromwell's royal master, Henry VIII, Lee's administration in the Marches might have spelt failure, and have resulted in a serious revolt. Gentler methods were resorted to by Smith, whose aim seems to have been to educate the Welsh gentry by an appeal to their love of display, and of social enjoyments generally* ;

* To enable him to provide a liberal table for himself and the Council, Smith was granted a salary of £20 a week, equivalent, it has been computed, to £12,000 a year of our money. Smith's benefactions were so numerous and liberal that, according to Fuller, "this man wheresoever he went may be followed by the perfume of charity he left behind him."

the power of the central government was therefore represented at Ludlow, in his time, more by the courtly dignity and exalted condition of the councillors, and by a generous expenditure on splendid court entertainments, rather than by such object lessons in coercion as the wholesale gibbeting of felons which delighted the heart of "Bishop Rowland."

Henry VII's intention was, undoubtedly, that Ludlow Castle should be a royal residence for the Prince of Wales for the time being, and this fact rendered it necessary that the Prince's Council should, as far as possible, be stationary rather than perambulatory. In this respect it differed from the Council presided over by Bishop Lee, while the difference between it and the earlier experiment of Edward IV, seems to have consisted in the fact that its members were in continual attendance at the Court, and not merely summoned thereto as occasion required. This is presumably the meaning to be attached to Gerard's statement in his Discourse, when he says that Henry VII sent Prince Arthur to Ludlow, "and with him Counsellors and Commissioners, here to remain settled (for allthough the kinge E. the 4 sent hether Counsellors yett they were not resident)."

For fully twenty-three years after Prince Arthur's death, no member of the Royal family seems to have even visited, still less resided at, Ludlow, and consequently the Council of the Marches lost much of its importance during that period. The Lord Presidency was not, however, allowed to lapse, for on Smith's death, in 1514, a successor was appointed in the person of Jeffery Blythe, whose chief qualification was that he had been Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield since 1503, and might therefore be presumed to have some acquaintance with the Marches, at least on the English side. He was probably not expected to pay much close attention to Welsh affairs, and his energies were in

fact chiefly directed to the repair and decoration of his Cathedral at Lichfield. If the expression might be allowed, his appointment was in the nature of a "stop-gap," for no sooner was it decided to send another member of the royal family to Ludlow, than Blythe was superseded in the Presidency of the Council. It was in September 1525, that Henry VIII sent to the capital of the Marches his then only surviving child born in wedlock, the Princess (afterwards Queen) Mary, who at that time was barely ten years of age. Though she had not been formally created Princess of Wales, the King then seemed disposed, in the absence of legitimate male issue, to regard her as such, and she was generally so described, except in strictly legal documents.

So responsible a charge as the custody and supervision of the successor-apparent to the Throne could be entrusted only to some tried and accomplished courtier who enjoyed a full measure of the King's favour. Blythe was therefore superseded (though he continued Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield till his death in 1530), and the Lord Presidency, with "the government of the King's onelie daughter ladie Marie Princesse of Wales,"* was conferred upon John Voysey (or Veysey), Bishop of Exeter, then reputed to be "the best courtier among the bishops." Voysey was by no means unacquainted with the district he was now sent to, for he had previously acted for a few years (1498-1502) as Vicar-General and Chancellor for John Arundel, Blythe's predecessor in the bishopric of Lichfield. He had also been Archdeacon of Chester (1499-1515), and still later had been presented by the King, on 10 July 1518, to the rich living of Meifod in Montgomeryshire. Whatever may have been the case with the former, the latter was, of

* Powel's *History of Wales*, (ed. 1584), p. 393.

course, a sinecure appointment, and most probably Blythe never set foot within the limits of Wales itself. A large retinue of courtiers was bestowed upon the princess, and with Voysey at the head of affairs, we may be sure that the ceremonial functions of the Court were by no means neglected. Special mention is made of the pomp with which the Princess kept her first Christmas at the Castle.

But Ludlow seemed to bring ill-luck to its royal residents. Though the King had exhibited his solicitude for the Princess, by including in the instructions to the Lord President very explicit directions as to her mental and physical culture, she was shortly to be treated but as a pawn in the battle-royal he was waging against her mother. For immediately he resolved to secure a divorce from Catherine, almost his first "move" in the game was to break up the Princess's household at Ludlow, as a precaution against the possible formation of a political party in her favour. In 1528, Mary was therefore recalled and degraded from the status of Princess. With his occupation gone, Voysey probably returned to the more congenial atmosphere of the Kings' own court, leaving Welsh affairs to take their own course, though he retained the official position of Lord President till 1534. During this interval, there was no strong authority to keep in check the latent lawlessness of the Marches, which since the withdrawal of Mary—and possibly owing to that act, had grown so rampant as to become well-nigh intolerable.* Down to this time, Henry VIII had probably no very defi-

* Wales did not stand quite alone in this respect. Several other parts of England, notably the counties of Hants, Wilts, Somerset, Devon and Cornwall, were also in a somewhat lawless condition at this time, and as Froude puts it were in need of "discipline of a similar kind" to that administered to the Welsh Marches by Rowland Lee. Henry VIII first addressed a circular letter to the Justices of Peace in

nite policy as regards Wales, but with the assistance of his clear-headed minister Thomas Cromwell, he seems to have realised that no policy other than one of stern repression was now possible. To carry this out a man of Cromwell's own stamp was required, and the courtly Voysey was therefore succeeded by Rowland Lee, perhaps the most unclerical prelate ever raised to the episcopal bench in England.

Curiously enough the new Lord President had come into some contact with two of his predecessors in that office. It was by William Smith, then bishop of Lincoln, that he was ordained, while Blythe, about 1527, not only conferred on him a prebend in Lichfield Cathedral but also made him his Chancellor. But it was contact with Cromwell that influenced the whole of Lee's subsequent career. They are first mentioned as associated together in 1528, being then engaged by Wolsey in the suppression of some of the lesser monasteries,* but two years later we find proof of Cromwell's high opinion of Lee in the fact that he placed his son under Lee's care. During the next few years, Lee was constantly employed in the King's service, in most delicate matters relating to the divorce proceedings, and there is some ground for believing—though tradition is somewhat uncertain on the point and there is no conclusive documentary evidence—that it was Lee who celebrated the secret marriage between Henry and Ann Boleyn. His appointment to the bishopric of Coventry and Lichfield, in December 1533, was presumably his reward.

those Western Counties of England, but that proving ineffectual, special commissions were despatched to them in 1539, with the result that numerous felons were hanged (see Froude's *History of England*, iii, 233 *et seq.*).

* Lee's cousin, Sir Thomas Lee (or Legh as his name was more commonly written), was at a later date engaged along with the Welshman, Sir John Price, in the suppression of the larger monasteries.

To this was added, in the following May, the Lord Presidency of the Marches Court. Lee's outspokenness in his correspondence enables us to realise pretty vividly what manner of man he was. He was essentially a man of action. "I was never hitherto in the pulpit," was his own statement more than a year after he had been made bishop. Nor is it likely that he subsequently paid more personal attention to his spiritual, or episcopal duties, especially as he appointed a suffragan to attend to them in his stead. Evidence of his sporting predilections is found in the fact that on one occasion he sent a gift of partridges to Cromwell, whom he also informed that he had just "killed a great buck." On another occasion he begs Cromwell to send him "a warrant for a stag in the forest of Wyer."* In a charming pen picture Froude describes him as "the last survivor of the old martial prelates, fitter for harness than for bishop's robes, for a court of justice than a court of theology, more at home at the head of his troopers chasing cattle-stealers in the gorges of Llangollen, than hunting heretics to the stake, or chasing formulas in the arduous defiles of controversy."†

Such was the man who was now despatched to the Marches. Within a month of his appointment, or about the end of June 1534, he had already started for Ludlow.

* Letter dated Welshpool, 18 July, 1538, calendared in *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII*, vol. xiii, part 1, p. 523. It is also reproduced in *Bye-Gones* for 1895-6, p. 479.

† Froude, *Hist. of England*, iii, 229. By way of contrast with the above, and as a specimen of contemporary abuse, we may quote what was written of Lee by one of Cromwell's agents in a letter addressed to Cromwell himself on Lee's promotion to a bishopric: "You have lately holpen an earthly beast, a mole, and an enemy to all godly learning into the office of his damnation—a papist, an idolator, and a fleshly priest into a bishop of Chester."

No time was lost before the abuses of the country were resolutely grappled with. Before the end of the year, there were passed as many as five Acts of Parliament, which were directed against the disorders of the Marches.* To find a parallel to this drastic legislation we have to look back to the repressive measures passed in the time of Henry IV immediately after the revolt of Glendower.

But in addition to the provisions of these parliamentary enactments, Lee was empowered to put down crime by capital punishment, a power which had not been exercised by his predecessors owing to the spiritual nature of their office as bishops. Lee, however, bishop though he was, had no scruple on this point, for he realised that "to have that country in order, punishment must be done." Nor did he allow his actions to be fettered by too strict an interpretation either of the powers vested in him or of the jurisdiction of his Council, for in complaining to Cromwell of the frequent miscarriage of justice, he asserted that "by the common law, things so far out of order will never

* These were, 26 Henry VIII, c. 4, 5, 6, 11 and 12. The most important of these was the Act concerning Councils in Wales (c. 6), which provided, *inter alia*, that all murders and felonies committed within any Lordship Marcher in Wales should be tried in the nearest English county. The preamble to this Act presents a gloomy picture of the country which Lee had to reduce into order. It recites that—

"The People of Wales, and the Marches of the same, not dreading the good and wholsom Laws and Statutes of the Realm, have of long time continued and persevered in Perpetration and Commission of divers and manifold Thefts, Murthers, Rebellions, wilfull burnings of Houses, and other scelerous Deeds, and abominable malefacts, to the high displeasure of God, Inquietation of the King's well-disposed subjects, and Disturbance of the Publick Weal, which malefacts and scelerous deeds be so rooted and fixed in the same people that they be not like to cease unless some sharp correction and punishment for Redress and Amputation of the premisses be provided, according to the Demerits of the offenders."

be redressed.”* Generally, he was given a fairly free hand, the only caution impressed upon him by Cromwell being that there should be no partiality or favouritism, that “indifferent justice must be ministered to poor and rich according to their demerits.” In the execution of his duty, Lee proved to be no respecter of persons, and after one Sessions, he reported to his chief, not without some satisfaction, we may imagine, that he hanged “four of the best blood in the county of Shropshire.” Such Draconian severity was inevitably bound to stir up against him the bitter enmity of many of the magnates of the Marches. The Earl of Worcester and other lords marchers attempted to evade his authority, ‘shire gentlemen’ disdained his inferior Court:† he was sometimes disavowed by Cromwell,” and as was pointed out in the previous article,‡ he experienced some difficulty in obtaining repayment of his disbursements in the repair of the royal castles. At one time it was even proposed to supersede him by appointing the Bishop of Hereford to the lord presidency.§ But in spite of his many difficulties and discouragements, he persevered in the great task he had undertaken, devoting practically his whole time to the work of the Council, and rarely being able to “steal home” to Lichfield. Within the area of his jurisdiction as lord president, he was continually moving about. This was not only the distinctive feature of his administration, it was also the chief secret of its success. Other Presidents, both before and after him, notably Bishop Smith, Sir Henry Sidney and

* Letter to Cromwell, 18 July, 1538, quoted p. 107, above.

† See Lee’s letter reproduced in Clive’s *Ludlow*, p. 160, where allusion is made to the “mallyce and proude of Cheshiers gentlemen, disdeyninge this inferyore Courte and the ordere of the same.”

‡ *I Cymmrodor*, xii, 37-8.

§ *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, xii, 986.

Lord Carbery, associated with their office a generous patronage of literature, and they aimed at making Ludlow, so far as possible, a congenial meeting place for learned men from the Universities. For such a policy Lee had neither the taste nor the necessary leisure, and his administration, as one of strenuous unrelaxing action, stands out in marked contrast to that of Presidents who lived in less troublous times.

There is reason to believe that Lee's severity was greatly exaggerated both in contemporary opinion and subsequently by popular tradition, partly because rumour always tends to magnify the unpleasant, but still more so perhaps because Lee fully realised that his Government might derive additional strength from the more submissive fear of the law which such exaggerated notions would produce. This view is suggested by a certain tone of braggadocio discernible in his correspondence and also by the theatricality of most of his punishments. "All the thieves in Wales quake for fear," he somewhat boastfully writes in the letter printed below. "If he [the thief] be taken, he playeth his pageant," he cynically adds, on another occasion. An indication of what was the popular notion then current among Welshmen concerning Lee's administration has fortunately been preserved for us in the contemporary memoranda of Ellis Griffith, a Welsh soldier stationed at Calais.* After referring to the fact that, about 1534-5, "there was much disorder within the districts of Powys, Kynlleth and Mochnant"—which were then notorious for the outlaws to whom reference will be made later, the writer proceeds thus :

"And at this time the king appointed [Rowland Lee]

* Mostyn MSS., No. 158. The extract given above is from Mr. Gwenogvryn Evans's account of the MS. in his *Report in MSS. in the Welsh Language* (1898), Intro. p. x.

Bishop of Chester as president of his council in that part of Wales, and gave him and 'his people' full authority to administer punishment to those who merited it according to their deserts, and it is said that over 5,000 men were hanged within the space of six years, among whom were certain men of the guard with the King's liveries on their backs. It was at this time that the bishop made complaint of certain laws and customs which were observed and upheld in certain lordships and sanctuaries (*nodduaiav*) in Wales, and as a consequence the sanctuaries lost their 'authority' as places of refuge both in Wales and England from this time forth, except in cases of 'chance medley' and killing in self-defence Moreover on the bishop's advice the parliament enacted at Westminster that no man within the borders of Wales should bear a dagger or bow or spear or glaive, or a weapon of any description in his hand, either to church, market, shire [-moot], hundred [-moot], pleadings, court, assembly or session, under pains of a heavy penalty and imprisonment."

Just as later historians have discredited the old statement that seventy-two thousand criminals were executed in England during the reign of Henry VIII, so we may also be reasonably certain that the estimate of five thousand persons capitally punished within six years in Wales and the Marches is likewise a very considerable exaggeration.

Several old writers,* have also ascribed to Lee the credit of having induced the King to complete the division of Wales into shires, and its incorporation with England. It is now established, however, that the reverse was the case, inasmuch as Lee protested against the Act of Union

* *E.g.*, Godwin in his *De Praesulibus*, quoted in Clive's *Ludlow*, p. 158.

of 1535, which made Wales and the Marches shire ground, and which gave them justices of the peace and gaol delivery as in England. His opposition was mainly due to his mistrust of those who would have to serve as jurors, whether on the grand or petty jury, in the trial of criminal cases. He had frequently to complain of the manner in which they abused their powers and disregarded their oaths. Forwarding to Cromwell on one occasion (17 July, 1538) a list of murders and manslaughters in Cheshire, in which no bills would have been preferred but for the intervention of the Council, he complained that "though at the late assizes many bills, well supported, were put into the 'greate enqueste' [*i.e.*, the grand jury], yet contrary to their duty they have found murders to be manslaughters and riots to be misbehaviour." On another occasion, at the Gloucestershire assizes, "one Roger Morgan of Wales"* was acquitted "against strong evidence" on a charge of forcibly carrying off a widow from a church.†

Shropshire was the only county as to which he was able to say that "the King was well served." In the other English shires within his jurisdiction, the jurors

* See *I' Cymmrodor*, xii, 48.

