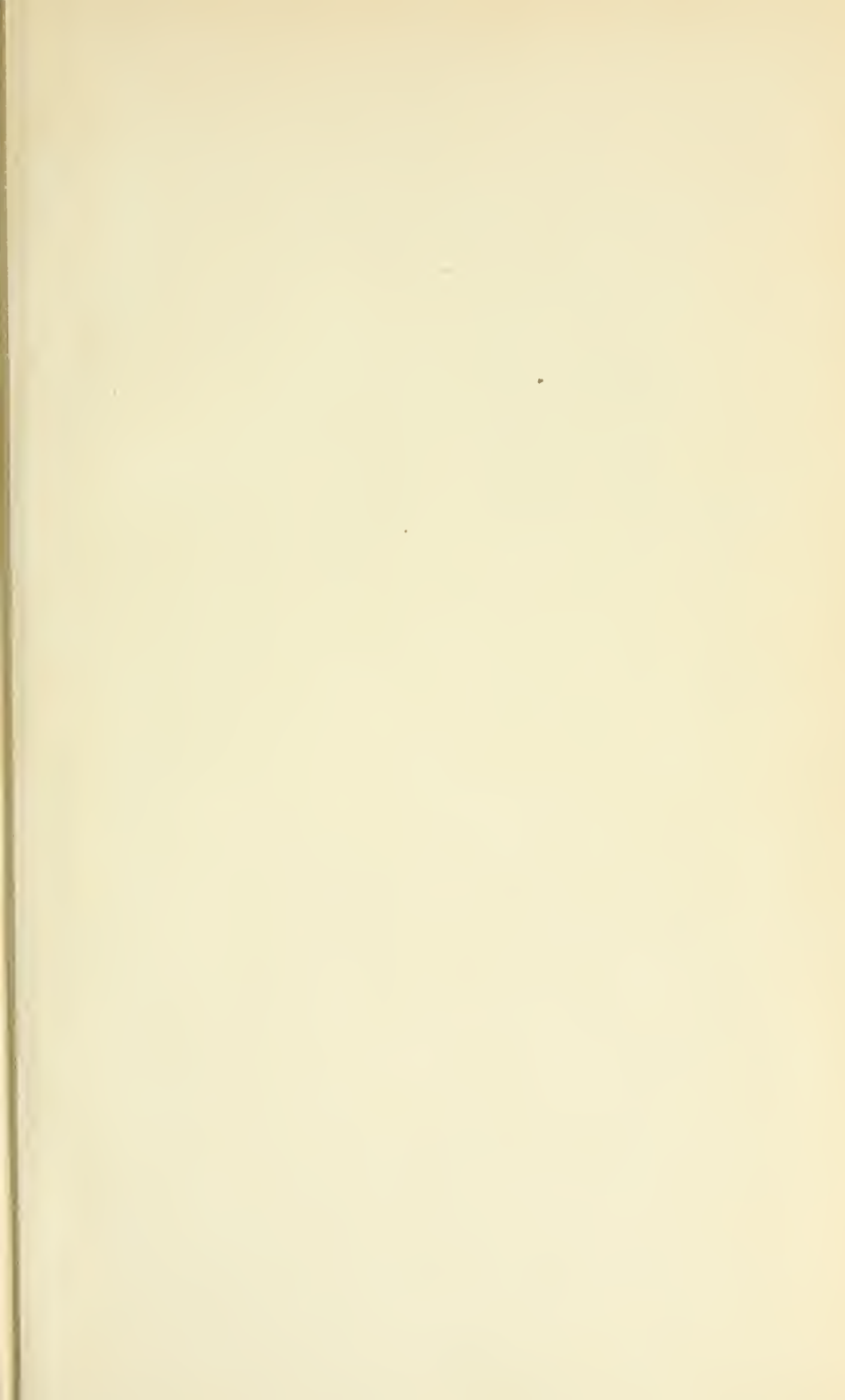






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# y Cymmrodor.

THE MAGAZINE

OF THE HONOURABLE

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VOL. XVI.

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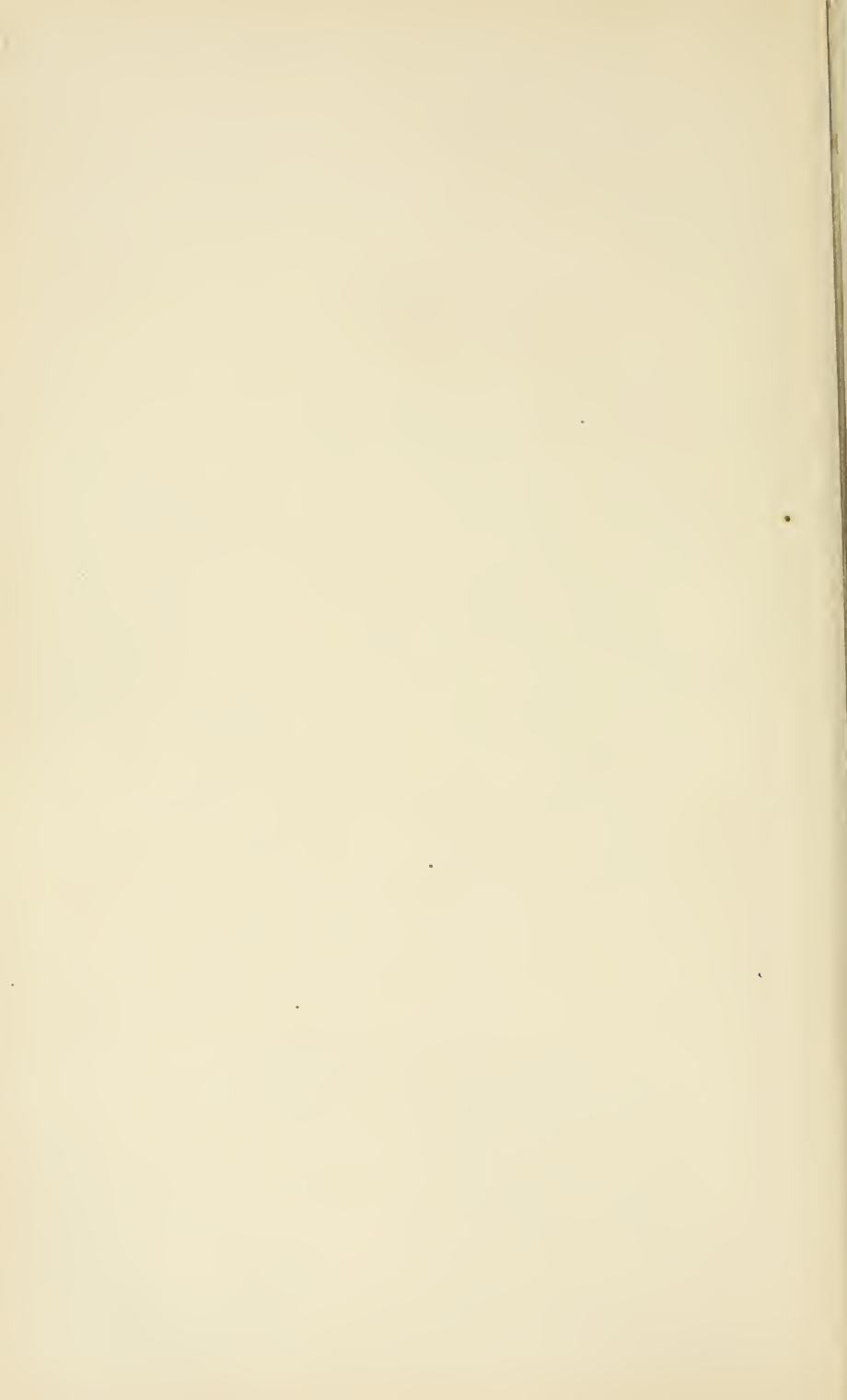
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# Y Cymmrodor.

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VOL. XVI. "CARED DOETH YR ENCILION."

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1902.

## A Welsh Insurrection.

BY W. LLEWELYN WILLIAMS, B.C.L. OXON.

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No passage in the dark and bloody annals of Henry VIII is more obscure than the "conspiracy" which led to the execution of Rhys ap Griffith in December 1531. Froude, who barely mentions the incident, states in a note that—"It was a Welsh plot conducted at Islington. The particulars of it I am unable to discover, further than it was a desperate undertaking, encouraged by the uncertainty of succession and by a faith in prophecies, to murder the King. Rice was tried in the Michaelmas term 1531, and executed. His uncle, who passed under the name of Brancetor, was an active revolutionary agent on the Continent in the later years of Henry's reign,"<sup>1</sup>—a statement which teems with a greater number of inaccuracies than is excusable even in the pages of a master of a poignant and dramatic style.

In the second volume of the *Cambrian Register* is published a defence of Rhys ap Griffith, which seems to have been written in 1625 by his great-grandson, Henry Rice of

<sup>1</sup> *History of England*, vol. ii, p. 214.

Dynevor. Mr. Edward Owen, who was the first to discover its existence, is of opinion that MS. 14,416 of the Phillips Collection, now in the Cardiff library, is the original from which Fenton published the article in the *Register*, and there can be no doubt that Mr. Owen is right, for the MS. was originally in the Fenton Collection. But the "defence", though interesting and in many respects important, was only compiled nearly a century after the tragic episode; it was written in an uncritical age, and confessedly in an uncritical spirit—for its admitted and manifest object was to clear the memory of Rhys of a charge of treason, and to appeal to King Charles I for a restoration to royal favour of Rhys's descendants. The writer was without some of the contemporary material which is at our disposal to-day, and in one or two matters, which can be tested by independent evidence, he did less than justice to some of Rhys's friends and contemporaries in order to elicit, by a more startling contrast, the Royal sympathy for Rhys's own sorrows and misfortunes.<sup>1</sup> The only other

<sup>1</sup> As Henry Rice's petition has never been published, though his defence, which is a portion of the same MS., has appeared in the *Cambrian Register*, we append it here:—

"Henry Rice, his petition to King Charles the First.

"To the King's most excellent Majesty the humble (*sic*) of H. Rice servant to the late King's Majesty.

"Humbly showing that I have served your Majesty's brother, nowe with God eight years, as howsoever I cannot raise unto myself anie great hope of recompense, though my service had been of longer time and of more valuable employment, yet the cons'n thereof, accompanied with what I shall farther presume herein to represent unto your Majesty, will, I hope, induce your Majesty graciously to commiserate my unhappie condition. My great grandfather, R. G., at the age of 23, was accused and condemned for designing to make your Majesty's auncestor, James the 5th of Scotland, to be King of England, by whose attainder there came to the crowne landes worth £10,000 poundes a year, and a personall estate to the value of £30,000 poundes. Queene Elizabeth, upon the humble suit of my grandfather

attempt which has been made to clear up the mystery was by the late Mr. David Jones, who published a paper on the subject in the *Archæologia Cambrensis* (5th ser., vol. ix, pp. 81-101, 192-214). But the paper is incomplete, the writer did not live to finish his researches, and though it represents a sane and patient effort to unravel the tangled

and father, did graciously promise, as before her sister Queen Marie hadden, a graunt unto them of soe much of their auncestor's landes as remained in the crowne. That promise, not taking effect, my Father did renew his petition to the late King's Majesty, wherein he did insist upon certaine particulars, which onlie showed that his auncestor which was attainted had great enemies and a prosecution that admitted him onlie little favour, which Petition was referred to certaine Lords of the Counsell with a singular commendation in his behalf: That such was his ill fortune that having far spent in his estate, he was forced to retire himself, leaving that unperfected which had so hopefull a beginning; —my grandfather and father (to ad more strength to their suit) represented to Queene Elizabeth and your royall Father the services of their auncestor Sir Rice ap Thomas, who received in Henry the 7th at Milford Haven with 4000 men, and attended him with 18 horse for his owne change at Bosworth field, and that Thos. Rice, another of my auncestors, in later time was slaine in the service of that Queene of famous memorie, your Majesty's grandmother, at what time the new usurping Lord of the Isles invaded Scotland.

"My most humble suit, therefore, to your Majestie is that in cons'n of the premisses and in accomplishment of the gracious intentions of your royall father, and the Queene's your predecessors, you will be pleased to bestowe upon me (the lineall heire of the aforesaid Rice) that poore portion of his great estate as yet undisposed of from the Crowne, being £200 per annum or thereabouts, or else in some other kind as shall best suit with your Majesty's grace and bountie, to support the weaknesse of my present condition: soe shall I ever pray for your Majesty's long life and happie rayne over us."

"Whitehall, 27 May, 1625.

"His Majesty's pleasure that the Lord High Treasurer of England, Lord Evansholl, Lord Chamberlaine, and Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer consider of the notices laid doune in this petition and the reason and equitie of this wish, and certifie unto his Majestie their opinions thereof.

"E. Conwy."

skein of Tudor statecraft, it by no means exhausts the material which was even then accessible to the writer (he does not seem to have seen Henry Rice's defence in the *Cambrian Register*), and some of his suggestions have been falsified, and some gaps in his account have been supplied by contemporary records which have been discovered or published in recent years. Without pretending to be in a position to say the final word on this chapter in our national story, we may safely claim to be in possession of so many "new facts" as to be entitled to re-open the whole question.

It would be travelling beyond the scope of this paper to give in any detail the story of Sir Rhys ap Thomas, the friend of Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, and the pillar of the dynasty which he founded. It will be sufficient for our present purpose to recapitulate, as briefly as possible, the broad facts of his career. Sir Rhys had been brought up in a Yorkist home. His grandfather, Griffith ap Nicholas of Dynevor, had fallen fighting for the White Rose, at Mortimer's Cross in 1461. His father, Thomas ap Griffith, was one of the bright particular stars of the court of Burgundy, where the Duchess Mary, the sister of Edward IV, afterwards did her best, by plot and intrigue, to maintain the languishing Yorkist cause. Rhys himself had spent the formative years of his youth in the Court of Charles the Bold. The battle of Tewkesbury, however, changed the course of English history. The murder of young Edward of Wales, the hope of the Lancastrian line, undoubtedly secured the power and throne of Edward IV for a time. But it had a portentous and unlooked-for result. A Welshman, the grandson of Owen Tudor of Penmynydd and of Catherine of France, became the representative of the House of Lancaster. The Welsh bards

were not slow to grasp the significance of this fact. They saw in it the fulfilment of the prophecies of Taliesin and Myrddin that a Welshman would be crowned in London, and would triumph over their secular foes. They recalled the mysterious prognostications, the "*brudiau*", which foretold that the name of the deliverer of Wales would be Owen; and was not Henry Tudor a grandson of Owen Tudor, the cousin of Owen Glendower, and the cousin, too, of that "Owen of Wales", the last descendant in the male line of the princely house of Gwynedd? The people were quick to respond to the bardic songs. They cared nothing for White or Red Rose; but they cared everything for a Welsh king to rule in London. Rhys ap Thomas, also, felt the stirring of the national pulse. His grandfather aimed at making himself semi-independent of the English king, by playing one faction against the other; Rhys abandoned the traditions of his family and sacrificed his own personal ambition for the sake of realising the dearest and most persistent hope of Welsh bards and people.

It were not to the purpose to relate here how strangely and romantically this object was achieved; how Henry Tudor landed at Milford Haven after his long, perilous exile in Brittany, with hardly a friend or follower; how the balance was turned in his favour by the adhesion of Rhys ap Thomas, who could put a thousand horsemen in the field and thrice as many footmen, well armed and appointed, of whom Rhys Nanmor sang,

" Y Brenhin bia'r ynys  
Ond sy' o ran i Sir Rhys ;"

how the Pretender marched through Ceredigion and Powys, gathering strength as he journeyed, appealing to Welshmen as their countryman and kinsman; how Rhys ap Thomas travelled through Ystrad Towy and Brych-

einio, and joined Henry, with a great following, at Shrewsbury; how at last Henry Tudor, with an army mainly composed of Welshmen who fought under the Red Dragon, defeated Richard III at Bosworth and won the English Crown; how Rhys ap Thomas remained the steadfast friend of the new dynasty throughout all the insurrections and impostures of the reign of the first Tudor sovereign; how the subtle king, knowing the loyalty of the Welsh chieftain, and yet jealous of his power, never rewarded him with any more substantial dignity than the Garter; and how, unconscious of, or ignoring, this mean and petty treatment, the old knight upheld the son's throne after the crafty father's death. No one can read the story of the first Tudor sovereign without being convinced that, under God, he owed at first his throne, and then the stability of his dynasty, to the unflinching support of Sir Rhys ap Thomas.<sup>1</sup>

#### I. THE RISING IN CARMARTHEN.

In the year 1525, sixteen years after Henry VII had been laid to rest, Sir Rhys ap Thomas, full of honours and dignities, died in the seventy-sixth year of his age, and was buried, with his forefathers, in the Priory Church of Carmarthen. He was succeeded in his estates by his

<sup>1</sup> That Welshmen looked upon the accession of Henry Tudor as a national triumph is clear from the writings of contemporary bards. That Henry himself judiciously fostered this feeling may be gathered from the fact that he named his eldest son Arthur. In an Italian *Relation of the Island of England*, written in 1500 and published by the Camden Society, there is some evidence that this was also the contemporary view among intelligent foreigners. "Wales was formerly" it is said "a separate kingdom . . . . but in the reign of Edw. I —(by a slip the writer says Edw. III)—they were reduced to the dominion of the English. . . . They may now, however, be said to have recovered their former independence, for the most wise and fortunate Henry VII is a Welshman." . . . .



grandson, a bright and studious young man, who is known to English writers as Rhys, Rice, or Richard ap Griffith.<sup>1</sup> The last years of the old chieftain, one can well imagine, were full of anxiety. He knew, none better, the jealous, savage, masterful nature of Henry VIII. He had seen the blood of a Pole and a Buckingham flow from the scaffold, and he knew that it was not safe for a subject to be too powerful or too ambitious under such a king. The two most prominent personages in England in his later years were Cardinal Wolsey, whose position, as the King's chief Minister, seemed then impregnable, and the third Duke of Norfolk, who, as Earl of Surrey, had crushed the power and pretensions of the Scots at Flodden Field. There was no love lost between the two great men. Norfolk hated the Cardinal for his influence with the king, despised him for his lowly origin, and envied him for his vast wealth and power. Sir Rhys ap Thomas, like an experienced courtier, thought to steer a middle course. In 1524 he married his young grandson, the heir and hope of the old princely line of Rhys ap Tewdwr, to the Lady Katherine Howard, daughter of the second and sister of the third Duke of Norfolk. At the same time, he cultivated the friendship of the great Cardinal with such success that, as we shall see, his memory was probably one of the factors which impelled Wolsey to save young Rhys ap Griffith from his enemies, four years after Rhys ap Thomas's death.

It is not certain what was Rhys ap Griffith's age at the time of his grandfather's death in 1525. His descendant, writing in 1625, states that Rhys was twenty-three in 1531, and that he would therefore be only seventeen in 1525.

<sup>1</sup> Sir Griffith ap Rice ap Thomas died 1521. The date of his marriage to the daughter of Sir John St. John does not seem to have been ascertained.

He was married, as we have seen, in 1524, but it was no uncommon thing in those days for young noblemen to marry in their teens.<sup>1</sup> Still, it is almost incredible that probate of his grandfather's will should have been granted to him if he was under age in 1525. Whether it was his youth, or whether it was the beginning of the King's sinister policy, we know that he was not continued in his grandfather's offices in South Wales. Walter Devereux, Lord Ferrers, afterwards the first Viscount Hereford, was appointed Justice and Chamberlain of South Wales. For some time friction seems to have been avoided. But Lord Ferrers was not the easiest man to get on with, and young Rhys, for all his devotion to his books, was not devoid of the high spirit of his race, and was, moreover, married to a woman of an ambitious, if not turbulent, nature. Early in the year 1529 we find events maturing for a crisis. On March 3<sup>d</sup> Rhys wrote to Cardinal Wolsey to complain of the conduct of Lord Ferrers.

"My pouer tenants and servants", he says, "by the lyght and malicious myndes of suche lyghte persons that be deputies under my Lord Ferrers in these partes, be dayly, without cause reasonable or good grounde put to vexacion; and some of my household servants kept under appearance from county to county, for their pleasures only."

He finishes up by requesting letters from Wolsey to Lord Ferrers to enable Rhys to be his lordship's deputy justice and chamberlain in South Wales, and consenting to give Lord Ferrers any sum that Wolsey thought convenient for the office.

There is little doubt that the complaint made in Rhys's

<sup>1</sup> Prince Arthur, for example, was only fifteen when he married Catherine of Arragon. The Earl of Shrewsbury, giving evidence in Henry VIII's divorce proceedings, stated that he himself had married when he was fifteen-and-a-half.

<sup>2</sup> *State Papers*, vol. iv, part iii, 5,345.

letter was well-founded. The abuse of legal procedure was an old grievance, and one that Lord Ferrers himself had drawn attention to three years previously. In a letter, dated January 9, 1526, he wrote to the Lord President of the Princess's Council in the Marches of Wales that

“When his Lordship was first admitted President of the Princess's Council my Lord Legate (Wolsey) instructed the writer and others of that Council that no subpœnas should be directed into Wales or the Marches, but every cause be first tried before the stewards and officers there, the appeal to lie afterwards to his Lordship and other commissioners. Subpœnas are now served in Carmarthen and Cardigan in spite of the proclamations, the like of which was never seen before.”

The conclusion of the letter is : “And now both shires saith plainly that they will not pay one groat at this present Candlemas next coming, nor never after, if any man do appear otherwise than they have been accumed, but they had liever ryn into the woods.”<sup>1</sup>

In two other letters,<sup>2</sup> written a few days later to a friend, Lord Ferrers dwells on the gravity of the situation. After stating the facts he adds, “this is the most serious thing that has occurred since I first knew Wales”.

Nothing, however, seems to have been done to assuage the public excitement or to remedy the grievance. We hear no more, it is true, during Lord Ferrers's tenure of office of encroachments on the part of the Council at Ludlow, but Rhys complains that his tenants were harried in a similar way by Lord Ferrers's own deputies. It was quite as irritating for a Carmarthenshire man to be summoned to Pembrokeshire as to Ludlow, especially as he knew that he was put to expense and inconvenience merely to satisfy the hungry maw of the Chief Justice's servants. The old Welsh ideas concerning the tenure of land were

<sup>1</sup> *S. P.*, vol. iv, pt. i, 1872.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, 1887, 2201.

also gradually giving way to English ideas, and though the English system did not become the law of the land till 1536, Welsh customs were fading away as they were being interpreted in the terms of English lawyers. No doubt there was much grumbling and discontent, much restlessness and uncertainty and hatred of all change. No doubt the young chieftain fumed and chafed under his impotence. He was reminded by followers and retainers of the ancient splendour of his house; he was driven to assert himself by the importunities of a wife prone, as she showed herself in later days, to ambitious intrigues.<sup>1</sup> The letter of March 1529 was, without doubt, the result of continued pressure. Lady Katherine, writing to Wolsey after matters had reached their crisis in June, says that "great dissatisfaction has prevailed ever since Ferrers was officer in these parts, for he and his servants quarrel with Ryx's tenants." There is nothing in all young Rhys's career to show that he was ambitious of office and power. His descendant, Henry Rice, describes him as a retiring and bookish man, who was so modest that he refused the Earldom of Essex at the hands of the King. However that may be, it is almost certain that if the compromise suggested in his letter of March had been accepted, much misery and injustice would have been averted, and the name of Henry VIII would have been cleared of at least one reproach.

It may be that Cardinal Wolsey would have been glad to have avoided friction in South Wales by accepting young Rhys's suggestion. But the Cardinal was no longer master. Before the year was out he had fallen a victim to King Henry's anger and to the Duke of Norfolk's intrigues. Even in March he was insecure, and he may have found

<sup>1</sup> Lady Catherine married for her second husband the Earl of Bridgewater, and she was involved in the tragedy of Catherine Howard's divorce and execution.

himself unable to meet the wishes of his old friend's grandson. It is possible that he communicated the contents of the letter to Lord Ferrers. It is certain that henceforward Lord Ferrers acted with a degree of violence and malice towards the lord of Dynevor which argues personal animosity. A contemporary writer, Ellis Griffith, who shows himself to be intimately acquainted with the details of Rhys's history, and who was actually present at Rhys's first trial, tells us that

“When Rhys went to Wales the whole country turned out to welcome him, and this made Lord Ferrers envious and jealous.”<sup>1</sup>

In 1529, therefore, we have all the elements of strife present in South Wales; a popular young chief, the descendant of the old Princes of South Wales, married to an ambitious wife; a restless and discontented people, angry at the encroachments of a strange jurisdiction and the changes in legal procedure and the tenure of land; a jealous and envious King's officer, ready to take advantage of the most trivial error or indiscretion of his rival; a great Minister on the eve of his dramatic fall, his enemies active and hopeful; and disquieting rumours that the King was about to cast aside his wife and to marry another, who was known to favour the Protestant doctrines, which she had imbibed during her sojourn in the court of France.

In June 1529, the crisis came to a head. In that month Lord Ferrers came to Carmarthen to hold the Sessions. Carmarthen at the time was the first town in South Wales. Thither the gentry of West Wales flocked for a “season” in their town houses, and among others Rhys ap Griffith, who was one of the bailiffs of Carmarthen for the year, and the Lady Katherine, his wife.

<sup>1</sup> Introduction to the Mostyn MSS. Catalogue, p. ix.

It is not difficult to trace the sequence of events. Lord Ferrers's account is still extant in his hurried letters to Wolsey,<sup>1</sup> and in more detail, in the Bill of Indictment which he preferred against Rhys ap Griffith in the following autumn.<sup>2</sup> Rhys ap Griffith's own version is briefly given by his wife, the Lady Katherine, in a letter to Wolsey,<sup>3</sup> and is supplemented by scattered references to the episode which may be found in the State Papers of the time. Piecing together these various materials, it is possible to construct a fairly complete and connected account.

On Saturday, the 5th of June 1529, (*not* the 6th, as given in the Bill of Indictment), Lord Ferrers came to Carmarthen to hold the Great Sessions in eyre as Chief Justice of South Wales. His deputy, James Leche, who had been one of the bailiffs of Carmarthen two years before, went to the Mayor, David Llewelyn,<sup>4</sup> to take lodgings for Lord Ferrers's servants. The Mayor delivered billets to Leche, who in turn sent one Thomas Here to the houses, which had been assigned by the Mayor, to make arrangements for the reception of the Chief Justice's men. When Here came to the houses, he found that one Thomas ap Morgan, a retainer of Rhys ap Griffith's, had already set his master's "badges upon papers painted" upon the doors of the houses, with the intention of keeping them for the use of Rhys and his servants.<sup>5</sup> Upon what,

<sup>1</sup> *S. P.*, vol. iv, pt. iii, 1529, 5693.

<sup>2</sup> *Star Chamber Proceedings*: Henry VIII, bund. 18, No. 234; published in the *Arch. Camb.*, 5th ser., vol. ix.

<sup>3</sup> *S. P.*, vol. iv, pt. iii, 1586.

<sup>4</sup> *Camb. Reg.*, vol. iii.

<sup>5</sup> It is not quite clear from Lord Ferrers's account whether Thomas ap Morgan or Thomas Here arrived first on the scene, but it seems probable that Ap Morgan had secured the houses before Thomas Here, since Rhys had evidently been preparing for a dispute

ground Rhys ap Griffith rested his right to the lodgings cannot now be determined. Whether it was prior occupation—which would not avail against the rights of the King's officer supported by the Mayor's assignment, or whether the houses were his own and in the occupation of his tenants, which is probable and is Lady Katherine's reason, or whether, lastly, he had assigned them to his own use in virtue of his office as Bailiff of Carmarthen, there is no means of deciding. What is certain is that this comparatively trifling matter led to most serious consequences. That very night, Lord Ferrers says, Rhys's men came flocking towards the town. The following day, being Sunday the 6th of June,—if we may believe the charges preferred against him in the Bill of Indictment before the Star Chamber—Rhys sent proclamations, to be openly read in divers churches in the counties of Carmarthen, Cardigan, and Kidwelly, “that such that were his kynemen, lovers and frynds, and wold do anything for hym shuld come well appoynted and wepened to the king's towne of Kermerdyn on Monday next after, being the viii (vii) June”. Probably Lord Ferrers has greatly exaggerated the activity of Rhys. Nothing of any moment seems to have happened on the Monday or during the week, and it is scarcely credible that any of Rhys's men could have turned up in the town without occasioning a disturbance.

with the Chief Justice, and had, according to Lord Ferrers, “prevelye causyd his frynds and adherents to be warnyd, as well in the countie of Kermerdyn as in the Lordship of Kidwelly, who in ryettous manner, well wepynyd, assemblyd them the same night to a great nombre”. This, at all events, is Lady Katherine's account of the matter in her letter to Wolsey, which on the whole is more accurate than the account given by Rhys's accusers. “The same Ryx,” she says, “before he came to Carmarthen sent his servants to take lodgings for him among his tenantry, and to set up his arms on certain doors, which were taken down by Ferrers.”

Still, there must have been some truth in the charge, for we have it on record that

“David ap Rice baes [*base*, not *bach*, as Mr. D. Jones conjectured] mckyll to the said Rice Griffith, by his nephew is commaundemente caused proclamacyon to be made in the churches of Llansadorne and Llanwoorda<sup>1</sup> and confessyd the same in the chancery of Kermerdyn, as appered as well by the same confession as by confession of Sir Walter ap Davyd, prist and curate there, who publyshed proclamacyons in church of Llanwoorda aforesaid.”

More than a week elapsed before the great men themselves came into personal conflict. We cannot do better than let Lord Ferrers tell his own tale, in order to understand the gravity and importance of the affray. On Tuesday, June 15 (the date is correctly given in Ferrers's letters to Wolsey, which were written at the time, but not in the Bill of Indictment, which was drawn up three months later), Rhys ap Griffith came into the King's Castle of Carmarthen

“accompany'd with fortye and more of his servants well armyd and wepyned, and knockyd at the Chamber door of the said Justice, where he was accompany'd with dyvers gentylnen of the said county in the said Chamber, and mad quarrel with the said Justice why he shuld keep in ward one Thomas ap Howen, his kynesman, which is a mysrulod person and oon of the chefe berers and mayntenors of all evil-disposed men and naughty matters in this partes, and hath forfeited fyve hundred markes to the king's use for the same.”

This account, which is given in the Bill of Indictment preferred against Rhys ap Griffith in the autumn of 1529, does not accord in all respects with that given at that time in Ferrers's letter to Wolsey. The letter states that on

<sup>1</sup> Rhys was Lord of the Manor of Abermarlais in the parish of Llansadwrn, it having become part of the Dynevor possessions through the mother of Rhys ap Thomas, who was the daughter and heiress of Sir John Griffith, Abermarlais, a descendant of Ednyfed Fychan.



Tuesday, the 15th June, Rhys

“came into the castle with his armed servants, where I was with other gentlemen, and picked a quarrel with me about Thomas ab Howen, his kinsman, whom I had committed to ward for various misdemeanors, and for hurting the people when they came to the castle to demand remedy, by which he has forfeited to the King 650 markes, as appears by his recognizance and other bonds taken before the King’s Council.”

Unfortunately the recognizance seems to have been lost, and so it is impossible to find out exactly who Thomas ab Owen was, and what crime he had been guilty of. How little reliance can be placed on the hasty account given in the letter may be gathered from the fact that the amount of Ab Owen’s recognizance is wrongly stated. On the next day, Lady Katherine sent a letter to Wolsey, which contained another version of the cause of the dispute. She describes Lord Ferrers’s surmise as “false” that Rhys desired

“one Thomas ab Owen, servant to the King, then in ward in the same castle, to take out of the constable’s hands one Jankyn, servant to the said Ryx.”<sup>1</sup>

The most probable conjecture, therefore, is that Lord Ferrers had caused one “Jankyn”,<sup>2</sup> a servant to Rhys ap

<sup>1</sup> *S. P.*, vol. iv, pt. iii, 1586.

<sup>2</sup> A list is given at the end of the Bill of Indictment of the persons who “assembled, reased, and gatheryd the King’s subjects with open owterye in South Wales, and brought them towards the King’s town of Kermerdyn to thentente to have destroyed the lord Fferrers, the King’s Chief Justice there”, and among them is the name of “Hugh ap Jencken, leder of the Abbot of Talley’s tenants”. This may be the “Jankyn” on behalf of whom Thomas ab Owen is alleged to have interfered. Some, if not most, of the persons mentioned in the schedule to the Indictment were concerned in the later disturbances, but it may be that the Abbot of Talley’s tenants,—some of whom lived in Llansadwrn and Llanwrda, where the proclamation was read out in church on June 6th,—may have started for Carmarthen on Monday, June 7th.