† "This is a vice common in Wales, and for its reformation we caused the trial to be made, but all the honest persons we had appointed to the inquest absented themselves."—Lee to Cromwell, 28 Feb., 1538. Cf. also *Stradling Correspondence*, p. 347, where reference is made to a suit brought in the Court of Wards and Liveries in 1584 against Sir Edward Stradling for seizing an heiress and her lands; also *Arch. Camb.*, V, vii, 98, where another Glamorganshire man of the time of Elizabeth is said to have looked out for "marriageable young women who were entitled to lands or portions, forcibly carried them off, and then disposed of them to the highest bidder". In a subsequent letter (16 March, 1638) Lee again refers to the Gloucestershire case thus: "When it came to the trial of the Morgans the rest of the gentlemen could not be found in the town by the

often played him false, and in spite of the pains and penalties which he inflicted on them, it was difficult to get justice "indifferently ministered". If this occurred in the English shires, it would be folly, he probably argued, to extend to Wales the criminal law of England, and futile to expect Welshmen to give verdicts in accordance with the evidence laid before them! "If one thief shall try another," he protested, "all we have begun is fore-done." The Welsh he held to be as yet unfit to enjoy the fuller privilege of having their legal institutions assimilated in every respect to those of England.* "Whether at his instance, or for other reasons, the 'shiring' of the marches seems to have been postponed for some years, for in 1539 and 1540, Lee commended petitions urging that the country was better as it was than as shire ground."† On 11 April 1540—in the last of his extant letters to Cromwell—he wrote that he had been asked to head the commission for translating Denbigh-land into shire-ground, but as his opinion had been sought, he said he thought it unwise.

Fortunately, the more enlightened opinion of some of the leading Welshmen of the day prevailed, and the administration of justice in Wales was assimilated, almost throughout, to the English system. Sir Richard Herbert, of Montgomery, deserves to be specially mentioned, not only

Sheriff, so we were fain to take such as remained, who against the evidence acquitted the Morgans. . . . Mr. Justice Porte will confess the premises to be true, as I willed him and his associate at the assizes, Mr. Montague, to cess good fines upon the gentlemen that departed of their disobedience." In the Cheshire case, referred to in the text above, Lee had the grand jury committed to prison "for their lightness."

* Letter dated 12 March 1533, calendared in *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, i, p. 454.

† Mr. James Tait in *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

for his advocacy of the more liberal policy, which was subsequently adopted, but also for the material assistance which he rendered to the authorities in repressing the lawlessness for which Mid-Wales was so notorious in the early part of the 16th century.

His great grandson, the first Lord Herbert of Cherbury, writes thus of him in his *History of Henry the Eighth*, under the date 1520 :

“ In the greater part [of Wales] and particularly those [parts] in the East, West, and North Wales, being about this time administered by my great grandfather, Sir Richard Herbert. . . . such justice was used as I find in our records highly commended to the King’s Council by Rowland Lee, now President of Wales.”

In his “Autobiography,”* Lord Herbert further states that Sir Richard, whom he describes as “steward” of the lordship and marches of North Wales, East Wales and Cardiganshire, “had power, in a martial law, to execute offenders,—in the using thereof he was so just that he acquired to himself a singular reputation . . . he was a great suppressor of rebels, thieves and outlaws;” and to all this, the descendant adds that “he was just and conscionable, for if a false or cruel person had that power committed to his hands, he would have raised a great fortune out of it, wherefore he left little, save what his father gave him, unto posterity.”

To Sir Richard’s influence, not improbably, is to be

* See Mr. Sidney Lee’s edition (1886), p. 10. Sir Richard Herbert died about 1640. Edward Herbert, of Montgomery, who was his eldest son by his second wife, continued his father’s good work by way of keeping in check the more lawless inhabitants of Mid-Wales. He, too, is described by his descendant as “noted to be a great enemy to the outlaws and thieves of his time, who robbed in great numbers in the mountains of Montgomeryshire, for the suppressing of whom he went both day and night to the places where they were.”

ascribed some of the reforms brought about by the Act of 1543 (34 and 35 Henry VIII, c. 26) which completed the incorporation of Wales with England. His name stands first among a number of residents "within the countryes and lordshippes marcheres lately appointed to be sheere of Montgomery" who, between 1536 and 1542, addressed a petition to the King with reference to several of the points which were subsequently dealt with by the Statute in question.* Among other things, they petitioned for an annual appointment to the shrievalty, and that complainants should be allowed to prosecute offenders and bring suits in the 'Leet' of whatever lordship they might happen to reside in—"by menes whereof shall be avoided greate corruptyon of justyce as sellying of pannelles, oppreshones, extortyones, robberyes and other manifolde grievances to the unreasonable subjectyon of the said petycioneres." With a view to the "correction" of thieves and other petty offenders, they petitioned for the appointment of "Justices of Peace amongst themselves to doe and execute in everythinge as other Justycees doe in the Shieres of England." The abolition of gavelkind was also one of the reforms that they prayed for.

It will thus be seen that there were many inhabitants of Wales who were earnestly striving to secure the establishment and maintenance of law and order throughout the Principality. Though they may not have agreed with Lee as to the best constitutional reforms with a view to the future government of the country, still there can be little doubt that he was on the whole able to count on their support in his vigorous suppression of the more serious offences of the time. Indeed so successful was he in this respect, so thoroughly did he accomplish his work, that

* The petition, which is undated, is printed at length from Harleian MSS., vol. 368, in *Montgomeryshire Collections*, ii, 168-172.

before the end of his days he was able to quote Wales as a model for some of the English districts on the Eastern side of the border, notably certain parts of Gloucestershire and Cheshire, where his authority had nearly all along been defied. "I am sure [there have been] more murders and manslaughters in Cheshir and the borderes of the same within this yeare then in all Wales this yeare,"* he once wrote to Cromwell, and he challenged the unruly gentlemen of Cheshire to deny it.

Lee's strenuous life was brought to a close at the College of St. Chad, Shrewsbury, on 28 Jan. 1543. He was succeeded, both as President of the Council and as Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, by Richard Sampson, previously Bishop of Chichester. In the second year of Edward VI (1648) Sampson was superseded in the Presidency by John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, who, as Clive suggests, probably never visited Ludlow during his brief tenure of the office. The only thing worthy of remark concerning his Presidency is that he was the first layman who ever held the appointment. The Presidents who preceded him had all been Bishops, but only two out of the fourteen who succeeded him in the office were prelates. It is also significant that it was during Mary's reign that the two episcopal appointments in question were made.† During the reigns of Edward and Elizabeth, on the other hand, we find not a single Bishop presiding over the Council at Ludlow. With the Reformation, the respective spheres of Church and State came to be more clearly defined than heretofore, and the practice of appointing ecclesiastics to secular offices began to fall into desuetude.

* See the letter printed in Clive's *Ludlow*, 159-161.

† Similarly, the Lord Chancellors during Mary's reign were also ecclesiastics.

There was also a significance about the selection of Dudley's successor, namely William Herbert, first Earl of Pembroke (of the 2nd creation) who received his appointment, 8 April 1550. He was the first Welshman on whom the office was conferred. By this time the pacification of the Marches had been well-nigh accomplished. What was now most needed was to attract Welshmen into the service of the State, and to bring home to them the knowledge that there were larger openings for them in the public life of England. The honours showered on Herbert, and his appointment as Lord President, were well calculated to further this policy. He held the office till the death of Edward VI, whereupon Mary reverted to the older practice of conferring the Presidency on a Bishop, her choice falling on Nicholas Heath,* afterwards Archbishop of York and Lord Chancellor. Herbert was, however, reappointed on Heath's resignation in 1556, this being the only instance of a re-appointment to the Presidency for a second term of office. Towards the end of the summer of 1558, the Queen seems to have had occasion to write to the Earl (who was spending his time at Wilton instead of at Ludlow) remonstrating with him for his absenteeism, and calling his attention to the fact that the Marches were in some disorder "for want of a President residing there". To this, the Earl replied, some time in August, expressing his readiness to resign the Presidency, but declining to recommend a successor.†

Once more the Queen chose a Bishop, and on 29 October a letter was sent to Gilbert Bourne, Bishop of Bath and Wells, informing him of his appointment to the office, and

* Heath's appointment was, perhaps, attributable to the fact that he was Bishop of Worcester, and his See accordingly included a portion of the Marches.

† *Cal. of State Papers, Dom.*, 1547-1580, p. 106.

two days later, "Instructions" were issued to him and his Council.* Seventeen days later Mary died, and though Bourne may have nominally continued President for a little longer, he, as a Catholic, must have regarded his tenure of it extremely insecure from the moment of Mary's death. Elizabeth does not, however, seem to have made a fresh appointment till the beginning of the new year, probably February 1559,† when the Presidency was conferred on John, Lord Williams of Thame,‡ as a reward for his considerate treatment of the Queen when in his custody. As he was at the time in indifferent health, the Queen also appointed Sir Hugh Paulet|| as vice-president. So serious a turn did Lord Williams's illness assume that he was not expected to recover, and Lord Paget, on 17 March, wrote to Cecil soliciting the reversion of the office.§ His indecent haste in the matter did him no good. Williams

* *Cal. of State Papers, Dom.*, 1547-1580, pp. 108-9. Bourne's appointment was perhaps due to the fact that he was a native of Worcester (Clive, p. 202).

† *Ibid.*, p. 123, where Elizabeth's letter to Bourne, revoking his appointment, is calendared under Feb. (?) 1559.

‡ Williams (who belonged to the Glamorgan family of that name, one member of which married a sister of Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, while from another member Oliver Cromwell was descended) was the second son of Sir John Williams, knight, by Elizabeth, daughter and co-heir of Richard More of Burghfield, Oxon, which place Williams acquired by his marriage. The son was amongst the foremost in supporting Queen Mary on the death of Edward VI, for which in April 1553, he was raised to the peerage with the title Lord Williams of Thame. He is best known to history as sharing with Sir Henry Bedingfield the keepership of the Princess Elizabeth, whom he entertained with much pomp at his house at Rycote, while Bedingfield meted a sterner treatment to the Princess.

|| Sir Hugh Paulet, who was a member of the Somersetshire family of that name, was military commander and governor of Jersey from 1550 till his death in or about 1572. He was the father of Sir Amias Paulet, the keeper of Mary Queen of Scots.

§ *Cal. of State Papers, Dom.*, 126.

got better, and on 18 June was able to write to the vice-president that he would meet him and the Council at Worcester. In a letter written to Cecil a week later, Paulet cheerfully resigns his vice-presidency, as he was anxious to return to his duties in Jersey, whence he had been withdrawn by his Welsh appointment.* A communication from Paulet, to the Privy Council, dated 1st of October, discloses the fact that he continued in office for some time longer—probably on account of a recurrence of Williams's illness, for he died on 14 October 1559.

The Presidency thus became once more vacant. Six appointments to the office had been made during the ten years from 1549 to 1559. These rapid changes afforded little opportunity for each successive President to gain any very intimate knowledge of Wales or to undertake any important reforms. It is, therefore, not surprising that none of Rowland Lee's immediate successors won themselves a reputation as Welsh administrators. Lord Williams's successor—Sir Henry Sidney—was, however, destined to hold the office for a longer period than any other President either before or after his time. His tenure of it extended from the latter end of 1559, or possibly the commencement of 1560, till his death at Ludlow on 5 May 1586. His appointment was, in the first instance, due to the fact that Cecil wanted to secure his absence, for the time being, from Court, where his staunch support of the Earl of Leicester (who then aspired for the Queen's hand) clashed with Cecil's own views as to the most suitable alliance for Elizabeth. But as Sidney found the duties at Ludlow comparatively light, he was still able to spend at Court more time than suited Cecil's taste. In April 1562 he was therefore sent on a mission to France,

* *Cal. of State Papers, Dom.*, p. 132.

and this was followed by a mission to Scotland. To provide for his absence from Ludlow, the Queen, on 15 May 1562, appointed William Gerard (of whom more hereafter) to be vice-president of the Welsh Council. In October 1565 Sidney was appointed lord deputy of Ireland, in which country he remained for the next two years. When he returned (in Oct. 1567) his health was much shattered, and to his chagrin he received but a cold reception at Court, whereupon he retired to his home at Penshurst. It was then generally expected that he would be deprived of the Welsh Presidency, to which he had hitherto not been able to pay much personal attention. In a few months' time, however, he was once more in favour. In September 1568 he again returned to his charge in Ireland, remaining there this time till the end of March 1571.

During his absence on this occasion the vice-presidency was held by Sir Hugh Cholmondeley,* or Cholmley, the then head of the Cheshire family of that name. During the next four and a half years—from March 1571 till his reappointment to Ireland in August 1575—Sidney devoted a considerable portion of his time to the duties in the Welsh Marches. Things had not gone all right in his absence. In 1570 an inquiry seems to have been instituted on behalf of the Privy Council into the conduct of the business of the Court;† Mr. Townsend “prepared some notes touching sundry things to be reformed in Wales and added to Her Majesty’s instructions given to her Council there”;‡ a new set of orders was drawn up by the Privy

* See Clive’s *Ludlow*, p. 210. Letters addressed to Sir Hugh as vice-president are calendared under 14 May 1569, in *Hist. MSS. Com., App. to 8th Report*, p. 374, and under 31 May 1571, in *Cal. of State Papers, Dom., 1547-1580*, p. 414. Sir Hugh, who died in 1597, was five times Sheriff of Cheshire, and also Sheriff of Flintshire in 1582-3.

† See *State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. 75, Nos. 80-3.

‡ The Lord President’s Instructions were being continually added

Council "for direction and reformation of the Queen's Court in the Marches"; and among other minor points, better service was required from the Queen's Attorney (Thomas Atkyns), who was henceforth to be a member of the Council. Later on some complaints were made against Sidney's nominations for the shrievalty in Wales.* On 19th and 20th November 1572 he writes to Lord Burleigh and the Council respectively, exonerating himself from the unjust imputations made on him as to his return of persons as sheriffs, and justifying the course he had pursued in the matter. Sidney's correspondence at this time furnishes a good reason for believing that so long as he remained in England, he did not neglect Welsh affairs.† In August 1575 he was, however, again reappointed lord deputy of Ireland, and was consequently over in that country till Sept. 1578, when he finally relinquished his Irish charge, and returned to England much shattered in health. Sir Andrew Corbet appears to have acted as vice-president during part of this time, and he was probably the holder of the office whom Gerard described in 1576 as "a verie sicklie man not able to take the toyle of y^t service."‡ Corbett at all events died on 16 August 1578.

to, varied, or otherwise amended about this time. Fresh instructions were issued to Sidney in June 1574 (Clive's *Ludlow*, 309-350, where they are printed at length), and again in June 1576 (*Cal. of State Pap.*, 1547-1580, p. 525), and additions to these were made in July 1577 (Clive, p. 350).

* As a specimen of these complaints, see letter of 2 Dec. 1572 from Walter, Earl of Essex, to Lord Burleigh, objecting to some of the Welsh Sheriffs-elect and recommending friends of his own for the office in Carmarthenshire.

† Three letters written by him from Ludlow, in the autumn of 1574, to Sir Edward Stradling, are published in the *Stradling Correspondence*, which also contains six other letters addressed by him to the same correspondent in 1580-84 (pp. 11-22).

‡ *Y Cymmrodor*, xii, 55.

It was probably to succeed Corbett that Whitgift (who became Bishop of Worcester in 1577) was appointed to the vice-presidency.* This selection of a bishop, though only to the post of deputy, may have been thought desirable so as to further the spread of Protestantism in Wales, which for the most part still remained a stronghold of Præ-Reformation belief and practices. This was certainly a work on which Elizabeth's heart was firmly set, for when Sidney happened to absent himself from Ludlow in 1580, the Queen ordered him to return to his post, and shortly afterwards censured him for his laxity in carrying out her instructions "for the reformation of the recusants and obstinate persons in religion within Wales". As to his few remaining years, he seems to have spent a considerable portion at Ludlow, where he busied himself with repairing the Castle and in bestowing his patronage on men of letters. There were reforms in legal procedure and in the details of practice still to be effected, and to this end some of the more prominent members of the Council, including William Gerard and Dr. David Lewis,† were

* "He held the office for two years and a half, and performed multifarious administrative duties with beneficial energy and thoroughness" (*Dict. of Nat. Biog.*) But his greatest service to Wales was the encouragement he gave Bishop Morgan to proceed with his translation of the Bible into Welsh (see Dedication to Welsh Bible, 1588).

† As to Dr. Lewis, see a short article by the present writer in *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, another volume of which work has a succinct account of Gerard (though otherwise stated in *I Cymmrodor*, xii, 12) by Mr. J. M. Rigg. Lewis, who was a native of Abergavenny, was appointed judge of the High Court of Admiralty in 1558, which office he exchanged in 1575 for that of joint commissioner of the Admiralty with another Welshman, Sir John Herbert. Lewis is described as an active judge, and as he was much occupied in connection with the maritime difficulties of the Elizabethan period, it was hardly possible that he found time to pay much close attention to the work of the Welsh Council. On the other hand, Gerard was, in one way or other, closely associated with the administration of justice in

requested to address themselves, and to prepare special memoranda for the information of the Secretary of State. But most of the rougher work of extirpating outlaws and breaking up organised bands of robbers had been accomplished by his predecessor, Lee.* So that in his last days, Sidney, when reviewing his administrative connection with Wales, was able to say with pride that "a better people to govern than the Welsh Europe holdeth not." The conciliatory policy of equal treatment for Welshmen and Englishmen alike had also succeeded beyond all expectation. There was still an occasional black spot in the country, where the last remnants of outlaw and robber gangs maintained a precarious existence,

Wales and the Marches for upwards of 20 years. He became a member of the Council about 1553, and, as above mentioned, was appointed vice-president in 1562. He also served as recorder of Chester from 1555 to 1572 (during part of which time he was also M.P. for the borough), and was judge of the Great Sessions for the counties of Brecknock, Glamorgan and Radnor from 9 Sept. 1559 till his death, though the duties of the office were in his later years discharged by deputy. On 23 April 1576, he was appointed lord chancellor of Ireland, and Sir Henry Sidney, who then held both the presidency of the Welsh Council and the vice-royalty of Ireland, expressed thereat the greatest satisfaction. "I have had long experience of him," he wrote to the Council, "having had his assistance in Wales now sixteen years, and know him to be very honest and diligent and of great dexterity and readiness in a Court of that nature" (*Sidney Papers*, pp. 95-6). At least two of Gerard's children inter-married with members of Welsh families. Gerard's daughter Sidney became the wife of Sir John Wynn of Gwydir, while his eldest son married a daughter of William Almer of Pant Iocyn, Denbighshire.

Gerard died at Chester on 1 May 1581, while on a visit to this country from Ireland.

* In the Instructions given to the President of the North in 1574, the following article (No. 44) is significant: "As mildness emboldens the evil, speedy severity is to be used against notable offenders, that the report thereof may work by force what will not be obtained by gentleness, good quiet having ensued by this means in Wales" (*Cat. of State Pap., Dom. Addenda*, 1566-1579, p. 466).

nevertheless there was, generally, security for both person and property, for the arm of the law had become strong enough to preserve peace and protect the weak. Writing in 1594, in his *Dialogue of the Government of Wales*, George Owen, of Henllys, gave striking testimony to the thorough change which Wales had undergone, and which in great part he attributed to the beneficial results of the legislation of Henry VIII. "Surely these lawes," said he, "have brought Wales to great civilitie from yt evill gouern^t that was here in ould time: for it is as safe travailing for a stranger here in Wales as in any part of Christendome, whereas in old time it is said robberis and murthers were very common."

For the many reforms which were still necessary so as to render more effective the machinery of government the reports or "discourses" specially prepared for the Secretary of State by Gerard and Lewis, and printed in full for the first time in this number, furnish us very detailed information. Fortunately for the historian, the account which they give us of the practical working of the Court of the Marches and of other matters relating to the administration of justice in Wales, are by no means our only sources of information in those subjects. They describe things from the official standpoint, viewing them as they did from the inside. The non-official account is given us, still more fully and with even greater wealth of detail, by George Owen in his "Dialogue" and his "Treatise on the Lords Marchers," both which we understand will very shortly be issued in the third part of *Owen's Pembrokeshire*. We trust that the almost simultaneous publication of these several documents may greatly stimulate further research-work in connection with the history of the Court of the Marches and the constitutional relations between Wales and England generally.

APPENDIX A.

BISHOP ROWLAND LEE'S LETTER. 1536.¹

My lord of Chester² and other of the Counsaile
in the m^rches of the quyetnes wrought there
ffrom Outlawes and theves.³

To the right wo^rshippful master Thomas Crum-
well Chief Secretary unto the kinges highnes
thus be yoven.⁴

After my moste hartly recommendacons thies shalbe
taduertise you that we have receaved from you the two
outlawes named Daud Hloide or place,⁵ and John ap
Richard hockulton⁶ with Richard ap Howell *alias* Sommer
the murderer at munmouth ffor the which we hartely
thanke you. And the sayde two outlawes we haue sent
to their triall according to Justice which to morowe they
shall Receyve (god pardoñ their sowles) And ffarther
within two Dayes after the Receyving of the saide theves,

¹ *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII*, 1536, Vol. x, No. 130.

² As to the Bishops of Coventry and Lichfield being colloquially described as Bishops of Chester, see note p. 100 above.

³ This description of the document is an endorsement in a later hand. The direction or address which follows, is an original endorsement written the same time as the letter itself.

⁴ The participial form "yoven" or "ȝoven", for the modern "given", was chiefly confined to the Midland and Northern dialects. Along with such similar forms as *yaf*, *yere*, *yeren* (which occur in Chaucer), it disappeared from literary English about 1500; so the use of it here is a decidedly late instance.

⁵ "O'r Plâs"—of the *Plâs*, a place-name which in Welsh very generally corresponds to the English *Manor House*.

⁶ Lewis Dwn (*Heraldic Visit.*, i. 325) mentions that a daughter of William Longford (or, more correctly, Langford), of Alington and Ruthin, was married to one Walter Hockleton, who was eighth in descent from "Walter de Hockleton, 34 Henry III". It is significant that at least two of the outlaws mentioned in this letter, Hockleton and Durant, bore English names. The alias Sommer or Summer is also English.

were brought to vs iiij other Outlawes as greate or greater then the forsaide Dauid and John were, and twoo of the first of them had byñ outlawed thies xvj yeres. Wherof iiij were on Liffe,¹ and ooñe slayne brought in a sacke trussed vppon a horse, whom we haue cawsed to be hanged vppon the galowes here for a signe wolde god ye had seen the ffasshion therof, hit chaunced the same day to be markett Daye here, By Reason wherof, iiij^c people² ffolowed to see the saide cariage of the saide thief in the sacke, the maner wherof had not been seen heretofore. What shall we say ffurther. All the theves in Wales qwake ffor ffeare, and att this day we Doo assure you ther is but oone thief of name of the sorte of outlawes whoose name is Hugh Durannt trustyng to haue him shortely. Soo that nowe ye may Boldely affirme that Wales is Redacte³ to that state that oone thief taketh an other, and oone Cowe kepith an other⁴ ffor the moste parte as Lewes my servaunt at his Retorne shall more at Lardge info'me you. The takers of thies outlawes were my Lorde of Riche monndes⁵ teuantes off Kevilioke and Arustley moste parte

¹ "Alive", which is only a shortened form of "on life", first softened into "on live", a form which was still current in the 17th century.

² iiijc=300.

³ Reduced.

⁴ This appears to have been a favourite expression of Lee's. He uses it in another letter to Cromwell, quoted in *Y Cymmrodor*, xii, p. 39. Another of his characteristic expressions was that "he wold macke the whyte sheep keep the blacke" (MS. Chronicle quoted in Owen and Blakeway's *Hist. of Shrewsbury*, i, 340).

⁵ Early in his reign Henry VIII acquired the Montgomeryshire lordships of Cyfeiliog and Arwystli by purchase. The text suggests that he subsequently granted them to Henry Fitzroy (his illegitimate son by Elizabeth Blount, a lady in waiting on Queen Catherine), whom, on 18 June 1525, he created Duke of Richmond. Some six months after this letter was written, Fitzroy died, being then only 20 years of age. Sir Richard Herbert (as to whom see p. 113 above) was at this time steward of the Crown lordships in Montgomeryshire, and the capture of these outlaws was most probably due to his activity or influence. The district, however, long remained a stronghold of robbers and outlaws: in the following summer (June 1536) Lee heard that "a certen cluster or company of theives and murderers" were gathered aboute Arwystli (*Y Cymmrodor*, xii, 41-2). More than half a century later, George Owen in his "Dialogue on the Government of Wales", written in 1594, refers to the evil repute of the district in his own time (Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, iii, 92-3). See also pp. 110, 114 above.

ffor ffeare and mony,¹ and parte ffor to haue thankes, and partely to haue some of their kynredd Discharged. The names of the sayde Outlawes Doo ensue. Besechyng you that the Kynges Highnes may be aduertised hereof. And thus the holy Trinitie preserve you. ffrom Ludlowe the sixth Daye of January²

Your most Bownden,

ROLAND CO. ET LICE'.³

At yo^r Commaundment,

T. ENGLEFIELD.⁴

Dikin ap Ho^{ll} dio bagh
 slayne Howell ap Ho^{ll} dio bagh alias Ho^{ll} Banno^r
 Howell ap David vayne
 John Dee Tryydio alias John ap Meredith.⁵

¹ "and mony" put in above the line.

² That is, January 1535-6. As to the evidence for fixing this as the date of the year see *I Cymmrodor*, xii, 38-9.

³ Coventry and Lichfield.

⁴ Two persons of this name, father and son, were associated with the Council of the Marches, and are wrongly identified in *I Cymm. loc. cit.* Sir Thomas Englefield, the elder, is mentioned in Powel's *Hist. of Wales* (ed. 1584, p. 392) as a member of Prince Arthur's Council, in 1502, during Bishop Smith's presidency. He also held the offices of Justice of Chester (he appears to have been previously vice-justice of Chester, see Taylor's *Historic Notices of Flint*, 105) and speaker of the House of Commons, and died in 1513. On the other hand, it was his son, Sir Thomas the younger, who was Bishop Lee's right hand man, and the signatory to this letter. He became one of the judges of the Court of Common Pleas, and died at Bridgnorth on 28 Sept. 1537. They were of Englefield in Berkshire, but the manor and estate, which had been in the family for upwards of 780 years, was seized by the Crown about 1586, on the attainder of the younger Sir Thomas's heir and successor, Sir Francis Englefield, who died some ten years later a Catholic exile at Valladolid.

⁵ In the letter, these names are written opposite the signatures of Lee and Englefield, in a somewhat smaller hand. What the name "Tryydio" stands for I am unable to say.

APPENDIX B.

 DR. DAVID LEWIS'S LETTER, 1576.¹

3 Januar. 1575.²ffrom M^r D. LewisTowching the abuses of Wales.³/

To the right hon^rable M^r ffraunces Walsingham
 one of the principall secretaries etc. of the
 privey counsaile to her Ma^{tie}.⁴

After my humble comendacōns vnto yo^r hon^r percevinge
 by the laste conference I had wth you howe carefull ye were
 for the reformatiō of the dysorders in Wales and for a
 better gouernment there, a very good argument of a good
 zeale to the publike weale. I thought my selfe in dewtye
 bownde beinge borne there⁵ to geve you all the lighte I
 coulde bothe to knowe the causes of the Dysorders and
 also the remedies for the same, as nighe as I can discerne
 and judge, the w^{ch} I have sett furthe in a fewe articles sent
 herewth, w^{ch} I pray yo^r hono^r to take in good parte, and
 if in some thinges there I maye seme to sharpe or severe,
 I say I followe the example of the good Phesiçon, who in a
 sharpe disease dothe geve a sharpe medyson. My countrey
 is so farre out of order at this time as dothe requyre seuer
 remedye and in euerye coemmonwealthe seueritye vsed wth
 indifferencye⁶ of iustice to all men is more comended then
 lenytye. And Josephe is comended for a wise and prudent
 gouerno^r because he gouerned well the egiptians wth
 seueritye, and in my countrey this medyson hathe ben
 tryed in busshope *Rowlandes and Mr. Eglesfeldes* time

¹ *State Papers, Domestic Series, Elizabeth*, Vol. 107. No. 4.

² 1575-6.

³ This is an endorsement, in a different hand.

⁴ This is also written *in dorso*, but by Lewis himself.

⁵ Lewis was born at Abergavenny, his father being Vicar of Abergavenny and Llantilio Pertholey. See p. 122 above.

⁶ Impartiality.

and since in that litle time that Sr *Hughe Powlett*^t was there, and seinge experyence is counted the beste meystres, in my opynion, she is to be followed. *Solon* the wyse and ancye[n]t lawier, made lawes to the grecians and amonge others these, viz., that euerye person once in the yere shoulde signifye to the Magistrates his substance. That euery man shoulde shewe by what acte or other meanes he lyved and that all ydle persons shoulde be banished out of the coemmonwealthe surely the ij laste may very well be put in vre² in my countreye, where of late daies they be geven to muche more ydlenes then they were xx^{tie} or xxx^{tie} yeres agon. *Licurgus* made certen lawes for the coemmonwelthe of *Sparta* and intending a voiage to *Creta* bownde the citezens wth an othe to observe and kepe those lawes vntill he cam ageine, and beinge desyrous the saide lawes shoulde contynewe for euer, he was content to ende his lyfe in exille at creta and willed his body after his death to be caste to the sea that it should not be sent to *Sparta* to geve occaçon thereby to the citezons to thincke them selves discharged of theire othes. If I might haue some good lawes or orders made for a better government in my countreye and they lyved to observe them wth effecte, I coulde be content to banyshe my selfe from thence duringe my lyfe. But what so euer I have written I referr all to yo^r better Judgment, and yet one thinge more is to be remembered and that ys the late inordinate and vnlawful assemblye in glamorgan shere³ and the excessyve number

¹ See p. 118 above. The only evidence I have been able to discover of Sir Hugh Paulet's severity, during his very brief tenure of the office of vice-president, is that, on 1 October 1559, he memorialised the Privy Council for "certain things seeming meet and expedient for the good order of Wales," forwarding at the same time an order adopted by the Council of the Marches in cases of misdemeanours. (*Calendar of State Papers, Dom.*, 1547-1580, p. 140.)

² Use, cf. enure.

³ I have been unable to discover any particulars of the special "assembly" referred to. But fights between different families were notoriously common in Glamorgan during the reign of Elizabeth. Thus, in June 1576, only a few months after this was written, there was a veritable battle, fought with swords, in the streets of Cowbridge between the Bassets of Beauprè and the Turbervilles of Penlline (see *Stradling Correspondence*, pp. 15-17, and *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 5th ser., vii, 81-104, where numerous other instances are also given). As to the number of retainers, see *Y Cymmrodor*, xii,

of retayners there, leste the same brede a worse example ; yf some ponishment do not ensue. And so beinge bolde to trowble yo^r hono^r more then reason woulde, I beseeche god to preserve you in healthe and prosperitie. ffrom the Arches in london this 3 of January/ 1575.

Yo^r hono^{rs} most bownden to comawnde,

DA. LEWES.

APPENDIX C.