Griffith, to be arrested, no doubt for complicity in the disturbance which took place after the affair of June 6. In his letter Lord Ferrers states that Thomas ab Owen,—who is only described as Rhys's kinsman, and not, as in Lady Katherine's letter, "the king's servant,"—had been put in ward "for hurting the people when they came to the castle to demand remedy". The natural inference is that Ab Owen endeavoured in some way to effect the release of Jankyn, and that he was forthwith sent to bear Jankyn company in prison.<sup>1</sup>

After Rhys had burst in upon the Chief Justice in Carmarthen Castle, a violent scene ensued. Lord Ferrers states, both in his letter to Wolsey and in the Bill of Indictment, that Rhys drew his dagger "and therewith would have foynd and strycken him in presenss of dyvers gentylnen". In the letter he takes the credit to himself for having disarmed Rhys, but in the Indictment the deed

<sup>1</sup> The two references help us to identify Thomas ab Owen with some approach to certainty. Lord Ferrers calls him a kinsman to Rhys ap Griffith; Lady Katherine describes him as "servant to the King". A Thomas ab Owen was in 1524 appointed Collector of Haverfordwest by Sir Rhys ap Thomas (*S. P.*, vol. iv, pt. i, p. 428): in the same year we find that Thomas ap Owen (probably the same as Thomas Bowen, bailiff of Carmarthen in 1519), was Mayor of Carmarthen. The Mayor seems to have been a dependent of the Justice and Chamberlain of South Wales (at that time Sir Rhys ap Thomas), and it seems certain that the man who filled the important offices of Collector of Haverfordwest and Mayor of Carmarthen in the same year was a kinsman or connection of his patron, Sir Rhys ap Thomas. On September 10, 1525, we find that Thomas ab Owen, "sewer of the chamber", was appointed by the King constable of the castle of Builth in succession to Sir Rhys ap Thomas. It is no unreasonable assumption that this is the Thomas ap Owen who was thrown into prison by Lord Ferrers. The animus of the Chamberlain is evident, for it is hardly possible that such a man was the notorious evil-doer Lord Ferrers would have the Council believe.

is ascribed to Lewis Thomas ap John, "gentylman, the king's sworn servant", who is said to have been sore hurt and wounded in the right hand by Rhys. Lady Katherine, on the other hand, in her letter to Wolsey, says that it was Lord Ferrers that first drew his dagger, that Rhys in self-defence did likewise, and that there was no harm done except that Rhys was hurt in his arm. This, one must confess, is the more likely story, for Lord Ferrers was by no means a long-suffering man, nor was Rhys a violent and quarrelsome hot-head. The conclusion of the matter was that Rhys was taken into custody by Lord Ferrers, and commanded, on a penalty of £1,000, to remain in the castle. Lord Ferrers sent his Chaplain post-haste to London to know the Cardinal's will in the matter, and the Cardinal, urged by the Lady Katherine, "for the great love between Wolsey and her father, that he will not allow her husband and herself to have shame and rebuke", lost no time in directing the discharge of Rhys, on bail, and his appearance before the Court at Westminster to answer Lord Ferrers's allegations.

In the meantime, things had progressed rapidly in Carmarthen. On the day after Rhys's arrest, Lord Ferrers bears witness to the fact that "his friends stir up the people to rebellion", and the Lady Katherine states that "the county is discontented" at the action of the Chief Justice. On June 18 the Chamberlain writes to tell Wolsey

"of the greate rebellion and insurrection of the people in thys partyes at the commandymnt of Rice Griffith and my lady Haward, as for a troth ther was not such insurrecc'on in Walys at any tyme a man can remembre." . . .

Rhys himself could not, of course, have directed this third disturbance, for he was in the Chief Justice's custody in Carmarthen Castle. It must, therefore, have been his wife, if anyone, who sent the "fiery cross" among his

tenants and friends, and it is to this episode, no doubt, that Chapuys, the Imperial ambassador, alludes in his letter of Oct. 15, 1530, to Chas. V,<sup>1</sup> when he says that the Lady Katherine had "some months ago besieged the governor of Wales (in his castle) for several days, and had some of his attendants killed". The details are given with some minuteness in the Bill of Indictment. On Wednesday, June 16, the Lady Katherine, we are told, sent messengers "by night and day" to all parts of the counties of Carmarthen, Cardigan, and Pembroke, to all other lordships from Builth to St. David's "which is nere an hundred myles", to raise the country to the rescue of Rhys. In a schedule which is annexed to the Bill of Indictment a list is given of "the Captaynes and ry'gleders of all the people so reased", and who are said to have approached the town and castle of Carmarthen upon every quarter by night. Three of them—Rice Rede (one of the Redes of Roche Castle?), Lewis Powell ap Phyllyp, and Owen Morgan, all of Isthethe (Iscothi?) in the county of Carmarthen—are mentioned as having entered "on the west syde of the towne and came in the raye of battell," with seven-score men, as far as the dark gate, and sent messages to the Chief Justice demanding the release of their lord and master. Six score of the "captayns and ryngleders" were indicted, with Rhys ap Griffith, at the Carmarthen Sessions for rebellion, but the record of the trial is lost, and the issue is unknown.

It is clear, however, that there was nothing like an organised insurrection on the part of Rhys ap Griffith or his tenants. The whole story reads like an unpremeditated riot. If Rhys had meant seriously to raise an insurrection, he could probably have put, not seven-score, but

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. State Papers, Spanish.*

three or four thousand men in the field. But the men who, in unknown numbers, marched upon Carmarthen by night, and the seven-score men who actually entered the town to effect his rescue, were in all probability his own personal retinue, who, on finding "shame and rebuke" being put upon their liege lord, burst into open violence. Their names were known to Lord Ferrers, which would hardly be the case if they were drawn indiscriminately from all parts of the three counties. We know, too, that they entered Carmarthen on Thursday, June 17, two days after the arrest of Rhys, when it was almost impossible for them to have come, except in a straggling and haphazard way, from Emlyn and Uwchcothi in Carmarthen, and Narberth in Pembrokeshire. The nucleus of the "captayns and ryngleders" would certainly seem to be Rhys's personal retainers, supplemented perhaps by stray "friends and lovers" who happened to be in town attending the Sessions, while a few dependents may have hurried from Rhys's possessions upon receiving tidings of his arrest from the Lady Katherine. The attempt at rescue, at all events, was a disastrous failure. No lives seem to have been lost, and no damage is alleged to have been done. Lord Ferrers, writing on the next day—Friday, June 18—to Wolsey<sup>1</sup> says that he made proclamations in the King's name, and that divers of the King's servants and true subjects came to his assistance.

"Then the Captayns and Ryngleders with all other their retynues in every quarter retornyd home into their countreys, and as now everythyng is quyette."

The names of the Captains and Ringleaders as given in the schedule to the Bill of Indictment, are as follows:—

"Of the Countie of Kermerdyn: Isthethe (Iscothi?) Rhys

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<sup>1</sup> *S. P.*, vol. iv, pt. iii, 5693.

*A Welsh Insurrection.*

Rede—Lewis ap Howell Phillip—Owen Morgan, gentryman.

“Of the Countie of Pembroke :

John Oggan [Wogan ?]—Henry Wyriott, Esquires—Wm. ap Owen, lernyd in the lawe—Willyam David William, gentrymen—John ap Evan ap Gwilym, in the lordship of Narberth.

“Of Emlyn lordship :

Sir Hugh Gwyn, clerk—Gitto ap Evan ap ll'en—Davyd ap Rees, yeoman.

“Kidwelly is lordship :

Davyd Vachg'n—Roger Vachg'n—Thomas Vachg'n—Morgan Vachg'n, gentrymen.

“Of the countie of Kermerdyn—Vuchcothe :

Evan ap Henrye—John Gr. ap Morgan—Wm. John Dee—John Lloyd—Wm. ap Evan ap Rotherече—Philip William—John ap Gl'im Thomas—John Lle'n Dee the younger—Owen Ryse—Wm. ap Rs ap Eynon, gentrymen.

“Hugh ap Jencken, leder of the Abbot of Talley's tenants.

“Wm. Thomas Goze, leder of the tenants of the bysshop's lands in the counties of Kermerdyn and Cardigan, with many others.”

After this armed demonstration of Thursday, June 17, no further attempt was made to rescue Rhys ap Griffith. Some time later he was released on bail of £1,000 by order of the King's Council, and he probably departed for one of his seats—Carewe or Emlyn, Dynevor or Abermarlais—to prepare for the coming trial in the autumn in London. But the temper of Rhys's retainers was still ugly, if we may believe the story told in the Bill of Indictment. Sometime after the release of Rhys, two of his household servants, one called Griffith ap Morgan, “usser of his haule”, and the other Griffith ap John, “his faulk'nor”, about nine o'clock in the evening of August 6th

“laye in wayte in the toune of Kermerdyn for oon Reynold ap Morgan, gentyلمان, learned in the lawe, lieftenant to the said lord Ferrers, the king’s justice there, and also the kyng’s bailiff,<sup>1</sup> and officer of the same toune for the yere where the same Reynold was, in God’s peace and the Kyng’s”, and assaulted him “the oon with a greyve and the other with a swerd and buckler, geving him many cruell wounds in dyvers places of his body, and so hayneously murderyd hym ther.”

Lord Ferrers goes on to say that after the murder, the two Griffiths were several times, “as well in the towne of Tenbye as dyvers other places within the said Rice auctorities, and so dayley maynteyned and favoryd by hym and his.”

In the Michaelmas term—probably in the month of November 1529,—Rhys ap Griffith was placed upon his trial before the Court of Star Chamber. Mr. David Jones, writing in 1892, had to confess that “what actually took place is to me unknown, for beyond the Bill no record of these proceedings has been discovered. It is probable that he was heavily fined”. Since 1892, a most valuable and interesting MS. has been discovered by Mr. Gwenogvryn Evans in the Mostyn Collection. It contains, among other material, a history of his own times by one Ellis Griffith, a soldier of Calais. He describes many scenes of which he had been an eye-witness. In his Introduction to the *Mostyn Catalogue*, Mr. Evans gives us a tantalising taste of the impressionist sketch of Rhys ap Griffith’s trial,

<sup>1</sup> In the *Cambrian Register*, vol. iii. the name of Reynold Morgan is given as one of the bailiffs for Carmarthen in 1527, but Rhys ap Griffith and David Rees David Thomas, are given as the bailiffs for the year 1529. It may be, however, that after his arrest Rhys was suspended from the duties of his office, and Reynold Morgan appointed in his stead.

at the Court of King's Bench at Westminster, which the soldier wrote.<sup>1</sup>

“And it chanced that I was present on that day, with many others from all parts of the kingdom, when and where I heard the ugliest accusations and charges that two gentlemen could bring each against the other,—charges and accusations which thousands of poor men would not for any amount of wealth have had brought against them by word of mouth, much less in writing. . . . And notwithstanding the numerous threats of the Cardinal against them, I never once heard a word from him in defence of the poor, whom both had grievously wronged, according to the written statement of each about the other.”<sup>2</sup>

The procedure is not very clear from the condensed account given of Ellis Griffith's narrative in the Introduction to the *Mostyn Catalogue*. “Both parties were summoned before the Court,”—what Court we are not told, but it must have been the Court of King's Bench in Westminster—

“where each of them made the most serious complaints and allegations against the other that was possible, not only about the affair (ffrae) that had been between them, but in respect of the oppression of the people and the bribery of which each said the other was guilty. And when the Court had listened to their mutual accusations for some time, the Cardinal summoned the case before him into the Star Chamber,”

where it was not till “after a long process of time” that the Cardinal “bade them take up their written evidence” (*i hysgriven o gyhuddiant*). “Both parties were next cen-

<sup>1</sup> Intro., pp. ix, x.

<sup>2</sup> Ellis Griffith felt no love for Rhys. He records that his death was generally looked upon as the visitation of God, for the many deeds of injustice and spoliation done by his father, grandfather, and great grandfather,—a statement which is hard to reconcile with the known facts of young Rhys's career and his great popularity in South Wales.



sured severely for their misdoings," says Mr. Evans in his summary of Ellis Griffith's account, "and Lord Ferrers in particular for his bad temper and want of sense in quarreling with one young enough to be his son, and whose youth was his excuse. They were finally dismissed, with the command that they were to make peace between their respective followers, 'and to depart thence by land and water, arm in arm, to the palace and the Fleet'."

So ends the first act in Rhys ap Griffith's tragic story. He must have been released not later than the month of November 1529, for in that month the great Cardinal fell, never to rise again. It is not improbable that this was his last big affair of State. It may be that he was moved to do an act of kindness to young Rhys out of tenderness to the memory of his old acquaintance, Sir Rhys ap Thomas; or it may be that he took that opportunity of showing his "great love" to the Duke of Norfolk, Rhys's brother-in-law, who was even then desperately intent on his rival's downfall, and who was intriguing to supplant the "old Queen," Catherine of Arragon, by his young and beautiful niece, Anne Boleyn. Whatever might have been the Cardinal's motive,—whether pity for an attractive youth, or tenderness for his grandsire's memory, or whether it was a gambler's last throw in the game for power,—it is certain that the Cardinal's intervention saved Rhys ap Griffith for a time from the fate which was impending over him. As long as Wolsey lived, Rhys was suffered to remain—probably in London—unmolested. The last ecclesiastical statesman of England did not long survive his fall from power. He was disgraced before the end of 1529; the summer of the following year had not closed before the great Cardinal was sleeping his last long sleep.

## II. THE DEATH OF RHYS AP GRIFFITH.

What happened from the release of Rhys ap Griffith at the end of 1529 to the beginning of October 1530, where Rhys spent the interval, and what were his pursuits, are questions which cannot now be answered. He seems to have possessed a house in Islington, then a fashionable suburb of London, and, judging from the absence of any warrant for his arrest, such as was sent to Lord Ferrers for the arrest of his kinsman, James ap Griffith, we may conclude that in October he was in residence there.

On October 7, 1530, the King sent the following warrant to Lord Ferrers for the arrest of one James ap Griffith ap Howell.<sup>1</sup>

“Henry the Eight by the grace of God king to our right trustye and right well beloved counsellor, Walter Lord Ferrers our justice in South Wales gretyng. Fforasmuche as it ys come to our pryvte knowledge and understandyng, that James ap Griffyth ap Howell hath not only dysobeyed sundry our lettres and commandyments, but also fortelyed himself in South Wales within the Castell of Emlyn as our rebell and dysobeysaunte subiecte, We therefore havynge speeyall truste and confidence in your approved fidelite wysdome and circumspection woll and comaunde you and by thes presentys yeve unto you full power and auctorite to levye assemble and gadre suche and as many our subjectys inhabitaunts as well within South Wales as in North Wales as ye shall thynke mete and convenyent for the apprehensyon and takyng of the said James ap Griffyth ap Howell his partakers and adherents being within the said castell as our rebels and dysobeysaunt subiectys, And in case any of the said rebelles within the said castell do defende theym selfys ayenste you with force and strength then those that ye shall fynde so defendyng theym selfys in that behalf to put to due

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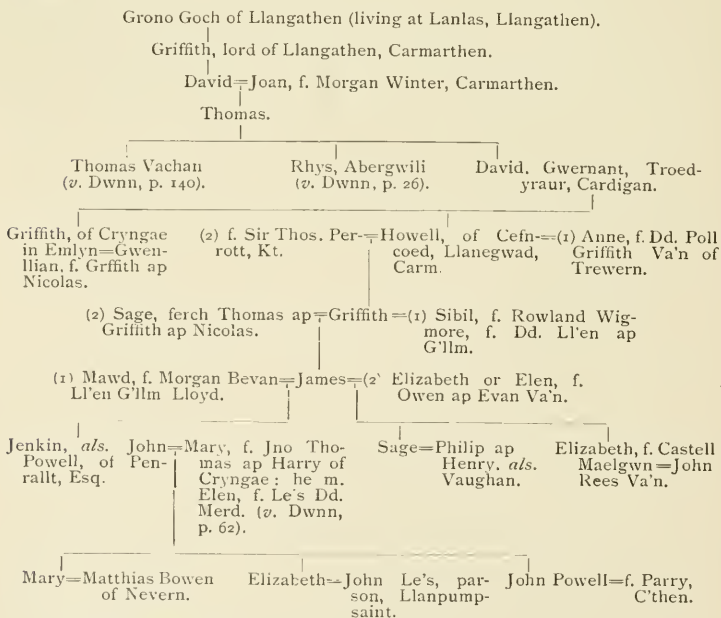
<sup>1</sup> *S. P.*, vol. iv, 6709, Privy Seal, Oct. 22, II. VIII.

executyon accordyng to the ordre of our lawes, Wherefore we woll and commaunde you with diligence to execute this our pleasure and commaundement, And moreover we woll and commande all and singler mayors shirrells bayliffes constables and all other our officers and faithfull subiectys by these presents to be aidyng helpyng counselling and assisting you in the executyon herof, As they will answer unto us at theyr uttmoste perils, In witness whereof," &c.