DR. DAVID LEWIS'S DISCOURSE.¹

information of ye disorders of wales. 1575.²

- D. 1. The greate dysorders in wales speciallye in sowthwales haue growen mucche of late daies, by retayners of gentlemen whome they muste after the maner of the countrey bere out in all actions be they neuer so badd./
- D. 2. They haue also foster brothers loyteringe & ydle kinsmen,³ & others hangers on, that Do nothlinge ells, but playe

60-1. To this may be added Lord Herbert of Cherbury's statement (*Autobiography*, ed. Lee, p. 7) that his "grandfather's power was so great in the country that divers ancestors of the better families now in Montgomeryshire were his servants and raised by him. He delighted also much in hospitality ; as having a very long table twice covered every meal with the best meats that could be gotten, and a very great family." Even Lord Herbert himself, as Mr. Sidney Lee observes, "never extricated his mind from a patriarchal belief in the right of every injured man to take personal vengeance, with the aid of his family, on his enemies and their families" (*op. cit.*, 312).

¹ *State Papers, Domestic Series, Eliz.*, vol. 107, No. 4¹.

² This is the indorsement on the back of the document, and is written in a different hand. In the margin, D = Disorder, and R = Remedy.

³ Postorage was originally "one of the several means used under the tribal system for the purpose of tying strangers as tightly as possible to the tribe," and was in fact the link between tribesmen and non-tribesmen. See Seebohm's *Tribal System in Wales*, 127-8, and cf. Willis Bund's *Celtic Church in Wales*, 65-7. Sir John Wynn's *History of the Gwydir Family* contains many facts that throw a valuable light

at cardes & Dyce¹ and pycke & steale & kyll or hurte any man when they will have them and yet they them selves will washe their handes thereof when the yll facte ys Don./

Thes ydle loyterers when they have offended wilbe shifted of to some frendes of theirs in an other quarter, so as they will not be founde to be punished when time shall require, and in the meane while the gentlemen will practize an agrement wth the partyes greved and then because the loyterers have nothinge of their owne, the gentlemen must helpe them to a *Comortha*² to satisfye the parties dampnyfied./

D. 2.

Men of no substance nor of credyte made sheriffes and Justicers of the peace³ w^{ch} moste lyve be pollinge & pyllynge.⁴

D. 3.

The auctoritye of the counsaile there is not regarded as it hathe ben for neither sheriffe, Justice of the peace, Maior, baylye or officer of any towne corporate, will so carefully apprehende or take any such persons as hathe any frende of any accompte, although theire faltes be neuer so grevous and apparent, yea thoughte he hathe the

D. 4.

on the effects of this custom, which continued in use until the middle of the last century, Thomas Pennant the historian being put out to nurse at a neighbouring farm-house (*Tours in Wales*, ed. Rhys, i, pp. xxi-xxii). See also on the subject Dr. Birkbeck Nevins's *Picture of Wales during the Tudor Period*, pp. 15-18; 22-26. The number of 'idle kinsmen' was considerably swelled by the illegitimate offspring of the country gentry at that time. Thus the head of the great Glamorgan family of Stradlings, in the first half of the 16th century was described as the eldest of some dozen brothers, "most of them bastards, who had no living but by extortion and pilling of the King's subjects" (*Letters and Papers*, Henry VIII, v, 140, vi, 300).

¹ "An Acte for . . . debarringe of unlawful games" (33 Henry VIII, c. 9), prohibited *inter alia* the playing of tennis, dice, cards and bowls out of Christmas. Cf. Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, iii, 60. Idle life and "excesse in gaminge" were mentioned by George Owen in his *Description of Wales* as characteristic of Radnorshire people. *The Golden Grove* (1600), by William Vaughan, throws much light on the manners and diversions of the people of Wales at a slightly later period.

² For very full notes on *Cymhortha*, see *I' Cymhorthod*, xii, 43-47, and Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, iii, 22.

³ This "disorder," so far as it concerned justices of the peace, is more fully dealt with by George Owen in his "Dialogue" (*Owen's Pembrokeshire*, iii, 54).

⁴ Extortion and robbery, cf. "extortion and pilling," quoted at the end of the note on Fosterage, given above.

saide counsayles *lettres* to that ende¹; but will playe bo pype,² seest me, & seest me not, and this haue growen by impunytye whereof Do proceade all manner of Disorders./

Re The remedye is to ponishe the gentlemen for their retayninge./

R. To let the father answer for his sonne, the M^r for his man yf he be not furth comynge to answer for the Disorder & so eache other for his brother or any other that Dothe hange vpon him for ought Don in his quarell or that maye be thought to be don by his assent or will./

R. Lykwyse the sherife, Justices of the peace, maior, baylye or any other officer to whome the saide counsaile shall dyrecte their *lettres* for the apprehençon of any person, yf they shalbe fownde to haue wyncked & not to haue don their offices carefully and syncerelye, are to be kepte in prison vntill those persons be apprehended and brought in, to be ponished accordinge to their desertes./

R. Contemptes and dysorders muste be seuerelye ponished & the better the man offender, the greter thoffence, & the ponishment ought to be the more, w^{ch} muste be rather in bodye by imprisonment, then in purse, leste the country by *Comortha* bere that payne more then the offender./

R. The gatherings called *Comorthas* must be vtterly forbydden, excepte in cases permitted, viz. for myschances of fyre or lyke./

R. Maisterles men, loyterers, and ydle persons woulde be bownde to their good behavyors bothe in the townes and in the country whereof there is greate plentye in wales, who be mucche borne wth all in that countrye & of all men to be reformed or Dryven awaye./

R. That the counsaile may imploye them selves to se the country well ordered and gwyded in good obedyence rather then to here pleas for landes & other thinges w^{ch} might receve ende by the course of the coemmon lawes wth more spede & lesse charge then there./

R. Small matters to be refered to some one of the country beyng of best credyte to be ended./

¹ Sir Henry Sidney deemed it necessary to send a private letter to Sir Ed. Stradling Sheriff of Glamorgan, urging him "to be the more earnest for thapprehencion of certen persons" specified in a writ addressed to the Sheriff by order of the Court (*Stradling Correspondence*, p. 11).

² The nursery game of "Bo-peep!"

The Justicers of the peace in euerye of the xij shires of Wales to be chosen of the beste disposed men to Justice & godlyness and the number to be abridged to viij accordinge to the ordynances of wales.^{1/}

R.

Suche as professe the lawes of the Realme and be of that counsaile speciallye those that shoulde be contynewally resydent there, shoulde not be in fee wth any gentlemen wthin the lymittes of their comission² as for the most parte they haue ben and (as I thincke) be at these dayes./

R.

The vycpresydent or the Justice & ij others for the better credyte of the place & knowledge of the matters happenynge shoulde be alwayes resydent in counsaile and not one to tarye a sevenight or fortnight & then to departe, levinge an other for so lytle tyme, who is clene ignorant of the accydentis & procedynge therein./

R.

This in effect contained in the dis-[course] of Townsends.³

¹ By the 34 and 35 Henry VIII, c. 25, 5, 58, it was enacted that there should not be more than eight Justices of the Peace in any shire in Wales, but the commission for each shire was also to include, as ex-officio justices, the President of the Welsh Council, the Judges of the Great Sessions in their respective Circuits, and the king's attorney and solicitor attached, not to the circuit, but to the Council of the Marches. The text shows that this restriction as to number was not however adhered to, and George Owen's list of Pembrokehire justices in 1603 contains 19 justices beyond the ex-officio members. The statutory restriction was repealed by 5 William and Mary, c. 4.

² Until the abolition of the Welsh judicature in 1830, Judges of the Welsh Sessions were at liberty to practise as counsel in Westminster Hall, and might so be, and naturally often were, "in fee with gentlemen within the limits of their commission" in Wales.

³ This marginal note is written in a later hand. The Townsend referred to was Henry, 5th son of Sir Robert Townsend, Chief Justice of Chester (*I' Cymruodor*, xii, 31, 50; Dineley's *Beaufort Progress*, 58-60). The notice of him in Clive's *Ludlow*, p. 263, is inaccurate. He was appointed 2nd judge of the Chester Circuit on 15 Sept. 1576, was M.P. for Ludlow in 1614, and died in 1621. He was settled at Cound, Salop. Hayward Townsend, author of the *Historical Collections*, was his son.

APPENDIX D.

GERARD'S LETTER, 1576.¹

1575.

From m^r Wiffm Ger
 rard dated the 20
 of Januarye.^{2/}

To the righte hono^rable ffraunces Walsingham
 one of the Quenes Ma^{tes} principall Secre-
 taries and of her highenes moste honorable
 privey Counsell.^{3/}

In the accomplishment of mye promis I have sent to
 yo^r hono^r enclosed^t suche knowledge of wales & this Coun-
 sell as these xxij^{the} yeres experience hathe taught me./

My plat^s is to shewe howe necessarie yt was to estab-
 lish this Counsell and howe nedeful yt is to continue the
 same in counteñance and creditte./

I have added the maner and order the Counsell vsed to
 bring wales to the obedience of the Lawes of Englande
 and the benefyt succedinge and wth all noted o^r digression
 at this daie from that kind of travell and thoccasions and
 the great chardge & impoverishem^t w^{ch} vniuersally the
 subiecte of that Contrie receivethe thereby and for remedie
 have sette downe thorde^r I tould yo^r hono^r were onste⁶
 devised, consented vnto by all this Counsell and allowed
 by the Counsell above./

The sondrie Actes of Parliam^t in the tyme of H. the
 4th and vntill the xxth of H. theighte, doe soe plainlie
 painte owte their Walshe disposiçon in those tymes, that

¹ *State Papers, Domestic Eliz.*, vol. 107, No. 21.

² This is an endorsement in a different hand. The date of the letter is January 1575-6.

³ This is Gerard's own endorsement.

⁴ The enclosure was the Discourse printed below as Appendix E.

⁵ Plot or Plan.

⁶ Once.

needful I thought yt to remember¹ theym & meeter I thought it to abreviate theym then, to leave yo^r hono^r to the book at lardge, w^{ch} occasioneth the lenghe of mye overtedious volume.² Nevertheles I have in fewe lynes abreviated the some thereof leavinge yow to peruse thoth^r when convenient lease^r maie serve you, wthout offence to weightier causes./

All that myne opinion of Wales of this Counsell & the reforme conteigned in those enclosed Notes I shall not mislike be made knowen to whom yo^r hono^r shall think meete. Thother several Notes I humblie besek yo^r hono^r maie be to yo^r self, vntil I shall by speeche open to you suche further declaraconⁿ of my meaning as I have not thought good to comitt to *lettres*. The maner howe the same wthowt blame to my sellf or suspiconⁿ that I am the Aucto^r maie be putte in execuconⁿ, vpon conference wth yo^r hono^r will easelie be devised./

I will affirme yt yo^r hono^r shall deserve thank of her highenes and praier of the Contrie to spend some travell therein, but there be diuerse thinges needfull to be *provided* for before thorder may be made knowen./

Neuertheles in the meane tyme I have saied openlye to some of myne associates that some of good callinge, at mye beinge above delt wth me aswell touchinge the great heapes of causles sutes, that were dailie broughte before vs, by the pore clamorous sorte of the people of Wales to their vtter ymponerishmt, as alsoe the greate fynes taxed and the small benefite the Prince reaped thereby, I saied those whoe soe reasoned wth me, hadd as good knowledg of o^r *procedinges* as o^r selves, and saied plainelie I was soe harde layed vnto, that excepte I should speake vntruthe, I was not able taunswer the same, and yett I saied I promised I woulde yelde myne opinion of the necessitie of that Counsell, and shewe what order hadd bene devised./

And for the verifyinge hereof and to make a furste entraunce I have devised a *lettre* as from yo^r hono^r to me, w^{ch} enclosed I send (if yo^r hono^r think good) to be written uppe by yo^r Secretarie and sent to me by this berrer./

¹ The word "abbreviate" was first written and then struck out.

² The "volume" means the Discourse printed below as Appendix E., while the "abbreviated" document forms Appendix F.

The sighte therof I knowe will not onelie verefye what I saied howe I was delte wth but also procure some to subscribe thorder, I have sent to yo^w as necessarie to be putt in execuconⁿ, not knowinge the contrarie, but yo^r hono^r shall receive theym as order of their devise whoe otherwise woulde vse them as they did the former./

At mye cominge uppe I shall wth in twoe houres troublinge yo^r hono^r fynishe what in these causes I have further to saie./

I humblie besek yo^r hono^r to have me in remembrance y^t if annie parte of the allowaunce appointed to mye lorde deputie¹ bee cutte of y^t I maie serve in Englande, for then cannot his L. yeelde me the promised entertaignment w^{ch} occasioned me to yelde him mye worde that if I were appointed I would goe serve there, but if there bee noe alteraconⁿ of that allowance, then as I toulde yo^r hono^r what soever shall followe I will not breake the worde I have geven. And because thund^rstandinge of the liklihoade herof woulde greatlie please^r me to settle some thinges in the Contrie before mye cominge uppe. I shall humblie beseake yo^r hono^r by this berrer to lett me vnd^rstande what yo^r hono^r supposethe will be the sequele./

I humblye thank yo^r hono^r for the favo^r I founde wth yo^r hono^r w^{ch} wth anie service I canne as farre as mye pore habilitie shall stretche. I ame and shall remaine at yo^r comaundment./

This berrer (to whome I beseak yo^r hono^r geve the hearinge) will tell you² of the greate avauntes³ w^{ch} that willfull exclamator Torperley geveth the owte of his tryumphe againste⁴ me but I make no accompte therof well know-

¹ In August 1575 Sir Henry Sidney, though continuing Lord President of Wales, was re-appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland, and the text here seems to suggest that he then secured a promise from Gerard that he would accept office under him in Ireland. Some rumour of a proposal to reduce Sidney's allowance having reached Gerard, he feared lest he too should suffer, and was consequently wishing for promotion in England. Some three months later, on 23 April 1576—that is, probably, after he had gone up to London to see Walsingham—he formally received his appointment as Lord Chancellor of Ireland.

² "the same" erased, "you" put over.

³ Boastings, vauntings. The somewhat uncommon word "exclamator" is here used in the sense of a loud boaster. I have not been able to discover what this affair with Torperley was.

⁴ "over" erased before "againste."

inge that nowe he hathe founde waie to be harde he will imbusie him soe moche wth importunate trowblinge yo^r hono^{rs} (taking it an easier waye to lyve by then toccupie his crafte) as thereby make him knowen to yo^r hono^{rs} as he is in deede, & not in shoe¹ and then ame I assured in end his rewarde will be as he deserveth and not accordinge to his expectacon}. I humblie besek yo^r pardon for mye overtediouse troublinge yo^r hono^r and soe wth the consideracon} of mye humble dutie I take leave.

ffrom Ludlo^w the xxth of Januarie, 1575.

humbly at your honorable
comaundment

WILLM. GERRARD.

APPENDIX E.

GERARD'S DISCOURSE.²

A discourse of the estate of the Countrey and people of Wales in the tyme of kinge Edwarde the ffirste and from that tyme vntill the establishment of A Counsaill in the Marches of Wales.

The travaille of that Counsaill att that tyme and the benefitte succeedinge
The travaylle of thatt Counsaill att this Daye and the sequell, requisitte to be considered before perfect understandinge can be had howe necessary it is for that government, to haue the same Counsaill maineteigned and countenanced. And no lesse nedefull to provide order to preventt suche harmes and evelles as followeth their proceadinges att this day, and to reduce them to the like maner and order of Service, as was vsed before by those who served in the tyme of their firste establishment.

¹ Show.

² *State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. 107, No. 21.