This is the first mention we have of James ap Griffith ap Hówell, a man who was to exercise a baleful influence over Rhys's future career, and who was destined to endure a long exile on the Continent, and to lead a life alternating from the depths of penury to the heights of splendid romance. He is described in the pardon, which was made out to him two years later, as of "Castell Maelgwn in the county of Pembroke, *alias* of Spyttye (Ysbytty) in the lordship of St. John in the county of Cardigan, *alias* of Emlyn in the county of Carmarthen, *alias* of Llanddewibrefi in the lordship of the Bishop of St. David's, and *alias* of Rustely and Cavillog (Arwystli and Cyveiliog) in Powys". Lord Dacre, writing to Henry VIII on July 2, 1533, says that James "calls himself uncle to Ryse of Wales", and Sir Thomas Wharton, writing to Cromwell on July 11, says that James "is said to be the uncle of Rys ap Griffith, some say his sister's son". On July 20, Lord Dacre calls him "son to Sir Rice ap Thomas"; and a good deal of uncertainty existed at that time and since as to the identity of James ap Griffith and his relationship to Rhys ap Griffith. Mr. David Jones was unable to "fix his place in Welsh genealogy", and in the Index to the *State Papers*, and in Froude's *History*, he is confounded with a certain Robert Bransetour, an Englishman in the Emperor's service. His pedigree is, however, given in *The Book of Golden Grove*, and is referred to also in Lewis Dwnn's *Heraldic Visitation*. On the father's side he was lineally descended from

Elystan Glodrydd, and on the mother's side he was a "Welsh uncle" of Rhys ap Griffith.<sup>1</sup> His mother was Sage, the daughter of Thomas ap Griffith ap Nicolas, and the sister of Sir Rhys ap Thomas. His father predeceased Sage, who married, for her second husband, Gwilym Goch Thomas Vychan.<sup>2</sup> James's family, therefore, was one of some position and importance in South Wales, and he himself seems to have been a man of substance, for we find Cromwell fixing his ransom in 1531 at £526 13s. 4d., a very large sum in those days.<sup>3</sup> Rhys's great-grandson, Henry Rice, calls James ap Griffith "a man of mean estate, having his chiefest stay of living from the said Rice, and

<sup>1</sup> The following genealogy may be of use, taken from *The Book of Golden Grove*, B. 301; and Lewis Dwnn:



<sup>2</sup> *Golden Grove Book*, A. 139.

<sup>3</sup> *S. P.*, Hen. VIII, vol. v, 637.

being on a tyme verie familiar together".<sup>1</sup> It is probable that some of James's possessions, mentioned in his pardon, were not his own in absolute ownership. Emlyn was almost certainly the property of Rhys ap Griffith, and is mentioned as such in the computus of Wm. Brabazon after Rhys's death.<sup>2</sup> Nor is it likely that his interest in Ysbytty and Llanddewibrefi was very valuable. His connection with Arwystli and Cyveiliog—the westernmost portions of modern Montgomeryshire—is still more obscure. But whatever it was, it must have brought him into personal contact with the inhabitants of those districts: for as late as September 1535, when James had long been a fugitive on the Continent, we find that a certain David Lloyd ap Owen, dwelling in Maigham Cloyth (Machynlleth) in Cyveiliog, sent a letter to one Robert ap Reynolds, a spear at Calais, asking news of James Griffith ap Howell, and "to send word to Bosums Inn".<sup>3</sup> The lordship of Castell Maelgwn, in Pembrokeshire, would however seem almost certainly to have been his. In the Indictment against Rhys (*vide infra*), James is described simply as of "Castell Maelgom," and his daughter Elizabeth is said, in the pedigrees, to have been "ferch Castell Maelgwn". His son, John or Jenkin, is described in the *Book of Golden Grove* as being "of Penrallt", a small country seat

<sup>1</sup> *Cambr. Reg.*, vol. ii.

<sup>2</sup> *S. P.*, vol. v, 448. It is treated by James himself, while in the Tower, as the property of Rhys. See the Indictment *infra*.

<sup>3</sup> *S. P.*, vol. ix, 319. Dd. Lloyd is described by Robert ap Reynolds, who was probably a native of Cyveiliog, as "one of the richest men in Wales". On September 21, 1535, Cromwell ordered Bishop Lee, of Lichfield, the President of the Council of the Marches, to apprehend David Lloyd ap Owen. A month later Lee sends him to Cromwell (*S. P.*, vol. ix, 706). His further fate is unknown, unless he be the man mentioned by Lee in his letter to Cromwell on January 19, 1536 (*S. P.*, vol. x, 130). "We have received the two outlaws, David Lloide, or Place, and John ab Richard Hoekulton. . . . We have sent the

between Cardigan and New Quay : but this probably came to him through his wife, the daughter of John Thomas ap Harry, of Cryngae, for James was attainted in 1539, and his son Jenkin was without lands in 1540. But though James must have been a man of some consequence, and of more ambition, he is never mentioned as having filled any office under Sir Rhys ap Thomas or the King. This could hardly have been due to youthfulness. His mother, Sage, was the daughter of Thomas ap Griffith ap Nicolas, and must have been born before 1470. Griffith ap Howell was her first husband, and a conjecture that his son James was born about 1490 would probably not be wide of the mark. James, therefore, would be nearly forty years of age at the time of the "affray" in Carmarthen between Lord Ferrers and Rhys ap Griffith. He took no part in the disturbance, and he does not seem to have been with his nephew in the town. He was implicated in none of the subsequent riots. The little we know of the earlier portion of his life is derived from the confession of his servant, David Williams.<sup>1</sup> His friends were "Thomas ap Rother, of the Krengarth" (Thomas ap Rhydderch of Cryngae in Emlyn, whose granddaughter James's son Jenkin afterwards married), David Vaughan, and David Meredith of Kidwelly, Rhydderch ap David ap Jenkyn in South Carmarthenshire, and Walter

two . . . . to trial. To-morrow they shall have justice done to them. God pardon their souls . . . . .". There are frequent references to Robert ap Reynolds, the "spear," in the State Papers. In December 1535, Sir Henry Knewet writes from Windsor to Lord Lisle, the Governor of Calais, to say that "Rob. Reynoldes, spear of Calais, desires to set up a brewhouse within the Marches, which he cannot do without the King's licence. He is a very honest man, and I beg you will write me letters desiring me to labour to the King in his behalf". This looks as if this was his reward for his treachery to David Lloyd ap Owen in yielding up his letter in the previous September.

<sup>1</sup> *S. P.*, Hen. VIII, vol. vi, 1591.

ap Johu, who cannot be further identified. He would, therefore, seem to have spent most of his life in Carmarthenshire and the Emlyn district, and there is no hint that his life was in any way different from that led by other country gentlemen of the same class and position. No reason is assigned in the warrant for his action in fortifying himself in the Castle of Emlyn, in October 1530. In what respect he had "disobeyed sundry letters and commandments" of the King, or what the letters referred to, we are not told. Henry Rice, indeed, suggests a ground for his arrest which seems incredible. "James ap Griffith", he says, "was apprehended by the said Rice (ap Griffith) for counterfeiting the Great Seal, and by him sent up to the lords of the Council, and so committed to the Tower." Whatever element of truth this statement may contain, it conveys no real explanation of James's arrest in October 1530. The warrant was issued by the King and directed to Lord Ferrers. Rhys ap Griffith is not mentioned anywhere as having taken any part in his apprehension. He appears to have been in London at the time, and within a few days of the issue of the warrant, and before James had been brought a prisoner to London, Rhys was himself lodged in the Tower on some unknown charge. All the circumstances attending this incident are obscure. The whole of our knowledge is obtained from a letter which the watchful Chapuys sent to Charles V, on October 15, 1530.<sup>1</sup>

"The King has sent to the Tower a Welsh gentleman named Ris, who married one of the Duke of Norfolk's sisters, because (as report goes) not satisfied with his wife having some months ago besieged the governor of Wales (in his Castle) for several days, and had some of his attendants killed, he himself has threatened to finish what his wife had begun."

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<sup>1</sup> *Cal. State Papers*, Spanish.

It almost looks as if Rhys had not taken to heart the warning he had received the preceding year, but that he nursed his wrath and cherished schemes of revenge against Lord Ferrers. In James ap Griffith he would find a willing tool for daring and desperate plans, and nothing is more likely than that the arrest of uncle and nephew, which took place almost simultaneously, was due to the same cause.

It is not known when and how James ap Griffith was apprehended. That his arrest was effected without difficulty, if not without opposition, may be gathered from the silence of the State Papers on the point. Many years later, in 1548, James Leche of South Wales—no doubt, the James Leche already mentioned as Mayor of Carmarthen in 1527, and Lord Ferrers's messenger in 1529—petitioned the Privy Council of Edward VI for the continuance of an annuity of 20 marks, which had been granted him in September, 1535,<sup>1</sup> "in respect of his old service in the apprehension of James Griffith Apowell, traitour and outlawe".<sup>2</sup> It would seem, therefore, that Lord Ferrers sent Leche to Emlyn to apprehend James ap Griffith. In one place—in the confession of Ellington, which will be dealt with more fully later on—there may be a hint that James defended himself. In 1533 James, we know, was sending Ellington to London to make certain payments on his behalf "consarnynge the hurtyng of Wylliam Vaghan of Kylgarron".<sup>3</sup> William Vaughan of Cilgerran Castle was a considerable personage in his own district, which bordered on the lord-

<sup>1</sup> *S. B. Pat.*, p. 2, m. 5.

<sup>2</sup> *Acts of the Privy Council*, ed. J. R. Dacent, vol. ii, p. 224. The reason for the request, "forasmuch as the poore gentleman, being now aged and lacking living", presumably weighed with the Council, and the annuity was confirmed.

<sup>3</sup> *S. P.*, Hen. VIII, vol. vi, 1548.



ship of Emlyn. In 1535, for instance, he and Thomas ap Rhydderch of Cryngae and four others were appointed "Commissioners to inquire into the tenths of spiritualities in St. David's".<sup>1</sup> It is not improbable that, as he was close to Emlyn, James Leche should have called upon him to assist in the apprehension of James ap Griffith, and that he was wounded in the attempt. There is, at least, no record of any other proceeding in which James ap Griffith could have done any "hurt" to William Vaughan. Be that as it may, James was taken to the Tower of London, where he found his nephew, Rhys ap Griffith, already lodged. There they lay for many months without, so far as is known, being put upon their trial or being acquainted with the charges made against them. By June 1531, however, long confinement and anxiety began to tell upon Rhys, and he was let out on bail, according to Chapuys, on account of ill-health.<sup>2</sup> Until the following September 21, Rhys remained at liberty. On that day, however, we are told by Chapuys that he was sent back to bear his uncle company. On September 26, 1531, Chapuys writes:<sup>3</sup>

"Five days ago the seigneur de Ris, brother-in-law of the Duke of Norfolk, was re-arrested and lodged at the Tower. He was let out on bail, on the plea of bad health, but has again been constituted a prisoner. He is accused of having

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<sup>1</sup> *S. P.*, Hen. VIII, vol. viii, 149 (71).

<sup>2</sup> *Cal. S. Pap.*, Spanish, 796. The date of Rhys's release on bail is fixed by an entry in the State Papers (vol. xii, pt. ii, 181: v. also *Cott.* Titus B. i, fo. 155, in the Brit. Mus.), "Rhys ap Griffith, for his bed and board (at the Tower) for eleven months at 10s., and his servant at 40*d.*" Rhys was, therefore, eleven months altogether in the Tower. We know he was first lodged there in October 1530, that he was sent back on September 21, 1531, and beheaded, December 4, 1531. He was therefore let out on bail early in June 1531.

<sup>3</sup> *Cal. S. P.*, Span., 796.

tried to procure means of escaping [from England], and going either to your Majesty's Court or into Scotland, where, owing to the credit and favour he enjoys in Wales, he hoped to be able to undertake something against the King."

Chapuy's information was accurate, so far as it went. The full story of Rhys's crimes and misdemeanours was told before the Court of King's Bench at Westminster in the following November,—“in the Monday next after the xvth of seynt Martin last past” is the date given in the Indictment and the Act of Attainder passed in 1532. Two others, servants or dependents of his own, were placed in the dock beside him. The one was his clerk, Edward Lloyd or Floyd, of Carew, who turned King's evidence; the other was William Hughes, gentleman, also of Carew, who sturdily protested his and his master's innocence to the last. Young Rhys and his faithful servant, William Hughes, were found guilty by the jury, and condemned to death by the Court. On Monday, Dec. 4, 1531, the last penalty of the law was inflicted. “The execution took place this morning”, writes Chapuy on December 4,<sup>1</sup> “and the said Ris was beheaded in the same spot where the Duke of Buckingham suffered a similar fate”, *i.e.*, on Tower Hill. A less honourable and more barbarous punishment befel poor William Hughes. He was “drawne from the Tower of London to Tiburne, where he was hanged, his bowells burnt, and his bodie quartered”.<sup>2</sup> In the following Sessions of Parliament both master and man were duly attainted.<sup>3</sup>

Henry Rice has given a summary of the counts in the Indictment which was preferred against Rhys and his

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. State Papers*, Spanish, 853.

<sup>2</sup> *Wriothesley's Chronicles*, Camden Series, p. 17; *v.* also Hollingshed, who gives his names as “John Hewes”.

<sup>3</sup> *Rolls of Parliament*, 23 Hen. VIII. *State Papers*, 153-720. No. 14, given in full in the *Arch. Cambr.*, 5th ser., vol. ix.

two servants.<sup>1</sup> Henry Rice, however, in his anxiety to clear his ancestor of the charge of treason, does scant justice to the evidence with which the charge was supported. The Indictment itself, which has never before been published in its entirety, is worth careful and close scrutiny.

“Adhuc de termino Sancti Michaelis Rex.

M<sup>sex</sup> Alias scilicet die mercurie proximo post Octavum sancti Martini isto eodem termino coram domino rege apud Westminsterium per sacramentum xii juratorum extitit presentatus Quod Ricardus ap Griffith nuper de London armiger alias dominus Rice ap Gruffith nuper de Karewe in Wallia armiger Edwardus Ffloid nuper de London yoman alias dominus Edwardus Lloid nuper de Karewe in Wallia yoman et Willielmus Hughes nuper de London gentilman alias dominus Willielmus Hughes nuper de Karewe in Wallia gentilman deum pro oculis non herentes set instigatione diabolica seducti ex eorum malicia proditorita præcogitata vicesimo octavo die Augusti anno regni supremi domini nostri regis nunc Henrici octavi vicesimo tertio apud Iseldonem in prædicto comitatu Middlesex false proditorie et contra eorum legeancie debitum se invicem vinculo juramenti admunierunt et confederaverunt depositionem quoque ac mortem serenissimi et excellentissimi principis domini nostri regis supradicti adtunc et ibidem false et proditorie machinaverunt imaginaverunt et compassaverunt et ad illud eorum abolendissimum et nephandissimum propositum practicandum perimplendum et perficiendum post longa eorum inde tractatus et colloquia inter se adtunc et ibidem habita inter que adtunc et ibidem recolebant et inter se colloquentes sepius repetendo et dicebant quod hec antiqua subsequens prophecia existit in Wallia videlicet that king Jamys with the red hand<sup>2</sup> and the ravens should

<sup>1</sup> *Cambrian Register*, vol. ii, p. 270.

<sup>2</sup> The prevalence of the prophecy at this time that the King of Scotland, together with the Red Hand (Llawgoch) and the Ravens would conquer all England is interesting. It shows that in Rhys's country—which was, roughly speaking, Carmarthenshire—the tradition about Owen Lawgoch was even then current, and it is not unimportant that the tradition should still be found in South, not in North Wales. The Ravens, of course, were the ravens of Owen ap Urien Rheged, which formed the coat of arms of the Dynevor family.

conquere all England super quo ad tunc et ibidem finaliter false et proditorie conchuserunt aggreaverunt et determinaverunt quod ipsi iidem Ricardus Edwardus et Willielmus infra breve tempus extunc futurum videlicet quameito idem Ricardus per modum venditionis alicujus maneriorum terrarum aut tenementorum suorum seu impignoracionis alicujus eorundem aut per mutuum chevecenciam vel aliter competentem pecunie summam obtinere seu acquirere poterat in Scotiam ad Jacobum regem Scotorum occulte videlicet per et ultra insulam Mannie et deinde per et ultra terram Hibernie vocatam Wilde Irish et abinde in Scotiam predictam false et proditorie iter arriperent dicti quare regis Scotorum vim et potentiam armatam et auxilium in præmissis implorarent peterent et obtinerent hac proditoria intentione videlicet quod ipsi in hoc regnum Anglie unacum præfato Jacobo Scotorum rege et magno virorum bellicorum exercitu videlicet tam Scotorum quam ceterorum si qui fuerint Anglorum proditorum false et proditorie reverterent necnon bellum publicum versus et superdictum supremum dominum nostrum regem proditorie erigerent et levarent. Eorum bello eundem dominum nostrum regem et regia sua dignitate false et proditorie deponerent et interficerent atque etiam secundum propheciam suprascriptam præfatum Scotorum regem in regem hujus regni Anglie et præfatum Ricardum ap Gruffith in principem Walliæ proditorie perficerent facerent et crearent eo hiis omnibus suprascriptis per et inter præfatos Ricardum Edwardum et Willielmum false et proditorie conclusis et determinatis idem Ricardus postea videlicet primo die Septembris anno vicesimo tertio supra dicto proditorie misit præfatum Edwardum floyd ab Iseldone prædicta usque ad et in turrem Londinii proditorie percipiendo eidem Edwardo—quatenus ipse fidem et promissum securum ex quodam Jacobo ap Gruffith ap Howell nuper domino de Castell Maelgom in Wallia Gentilmán ad tunc in turre prædicta prisonario existente acciperet quod ipse idem Jacobus omnia et singula per ipsum Edwardum ex prædicto domino Ricardo ap Gruffith intimanda et revelanda secreta celaret (quibus fide et promisso acceptis) idem Edwardus omnia et singula ut præfertur proditorie conclusa et determinata atque propheciam prædictam eidem Jacobo plene et integre indicaret et revelaret instanter requirens eundem Jacobum quod ipse se eisdem Ricardo Edwardo et Willielmo ad præmissa agenda et perficienda adjuv[er]et (²) et confederatum exhiberet et quod si idem Edwardus fidem

et promissum securum praefati Jacobi habere potuisset tunc idem Edwardus praefatum Jacobum persuaderet quod ipse sacramentum eucharistie cum praefato Ricardo in fedus et securitatem praemissa perficiendi reciperet. Cujus quidem praecepti praetextu praedictus Edwardus Ffloyd ab Iseldone praedieta usque ad et in dictam turrem Londinii dicto primo die Septembris proditorie transivit et in eadem turre negotium praedictum in omnibus prout ei per dictum Ricardum ut praescribitur fuit praeceptum eodem primo die Septembris in turre praedieta praefato Jacobo proditorie dixit fecit et performavit praedictusque Jacobus fidem et promissum sua praedieta ad praedieta omnia sibi intimata secreta celanda adtunc et ibidem praefato Edwardo proditorie dedit atque ad praemissa proditoria proposita et intentiones praefati Ricardi peragendi ad posse suum adjuvare et in feodus praemissorum ex parte sua peragenda perimplenda sacramentum eucharistie cum praefato Ricardo recipere adtunc et ibidem praefato Edwardo concensit et aggregavit et quod in praedictis tractatu et confederatione inter praefatos Jacobum et Edwardum de praemissis habitis idem Edwardus praefato Jacobo adtunc et ibidem dixit et intimavit quod idem Jacobus adeo bene salvo et securo potuit dare fidem et credere praefato Willielmo Hughes et animum ipsius Jacobi eidem Willielmo in praemissis revelare quandocumque idem Willielmus cum praefato Jacobo de praemissis loqueretur siculi eidem Edwardo crederet et quod praedictus Ricardus ap Gruffith proponebat et intendebat impignorare et in mortuum vadium ponere cuidam Roberto White civi et pannario Londinii maneria ipsius Ricardi de Narberth et Carewe pro quibus idem Ricardus habere debuit de praedicto Roberto Whyte in promptis pecuniis duo millia librarum. Et quod idem Ricardus voluit mutuare tantum pecunie quantum possibiliter potuit et quod idem Richardus non curabat in quas obligationes obligaretur pro optentione inde quia dixit quod idem Ricardus nunquam praevaleret in hoc mundo excepto eo quod manibus suis lucraretur et quod idem Ricardus nunquam voluit ire in Walliam nisi poterat eam ingredi ad habendam eam totam ad ejus bene placitum et mandatum et insuper praesentatus extitit quod postea videlicet quarto die Septembris anno vicesimo tertio supradicto praefati Ricardus ap Gruffith et Edwardus Ffloyd dictum Willielmum Hughes ab Iseldone praedieta usque ad et in praedictam turrem Londinii praefato Jacobo proditorie miserunt eidem Willielmo praecip-

ientes quod ipse cum praefato Jacobo proditorie loqueretur eidem que Jacobo diceret quod ipse missus fuit eidem Jacobo per praefatum Ricardum ap Gruffith per hoc signum videlicet quod dictus Edwardus Floyd eidem Jacobo dixerat quod ipse tantum crederet dicto Willielmo cum accederet ad eum quantum eidem Edwardo. Et quod adtunc idem Willielmus cum praefato Jacobo coincaret et colloqueretur ad intentionem quod ipse animum praefati Jacobi scrutaret et centiret quomodo idem Jacobus dispositus erat et intendebat in praemissis et quod si eum securum dispositum ad dicto proditoria proposita praefatorum Ricardi Edwardi et Willielmi perficienda adjuvare inviniret ipsum Jacobum ad sacramentum eucharistie in fedus praemissarum prodicionum perimplendi et performandi cum praefato Ricardo recipere proditorie persuaderet et provocaret atque presbiterum ad sacramentum illud in fedus praedictum eidem Jacobo et postea praefato Ricardo ministrandum proditorie offerret enjus quidem praecepti praetexti dictus Willielmus Hughes ab Iseldone praedicta usque ad et in praedictam turrem Londinii in dicto comitatu Middlesex praedicto die Septembris proditorie transivit et in eadem turre negotium praedictum in omnibus prout eidem Willielmo per dictos Ricardum et Edwardum ut praescribitur praeceptum fuit eodem quarto die Septembris apud turrem praedictam et in eadem turre in dicto comitatu Middlesex praefato Jacobo proditorie dixit fecit et performavit et ultimo—quod praedictus Jacobus proditorios animos et mentes praefatorum Ricardi ap Gruffith Edwardi et Willielmi ex dictis insinuatione et intimatione inde praefati Edwardi floyd eidem Jacobo factis sciens et agnoscens et duorum eorundem Ricardi Edwardi et Willielmi felonis et proditoriis propositis et intentionibus ut praescribitur proditorie concensiens volens que eosdem Ricardum Edwardum et Willielmum ad dictas eorum prodiciones perficiendas quantum in eodem Jacobo adtunc extiterat proditorie adjuvare et succurrere tertio die Septembris anno vicesimo tertio supradicto apud dictam turrem Londinii in dicto comitatu Middlesex litteras quasdam proditorie scripsit et eas cuidam Johanni Hughes<sup>1</sup> proditorie direxit per quas litteras idem Jacobus intendens

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<sup>1</sup> This John Hughes is probably the same as the one mentioned in Cromwell's "desperat obligations" next year. On Sept. 2, 1532, (*S. P.*, vol. v, 1285) Cromwell entered among his "obligations" that

pecunias pro praefato Ricardo providere et optinere ad dicta ejus et ipsius Jacobi falsta et proditoria proposita et intentiones perficienda et exequenda praefato Johanni Hughes inter cetera proditorie intimabat quod praefatus Ricardus ex necessitate unum vel duo de dominiis suis in Wallia existentibus vendere aut impignorare oportebat ad contendendum et solvendum dicto domino regi et ceteris creditoribus suis eorum debita. Et quod dominium praefati Ricardi de Emlyn pro diversis considerationibus aptum fuit pro praefato Johanne Hughes quod que si idem Johannes cum praefato Ricardo pro eodem dominio bargainare vellet idem Ricardus allocare volebat praefato Johanni antiquum debitum quod praedictus Jacobus eidem Johanni . . . . prius debebat, praedictusque Jacobus easdem litteras suas a dicta turre Londinii praefato Johanni Hughes per quemdam Willielmum ap John servientem ipsius Jacobi proditorie misit et deliberari fecit, et ulterius quod praedictus Jacobus dictos proditorios animos et mentes praefatorum Ricardi Edwardi et Willielmi ex dictis informatione et intimatione inde praefati Edwardi Ffloyd eidem Jacobo ut praedicitur factis sciens et agnoscens atque suprascriptis eorundem Ricardi Edwardi et Willielmi feloniis et proditoriis propositis et intentionibus ut praefertur concensiens proditorieque volens et appetens eosdem Ricardum Edwardum et Willielmum in practitionibus perpetracionibus et operationibus eorundem proditorum praevalere secundo tertio et quarto diebus dicti mensis Septembris consilium opinionem et avisamentum ipsius Jacobi per dictos Edwardum et Willielmum diversis vicibus videlicet quolibet die eorundem dierum inter praefatos Ricardum et Jacobum tanquam nuntios eorundem Jacobi et Ricardi hinc et inde videlicet a turre praedicta a praefato Jacobo usque ad Iseldonem praedictam ad praedictum Ricardum et deinde ab ipso Ricardo usque ad et in turrem praedictam ad praefatum Jacobum euntes et redeuntes praefato Ricardo viis mediis et modis quibus iidem Ricardus et Jacobus nequissime potentissime et callidissime proditorieque supradictas per praefatos Ricardum Edwardum et Willielmum ut praedicitur compassatas et imaginatas perimplere exequi et perficere potuissent proditorie exhibuit

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“by John Hughes of London to Sir Wm. Kyngeston (the constable of the Tower) and Sir Edw. Walsingham, that James Griffith Appowell shall be true prisoner in the Tower”.

misit et destinavit, et praeterea per sacramentum juratorum proditorie extitit praesentatus quod praefatus Ricardus ap Gruffith post dicta falsa et proditoria proposita sua ut praedicatur devisata et imaginata videlicet dicto primo die Septembris apud Iseldonem praedictam novum nomen videlicet Ryce ap Gruffith fitzuryen in se proditorie assumpsit hac intentione videlicet quod ipse statum et honorem dictae principalitatis Wallie proditoriis suis viis et mediis supra-scriptis dignius et sub praetenso tituli colore proditorie optinere poterat et habere. Sicque praedicti Ricardus ap Gruffith Edwardus Ffloyd Willielmus Hughes et Jacobus ap Gruffith ap Howell depositionem et mortem supremi dicti domini regis Henrici octavi supradicti false et proditorie contra eorum legeancie debitum machinaverunt imaginaverunt et compassaverunt contra pacem coronam regalem et dignitatem suas et universum regnum dicti domini nostri regis nunc, &c., per quod praeceptum fuit vicecomiti quod non omitteret, &c., quin caperet eos si, &c., et modo scilicet die veneris proximo post octavum sancti Martini isto eodem termino coram domino rege apud Westmonasterium venerunt praedicti Ricardus ap Gruffith et Willielmus Hughes per Willielmum Kyngston militem constabularium turris Londinii in cuius custodia perantea ex causa praedicta et aliis certis de causis commissi sunt ad barram hic ducti in propriis personis suis qui committuntur eidem constabulario, &c., et statim de prodicionibus praedictis eis separatim superius imponderiti separatim allocuti qualiter se velint inde acquietare dicunt separatim quod ipsi in nullo sunt inde culpabiles et inde de bono et malo separatim ponunt se super terram, &c., Ideo venit inde jurati coram domino rege apud Westmonasterium die lune proximo post quindennum sancti Martini et qui, &c., ad recognitionem, &c., Quia, &c., idem dies datus est praefati Ricardus ap Gruffith et Willielmus Hughes in custodia praefati constabularii dicte turris Londinii, &c., ad quos diem et locum coram domino rege venerunt praedicti Ricardus ap Gruffith et Willielmus Hughes sub custodia praefati constabularii turris Londinii in propriis personis suis et jurati exacti scilicet venerunt. Qui ad veritatem de praemissis dicendam electi triati et jurati dicunt super sacramentum suum quod praedicti Ricardus ap Gruffith et Willielmus Hughes de altis prodicionibus praedictis eis superius imponderitis sunt culpabiles et uterque eorum est culpabilis eo quod praedictus Ricardus ap Gruffith habet diversa bona et catalla terras et tenementa in Wallia



sed quali aut de quo valore penitus ignorant. Eo quod praedictus Willielmus Hughes nulla habet bona catalla terras neque tenementa, &c., super quo instanter servientes domini regis ad legis ac ipsius regis attornati petunt iudicium et executionem versus eosdem Ricardum ap Gruffith et Willielmum Hughes superinde juxta debitam legis formam pro domino rege habendam et super hoc visis et per curiam hic diligenter examinatis et intellectis omnibus et singulis praemissis constitutum est quod praedicti Ricardus ap Gruffith et Willielmus Hughes ducantur per praefatum constabularium turris Londinii seu ejus locum tenentem usque eandem turrim et ab inde per medium civitatis Londinii usque ad furcas de Tyburn trahantur et ibidem suspendantur et uterque eorum suspendatur et viventes at terram prosternantur et uterque eorum vivens prosternatur et interiora sua extra ventres suos et utriusque eorum capiantur et ipsis viventibus comburentur et quod capita sua amputentur quodque corpora utriusque eorum in quatuor partes dividantur eo quod capita et quarteria illa ponantur ubi dominus rex ea assignare voluerit, &c."

No modern lawyer can read the Indictment through without being struck with the meagreness of the evidence and the inadequacy of the crime alleged against Rhys ap Griffith. Shorn of its technical phraseology the acts on account of which Rhys was found guilty of high treason—even if proved by satisfactory evidence—were not very serious, and not worthy of the extreme penalty of the law. But treason in Henry VIII's days, and for a century after, was a very different thing from what it has come to be considered in our own days. The law of evidence, as we know it, was unborn, and our modern maxim that every man is innocent till he is proved to be guilty would have excited the ridicule of every lawyer. Prisoners were first subjected to a private examination before the Council. They had no chance of seeing or cross-examining their accusers; they were not even told what the nature of the charges against them was. When, as was the case here, three men were jointly indicted, it was easy to work upon

the fears, the hopes, or the cupidity of one or more of them in their isolated anxiety. Before condemning a man for turning "King's evidence" we should know what induced him to tell what he knew; for it frequently happened that prisoners were told that their accomplices had already confessed in order to induce a further confession. The Council would, after an examination of this kind, send the prisoners for trial by a jury at Westminster. The Council felt no responsibility, knowing that the ultimate decision rested with another tribunal. The jury would be influenced by the knowledge that the Council had already inquired into the matter, and had considered the evidence sufficient. If the evidence which was made public—and it must be remembered that the jury would only hear the depositions read of the evidence already given before the Council and the comments of the prosecution and prisoners upon it—seemed to be inadequate, the jury would conclude that the Council was keeping back the most important part of it in the public interest.

On August 28, 1531, Rhys ap Griffith was alleged to have "plotted, imagined, and compassed the king's deposition and death" with his two servants—Edward Floyd and William Hughes—in his house at Islington. All the proof that was adduced was that the three had recalled to one another a prophecy which was said to be then current in Wales that "King Jamys with the Red Hand, and the Ravens should conquer all England", that Rhys had intended to mortgage his lordships of Carew and Narberth to one Robert White, a citizen and draper of London, for £2,000, in order to enable him to fly secretly to the Isle of Man, thence to the "Wild Irish", and thence to King James of Scotland, and that King James was to lead a great army, with which he was to conquer England for himself, and Wales for Rhys ap Griffith.