It is requisite for him that desireth to understande the benefitte the Countrey of wales hath receaved by the travayll of this Counsaill in the marches sythence the establishment thereof, and whether in the maner of their governem^t att this day, in hearinge of causes and bringinge of Sutes in question, it be necessary that some p^rvi^con¹ of reforme be had, that he loke back and consider the estate, which the people of that Countrey remayned in, in the tyme of kinge Edward the firste and from that tyme untill perfect and full establishment of that Counsaill; And consider also the state the same Countrey hath ben in euer sithence and yett is, And then shall he fynde, comparinge thestate of the Countrey to the seuerall tymes aforesaid, not onely the greate care had to worck them to such obedience, as they might by lawe be gouerned occasioned theestablishment of that Counsaill: but also upon the understandinge of the generall benefitt Which all the Countrey hath tasted of, by the travaille of the same Counsaill, will perceave that att this day noe lesse regarde ys to be had to the contynuaunce countenance, and backe-settinge² of that Counsaill then was att their firste establishment and shall neuertheles fynde that suche multitude of causeles exclaymes³ and quarellinge Sutes are brought in question before that Counsaill att this day as the Countrey greatly ympouerished thereby, and that it is full tyme to provide some meane of reforme./

Kinge Edwarde the firste after two seuerall suppressinge and pardoninge of L^len¹ Prince of wales in the Seconde and thride yeres of his Reigne, beinge in the ixth and xth yere of his Reigne trowbled by the rebellion of the same L^len and David his brother and suppressinge them bothe

¹ Provision.

² "Back-setting" seems to be here used either in the sense of supporting, as it were from behind, or possibly of re-instating or re-establishing in its original state. The more usual meaning of the word is that of attacking from behind.

³ Gerard seems to use the noun "exclaim" in the technical sense of a formal statement of grievances. Cf. later on, "causeless exclamations," "exclamants." Perhaps "exclamator" was also used by Gerard, in his letter above, in the sense of a vexatious and frequent litigant.

In addition to what is stated in *I' Cymmrodor*, xii, 53-5, as to the litigious character of the Welsh people at this time, see also George Owen's "Dialogue," in Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, iii, 35 *et seq.*

⁴ Llewelyn.

in the xijth yere after he had buylded Conwaye, Carnarvon, Ruthin, and flyntte¹ Castles and provided garisons sufficient to fortifie and kepe them, then consideringe [that] to conquere by the swoorde and not to kepe the thinge gotten in peas,² deserved not the comendaçon of a full conqueste, and well knowinge that better is the comendaçon of keapinge then conqueringe³ because ofte tymes conqueste happes by chaunce butt keapinge and gouerninge euer by wisdome.³ He therefore, before his departure from Wales, ordeyned att Ruthlan in the same xijth yere of his Reigne diuerse and soundry good lawes whereby to governe those people; the preamble of w^{ch} lawe ensueth.

Edwardus¹ dei gr̃a Rex Anglie dñs Hibnie et dux Aquitaine oib; fidelib; suis de terra sua de Snodon et de alijs terris suis in Wallia sal in dno⁵ Divina providentia que in sua disposiçoe non fallit^r, inter alia sue dispensaçoe⁶ munera quib; nos et Regnũ nřm Anglie decorari⁷ dignata est, terram Wallie cum Incolis suis prius nobis iure feodali subiectam, sui gr̃a in proprietatis nře dominiũ (obstaculis quibuscunq; cessantib;, totaliter et cũ integritate convertit et Corone Regni predcti tanqm̃ partem corporis eiusdem annexit & vnivit nos itaq; intuitu⁸ divino volentes dcam terram nrãm de Snodon et alias terras nřas in partib; illis sicut et ceteras ditioni nře subiectas, ad honorem & laudem dei & ecclie ac zelum Justice, sub debito regimine gubernari, et Incolas seu habitatores terrarũ illarũ, qui alte et

¹ The names of the castles are underlined in different ink. In the margin opposite there is a little mark, obviously intended to catch the eye. Similar marks (most of them resembling a fleur-de-lis), and under-lines which occur more frequently later on, were probably inserted by Walsingham himself when perusing the Discourse.

² Peace.

³—³ The intervening passage is underlined.

⁴ The whole of this extract is written in italics and possibly by a different writer. For the full text of the Statute of Rhuddlan (which was strictly speaking not a Parliamentary Statute at all, but a set of regulations made at Rhuddlan by the King in Council) see *The Record of Caernarvon*, p. 119 *et seq.* To the text there printed, this extract closely corresponds, and such variations between them as appear to be of any importance are given in the notes which follow. It has not been thought necessary to extend the contractions of this extract.

⁵ "Saltm in dno sempit dei et divina," in *R. of C.*

⁶ "Inter alia dispensaconis sue munera," in *R. of C.*

⁷ "Decorare," in *R. of C.*

⁸ "Nutu," in *R. of C.*

basse, se submiserunt voluntati n̄re & quos sic ad n̄ram recepim⁹ voluntatem, certis legib³ & consuetudinib³ sub tranquillitate et pace n̄ra tractari, leges et consuetudies partiu illar^z hactenus vsitat⁹, coram nobis & procerib³ n̄ris fecimus recitari quib³ diligenter auditis ac plenius intellectis, quasdam illar^z de Consilio proceru pred̄ctoru delevim⁹, quasdam permisimus ac quasdam correximus ac etiam quasdam alias adiiciendas et faciendas¹ decrevimus et eas de cetero in terris n̄ris in partib³ illis, perpetua firmitate teneri et observari volumus in forma subscripta.

Whereby it maye be gathered that the same kinge well knowinge that if it might be brought to passe to haue them gouerned by the lawes of England, he sholde not onely by makeinge them as one English people, subiecte to the Crowne better by lawe keape them from rebellinge, then by the swoorde. But also thereby reape and receaue the Reuenewes of that lande and Countrey due to the Crowne in quiett *which* before, with more of the treasure of the Realme and the losse of many Subiectes, was spent and destroyed in maintenance of Warres and of garrisons keapte in Castles dispersed in *manner* throughe Wales.

His pollicye in those lawes is worthye the notinge, ffor as all the same be consonaunte, for the moste parte, to the lawes of England, yett forecastinge that to *with* drawe them att one tyme² from all their Wallshrye and Walshe costomes² was not the meane to wynne them to the obedyence He pretended. Therefore in those lawes, aswell in the bringing in of Sutes: as in the *procedinge* to tryall and in such other pointes where *withowt* greate offence to Justice it might be suffered and tollerated, he allowed to them many of their oulde customes: And ordered by that lawe the three counties of Northwales, Anglezeye, Carnarvon and Merionneth then called the lande of *Snodon* and the countie of *fflynte* to be devyded into hundredes and made parcelles of those seuerall counties. The Justices of the foreste of *Snodon* appointed to execute Justice in those three counties of Northwales, The Justices of Chester to serve for *fflintte*: A Chamberlayne to keape the *Orriginalle Seale*, in *which* Counties those lawes haue euer-sythence ben vsed and executed, and notwthstanding in

¹ "Statuend'," in *R. of C.*

²—² The intervening passage is underlined, and a mark placed in the margin opposite.

the 17 yere of his Reigne, there rebelled againste him one S^r Rees Mereddeth¹ and in the xxiiijth yere of his Reigne one Madock² Which occasioned the same kynge, to buylde Bewmaries Castle and to fortife with newe garrisons all the said Castles: Thees Lawes and fortifyng coulde not prevayle yett (as maye be founde) in the Cronicles of tymes of other kinges to bringe the walshrye to be of the mynde, that they were a like people subiecte to the Crowne as were the Englishe, Wherefore betwene them and the Englishe people remayned as mortalle hate as betwene the Englishe man and the Scotte: And this maye be gathered by the complaynte of the Comens, the englishe Subiectes in the seuerall Counties of Englande next adioyninge to Wales at diuerse Parlyamentes, but speciallye in the tyme of kynge Henry the 4th and by their prompte readines, to ayde the Rebell Owen Glendor: Wherefore in that kynges tyme, many sharpe lawes³ were made againste them Whereby noe entire⁴ Walsh man sholde purchase any landes or tenem^{tes} in any Towne of marchandize adioyninge to the marches of Wales nether be free in any englishe towne or beare weapons in the same./

2. h: Cao.
12.

¹ Rhys ab Meredydd, lord of Ystrad Tywi, whom Edward I had rewarded with a grant of lands for his assistance in the war against Llewelyn, revolted and seized the castles of Llandovery, Dynevor, and Carreg Cennen on the Sunday preceding St. Barnabas's Day, 1287, and during the next month reduced the greater part of South-West Wales except the Castles of Carmarthen and Llanbadarn Fawr (*Annales Cambriae*, s.a. 1287). After varying fortunes, he was eventually defeated, and was shortly afterwards executed in April 1292.

² Madoc, who was probably a natural son of Llywelyn ab Gruffydd, was the leader, in North Wales, of the rebellion which broke out simultaneously, as the result of a previous arrangement, in all parts of Wales on Michaelmas Day, 1294. The rising, occasioned by the heavy taxation levied towards Edward I's projected expedition to Gascony, was not suppressed till the beginning of the following March; even to the end of July, the King remained in Wales, and his Itinerary during that period can be traced, chiefly by means of entries on the Patent Rolls. (See *Calendar of Pat. Rolls*, 1292-1301, and the late Judge Lewis's article thereon in *Wales* for March 1896, pp. 113-121.)

³ As to the repressive legislation summarised here, see the "Cruell Lawes against Welshmen", appended to George Owen's "Dialogue" in Owen's *Pembrokeshire* (iii, 120 *et seq.*) with the editor's notes thereon.

⁴ That is, a Welshman, both whose parents, as well as himself, had been born in Wales.

Then was it provided that if any the Cattell of thenglishe people dwelling in the Counties adioyninge, were distreigned and brought to any Lordeshipp in Wales, that thereupon *lettres* Testimoniall recitinge their greef sholde be directed to the gouerners or Stewardes of the same Lordeshipp, from the Sherief of the Counties, or from the maiors or Bailieffes of the Citties or Townes where the people soe greaved, dwelte, to thende those gouerners or Stewardes might thereupon redeliuer the same cattalles soe distreigned wthin vij^{mo} dayes next after, And if they refused, then the partie greaved to arreste whatt person soeuer of wales, cominge into England with goodes or Cattelles and them to deteigne, vntill gree¹ were made./

2 h: 4.
Ca^o. 16.

By this lawe wherein libertie of Marte² was graunted to thenglishe thestate the Countrey was in, may well be gathered: /

ffor felonious offences committed in Englande beinge there outlawed upon a *lettre* to the Stewarde, where the felon dwelte he sholde be put to execucō³: /

2. h: 4
Ca^o. 17.

Noe walshe man colde sue an englishe man but before an Englishe Judge and the tryall by *Englishemen* onely: /

2. h: 4
Ca^o. 19.

There then assemblies were soe daingerous as it was provided that noe companies of walshe men or Congregacons by them¹ sholde be made or suffered in any parte of Wales for any Counsaill or purpose if it were not for euident cause and necessarye and by lycence of the chief officers of the Seignoriees where suche meetinge sholde be⁵: /

4. h: 4.
Ca^o. 27.

And further that noe walshe man sholde be armed or carrye armo^r defensive, to any towne, markt, Church or Congregacōⁿ no^r in the highe wayes: /

4. h: 4.
2 Ca^o. 28.

And that nether Englishe man nor walshe of what condicōⁿ soeuer sholde carrye or bringe by collo^r of marchandize or otherwise, any Victuall or armor into the partes of wales without the kinges speciall knowledge or

¹ Recompense.

² Marque, *i.e.*, originally, license to pass the *Marches* or limits of a country to make reprisals.

³ A certificate of his outlawry from the King's Justices was the "*lettre*" which was necessary before his execution.

⁴ Cf. *Y Cymmrodor*, xii, 40, n. 3, and 45, n. 4.

⁵ The chapters of the Statutes of 4 Henry IV here summarised are Nos. 28, 29, 30, 31, 32 and 33, and not as cited in the margin.

his Counsellés, if it were not to stoare or furnishe thenglishe Townes and Castles there And that there sholde be in euery parte of the marches of wales, Constables chosen to enquire serche and arreste, suche victuall and armo^r and to haue for theirre travaille the parte¹ thereof: /

4. h: 4.
Ca^o. 29.

And also that noe walshe man sholde haue Castle, ffortresse nor howse defensive of his owne nor of any others to kepe otherwise then as was vsed in the tyme of kynge Edwarde the Conquero^r of Wales, Excepte Busshoppes and other lordes Temporall for theirre owne bodies onelye: /

4. h: 4.
Ca^o. 30.

It was then also provided that noe walshe man sholde be made Chamberlayne, Chauncello^r, Treasurer, Sherief, Stewarde, Counstable of Castle, Receavo^r, Excheto^r, Coroner, or cheif fforrester no^r other officer, nor keaper of Recordes ne Leevetennant in any of the same offices in noe parte of wales nor be of the Counsaill of any Englishe lorde, excepte the Busshoppes of wales and such other as the kinge had founde, his good and loyall Subiectes Whereof he wolde be advised by his Counsaill: /

4. h: 4
Ca^o. 31.

And that garrisons of waled Townes and Castles sholde be provided for and furnished sufficientlye with englishe men, straingers to the Seignioriees where such Castells and Townes were and not of any mixte people of those partes and Seigniories vntill the said lande of wales, were iustified and appeased for the tyme to come: /

4 h: 4.
Ca^o. 32.

Thees lawes and diuerse other att that tyme were made and by Prynce H. the 5, after the Rebelles subdued manye Castelles in wales were with garrisons furnished: Which lawes and garrisons yett prevayled nott, to bringe them to obedience, as maye appere by this recitall in the tyme of the same H. the 5: /

fforasmuche as sithence the Rebellion of wales, nowe lately reformed diuerse of the Rebels of wales with other to them adherentte, with force and armes in maner of warre sometymes by day and sometymes by nighte have come into the Counties of Salopp, Heref[ord] and Glowcester and into diuerse other places to the same adioyninge and in diuerse woodes and other places in those partes lyen and lodged which haue trayterouslye and feloniouslye taken

2. h: 5.
Ca^o. 5^t.

¹ Space for a word is left blank between "the" and "parte." The portion provided by the Statute was a sixth part.

diuerse of the kinges faithfull Subiectes some in rydinge aboutes their marchandize and other busines doinge and some in their houses wherein they were abydinge, doinge their worck and husbandrye, in goodes peace and the kinges. And the same Subiectes of the kinges so taken haue carryed owte of their Countrey, to diuerse partes of wales and them haue deteigned and keapte with them in the mountaignes of those partes of wales, by haulf a yere sometymes more and sometymes lesse vntill they haue ransomed some of the said leoges to an Cⁱⁱ¹ and some to more after their offerance in like maner as in a lande of warre to the greate damages and mischeif of the people of that Countrey and Counties and to very evill example, if it be not the rather remedied as the kinge att the grevouse complainte of his Comons hath conceaved: Our Sovereigne lorde the kinge therefore hath ordeyned, &c. And soe provided remedie as appereth by that lawe :²

23. h : 6
Ca^o. 5^b.

In the 23 yere of kinge H. the VIth they were complayned upon and p^rvided for by Parliament. And in the XXVth yere of His Reigne all maner of Statutes made in any Parliament against walshe men, before that tyme and not repealed, were approved ratified and confirmed. And all grauntes of ffranchises, markettes, ffairs,³ and other liberties to buye and sell within the Townes of Northwales before that tyme made, were made frustrate.

25. h : 6.
Ca^o. 1^o.