To our modern notions the evidence was most unsatisfactory. The conversation, if it ever took place, could only have been known to the three persons concerned. Edward Floyd turned King's evidence, but in our days his evidence would have been insufficient to convict Rhys of high treason. Floyd's story could not have been corroborated by the admissions of Rhys and Hughes, who both died protesting their innocence. It is also the wholesome custom of our Courts to look with suspicion on the evidence of an accomplice. It is not altogether rejected, but it is only accepted after jealous scrutiny and after submitting it to severe tests. But these refinements were unknown to the lawyers of Tudor times. Sir Walter Raleigh, in the next century, was convicted on evidence quite as unsatisfactory.<sup>1</sup> Henry Rice was only justified by our later standard in submitting that there was no satisfactory evidence upon which to convict Rhys on the first count of the Indictment. Rice's other points are hardly conclusive. He lays great stress upon the fact that King James was not known as "James of the Red Hand". But the phrase "with the Red Hand" does not refer to a personal peculiarity of the King of Scots, but to the old Welsh tradition of Owen Lawgoch. Nor is there much substance in the plea that Henry VIII and his nephew of Scotland were at peace. The two countries were nominally at amity, but the period in question was halfway between Flodden and Pinkie. In October 1528 Henry had to write to James V to warn him to desist from advancing to the borders, for if he did not Henry would be compelled to adopt precautionary measures.<sup>2</sup> Two years later, James

<sup>1</sup> Edwards's *Life of Raleigh*, i, 388. For an excellent description of the law of treason as it stood in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see Gardiner's *Hist. of England*, vol. i, p. 123 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> *S. P.*, vol. iv, pt. iii, 204 App.

ap Griffith found refuge and help in the Court of Scotland, and in the lifetime of Henry himself, the Scots were to be crushed again in the stricken field of Solway Moss. The relations of the two countries were undoubtedly disturbed, but after making every allowance for Henry's anxieties on this head, it must be confessed that a vague and casual conversation between master and men, even if proved, was not a sufficient ground to sustain a charge of high treason.

The second allegation is more definite. Rhys is accused of having on several occasions sent Edward Floyd to James ap Griffith, who was still a prisoner in the Tower, to persuade him to enter into the conspiracy, and, as a sign of his fidelity, to partake of the holy sacrament with Rhys. Floyd is said to have broached the matter to James ap Griffith on Friday, September 1—four days after the treasonable conversation at the house at Islington—and to have told him, after receiving his adherence to the scheme, to put as much trust in William Hughes, another of Rhys's servants, as in himself, Edward Floyd. A mysterious and traitorous significance is attached to Edward Floyd's statement to James that Rhys wanted as much money as possible, that he did not care—like many another borrower before and since—what liabilities he incurred to obtain it, that Rhys would never prosper in anything except that which he achieved with his own hands, and that he would never return to Wales except to have the whole land at his good pleasure and command. A vague charge is made, for which no evidence was adduced, that on the following day, Saturday, September 2, several messages were exchanged between Rhys and James. On Sunday, September 3, James ap Griffith writes to one John Hughes, presumably a wealthy Welsh friend resident in London, offering to sell or mortgage to him the lord-

ship of Emlyn on behalf of Rhys, who wanted the money "to pay his debts to the King and his other creditors". James's messenger was William ap John, his own servant. On Monday, September 4, William Hughes, another of Rhys's servants, went to the Tower and conversed with James. He repeated to the prisoner the words which Edward Floyd had used of him on the previous Friday, that James could put as much trust in him as in Floyd, and having in this way gained James's confidence, the two are alleged to have indulged in a treasonable talk in the same strain as the one already detailed. One other "treasonable" allegation is made, that Rhys, on September 1—the day of Floyd's interview with James in the Tower—assumed the name and title of Fitz-Urien!

This was all the evidence which the Crown was able to scrape together, after weeks of preparation, and after every kind of sinister inducement had been held out to the witnesses. James ap Griffith had not once seen Rhys himself; he had only the word of Floyd for it that he was an emissary from Rhys. The whole story is fatuous, if not incredible. On a Monday, a conspiracy is hatched at Islington against the King. The chief plotter, instead of hastening into Wales, or sending messengers to prepare his retainers and tenants, remains supinely within easy distance of the King, and he is only anxious a week later to enlist the sympathy of a man who was a prisoner in the Tower. Nothing is done, or attempted to be done. Not a man is raised, not a letter or messenger sent to James of Scotland, the pivot upon which the success of the plan would turn. Even assuming that the story told by the prosecution was true in all particulars, there was no overt act done, unless, indeed, the alleged assumption of the name and title of Fitz-Urien by Rhys can be so described. There was no proof of Rhys's connection with the alleged

plot. The whole of the events took place within eight days, between Monday, August 28, and Monday, September 4. For another seventeen days, until September 21, the Crown waited and watched. Rhys made no move; none of the conspirators did anything; the plot did not "march". At last, Rhys is cast into the Tower, the authorities despairing of his further implicating himself. If the Government really believed in the existence of a genuine plot, no one who has any knowledge of the Machiavelian statecraft of Thomas Cromwell would doubt that he would have played a little longer with his victim, and would have allowed him a little more rope to hang himself withal. The arrest of Rhys, after his admitted inactivity for seventeen days, shows that the Government had given up all hope of his further incriminating himself.

The witnesses against Rhys, it is almost certain, were Edward Floyd, his servant, and James ap Griffith, his father's cousin. Though Floyd was indicted with his master and fellow-servant, his name is absent from the barbarous sentence which was passed upon them, and from the Act of Attainder which received the sanction of Parliament in 1532.<sup>1</sup> Floyd was the most active agent of the conspiracy, and if his story was true he was the most guilty of the four. The fact that he escaped punishment is strong evidence that he purchased immunity by betraying his master. Henry Rice states that "the Ladie Katherine Howard did take much pains to be trulie informed of this Edward Floyd: who knowing in her own heart her husband's innocencie, and fearing the ruyn of herself and children, left no stone unmoved wherby this

<sup>1</sup> Henry Rice says that Floyd and James were the only two that "gave in evidence against Rice, being both of them condemned with him, but afterwards pardoned." But this appears to be an error. James was never tried, and Lloyd was not convicted.

practice might be discovered. At length (by the help of her friends and God's direction) shee found out that this man was corrupted with a reward of five hundred marks to betray his master, and this also was proved by divers others."

That James ap Griffith was also a hostile witness against his nephew is as certain as anything can well be. He was more deeply implicated than William Hughes; he was a man of higher position than Edward Floyd. Yet he is not indicted with the others; it would almost appear as if he was the informer who put the Government on its guard. The subject of his conversation with Floyd on Friday, September 1, could have been disclosed by Floyd; the letters which he wrote on Sunday, September 3, and sent by his servant, might have been intercepted; but no one but James himself could have related the conversation which he had in the Tower with William Hughes on Monday, September 4, for not a word did Hughes utter against his master; else he would probably have been spared his barbarous and ignominious death at Tyburn. It is, indeed, not necessary to believe the account of James's share in the ignoble transaction which is given by Henry Rice. The age was not squeamish; sixteen years later we find the Duchess of Richmond giving evidence which led her brother, the gallant Earl of Surrey, to the block, while her father, the Duke of Norfolk—Rhys ap Griffith's brother-in-law—was more concerned with saving himself than with clearing his son. But it is hardly credible that even in that age, when the misunderstood and misapplied doctrines of Machiavelli exercised so sinister an influence on conduct, and when the new ideas represented by the Renaissance and the Reformation snapped the old ties of conventional morality and honour, one kinsman would have deliberately set himself to ruin another.

The motive of revenge which Henry Rice ascribes to James has already been shown to be impossible. The details of the story itself, as given by Rice, are no less incredible.

“James ap Griffith and Edward Floyd (the one’s heart full of revenge, the other of corruption and treachery) did oftentimes meet and consult by what means they might lay matters of treason to Rice his charge, and (as fitting for their purpose at that time) they called to mind an unfortunate blank of Rice’s, which had long layne in the hands of James ap Griffith, and was gotten upon this occasion. James ap Griffith, a man of mean estate, having his chiefest stay of living from the said Rice, and being on a time verie familiar together, desired the said Rice his letter to a gentleman in North Wales for a farm, which was then to be lett, which the said Rice granted to him ; but never a clerk being present to write the letter, the said James persuaded Rice to subscribe to a blank, and that Edward Floyd, his clerk, should indite the letter according to his meaning. In this blank was set doune matter enough for the Indictment.”

The charge of such horrible and cold-blooded treachery by one kinsman against another could only be justified by the clearest proof ; and such proof is entirely absent. Had Floyd and James ap Griffith deliberately plotted “oftentimes” how to inveigle Rhys into a conspiracy, they could easily have done their work more thoroughly and satisfactorily. It is true that James is said to have written a treasonable letter to John Hughes, which was twisted also into some sort of evidence against Rhys. But the letter to Hughes, as summarised by the unfriendly hand which drew up the Indictment, does not sustain the charge made by Henry Rice against James ap Griffith. It certainly does not read like the letter of a man who was trying to implicate another in a charge of treason. That James, however, did give evidence against his nephew is beyond contradiction. Not only was he not placed in the dock to stand his trial with the others, not only was evidence of conversations given which could only be sworn



to by James himself, but family tradition is so strong on the point as to be all but conclusive, without further corroboration. Henry Rice states plainly that James was one of the two hostile witnesses. In the Phillips MS. No. 14,416, now in the Cardiff Library, there occurs the following marginal note, which is not found in the *Cambrian Register*:—

“James ap Griffith (a man banished for divers reasons and excepted in all pardons) did confess beyond seas to divers of his acquaintance this damnable practice of his against Rice, and being sore troubled in conscience he returned home with intent to acknowledge his offence and to submit himself to my grandfather [*i. e.*, Griffith Rice, the son of Rhys and the Lady Katherine]. And he (my grandfather not enduring to hear of him) retired himself into Cardiganshire, where he died most miserably; there are some yet alive will affirm this from my grandfather’s mouth.”

A still stronger, because a direct contemporary and unconscious proof, is supplied by an entry in the Acts of the Privy Council, which has already been cited for another purpose. In 1548 James Leche petitioned to have his annuity continued, which had been granted him

“in respect of his old service in thapprehencion of James Griffith Apowell, traitour and outlawe, *who appeched Sir Rice Griffith*, attainted for treason.”

But though it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that James ap Griffith turned King’s evidence against his nephew, there is no evidence to convict him of malicious and deliberate treachery. Indeed, the presumption is all the other way. As far as one can discover, there was an entire absence of motive. Rhys had done him no wrong; they were “verie familiar” together; James was in prison for having, presumably, acted in conjunction with Rhys. Had he been bent on ruining his nephew, he could easily, on account of his intimacy and relationship with Rhys, have manufactured evidence against him. Moreover, Rhys

was undoubtedly popular in South Wales, and his betrayer would have received short shrift at the hands of Rhys's supporters and friends. Yet, James went back and lived in peace for some time in South Wales after his release from the Tower. His ancient friendship with Thomas ap Rhydderch of Cryngae, and David Vaughan of Kidwelly, does not appear to have been impaired, which we may assume would not have been the case had James been guilty of the unutterable baseness which is laid to his charge by Henry Rice.<sup>1</sup> What probably happened was that the Government was anxious to make a case against Rhys, that it worked upon the cupidity of Floyd, and upon the fears or hopes of James—Cromwell, indeed, would have thought little of extracting confessions from them by use of the rack—that they told what they knew, and that the prosecution placed their own interpretation on perfectly innocent transactions. It was not by the evidence of Floyd and James that Rhys ap Griffith was condemned. An unscrupulous prosecution, working on a timorous jury, obtained a verdict of guilty; but it is manifestly clear that the real cause of Rhys's downfall was the jealousy of a savage and suspicious king.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> James's son, Jenkyn, married a daughter of Thomas ap Rhydderch's only daughter and heiress. David Vaughan, Kidwelly, helped James to escape by boat from Kidwelly in the summer of 1533, and as late as April 30, 1536, we have Bishop Lee writing to Cromwell from Brecknock, "You are advertised from this Council that David Vaughan, officer of Kidwelly in Wales, is accused by your servant Jankyn Lloyd for assisting the rebellion of James ap Howell Griffith." (*S. P.*, vol. x, 763.)

<sup>2</sup> Mr. David Jones mentions, in his article in the *Arch. Camb.*, another family tradition found in the Dale MSS., that Rhys fell "through the treacherous malice of his brother-in-law, the Duke of Norfolk". That the Duke did not interfere very zealously in behalf of his kinsman may be taken for granted; but there is no more evidence to convict him than James ap Griffith of "treacherous malice".

The verdict of contemporaries was certainly against the king, and it must be remembered that the facts were known to all men after the public trial in Westminster. Chapuys, writing to Charles V on the morning of Rhys ap Griffith's execution, sums up the case as follows:—

“The cause of his condemnation is, as far as I have been informed, that he would not confess that one of his own servants had solicited him to revenge the wrongs he complained of by entering into a conspiracy and subsequently taking flight to Scotland, where he could easily, owing to his influence over the Welsh, and to the general discontent caused by this divorce, have persuaded the king to make the conquest of this kingdom. And although the said Rice had not accepted the offers made to him, nor entered into the conspiracy, yet as he would not confess who it was who solicited him, he was condemned to death, notwithstanding the many apologies he made; and there is a rumour about town that had it not been for the king's lady, who hated him because he and his wife had spoken disparagingly of her, he would have been pardoned and escaped his miserable fate.<sup>1</sup>”

Here we have probably the true explanation of the tragic death of Rhys ap Griffith. He was, like most of his countrymen at the time, a sincere Catholic; he had been befriended by Cardinal Wolsey; he was on the side of the old Queen in the matter of the King's divorce. Anne Boleyn was not yet acknowledged as wife or mistress by the King; but she was maturing her plans, which were being furthered by her uncle, the Duke of Norfolk. It is easy to understand with what hatred Anne and her uncle would regard anyone, especially one who might have been expected, on account of his close relationship, to support her claims, who “spoke disparagingly” of her in those anxious days when her position had not been secured.

All the evidence we have goes to show that contempo-

<sup>1</sup> It would have been quite sufficient to secure a conviction if the facts alleged by Chapuys were proved against Rhys. See Gardiner, i, 123 *seq.*

raries regarded Rhys as being innocent of the accusations laid to his charge. Even Ellis Griffith, prejudiced as he was against Rhys's family, could only say that Rhys had paid the penalty for the sins of his forefathers. The one suggestion we find, that there was something in the allegation that Rhys put some credence in the Lawgoch prophecy, is to be met with in the confession of William Nevill, who, in describing his visit to the wizard Jones at Oxford, says that he replied to a remark of the wizard's "that the late Duke of Buckingham, young Ryse, and others, had cast themselves away by too much trust in prophecies".<sup>1</sup> But all the other evidence goes to show that Chapuys was interpreting the popular feeling when he declared Rhys to be innocent. In August 1534, Martin de Cornoca writes to Charles V from Venice with reference to Reginald Pole, who was then residing in that city. He says that Pole's father was "a worthy knight of Wales", and that his family had great influence in the Principality. "On account of their love for the Princess and the death of don Ris, who was beheaded three years ago, the whole province is alienated from the king."<sup>2</sup> In November of the same year Chapuys writes to the Emperor to say that he understands the people of Wales are very angry at the ill-treatment of the Queen and Princess, and also at what is done against the faith, "for they have always been good Christians. Not long ago there was in that district a mutiny against the governor of the county on account of a certain execution, when the governor was very nearly undone, and it is said the people only wait for a chief to take the field." We have no record of this "mutiny", unless it be that of Rhys in 1529, or James in 1530. But probably it refers to a "mutiny" which took place after the execution of Rhys.

<sup>1</sup> *S. P.*, Dec. 30, 1532, vol. v, 1106.

<sup>2</sup> *S. P.*, vol. vii, 1040.

Even in England men thought Rhys an ill-used man. One of the allegations against John Hale, the Vicar of Isleworth, in 1535, was that he told one Feron that Ireland was set against the King, and added, "And what think ye of Wales? Their noble and gentle Ap Ryce so cruelly put to death, and he innocent, as they say, in the cause."<sup>1</sup> What was the popular view of the transaction may be gathered from a story which Henry Rice heard related in the next century by the Earl of Nottingham, "the only man of note now living who came nearest those times". The story may be mythical, but it is an index of what people thought and said of the matter, even after the public trial at Westminster.

"The king one daie at Wandsworth hawking at the brooke, his falcon being seized of a fowle, there came by accident a raven, that put his falcon from the quarry, whereat the king chafed exceedingly. One standing by (as malice is ever watchful to do mischief) stepps to the king and whispered him in the eare, saying, 'Sir, you see how peremptorie this raven is growne, and therefore it is high time to pull him down. therefore to secure your majestie, and to prevent his insolencies'."