And notwithstandinge it is not founde that euerafter hitherunto they either rebelled or assented to any Rebellion or otherwise aided any other rebellinge, yett in felonies stealinge and prayinge of Cattell in wales and in thenglishe adioyninge Counties they 'encreased vntill kinge H. the 7th as⁴ may be gathered greatly favoringe them and desirous to perfecte that, which kinge E. the ffirste had worthelie begonne, to bringe the holle Countrey of wales to obedience of lawes, seeinge the greate oppression of the poore, whoe sufferinge wronge had noe meane of remeadye.

H. 7.

¹ Cⁱⁱ = £100.

² The remedy provided by this Statute, of which the preamble only is given in the text, was that if a Welshman, on process awarded against him for detaining an Englishman, refused to appear, he should be outlawed, and writs should be issued for his apprehension.

³ Fairs.

⁴⁻⁴ The intervening passage is underlined.

And findinge howe difficulte and harde it was for euery poore wronged person, to repaire from wales, to london with complaints of iniurye and to encorraige them the better to obaye lawe when they shoulde finde their wronges better remedied by lawe, then revenged by them selffes and that without greate travaill or chardge: Therefore he sent hether Prynce Arthure, and with him Counsellors and Comissioners, here to remayne settled (for allthoughe kinge E. the 4 sent hether Counsellors yett they were not resident) with greate wisdom and pollicye he devised their residencie to terrefie and keape vnder the walshe and to defende the englishe Counties adioyninge, from their spoyles, And, as may be gathered, devidinge wales from England by Severne which rennethe from *Shrousburye* to *Bristol* and so to the Sea and by the water of *Dee* w^{ch} renneth from the *Bala*¹ in Merioneth sheere vnder the side of Shropshire, vnto the sea beyonde Chester. Appointed those Englishe Counties adioyninge to Severne and *Dee*: viz.: Chessheere, Shropshire, Worcestersheere, Herefordshire, Gloucestersheere and the Cittie of *Bristol* standinge upon Severne,² vnder their auctoritie and Jurisdiction which englishe Counties environ wales, from the Sea into the which Severne falleth, to the Sea neare to Chester into the which *Dee* renneth and by that meane provided the Counsaill to be assisted, vpon all sodaine eventes with the power of the said englishe Counties adioyninge soe as noe walshe man colde passe thence into any parte of this Realme (excepte by Sea) but through some of those Counties: They had Instruccons given them which was in effect to execute Justice vpon all felons and prayers of Cattell in the englishe adioyninge Counties vpon all felonies there or in any parte of wales comitted, to suppress and ponishe by ffyne and ymprisonment Rowtes, Riottes, vnlawfull assemblies, assaultes, affraies, extorccons and exacccons and to heare the complaints aswell of all poore welshe personnes oppressed or wronged in any cause as of those enhabitinge in the englishe Counties adioyninge. They had auctoritie by Commission of Oyer

Prince
Arthur
sent into
wales.

¹ Gerard is right in the use of the definite article before *Bala*, for in Welsh it is always known as *Y Bala*.

² As to the Council's jurisdiction over this English area, see the authorities cited in *Y Cymmrodor*, xii, notes 2 and 3, also Wright's *Ludlow*, 420.

and terminer and speciall gaole deliuerie throughowte wales and in those englishe Counties adioyninge:

The good effecte of this ffirste and well devised establishment followed not in that Prince his tyme whoe lyved but haulf a yere¹ neither in the tyme of Princes Marye beinge sent thithe^r wth like Counsaill and auctoritie vntil aboutes the yeare² of Kyng Henry the Eighte whoe moste carefullye seekinge to fynishe the platte layed downe by his noble progenitors E: the ffirste and H: the 7th finished the same, and by his meane he provided of greate callinge and habilitie stowte and wise Presidentes and assisted them with greate learned persons, and owte of those englishe Counties diuerse gent^l although not learned yett of good callinge and estimacōn in their Country to be of the same Counsaill. Of this nomber after the XXth yere of his Reign there was placed Rowland Busshopp of Coventree and Leechefelde Lorde President there and Sr Thomas Englefeelde Justice of the comen pleas Justice there, and others learned in the lawes whoe travailinge accordinge to the Instruccions aforesaid throughowte wales made all wales and those englishe Counties adioyninge to taste of the fructe that before was grafted.³

Theire pollicie was not to make settelled aboade in any one or other place certaine but euer thither they repaired where greatest cause yelded occasion, and by this travaille, after they had gotten knowledge and vnderstandinge of the people and their inclynacon they provided att the Parliament to make those streighte lawes extante in the 26 of H.⁴ the eight, that feloniousse offences in wales might be tryed in the next counties adioyninge fyndinge (as mighte seeme) over partiall tryall in wales againste the Kyng:

They then devised the Statute made in the 27th of His Highnes Reigne whereby, all thother partes of wales were

¹ In common with other writers, Gerard omits to take into account the eight or nine years which Prince Arthur spent at Ludlow prior to his marriage, though it was "but half a year" or less that he lived after his return there subsequent to his marriage. See p. 101 above.

² The word "twentieth" appears to have dropped out before the word "yeare". The reference to Henry VIII is underlined, and there is the usual mark opposite it in the margin.

³ The fruit that before was grafted.

⁴ "26 of H." is underlined and the margin marked.

divided by like order, as Northewales 'into hundredes and those annexed into Counties abolishinge by the same all the walshe Customes¹ and walshrie, suppressinge the regalitie of lordes marchers, in their accustomed order and maner in executinge Justice vpon felons and settinge downe Justice to be administred accordinge to the lawes of Englande and as was vsed in the three Sheres of Northwales by the former recited lawe of kinge E. the ffirste, forbiddinge soe muche the use of walshe speeche as all pleadings and *proceedings* in sute to be in the englishe tonge² with payne that whoe soe vsed the same and not thenglishe tonge sholde not enioye any office in England wales nor any the kinges domynions : /

The likinge *which* bothe the kinge and the Subiectes of wales had of this chainge of all the walshe lawes and customes into the maner and order of the lawes of Englande, appereth by the acte the same kinge (att their desire att the Parliam^t made in the 34 and 35 yere of his Reigne) pleased to passe.³ The preamble of *which* lawe this beginneth : Our Sovereigne lorde the kinges maiestie of his tender zeale and affec^on that he beareth towards his lovinge Subiectes of his Dominion principallitie and Countrey of wales, for good rule and order from hensfurth to be keapte and maineteigned within the same, whereby, his said Subiectes maye growe and rise to more wealth and prosperitie hath diuised and made diuerse and soundrey good and necessarie ordinaunces, *which* his maiestie of his moste aboundaunt goodnes, att the humble Sute and peti^on of his said Subiectes of wales is pleased and contented to be enacted in *manner* and forme as hereafter ensueth: ffirste &c. A clause establishinge the Counties men^oned in the former acte of a^o. 27 to remaine Counties.

¹⁻¹ The intervening passage is underlined and the margin marked.

² It was *inter alia* enacted by 27 Henry VIII, c. 26, s. 20, that "all officers and ministers of the law shall proclaim and keep the Sessions . . . and all other Courts in the English Tongue." As much of the business performed at the present day by the County Councils was previously performed by the Justices in Quarter Sessions, this rule as to the exclusion of Welsh (which is still in force) seems also to apply to the proceedings of County Councils. (See Sir Richard Webster's opinion on the point in *Bye-Gones*, 1889-90, p. 59.)

³ The reference to the Statute is underlined.

Item that there shalbe¹ a Lorde President and Counsaill in the principallitie and dominion of wales, as hath ben accustomed; which President and Counsaill, shall have full power and auctoritie, to heare and determyn by their wisdomes and discreacōns suche causes and matters as be or hereafter shalbe assigned to them by the kinges ma^{tie} as heretofore hath ben accustomed and vsed, And by the same lawe one Justice onely is appointed to execute Justice in all those counties,² with as ample auctoritie, as the Justice of the kinges benche or comen pleaz: By the same lawe is order prescribed to Sherieffes, Pregnotarie,³ Justices of peace, Coroners, knightes and Burgesses of the Parlyam^t and to other officers and offices as in *England*, ever sithence have ben and att this day are put in execu^ōn: /:

Nowe thestate that Countrey remained in, in the tyme of E. the firste, H. the 4th, H. the 5th, vntill the Counsaill was thus there settelled, is to be compared wth thestate the same is in att this day and then shalbe founde, the greate benefitte that succeded their labors. The former recited lawes in the tyme of H. the 4th, H. the 5th, and H. the eighte declare that they and those of thenglishe Counties adioyninge, lyved as in a Countrey of warre and not as in a Countrey gouerned by lawe: :

At this daie it is to be affirmed, that in wales vniuersallie, are as civile people and obedient to lawe, as are in England. Throughowte wales in every respect Justice embrased⁵ and with as indifferent⁶ trialles executed in as England, duringe the tyme of her ma^{tes} Reigne excepte 3^e or 4^{or} pettye Coyners, Noe treason hard of; very seldome murder. In vj^e yeares together vnneth⁷ one Robbery

¹ The words of the Act (Section 4) are "That there shall be and remain a President and Council in the said Dominion and Principality of Wales and the Marches of the same."

² One Justice was appointed for each of the four circuits into which Wales was divided. Within less than a year after this was written, provision was made by 18 Elizabeth, c. 8, for the appointment of a second or Associate Justice for each circuit.

³ The Prae-notary or Proto-notary (more often Prothonotary) was the chief "notary" or registrar of a court. See Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, iii, 8.

⁴ "H. the 5" is written in above line.

⁵ Gladly accepted or availed of.

⁶ Impartial.

⁷ Scarcely.

(committed by the high way) harde of: Stealinge of Cattell is the chief evill that generally moste annoyeth the Countrey:

Thees stowte and greate Counsellors, to bringe this Civilitie amonges the people, spent then their yerely travaile in maner throughout Wales and thereby knewe the people and their disposiçon and occupied their tyme in serching and tryinge owte of crimynall causes and offences, yeldinge severe punishement to every offender, defended the mēer sorte from the oppression of the greater, which att that tyme was greate and att this daye wolde be greater, if that Counsaill were not continuallye readye, vpon complainte to reforme them. And fyndinge the Comen sorte by taste of the sweetenes of Justice, putt in v^r amonges them by the travaile of that Counsaill, more desirous to have Justice to remeadye their wronges, then to revenge the same them sellffes. The Counsaill then provided for the better gouernment (as tyme gave occasion) the lawes laste before recited. And this was thonly acte and travaile of this Counsaill without which or the like labo^r, noe hoape that wales wolde in many yeres have ben brought to thestate they nowe bee. And although the same Counsaill bestowed then their labo^r and tyme all those dayes in sorte aforesaid and in matters apperteing to gouernement, yett as tyme and libertie gave them leass^r they harde (warranted by auctoritie) the complaintes of poore sutes and comonly vpon bill and aunswere tooke orde^r, for in the orderinge of an hundred causes vnneth there happened in one of them witnesses to be produced. Then were there neather Counsellors att the barre nor Attorneys in Cortte. A Secretorie, A Clerck of the Signett, Clerck of the Counsaill and 3^o or 4^o vnder Clerckes that made billes and a Porter were all the attenders Yf any felonye or outragiows cryme were enformed of they had tyme and leass^r to spende their labo^r to serche and trye owte the offenders. And this was aboutes the XXVIIIth yere of his Reigne,³ yerely after as the people founde place to resorte vnto, to have vpon complainte their wronges harde and remedied, the Countrey growinge to more Civilitie, Sutes increased, and with them more Clerckes followed, and then one or two learned¹ men

The principal officers y^t were at the Fyrst erection of y^t gouernement.

¹ Use, cf. "enure".

² Leisure.

³ A.D. 1536.

⁴ This sentence is underlined and the margin marked.

began to attende att the barre and Clerckes made them selffes Attorneys and by them began the manner and order used in the Chauncery in procedinge to heare causes. /

D.¹ I.
Increase
of
Attor-
neys.

The yerely increase of Attorneys², Counsellors^s and Clerckes sythence that tyme hath ben such, as nowe there are Attorneys above xx^{ti} and one with an other euerye one twoe Clerckes, Counsellors att the barre, comonlye euery terme, haulf a score; Twelve Clerckes att the leaste whoe make billes,³ ffyve or sixe that attende the Signett, and all those att this Day occupied. There are nowe four termes in the yere and in euery terme, two or three hundred⁴ matters appointed to bee harde, and what expenses are susteigned in euery of those matters wherein wittnesses be examined or the same be harde is good to consider: And accomptinge like number to euery of the foure termes in the yere, and like expences in euery matter three or foure thousande poundes, wilbe gathered att the leaste to be expended by yere. There are foure monethes in the yere expended in terme tymes and thother eighte monethes in vacaçon, one weeke with another throughowte the yere, there passeth an hundred or two hundred proces,⁵ and in euery terme there are ended in after noone Rules one with another, by Commission to frendes, by wager of lawe and by dismission vpon thaunswere 200 matters; The yerely chardges accompted, which the very walshe Subiectes expendeth in sutes, followinge that Counsaill, maye

¹ D=Disorder.

² From time to time Parliament made numerous attempts to limit the number of attornies in England. In 1292 the maximum number was fixed at 120. but in a little over a century they had increased to no less than 2,000, and both in 1402 and 1411 the Commons petitioned the King against their "multitude." Norfolk had a bad reputation in this respect, and in 1455 an Act was passed prescribing "How many Attornies may be in Norfolk, how many in Suffolk and in Norwich." As to Henry VIII's reign, the excessive number of Attorneys is dwelt upon in the "Dialogue between Cardinal Pole and Thomas Lupset," published in Starkey's *Life and Letters* (Early English Text Society, 1878). Still later, there was passed in 1605, "An Act to reform the Multitudes and Misdemeanours of Attornies and Solicitors at Law." The "yerely increase of Attorneys" was therefore by no means peculiar to Wales.

³ Much of the work now done by Solicitors, in the preparation of writs and other legal documents, was at this time done by the officials of the Court.

⁴ "Two or three hundred" is underlined.

⁵ This sentence is underlined.

be perceaved herebye. The toyle and travaill the Counsaill take in hearinge and ordering those causes and sutes exceedeth the paines taken in any office of Justice throughowte the Realme. ff̄or from sixe of the clock in the morninge untill sixe in the eveninge (allowinge them a dynner tyme) before noone, and after, they sitt in Cortte: And when leass^r and tyme geveth libertie some such as sitt nott in Cortte deale with the examinaçon of prysoners, so as nowe by ¹this discourse yo^u see howe XXX^{ti} yeres paste the travaille¹ of this Counsaill was expended, hollye in generall causes of gouvernement and the benefitte the same wroughte and howe att this daie, that travaille, is turned to the dispatche of pryvatte causes² and complaintes betwene partie and partie and the successe thereof, And the travaille nowe taken is to be comended and allowed soe farre as the same maye tende to healpe the oppressed, and so many there be of those poore symple ones in wales, that beare wronge and soe many more there woulde bee, if this Counsaill were not soe nere them, as it is as necessarye to contynue the maintenance of this Counsaill as a starre Chamber and Chauncerie Corte for wales, as are the starre Chamber and Chauncerie for England, for it were to be dowbted, if thaucthoritie of this Counsaill sholde cease but two yeres, some parts of wales wolde in that tyme growe so yll as in tenne yeres after, it wolde not be brought in the same estate yt was in, and yett if the same Counsaill, spende more tyme to satisfie causeles exclamaçons, then healpe the wronged, that wolde be seene vnto: And notwithstandinge yt standeth with reason that more sutes sholde nowe followe the Courte then before, when the terror of the oppressor soe keapte vnder the sympler sorte, as they durste not complayne, or dowbted howe vpon complainte, to be harde and remedied yett oughte such care to be had in the receavinge of Sutes as vnder collor of simplicitie and pretence of wronge, cloaked in the pytifull complainte of the wicked vnquiett and maliciouse personne, the harmeles Innocent man be not toyled in sute and chardged vpon euery such faulse surmise³ and complainte. And therefore is consideraçon to be hadd to thende and

¹⁻¹ The intervening passage is underlined.