The King made no reply, but brooded over the matter. To such a mind and temper as Henry's, the remembrance of his family's obligations to the house of Dynevor could not fail to be irksome and irritating to a degree. He had not broken with old Sir Rhys ap Thomas, but he had never shown any favour to his grandson, and it is no wonder if Rhys used to complain to his associates that "Welshmen and priests were sore disdained nowadays".<sup>2</sup> If we may believe Henry Rice, Queen Elizabeth—who was a second cousin through her mother to Griffith Rice—was "so well satisfied of the extreme and bad measure offered to Rice Griffith, that she never looked upon any of his

<sup>1</sup> *S. P.*, vol. viii, 609.

<sup>2</sup> *S. P.*, vol. viii, 567.

children, but as upon spectacles of infinite sufferance ; in-  
somuch that she would often say she was indebted both to  
justice and her father's honour till she had repaired them.  
But my grandfather, and father after him, met with here-  
ditarie enemies<sup>1</sup> at court, and thus stands our case."

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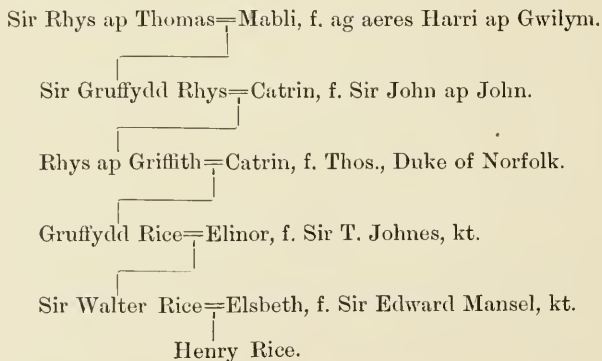
### III.

#### JAMES AP GRIFFITH IN EXILE.

After the death of Rhys ap Griffith, the interest of the narrative shifts to James ap Griffith ap Howell. It is extremely difficult to discover exactly what happened after Rhys's execution on December 4, 1531, when and how James was released from custody, and what events led to his exile and long odyssey. We must be content with surmises, and trust to the discovery of new facts from time to time to throw further light on the dark passages in the story.

In a letter to a friend, one Vitus Theodorus, "teacher

<sup>1</sup> Probably the Devereuxes, one of whom, Lord Essex, was the Queen's favourite in her later years. A genealogy of the Rices may be useful, taken from Lewis Dwnn :—



of the Gospel in the church of Nuremberg," written probably from Wittenberg in April 1537,<sup>1</sup> Philip Melancthon gives us a captivating glimpse at James's life on the Continent, and a suggestion of the account which James gave of himself :—

"I have given these letters to an Englishman who asked me to commend him to you. He held land of his own in which he could raise 12,000 soldiers, and was moreover Governor of Wales, but spoke rather freely against the Divorce. To him was particularly commended the daughter of the first Queen, because she had the title of Princess of Wales, and therefore he grieved at the contumelies put upon her. He was afterwards put in prison, from which, after a year and three months, he escaped by making a rope out of cloth. I beg you to receive and console him. His exile is long, his misfortune long, and he seems a modest man. Here he has asked for nothing. I think he takes little pleasure in the court."<sup>2</sup>

In the midst of much loud talk and gasconading, which seems to have been taken as gospel truth by the simple and trustful Melancthon, we have one statement of fact which can be relied on. James said that he had been imprisoned for fifteen months, and he was not likely to understate the amount of his sufferings. We may dismiss, as mere braggadocio, his tale about his escape from prison "by making a rope out of cloth". He was probably, as Henry Rice said, remorseful as to the part he had played in Rhys's trial, and was unwilling to admit, even to his own conscience, much less to a Protestant, that he had earned his pardon by betraying his kinsman. But he

<sup>1</sup> *S. P.*, vol. xii, pt. i, 845.

<sup>2</sup> However much we may reprehend James's habit of boasting of mythical ancient splendours, let us charitably remember that it is the besetting sin of those who "have seen better days", and that James did not dwell on his misfortunes with the view to "obtaining money by false pretences", but that he refrained from asking Melancthon for anything.

had no motive to understate the period of his imprisonment, and we may therefore take it that he was lodged in the Tower altogether for fifteen months. If, as is likely, he was first arrested in October 1530, the fifteen months would be up in January 1532, just a month or so after the execution of Rhys. This is as we should have expected, but there are several difficulties still in the way. On June 20, 1532, James petitioned the King for his pardon in the following terms:—

“To the king our Sovereigne Lorde.

“Please it your highnes of your moste abundante grace to graunte unto your desolate subject James Gruffyth ap Howell being prisoner in Westminster your most gracious letters of pardon in due forme undre your greate seall to be made after the forme and effect hereafter ensuyng and that this bill signed with your most gracious hande maye be a sufficient warrant and discharge unto the Lord Keper of your grete seale without suying of any other writing or warrant under your signet privey seale or otherwise. And your said orator shall continually during his lif pray for the good preservacion of your moste noble estate being long to endure,” etc.

Then follows the “form and effect” of the pardon, signed by the King, in the same terms as those in which it was afterwards enrolled.<sup>1</sup>

Two things are worthy of note in this Sign Bill. Its date is June 20, 1532, and in it James ap Griffith is described as being a “prisoner in Westminster”. In the engrossed pardon<sup>2</sup> (and in the printed State Papers) the

<sup>1</sup> *S. P.*, vol. v, 1139 (18).

<sup>2</sup> The pardon, which is in common form, and not worth reproduction here, is made out to James Griffith ap Howel of the various lordships already mentioned, and absolves James of all “prodiciones tam majores quam minores ac . . . alias prodiciones quascumque murdra homicidia felonias roberias burgulara abjuraciones rapta capciones et abductiones mulierum quecumque per ipsum Jacobum ante hec tempora,” etc. The mistake as to the date was probably a



date is wrongly given as June 20, 1531. As we have seen, that date is impossible, for in August and September of that year we know, from the indictment against Rhys ap Griffith, that James was still a prisoner in the Tower. In the fifth volume of the State Papers (No. 657) certain "fines made with divers persons by the King's Council" are assigned to the end of the year 1531. Among them we find one John ab Owen, late prisoner in the Tower, who "sometimes was towards Rice Griffith", fined £26 13s. 4d.;<sup>1</sup> while in Cromwell's own hand there is added, "James Griffith ap Howell, for his pardon £526 13s. 4d.," 400 marks of which being "in obligations". A few pages later (No. 683) we find "instructions by the King as to Rice ap Griffith's property", so that in all probability John ab Owen and James ap Griffith were fined for their pardons almost immediately after the conclusion of Rhys's trial. But the pardon would perhaps not become operative until the fine was paid. Is not this the explanation of the fact that James was still described in June 1532 as a "prisoner in Westminster"? After receiving his promise of pardon on payment of a fine, he may have been removed from the Tower to Westminster as the King's debtor. On June 13, 1532—after the Bill of Attainder against Rhys ap Griffith, which had been passed in the previous January—instructions were given to four Commissioners, Thomas Jones, Morris ap Harry, John Smythe, and William Brabazon, to take possession of all Rhys's lands, etc., and deliver them to the King, and

clerical error, but it is barely possible that he was pardoned only for offences committed before June 1531, and that his complicity in Rhys ap Griffith's so-called "conspiracy" was still to be held *in terrorem* over his head. (*Pat. Rolls*, 23 H. VIII. p. i. m. 34.)

<sup>1</sup> Can this be the Thomas ab Owen, Rhys's kinsman, who was imprisoned by Lord Ferrers? No further reference is to be found to this John ab Owen.

ascertain, at the same time, what lands and goods were possessed by James Griffith ap Howell.

“Item, ye shall also inquire . . . by all the manners and weyes ye can possible what landes, houses or hereditaments James ap Griffith ap Howell hath, whether in Wales, Englande, and the marches of the same and what yerelie saum they do amounte to, and to certifie us and our counsaill therefore. Item, ye shall also inquire to make sure by all the speediness ye can devise what ffermes, etc., the said Jaymes ap Griffith ap Howell hath or hadd . . . and what yearlie proffits they amounted to. . . . Item, as to cattle, in whose hands,” etc. (*S. P.*, vol. v, 724, 9.)

On the very same day, June 13, 1532, Cromwell wrote to the King, evidently in answer to Henry's inquiry, that he could not “inform the King of the conclusion of James Griffiths ap Howell's matter, as he had not spoken with Mr. Treasurer of the Household, who will to-day be at Westminster.”<sup>2</sup> This, it will be observed, was seven days before the final pardon was drawn up and executed. On the following September 2, we find an entry among Cromwell's “desperat obligations”<sup>3</sup> one “by John Heughes, of London, to Sir William Kyngstone and Sir Edward Walsingham, that James Griffith Appowell shall be true prisoner in the Tower.” James's fine seems never to have been paid in full. Late in 1533, among “the debts remaining upon sundry obligations to the King's use”, we twice find James ap Griffith's name.<sup>4</sup> In February 1535,

<sup>1</sup> A very interesting account of Rhys ap Griffith's property is given, not only in the computus of William Brabazon (*S. P.*, vol. v, No. 448), but also in the Treasury Receipts (Record Office), Miscellaneous Books, 151, where a minute description of each of his “castells” of Emlyn, Carew, Narberth, Newton (Dinefwr), and Abermarles is given.

<sup>2</sup> *S. P.*, vol. v, 1092.

<sup>3</sup> *S. P.*, vol. v, 1285.

<sup>4</sup> *S. P.*, vol. vi, 1613.

among the "obligations due at and before the Purification of our Lady next" is entered £66 13s. 4d. from James; and among the bonds to the King "not yet due" on that date, are two sums, one of £266 13s. 4d. from James ap Griffith and Walter Boules, and another of £66 13s. 4d. from James ap Griffith. Of the fine of £526 13s. 4d. it would seem that James only paid £126 13s. 4d., and that the other £400 was still owing. May not this account for the entry, already cited, concerning John Hughes's "obligation" to the Constable of the Tower that James ap Griffith shall be "true prisoner in the Tower"? May it not also explain the somewhat mysterious origin of James's connection with Harry Ellington, a merchant of Bristol?

Henry, or Harry, Ellington was a man of unsavoury reputation and worse character. The first mention we have of him in the State Papers is when he was an apprentice to a merchant named Abraham, of London, and resident in the Low Countries. He was then concerned in a bit of sharp practice, which was the subject of complaint on the part of the English agent at Antwerp.<sup>1</sup> Some years after we find him, a prisoner in the Tower, writing on May 28, 1532, to Cromwell<sup>2</sup>:—

<sup>1</sup> 1525. *S. P.*, vol. iv, No. 1794. Ellington, apprentice to Thos. Abraham, merchant adventurer, is alleged in a Bill in Chancery to have bought "182 pieces of camlet worth £207, at the Sykson mart in Antwerp in 1523, and for which he refuses to pay". The bill given by Ellington to the merchant, Rodericus Royfermandus, was not signed by Abraham: and the Dutch merchant had therefore never been paid.

<sup>2</sup> The date assigned to this letter in the printed State Papers, is May 28, 1533, but that must be an error, for we find him "about Whitsuntide" (which fell on June 1 in that year) starting from Kidwelly with James ap Griffith. According to his own account, he had been with James for some days before the start, and he had been twice to London on business for him. He could not, therefore, have been in the Tower in May 1533. On May 19, 1534, we know he was

"Since I left Bristol, during mine imprisonment in the Tower, I have sustained great wrongs and losses in the town of Bristol, of which I should be glad to inform you. I beseech you, therefore, to send some token to the lieutenant of the Tower, that he will license me to come to you." (*S. P.*, vol. vi, 551.)

In a "confession", which he made to Stephen Vaughan, Cromwell's agent in the Low Countries, Ellington relates how he came to be connected with James ap Griffith.

"Master Vaghan, the cawsse of my departynge out of the realm of ynglande was this, Fyrst where I was presonad in the toware of London for Jamys Greffythe apowell at my comyng to lyberty I came to Walls to the said Jamys for to have restietycion for my chargys that I was at in tyme of my trobill, and then he promysyd me xl pecys of Welche ffrysse and mor desiryd me to remayne with hyme for a monyth and that then he wolde make me Delyverance of the said xl pecys of ffryssis and so in the meantyme he sent me to tysms to London consarnynge the hurtynge [not *huntynge*, as it is given in the printed State Papers] of Wylliam Vaghan of Kylgarron [not *Kylgarson*, as printed], and so at my last comynge home frome London I bad hyme send no mor but goo hyme sellfe wythe his payments and in so doynge he shuld have hys porpos and apon this he toke his advys and within to or iiii dais after he came to me and said Harry wher as you geve me this counsell to goo up my sellffe I wyll not so dowe for and yf I shulde goo up wythe part of my money and not with the hole I fere me to be put in prisson."<sup>1</sup> (*S. P.*, vol. vi, 1548.)

Amid so much uncertainty, it is impossible to walk with a sure tread, and we can only conjecture, with what plausibility we may, what was the real course of events.

in Bristol, and presumably in Cromwell's favour. The conjecture is therefore justified that the letter was written from the Tower in May 1532.

<sup>1</sup> Ellington's last appearance in the *State Papers* is characteristic. On April 22, 1534, he writes to Cromwell to inform him officiously "of certain causes", and in the following May he receives the confession of one of the culprits, a goldsmith of Bristol. (*S. P.*, vol. vii, Nos. 532, 692.)

It would seem, then, that the offence for which James ap Griffith had been fined was “the hurtynge” of William Vaughan, of Cilgerran. This incident has already been dealt with, and we have accepted, as a working hypothesis, that Vaughan was so “hurt” while attempting to apprehend James in October 1530. Immediately after the execution of Rhys, *i.e.*, before the end of 1531, James is fined the large sum of £526 13s. 4d. (probably equivalent to about £7,000 of our money) for his pardon. At this time, no enquiry had been held as to the amount and value of James’s possessions, and James, no doubt, was glad to purchase his life at whatever cost. In January 1532, if James’s story to Melancthon can be relied on, he was released from the Tower on finding sureties for the payment of the fine, though in the following June James is still a “prisoner in Westminster”. One John Hughes, of London—probably the same as James’s correspondent in September 1531, who is mentioned in the Indictment of Rhys—was certainly one of those who entered into an “obligation” on behalf of James. Henry Ellington seems to have been another, according to his own story, for he was at some time a prisoner in the Tower, and put to certain “chargys” for James ap Griffith. The Walter Boules, mentioned as jointly with James indebted to the King in the sum of £266 13s. 4d., may have been a third surety. On June 13, 1532, Cromwell, finding the King becoming impatient, instructs Commissioners to inquire into the extent and value of James’s estate and goods, and seven days later a formal pardon is made out to him. The “prisoner in Westminster” probably then hurried home—not to Emlyn, which was in the hands of the King’s Commissioners since the attainder of Rhys, but yet somewhere not far from the town of Carmarthen. It may be he went to Castell Maelgwn on the banks of the Teivi in Pembrokeshire, but

this again we are slow to believe. Had James been there, it would have been easy for him to set sail from the Pembroke-shire or Cardiganshire coast for Ireland in 1533, instead of embarking at Kidwelly, as we know he did. Mention is made in David Williams's confession of one "Rether ap Davyd ap Jankyn, in whose house the said Gryffith was lodged in South Gare", and it is not unlikely that, while the King's Commissioners were making an inquisition into his property, James and his family found refuge in a friend's house in "South Gare" (South Carmarthenshire?). We know that "about Whitsuntide" 1533, James was somewhere in Carmarthenshire. David Williams, in his confession, says that

"Thom's ap Rother of the Krengarth was a gret frend of the saide Gryffith and offered him iiii men to ayde him as Gryffith sayed, and that one David Vaughan of Kidwellys land brought the saide Gryffith to the waterside at his departing out of Wales, and that David Meredith of Kidwellys land aforesaid was also a grete ffrende and ffautor of the saide Gryffithes with also one Rether ap Davyd ap Jenkyn in whose house the saide Gryffith was lodged in South Gare, and the said David sayeth that James Gryffith would often make moche mone that he had no wey to convey lettres into Englonde to one Fraunces Nevile. He also seyeth that Walter ap John was a ffautor and frend of the said Gryffith, and kept him moche company in Wales long tyme before he departed to Scotland." (*S. P.*, vol. vi, 1591.)