² "Pryvatte causes" underlined.

³ *Surmise* was a technical Old-French word for the charge or accusation brought against a person.

sequell of the number of those causes which are before recited and here brought to be harde and ordered, whether they falle owt to be matters devised, rather to satisfie the will and mallice of the exclamantes, to put other, whome they mislike and mallice to costes and travell, either elles they falle out, wronges don, worthie of redresse and order; And although it happeneth in this Corte as itt doth in all other Corttes that there shall be founde of bothe sortes, yett I think, I may affirme ytt that in the hearinge of euery tenthe cause vnnethe happeneth one that hath order for the plaintief, and then followeth that in Tenne causes harde, nyne be causeles exclaymes and by that argument, wee do good to one and harme to nyne, and then allowe that in a terme tyme there be 300 causes harde 300 persons attende vpon those sutes, and after tenne in the hundred there are XXX^u that take good.¹ Then it followeth that 200 and 70 take lack. And they With their chardge and travaill and smalle recompence in comparison of their expences, retorne with repynge and mislike. Yf therefore it coulde be provided that none sholde be harde butt such as haue cause of complainte, and those causes to be harde and speedilie dispatched, that the chardges in sute, do not surmounte the benifitte to be taken by the recouerye as by sufferinge protracte and delaies very often happeneth. Then muste y^t followe that this Counsaill, sholde not be trowbled with the tenthe matter they nowe bee. The money nowe expended in 300 Sutes in a terme, drawinge to noe smalle Soñe, wolde remayne in the Countrey and some fewe officers, Clerckes and Inholders wolde take thereby wante, and the Comynaltie of wales (whoe as nowe live verye poorely and hardelye although agaynste their willes) sholde be provided for to kepe their money to their selves and spende their tyme and labo^r aboutes their necessarie busines att home which nowe they yerely spende in Sutes and then shoulde this Counsaill haue tyme to travaille in the suppressinge of generalle disorders as felonies and such like as they hadd att the firste establishment which muste be confessed are nott soe severely looked vnto as were requisitte :

And like as experience doth teache such as doe travell

¹ This sentence is underlined and the margin marked.

in that service, that the comon sorte of the people of wales for the moste parte are so maliciose, as they force¹ not of their owne chardge, soe they may procure chardges to the aduersarye and fyndinge, soe readye a passaige of revenge, as tyme hath taught them followinge this Counsaill, that assured vpon any vntrue surmice he may trowble his aduersarye with apparraunce before the Counsaill and not recompence him the iiijth parte of his chardges, howe wrongfully soeuer the cause shall appere, doe therefore bende their devises, and travell for revenge of euery trifelinge iniurye either offered or conceaved, to sue his aduersarye, by proces from the Counsaill. And so the poore sorte for the moste parte, empouerishe them selffes and their aduersarie; And that this is true, experience teacheth, that comenly when any is enformed againste for wronge, ffurthwith againste the same enformer will he putt Informaçon for some cause, and oftentimes for the very matter he hin self is chardged with, and wherin he knoweth him self faultie, satisfyng him self that he hath putt the enformer to chardges. Wherefore (sithence they are not able to provide of them selffes remedy for their greiffes, although they both deserve yt and smartingly feele yt and with repynge speeches crye owte at ytt) ytt is the parte and dutie of the same Counsaill whoe at the beginninge travailled to bringe them to Civilitie and by Statute, are there setteled, to provide for their encrease in wealth² as the Statute doth recite, doe as carefullie nowe seeke by their wisdomes to maineteigne them in wealth as they did to bringe them to obedience, w^{ch} easylie may be don by makinge narowe the open and over broade passaige that all complaynantes haue to obteigne proces to woork, as muche as in them is that such causes, as require healpe and be meete for that Corte maye be harde and wth dispatch ordered, and faulse Suggestions and surmises to be prevented, and beinge mette with, so severelie punished, as thereby the people may be terrefied to offerr any faulse surmise or complainte to obteigne proces againste any partie; And for that ende the orders

¹ They take no account of, or attach no importance to, their own expenses. As to the use of "force" in this sense cf. *The Ballad of Flodden Field*, iii, 26, "And of their lives took little force".

² "Wealth" is here used, as in the preamble of the Statute quoted above, in its original meaning of "well-being".

subsequente to be putt in execucon, which beinge dulye executed will in smalle tyme woock the effect aforesaid: And this don it forceth not howe many Clerckes (more then are) attende, beinge provided for and soe prevented, as they canne doe noe harme, for beinge brought from wales and trayned vpp in wrytinge att the Counsaill and there keapte vnder good order greatlye profitteth all the partes of wales :: :

Orders devised to avoyde and remove the practizes at this day vsed by maliciose corrupte and faulse surmises conteigned in billes of complainte exhibited to the Counsaill to bringe heapes of vnfitte tryfflinge Sutes and matters in Question before the same Counsaill there in forme of lawe to be harde and determined: Whereby greate expences chardges and trowble hath arisen to the Subiecte aswell *complainantes* as *Deffendaunt* and noe benefitte to either and to procure tyme speedilie withowt delaye or *protracte* to heare the iuste and true complaintes of the oppressed needefull to be remedied and to streighten all Suters Counsellors and Attornes to insserte in their *complaintes* the symple truth of their greef onely as itt is without agravatinge the same by vntrue surmises or suggestiones :

Ffirste that noe Complainte of any pryvate personne conteigninge matter of wronge or iniurye don to his pryvate personne lands or goodes be receaved excepte the partie wronged in proper person exhibitte the *Complaint* or that othe be taken by him, that deliue'th the bill, that the *Complainant* is soe aiged, sycke or ympotent as without dainger not able to travaille orelles vnder thaige of xxjth yeres and by his tutor or gardeyne do complainte :/

Also that noe bill be receaved conteigninge any matter of wronge or iniurye don to any person, his landes or goodes excepte the complainte be exhibited before the ende of the terme next followinge the tyme of the cause of sute geven :/

Allsoe if complainte be made for trespasse or wrongfull entringe or disturbinge of the freeholde of any, or the possession of any termor for yeres or att will and surmise that he is not of habilitie to trye the Comen Lawe in the

Countie where the wronge was comitted and therefore for vnequalitie praye to be harde in that Cortte. Noe proces to be graunted vpon any suche bill excepte the Complaint be first exhibited to the Justice of Assise within that countie where cause of sute ariseth and he by *lettres* or other note of allowaunce recomende the hearinge of the same for that cause to the Counsaill: /

And also if any complainte be exhibited conteigninge forceble entrey or forceble withholdinge of landes, the surmise to be trauersed as well as the tytle and the same to be harde before the tytle, and if the surmise of the force be not directly *proved* in suche sorte and maner as it is sett downe by the complainte then the matter with full costes to the *defendant* to be dimissed and the tytle not harde: /

Item that noe tytle of coppie holde landes be harde excepte againte the lorde withowte manifeste testimonye that the complainte cannot haue indifferent tryall in the lordes Cortte. /

Item that noe bill of complainte be preferred conteigninge any tytle of ffreeholde, copieholde, estate of yerres or att to be will excepte the same be drawn by a Counsellor learned and his name subscribed: /

Item that noe byll be preferred conteigninge any personall wronge to goodes or Cattalles for debtes or not savinge harmeles, execucions, extorçons, assaultes, affrayes and carryinge of weapons, except drawn by one of the Attorneys or Clerkes allowed to drawe bylles. /

Allsoe that neither Counsellors nor Attorneys subscribe their names to any bylles drawn by any other then by themselves or in the drawinge whereof their advises were yelded: /

Item that all other pleadinges subsequent *euery* suche byll and thissues to be drawn and sett owt by Counsell learned and Attorney in sorte as is appointed for the makinge of billes :

Allso if the deffendaunte doe not aunswere the bill of complainte within three Corttes after the day of apparraunce to paye for euery delaye vj^s viij^d. /

Allso the like costes for the defecte vpon replicaçons, Reioynders, Surreioynders and Rebutters.

Allso that in all Comissions the daye and place where to execute the same be sett downe. The Commission to be to fowre, and by defaulte of anye two or one, thother three or two to *proceede*. /

Allso noe excuse to staye publicac̃on, excepte that the partie will depose that withowt fraude or deceipte of his parte, suche wittnesses as he served with preceptes appered not before the Comissioners and take proces of contempte againste them :

Allso that if the plaintief be not readye att the day of hearinge the matter to be dismissed with good costes, and if the deft. be not ready the deft. to pay for that delaye x^s and x^s for euery daye after. And if he be not ready within three dayes, the Corte to reade the bookes, and whether the deft. be ready or not the Cortte then to heare and order¹

Allso if the order passe with² the deft. by dismissal or otherwise that then he by him self or his Attorney exhibite his bill of costes what the same hath ben sythence the begynninge of the sute, and the same to be allowed vnto him, the greater costes especially wherein it may be proved or appere the sute was prosecuted withowt collor of tittle. And if the order passe with the Compl[ainant] then the costes to be assessed in open Corte after the consideraçõn of the tyme the sute hath contynued and as may be gathered he hath expended, And this above allthinges to be putt dulye in execuçõn./

If any Counsellor^s Attorneys or Clerckes do purloyne any of the bookes of the Cortte or after the same be signed by any of the Counsaill doe alter or chainge the same by razinge, addinge or diminishinge, the same personne to be ponished by fyne and ymprisonment, and vtterly debarred from all attendaunce and service in any place Rowmeth³ or office belonginge to the Cortte./

Item the chief Clerck to take a perfect note howe and to whome the bookes be deliuered, and the same soe to keape as if any be missinge he be ready to showe to the Cortte to whome the same were deliuered, otherwise he to pay the Costes both parties haue bene putto by that delaye :/

If any person preferre any bill to be signed and alleadge the partie to be presentte knowing him to be absent to be thereafter excluded from makinge of bylles :/

¹ Owing to a hole in the document, caused by folding the paper, the remainder of this sentence, about half a line, is lost.

² To fall to, or be given in favour of, the defendant.

³ Room or space (Nares' *Glossary*). It is here used in the sense of position or office.

If any person exhibite any bill or complaint or Informaçõn againste any other and be enioyned in any some to prosecute the same for the Quene and after without lycence of the Counsaill agree with the partie or pretermitte the prosecuõn of the same,¹ the same person to be fyned to the fowreth parte of the some, in which he was enioyned to prosecute./

If any one be duly attainted before the Counsaill by lawfull proof to haue served any other wth fallse billetes² for apparraunce when in troth noe lettres were graunted, besides ffyne and ymprisonment, euery such one to be ordered to the pillorye: /

Item that noe bill be graunted att the sute of any pryveledged person in Cortte bee he of the Counsaill, Counsellor^s att the barre, Attorney or Attorneys Clerck or other Clerck or officer excepte the partie plaintiff will depose before the Counsaill to his knowledge the contentes of the bill to be true: /

Item that noe Counsellor be permitted to pleade att the barre excepte he haue ben vtter barrester in Cortte of V^e yeres standinge att the leaste.³

Item if any person doe pretende subtilie cause of sute againste any other and ytt be duly proved by wittnesses or confession of the [par]tie⁴ that the same was devised through that devise take any money to stave the partie att

¹ As to the frequent compounding of offences in the Great Sessions at this period, see Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, iii, 45.

² Letters or writs.

³ An "Utter Barrister" practically meant simply a member of the Junior Bar, or as the modern phrase is, a gentleman of the Outer Bar—the three degrees among Counsel in the Tudor period being Serjeant-at-law, Benchet and Utter Barrister. The junior members were so called, because, at the Moots or Mock trials held in the Inns of Court, they had to "sit uttermost on the formes which they call the Barr". The origin of the name is fully discussed by the late Serjeant Pulling in *The Order of the Coif*, pp. 114, 175. An Utter Barrister was not however allowed to practise until he had first completed a prescribed period of attendance in Court during term time. In 1550, it was ordered that "none should come to any Bar at Westminster, and especially to the Chancery or Whitehall, under ten years continuance." In 1596, this period of probation was reduced to seven years. The Welsh Council was less exacting in requiring that Counsel pleading at its bar should be of at least five years' "standing". *Seats for Counsel* are but a modern contrivance. Down to the 17th century, Counsel had to *stand* at the bar at all times when in Court.

⁴ There is here a hole in the document corresponding to the previous hole.

without cause of purpose, to extorte from the partie againste whome the sute was taken, some rewarde and home, every suche one over and besides fyne and ymprisonment to be ordered to the pyllorye.

If itt be dulye proved that any Counsellor^r Attorney or Clerck attendinge *prosequute* any cause before the Counsaill in the behaulf of any other, havinge assuraunce or *promisse* of the thinge sued for, or of any parte thereof; besides fyne and ymprisonment to be excluded from such place of service or Roometh as he vsed before: The like order with all suche as shall take any some or somes of money and for the same assure the Clyentte to haue order to passe with him. And the like order with all such havinge fee certaine appoincted either for makinge billes, *proces*, endorsementes, examinaçõ of Witnesses or other execuçõ of their office, as shall for the executinge thereof exacte more or greater fees: /

Item that noe *proces* be graunted for the apparraunce of any before this Counsaill excepte the value thereof exceed fortie Shillinges¹ :/

Item if any surmise be made that the value of the thinge sued for, exceede xl^s, and then vpon prouf it falleth owt to be vnder the value of xl^s, then vpon the hearinge the plaintiff to paye the deft. costes. And in consideraçõ of his false surmise, although the matter vpon exaiaçõ² falle owte with the plaintiff yett the deft. to be dismissed./

Item that the porter kepe in gaole all such prisoners as for contemptes or breach of order shalbe comitted to him in ward within the castle. And if any soe to be comitted, be taken abroade after the comittment and before his submission allowed, the keaper to be ponished by ymprisonment and the partie soe taken abroade, of what callinge soeuer he bee for that contempte, to be comitted to yrons, And that the said porter nor any his vnder porters, extorte or exacte of any personne to them comitted for his dyett or ymprisonment other or greater fees then due and accustomed:³/

¹ Regulations similar to this and that which follows it were also laid down as to the King's Court by 6 Edward I, c. 8, and 43 Elizabeth, c. 6, s. 2, but they do not appear to have been strictly enforced.

² Examination.

³ There are two endorsements on the back of this document. A small portion of the first, which may be in the same hand as the body of the Discourse, is lost owing to a hole in the paper. The

APPENDIX F.

GERARD'S SECOND OR "ABBREVIATED" DISCOURSE.¹

The notes w^{ch} I towld yo^r Hono^r Resrve to yo^r self.²

In the former discourse this is to be noted, that although heare was a settled Counsell before the XXth yere of kinge Henrie theighte Yett there ensued not reforme of the walshrie disobedience to the lawes of Englande, vntill that tyme and vpon consideraçon of the cause whye more at that tyme then before and consideringe of the personnes whoe were then appointed to serve in that Comission. Yt maie easelie bee gathered that throughe the choise of the personnes and their travell correspondent the benefite of the sservice ensued./

A settled
cownsaile
before y^e
26th year
of K. H.
y^e 8.

Thone soe placed was Rowlande Bushoppe of Coventrie and Leechfeelde, called Busshoppe Rowlande whoe was stowte of nature, readie witted, roughe in speeche, not affable to anye of the walshrie, an extreme severe ponisher of offende^{rs} desirous to gayne (as he did in deede) credit wth the kinge and comendaçon for his service. Suche one as hadd noe neede of the office for anye Wante of lyvinge,

Rowland
B. of
Countrie.

second is in a different hand, and as the date 1583 shows, was added eight years later. The first runs thus:—

“Wales
Discourses for reforma^[tion]
Instructions & orders [to be ?]
observed.”

The second is as follows:—

“1583
A discourse of Wales & how to reforme the abuses,
&c., by Mr. W. Gerrard.
1583”

¹ *State Papers, Domestic, Eliz.*, vol. 107, No. 10.

² Evidently put in afterwards by Gerard himself. All the marginal notes are in a different handwriting, evidently not Gerard's, and not the same as the rest of the document.

Justyce
Engle-
feld.

for besides the kinges allowance he spent the Revenue of his Bishoprick in that service. He hadd ioigned¹ to hym as Justice S^r Thomas Englefeelde a Justice of the comen pleaz, for lerninge and discrete modeste behaveo^r comparable wth anie in the Realme. Suche one also as for gaine served not, for besides his offices above he hadd a Knightes Revenues. These twoo thus ioigned, assisted wth diuerse but not manie, some of lerninge some gent of calling in the englisshe Counties as the Justice of Northewales Thomas Bromeley, Holte² and suche like in the begynning spent their holle tyme in travellinge yerelie eyth^r throughe Wales or a great parte of the same, in causes towchinge Civill governemt and by that travell knewe the people, and founde their disposiçon, favored and preferred to auctoritie and office in their Contreys suche howe meane of lyvinge soever theye were, as theye founde Diligente and willinge to serve in Discoveringe and tryinge owt of offences and offendo^{rs}. Theye likewise defaced³ and discountenanced othe^{rs} of howe greate callinge and possessionis soever theye were, beinge of contrarie Disposiçon. This stowte busshoppes Dealinge and the terro^r that the vertue of learninge workethe in the subiecte when he perceiveth that he is governed vnd^r a lerned magistrate, wthin iij or iiij^{or} Yeres generallie soe terrefied theyme, as the verie feare of ponishemt rather then the Desire or love that the people hadd to chaunge their Walshrie wroughte firste in theym the obedience theye nowe bee growen into./

Then was this Counsell and their procedinges as moche feared revered and hadd in estimaçon of

¹ Joined.

² See *I Cymmrodor*, xii, 29, notes 2, 3. As to the Sir Thomas Bromley referred to here, he is to be distinguished from his more distinguished name-sake and second cousin, who at a later date became Lord Chancellor. Both are separately noticed in the *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*, and there are further references to members of the family in Clive's *Ludlow*, 211, 242, 244, 259, and Foss's *Biog. Dict. of Judges*, 126-8. Sir George Bromley, mentioned in *I Cymmrodor*, *loc. cit.*, was the chancellor's brother. Thomas Holt, who held the office of Justice for the Carnarvon Circuit, belonged to the ancient family of that name seated at Grislehurst, Lancashire, which produced several lawyers, including the well-known Chief Justice (John) Holt (1642-1710), whose father, Sir Thomas Holt, was also a Serjeant-at-law and Recorder of Reading and Abingdon.

³ Destroyed the credit of.

the Walshe as at this Daye the Starre chamb^r of thenglishe./

Sythens that tyme although there hathe not succeeded such stowte travellinge Presidentes, Yett ever vntill of late tyme theye were assisted wth knowen lerned Justices as Sulyard, Conesby, Hare, Townshende, Pollarde and Woodes,¹ The afore named qualities and respectes in Busshoppe Rowlande and Englefeelde are to be wishedd in their Successo^{rs}. At this Daie, to bee plaine the Counsell and Courte are neyther reuerenced feared or their procedinges estemed. There is not neyther hathe bene sithens the Quenes Raigne anie of the Counsell appointed to con-tynewell attendaunce of suche profounde Judgement as the place requirethe, or that maie be termed profounde learned, comparable wth those meaneste of those that have served as Justice sythens Englefeelde. And as the knowledge hereof hathe bredd the Counsellors at the barre by contemptuouse carpinge overmoche to deface, contempn and discountenance the benche: soe the Clientes takinge houlde of their disorde^{rs} are perswaded that everie order^r w^{ch} passethe againste theym is eyth^r through Inorance or Wilfullnes, of the Counsell, and soe doe departe wythe² repynninge and murmuringe speeches³ moste person-

Learned
Justices
Conesby
Hare,
Townsen-
end,
Pollard,
Woodes.
The cause
whye the
counsaille
is not re-
uerenced.

¹ See the notes on these Justices in *Y Cymmrodor*, xii, 31, and Clive's *Ludlow*, 213. The following may also be added to what is there stated. As to the connection of the Sulyard family with Lincoln's Inn, see Pulling's *Order of the Coif*, 143, and Foss's *Biog. Dict.*, 644.

Conesby was probably Thomas Coningsby, who was appointed a judge of the King's Bench 5 July 1540. He was the second son of Sir Humphrey Coningsby, Sergeant-at-law and one of the Judges of the King's Bench in the first year of Henry VIII. Another descendant of Sir Humphrey was Sir Thomas Coningsby, of Hampton Court in Herefordshire (knighted by Queen Elizabeth in 1591), who was a member of the Council of the Marches in 1608 and died in 1625 (see Clive's *Ludlow*, 259).

Hare was appointed Chief Justice of Chester on 14 August 1540 *vice* Coningsby, and was himself succeeded, on 21 May 1545, by Sir Robert Townsend. His successor, Sir John Pollard, who died within a year of his appointment to the office (1557), was previously Justice of the Brecknock circuit, to which he had been appointed on 23 Nov. 1550, having been also relieved by patent 21 October, from his office of Serjeant-at-law, in order to become Vice-President of the Welsh Council. For Hare and Pollard see, further, *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*

² "As in place thereof" erased after "wythe".

³ "Passethe from the" erased after "speeches".

nes againste whome orde^{rs} are taken soe as the evill that maie ensue is good in tyme to bee considered, for yf this Counsall bee not backesetted, mainteigned, and soe obaiad as therby the Contreye maie soe bee terrified as theye were vpon the firste establishm^t more harme then good will succede their travel./

The Couunsello^{rs} vpon the firste establishm^t served wth owt desire to make gayne by that service otherwise then generall benefite to the Contreye. Yt were to be wished and necessarie that all succedinge mighte soe serve as the Countrey by theyme and not theye by the Contreye mighte reape private comoditie and benefite./

Ouer
many
Coun-
sellers.

Dowhtless there are Counsello^{rs} over manie and those for the moste parte verie vnfitte. There woulde never be anie placed but wth recomendaçon frome the bodie of the Counsell./

I conclude wth this My tonge and not my penne shall open to Yo^w Whoe Wee are and what maner of personnes that serve at this daye./

The
causes
depending
before the
counsayle
meter for
Lectes.

It is moste true that the bodie of the Comunaltie of Wales are pore and their estate to be lamented of everie pitiful and carefull Magistrate, for he that woulde but marke the pore simple Creatures (I call to godd to witnes wth greeff and pitie of their smarte I speake yt) whoe come and goe to & from that Courte in the yere, and the small causes w^{ch} theye travell for when theye come to hearinge, meeter for a meane vnd^r Stuarde at a Leete or lawe daie to be decided¹ then for a Counse[ll] settled for governem^t to be occupied wth all, would saie to him self, Yo^w pore Walshe Creatures yt is not yo^w but those appointed to governe yo^w whoe bee the causer^s of yo^r beggerie for the stablism^t is to devise for yo^r wealthe that w^{ch} yo^r malicious & wilfull disposicions cannot p^rcure to yo^r selff./

The offyce
of exami-
narship
abused.

I have protested to comitte to yo^r secretie what I knowe may doe the Contrie good and therefore muste touche suche as I am byed² to Love. And furth^r there is an office by her Highenes of late yeres newelie graunted of Examynar and a newe fee appointed, her Ma^{tie} abvsed vpon the firste granting the benefite of that is to my frende but the smarte soe to the Contrie as not to be suffered./

¹ Query decided.

² Bound.

The porters Lodge¹ was in Busshoppe Rowlandes tyme suche a straitte place of ponishem^t as the comen people termed yt a hell, and nowe is growen to noe terro^r of ponishmen^t of the bodie but a gullf throughe fees to suck vppe a meane man./

The multitude of Clerckes harme not the Contrie but dothe great good if there were three tymes as manye of the Walshe Youthe, to be trayned vppe in writinge for that in everie parte of Wales by those Clerckes experience ord^r and Civilitye increaseth soe as the ord^{rs} devised be duellie putte in execucon], w^{ch} done I dare affirme that in twoe yeres three partes of the Counsellors Attorneys and Clerckes will seeke to lyve in other places and by other trade, and twoe or three thowsand poundes will alsoe yerelie be kepte in Wales that at this daie is vanilie spent in wranglinge sutes at that Counsell./

The Quene geveth honorable allowaunce to kepe the howse viz. xx^{li} the week and 200 markes to be bestowed in forren expences, and the fynes arisinge in that howse to paye Counsellors attendaunt^s the pursivauntes and ordenarie office^s there their fees and allowaunces. The Debtes w^{ch} are to be paid owte of those fynes at this daie are a thousande markes and above and wth out bett^r consideraçon will soe increase as force ordenarie Survitors for wante of paymente to geve over that service./

The Civilitye, obediens and the Dutifull embrasinge of Justice amonges the people of Wales at this daie comparable wth thenglishe requirethe a like government as in England viz. twoe Justices, but of those and o^r fynes & myne opynion of helpe. I leave yt and oth^r matt^{rs}, worthie of Reforme to speeche, for the same would be overteditious to wryte, and mye repaire not longe to.²

¹ In this connection, it may be mentioned that one of the difficulties of dealing with offenders at this period was that the Sheriff had no county prison in which to lodge his prisoners. Dr. David Lewis, writing to Sir Edward Stradling in 1578, pointed out that the "sheere [of Glamorgan] doth wante a convenient gaole to serve the shieriffe always as occation shall requir" (*Stradling Correspondence*, 233), and this resulted in the appointment of a county gaoler (*Ibid.*, 50, 269).

² The endorsement of this document has been destroyed.

The
Porters
Lodge
abused.
D.

D. 8.

The Dyet
20^{li} by
weeke.

The Jesus College Peithynen.

BY PROFESSOR RHYS.

THE word *peithynen*, according to Dr. Davies's *Welsh-Latin Dictionary*, means "tegula, scandula, asser, lamina", and it is derived from *peithyn*, which is the Latin *pecten*, *pectin-is* 'a comb,' borrowed, and he gives *peithyn y gwýdd* as meaning "pecten textoris". Similarly Pughe explains *peithyn* as "the reed-work of a loom, a slay; a slate, a tile, or other plain body," and adds "*peithynau olwyn*, the cogs of a wheel". Under *peithynen* he gives the following account of the meaning of that word:—"a plain body, as a slate, tile, a sheet of paper, and the like; the elucidator, or frame of writing, the book of the ancient bards, which consisted of a number of four-sided or three-sided sticks written upon, which were put together in a frame, so that each stick might be turned round for the facility of reading." So the ideological connection between the word *peithynen* and the Latin *pecten* is based on the appearance of the frame of which the *peithynen* consists.

Our Jesus College *peithynen* consists of fourteen four-sided sticks or staves, measuring about $14\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length and held together by two split boards $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches long. These boards are tied with a cord at each of the four ends, and they are so socketed as to allow the staves to revolve. On the right hand the staves extend about two inches beyond the split board, and these two-inch ends are intended for the facility of turning the staves with the hand so as to expose their faces for reading according to one's wish. The right end of the top

stave is broken off even with the board, otherwise the peithynen is perfect, the wood being stained and in a good state of preservation. It should have been added that though the staves have four faces or four sides, that a little of the edges between those faces has been taken systematically off, in order, doubtless, to prevent the letters cut on one face from running into letters cut on the contiguous faces. The first three staves contain four lines each, the fourth contains two only: and these fourteen lines are shewn, with their interpretation, in the accompanying photographic reproduction, which represents a series of rubbings carefully made by Dr. Daniell. The first line on each stave is distinguished by a top notch to the left. In the illustration the staves should all be of the same length, but only the written portions of them have been rubbed: that is why they appear here of various lengths.

Our peithynen has thus on it three alphabets, two of which have nothing very specially Welsh about them, but the first or bardic alphabet, though consisting in the first instance of modifications of the English or Roman alphabet, has a number of new forms intended to meet the needs of Welsh spelling. A lucid and decisive account of the origin of this alphabet will be found, from the pen of the late Thomas Stephens, of Merthyr Tydfil, in the pages of the *Archæologia Cambrensis* for the year 1872, p. 181 *et seq.* He shows that this alphabet was, to a certain extent, in vogue among the Welsh bards, especially those of South Wales, in the 15th and 16th centuries. The use of this system had not ceased when Llewelyn Siôn wrote in reference to it about 1613. Llywelyn Siôn died in 1616, and it is from his writings, probably, that Edward Williams, better known as Iolo Morganwg, a Welsh antiquary and poet of the last century (1745-1826), derived his information: our peithynen is the handiwork of Iolo.

C o e l b r e n y b e i r d̄ . B a r d' s A l p h a b e t .

A á e é i o ó w ŵ ŷ ŷ̄ y . b f m^b p f f m h . e e h n g h g n g . t t h n h d d n^d n . l l l r h r s . h c h w .

C o e l b r e n y M e n e i e h . M o n k' s A l p h a b e t .

A b e d e f g h i l m n o p r s t u v y .

j , k , q q , w , x , z .

R w y f b e u n y d̄ y n r h o i s e u i' r b ŷ d

A g a d o i' m r y d y n f y d u ;

A' r p o e n , a' i a c h o s , f a l y s a e t h ,

O' r h u n a n c a e t h y n t y f u . I o l o M o r g a n w g .

THEY WORLD I SLANDER, TO MY SHAME,

NOR STRIVE MY PASSIONS ONCE TO TAME;

SHARPILLS I FEEL, BUT ALL, I FIND,

SPRING FROM MY OWN UNMANNLY MIND. E. WILLIAMS.

Blind Man's Alphabet.

A b e d e f g h i j k l m n o p q r s t u v w x y z .

This is borne out by the writing in the peithynen itself, as already seen above, and by the evidence of the Rev. John Jones, otherwise known as Ioan Tegid, who was precentor of Christ Church, Oxford, and one of the editors of the Poetical Works of Lewis Glyn Cothi in 1837-1839. In a note at p. 260, he wrote as follows: "In the archives of the library of Jesus College, Oxford, there is a mahogany Peithynen, on which is inscribed the Bardic Alphabet, consisting of 16 primitives and 22 derivatives, cut with a knife by Iolo Morganwg, and presented by him to the College. Dr. W. O. Pughe, in his Grammar, has, however, arranged the order of the alphabet differently to that on the Peithynen; and has also added five letters to the class of derivatives, of which additional letters he acknowledged himself to be the author."

On this I have merely to remark that the wood is stained so as to look somewhat like mahogany; but it is certainly not mahogany: I am assured that it is some kind of fir.

It will be noticed that in both the Monk's alphabet and the Blind Man's alphabet Bardic forms occur; but I cannot find that the Blind Man's has had any actuality beyond this peithynen, where it is due to Iolo's ingenuity.

It may here be mentioned that a very happy use of the peithynen has been made by our poet, Ceiriog Hughes, in his poem on Myfanwy Fechan o Gastell Dinas Brân: the bard Hywel, who was in love with her, manages to tell her his complaint by means of a peithynen, which he deftly places in the hollow of a tree where Myfanwy was sure to see it. The readers of *Y Cymmrodor* are so familiar with the incident as not to require me to quote the lines in this brief notice of the peithynen.

Jesus College,

Dec. 30th, 1899.

DA
700
C9
v. 13

Y Cymmrodor

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