The reference to Francis Nevile, with whom James wanted to get into touch, is significant. On December 30, 1532, a William Nevill confessed to certain treasonable practices. A sentence in his confession, which has already been quoted, shows that he was acquainted with the story, if not with the person, of Rhys ap Griffith. James, in his inaccessible home, "makes much moan" that he was not in communication with another Nevill. He tries to ward off the Government's suspicion by

sending Ellington twice up to London to pay off instalments of his fine; in all he paid £126 13s. 4d. There is no doubt, however, that his mind was full of plots and schemes to overthrow the King. He had probably been ruined by the infliction of the heavy fine, following close upon his patron's death. His predilections were Catholic, and he supported the old Queen against her supplanter. He professed to David Williams that he was in communication with Queen Catherine, and there is nothing inherently improbable in his statement, though, of course, it may have been nothing more than a silly boast. David Williams, in his confession, which was made at the end of 1533, stated that

“about Whitsuntide last James Griffith ap Howell receyved a letter from the queen's grace as the saide Gryflith sayd commanding you to provide hobbeyes for her grace in Ireland. And thereupon for that purpose as he sayeth take a ship and sayled towards Ireland.”

Ellington, indeed, makes no mention of the Queen's letter, but he was anxious to show his innocence of James's treasonable designs, and that he was only constrained “for fear”, after reaching the coast of Ireland, to accompany James into Scotland. Three things incline us to believe that James was possibly in direct communication with Queen Catherine. In the first place, there is James's own statement to David Williams, his servant, which accords with the general view taken by contemporaries as to the cause of his exile. Ellington states that a man from Flanders came to James at Leith, and said that

“he had been in the court of my lady Mary, Quene of Hungre [who was Regent of the Netherlands under her brother the Emperor] when he dyd here myche goodnes of the said Jaymys, and that yt was showyd my lady Mary that he was a gret lord banyshed out off Ynglande for takynge part with the olde queene, and that she wychyd for hyme with here by caus she hard tell that he myght also myche i Walls.” (*S. P.*, vol. vi, 1548.)

This was the tale told to the Regent, be it noted, not by James himself, or any of his emissaries, but either by common report or by somebody acting in Queen Catherine's interest at her niece's Court. Melancthon's letter to Vitus Theodorus and Legh's description of James's behaviour at the Court of the Duke of Holst<sup>1</sup> show, also, that James himself did his best to live up to his reputation as the old Queen's friend. Then, there can be no doubt that the unfortunate Catherine was at this time at the very lowest ebb of her fortunes. In the previous March, the King had privately married Anne Boleyn. On May 23, 1533, Archbishop Cranmer formally announced the decree of divorce from Catherine. On May 28, the King's marriage with Anne was declared valid, and on Whit-Sunday, June 1, at the time when James received his letter from Queen Catherine, conveying a hint that he should fly to Ireland, Anne Boleyn was crowned Queen. If there had been any plots to prevent the marriage and coronation of Esther, what more natural than that Vashti should warn her friends at the first possible moment of the failure of their hopes and the triumph of her rival? There is still another supposition, which does not altogether lack probability. Ellis Griffith tells us Queen Catherine was in the habit of repairing, in the days of her bitter trouble, to the house of a Spanish servant named Philip. She used to confide all her troubles to her sympathetic countrymen, and no doubt found much relief in relating her woes to her humble friends. All the servants in Philip's house were Welshmen, and some of them, especially David ap Robert of Llangollen, were well acquainted with Spanish, the language in which the Queen conversed. It is no wild assumption

<sup>1</sup> *S. P.*, vol. vii, No. 710.



to conclude that James ap Griffith was known to David ap Robert, especially as Llangollen was on the borders of James's lordships of Arwystli and Cyveiliog. There were few Welshmen resident in London in those days, and we may be sure that they clung together. Even if we discard the idea that the Queen herself should have been James ap Griffith's correspondent, it is not unnatural to suppose that one of Master Philip's Welsh servants should have learnt the failure of the Queen's hopes, and hastened to warn his countryman of the triumph of his foes. Certain it is that the inability to pay the full fine was not the only, perhaps not the predisposing cause of James's resolve to quit his native land. The relentlessness with which he was pursued all over the Continent by Henry and his agents, showed that there was some other and graver offence laid to his charge than mere failure to pay a fine.

A graphic account of James ap Griffith's departure from Wales and his adventures in Ireland, Scotland, and Flanders is supplied by the confessions of David Williams, one of James's servants, and Henry Ellington, and we cannot do better than reproduce them in full, omitting only those passages in them which have already been cited. James was accompanied to the seaside, somewhere near Kidwelly, by his old friend David Vaughan.

"And thereuppon", said David Williams . . . . "he sayled towards Ireland, being in his company at that tyme Alice his ux. (wife), Sache (Sage) his daughter, John a Morgan a kynnesman of his, Henry Ellington, Lewes a maryner, John a pen berere [o Ben-y-Buarth? a place in Emlyn, mentioned in *Dwm*, p. 20], John Bean Teaw (ben tew?), John Owen a gooner, and the saide David Willyams, which ship was of the portage of xv or xvi toome laden with benes, and in the same ship he sayeth were vi maryners, that is to say, a master and five maryners, And fether he seyeth that before they take shipping in the forsaide ship, the said Gryffith

and other his complices abovesaide were conveyed over in a cole bote to Uphill in Somerseshire, where they toke the saide ship being laden with beanes as is aforsaide, and so sayled into Irelande to the port of Yowghale, where they landed and remayned there a sevennight, in which tyme he solde his beanes to him that was owner of the saide ship. And after that the saide Gryffith with his saide complices take ship agayu and sailed towarde Scotlande and arryved at Saynt Tronyans the Sunday before the natyvyte of Saynt John Baptist last past, where he was lodged in a widow's house, And within iii dayes after the sayde Griffith arrived there the Kyng of Scots repayred thither to Saynt Tronyans at which tyme the saide James Gryffith sent to the lorde Fflemyng, a Scottish man, and met with him in the Abbey of St. Tronyan's aforsaide, where they talked together an hower or more, Which lorde Fflemyng was brother of the Abbot of St. Tronyan, and the saide lorde Fflemyng at the instance of the saide Gryffith repayred to the Scottish King. And within iii dayes after the Scottish King repayred to the town of Saynt Tronyan's aforsaide. where he tarried iii or iiiii dayes, and then departed, after whose departing the saide James Gryffith with his famylie aforsaide repayred to Edinburgh, where he tarried on moneth and was lodged in one Richard Lundell's house, being servante to the secretary unto the Scottish King, at which tyme the saide James Gryffith spake with the Chauncelor and Treasurer, and also with the secretarye in the Chauncelor's house at severall tymes, and that they gave unto the said Gryffith as the saying was about an eight score crownes [and within that tyme of his beyng at Edinburgh before the receyte of that money he had moche communication with one . . . . Loyd . . . . vyd . . . . er long . . . . (c)ompanye departed to Denmark.]<sup>1</sup> Also the said David Wilyams sayeth that the saide James Gryffith having comunicacions with the saide Chauncelor and others desired to have 3,000 men to go with him into Wales, alledging himself to be the grettest man in Wales, And that he with the lyon of Scotlande should subdue all Englonde, howbeit the said

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<sup>1</sup> The sentence in brackets is written in between the lines and in the margin, and a portion of it is illegible. James seems to have met at Edinburgh a man named Loyd, who had since gone to Denmark.

David knoweth not that the Scotts offered or proffered him any suche ayde of men, But he sayeth that the saide Gryffith opteyned of the said counseile of Scotland a passeporte to go into Fflaunders, and we so departed from Edinburgh to Newbotell, where he tarryed a sevendnight flaying himself to be sycke, in the which tyme cam unto him two merchantmen of Edinburgh aforsaide. And from Newbotell the said Gryffith departed to Davykythe (Dalkeith) and there taryed a ffourtenight, and from Davykyth departed to Lygth, and being there, sent Henry Ellington into Fflaunders, but for what purpose this deponent knoweth not."—(*S. P.*, vol. vi, 1591.)

Henry Ellington's narrative is not less vivid and dramatic in style, nor less copious in matter. After giving the account of his dealings with James, which has already been quoted, he goes on to say that "about Whitsuntide", James ap Griffith

"asked me and I knew Ireland and I said I knew ytt. then he askyd me in what parts that the best horsis wher in in Irelande, and I sayd in Dredathe, then he sayd he wold goo thether to by som horssis, won for to geve the kyng's grace and another for to geve the queen's grace, and won for Mr. Cromwell and a nothar for on Edwarde Aynton,<sup>1</sup> and so desiryd me for to goo with hymme becaus I knewe the partis of Ierlande, and in this behalffe I was contentyd to go with hym, and so departyd to a place within xv myle of Bristow cawllid Uphill, and ther the sayd Jamys fraytyd a smalle penes (pinnace) and so we departyd the Monday benytte after Wytsonday and landed in Yoholte (Youghal) upon Corpus Crysty day and taryd there a senyt, and so then departed toward Dredathe, and when we came affor the havyn of the sayd place the said Jamys came to me and said Henry wyl yowe agre to goo with me to Skotlande, and I sayd no I will not adyd mor trobull for you for I have hade I now . . . . and I wyl not for sake my will noer my chyldeyn for yow nor my friends, so with this he went to the master of the botte and to all the company and askyde theme whether they wolde agre to goo wyth hym and they said no, fer thay warnot bownde to goo no fardare then Dredathe,

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<sup>1</sup> Queen Anne Boleyn's Chamberlain.

then he cawlyd me and bad me gett me and the master and his company under hatches and so towke from me viii li. sterlinge wyche I thowght to bestow in Irlyand for my own pers, and then the company for fere agreyd to go with hyme and I in easlyke agrede to the sayme for fere also, then was ther a wrechyd fellowe that is his servant, whose name is Davy, bad the sayd Jamys lat us kell them and throwe them over bowrde, but the sayd Jamys wold not agre to the sayme, the sayd Davy showyd me the sayme syns, then upon mydssomar evyn we came aboude in Skotlande at a place cawlyd Whythorne, and ther the Kinge was, and so he felle aquantyde with the lorde Flemyn, whiche showyd the Kyng of hyme, and upon this I wrought his letters to the Kyng for hyme, for he hadd no other body to doo hit but I, and at my comynge to the kyng's grace of Englande and to the honorabill lords of the counsell I wyll show the fekle of thos letters and off all othar letters consarnynge his desynes and offeres, and nowe of at here came a man from Flanders to Skotlande, and ( . . . see above). . . . And so he gave some credance to the sayd man, and so upon this he causyd me to wrytte to my Lady Mary and so put me in trost to bring thys letter to her, wiche I was goynge in to Yngland withall, so yt me chancyd that I hard of youre beyng there Mr. Vaughan, and bycaus I knew that yowe are the Kyngs grace sarvant I move this my mynd to you in as myche that yff yt be the Kyng's grace pleasure to furnysh me with a ship as his grace shall know by the letters derectyd to my Lady Mary, and by that at I wyll show his grace and his honorabill counsell by mowth that if I do not deliver the sayd Jamys in to his grace hands within short space that then I wyll los my lyffe and thus God save the Kyngs grace."

By reading these two documents together, we are able to piece together a connected and intelligible account of James ap Griffith's departure from Wales. The tone of the two documents is markedly different: Davy's "confession" is plain, blunt, straightforward, hiding and extenuating nothing, except that the "wrechyd fellowe" omits all mention of that dramatic scene outside the haven at Drogheda. Ellington's narrative is written evidently with an eye to effect. He says nothing of the letter from

the Queen which reached James before the start, but he insinuates that the original object of the journey was to buy horses for the King, Queen Anne, Cromwell, and the Queen's Chamberlain, and that it was only at Drogheda that this plan was altered. These little differences in the narratives, however, only lend fresh interest to the story; they do not in any way impair the credibility of the two narrators.

"About Whitsuntide", 1533, then, James received the Queen's letter, and left his friend's house in "South Gare" and made for Kidwelly. Accompanied by his friend, David Vaughan, he reached the shore, and then, with his wife, daughter, and a few retainers, embarked on board a coal-boat for Uphill, a little village near Weston-super-Mare. On Monday night, June 2, James and his company left Uphill for Youghal, in Ireland, and on the following Friday, June 6, being Corpus Christi Day, they arrived safely at their destination. After selling, like a prudent man, his cargo of beans, on June 13 James started for Drogheda. When they came outside the harbour, however, James insisted on proceeding to Scotland. Ellington and the crew refused, but James drove them under the hatches, and "for fear" they consented to go on to Scotland. On the Sunday before the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, *i.e.*, on June 22—according to David Williams—or on June 23, Midsummer eve—according to Ellington—James and his party landed at St. Tronyan's, St. Ninians, or Whythorn, on the south-west coast of Scotland. James, hearing that the King of Scots was on his way thither, determined to await his arrival,<sup>1</sup> and lodged in a widow's house. Three days later, June 25, the King arrived, and

<sup>1</sup> That David Williams's account is correct on this point, and not Ellington's, is proved by the testimony of Lord Dacre's letter of July 2 to Henry VIII. (*S. P.*, vol. vi, 750.)

with him Lord Fleming, with whom James picked up an acquaintance. An interview was arranged between the two at St. Tronyan's Abbey, whose Abbot was Lord Fleming's brother. The result of that interview was that James was presumably presented three days later, on June 28, to the King, by whom he was well received. The warmth of James's reception caused quite a flutter in diplomatic dovescotes. Lord Dacre, Sir T. Clifford, Sir G. Lawson, the Earl of Northumberland, and Sir Thomas Wharton, during the month of July, can write no letter to the King or Cromwell without mentioning the "gentleman of Wales."<sup>1</sup> Lord Dacre informs the King that immediately on his arrival at St. Ninians, James ap Griffith "sent two servants into Wales."<sup>2</sup> On July 11, the Commissioners on the Borders write to Henry VIII from Newcastle to say that they had remonstrated with the Scotch Council that King James should have received Henry's rebels, when proposing to enter into amity. "They answered they had heard such a person had arrived, but knew nothing more." Matters might have become critical between the two countries, but for a timely discovery which was made by a spy in the employ of Sir Thomas Wharton, one of the four Commissioners, which was made known to Cromwell on the same day, July 11.

"The Scots King, hearing the woman named his daughter to be fair and about the age of 15 years, repaired to the said castle [James was said to have been "appointed to a castle S.W. of Edinburgh"] and did speak with the said gentleman, and for the beauty of his daughter, as mine espeiall saith, the King repaired lately thither again."—(*S. P.*, vol. vi, 803.)

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<sup>1</sup> *Vide S. P.*, vol. vi, Nos. 750, 802, 803, 828, 876, 892, 895, 907.

<sup>2</sup> They were probably sent to acquaint James's friends of his safe arrival, and to raise funds, of which James evidently was in need. Next month we find him in receipt of 160 crowns from the Scottish treasury.

No doubt this information helped to allay the threatened storm, for Henry VIII was not the man to undervalue the attractions of a pretty face.

On July 1 the King of Scots left St. Ninians for Edinburgh, and James followed in his train. He remained for a month at Edinburgh, being lodged in the house of Richard Lundell, servant to the Scotch King's secretary. It was here, without doubt, that King James V saw and admired the beauty of the Welsh maiden. But James ap Griffith was not long in perceiving that the King came to flirt with his pretty daughter, and not to hatch plots with the father. He received some help from the Scottish Treasury, and hearing that he was well spoken of in the Court of Queen Mary, Regent of the Netherlands, he decided to go thither. An unpleasant encounter which he had with a countryman no doubt quickened his resolution to be gone. Sir Thomas Wharton, writing on July 24, gives a somewhat cryptic account of the matter.

“ On Monday last (*i.e.*, July 23), James Apowell had licence from the Provost to leave the realm, but his ship has since been arrested in consequence of a dispute with one Upp Risse, the one appealing the other connecting the accusation of Risse put to execution according to his demerits, was both called afore the Council.”—(*S. P.*, vol. vi, 892.)

The story, as related by Wharton, is a confused tangle, but with the knowledge we have of James's previous career, it is not difficult to imagine what occurred. James came across a fellow-countryman in Edinburgh, and the two fell into an altercation concerning Rhys ap Griffith's death. James was probably denounced as a traitor, who had betrayed his kinsman and patron, and James was not the man to take such reproaches meekly, and so “both were called afore the Council.” Who the other man was, is not clear. David Williams states that at this time James was much in the company of one “Lloyd”, who

afterwards went to Denmark. It may be that this was no other than the Edward Floyd, who also betrayed his master, and that the two traitors fell out in apportioning the blame for that gross act of treachery. Lloyd went to Denmark, the "Llychlyn" of the *brudiau*, perhaps in search of that Owen Lawgoch, who was to sail in seven ships over the sea to deliver Wales from the alien.<sup>1</sup> James ap Griffith, at least, was still a believer in the prophecy; for we find him assuring the King of Scots that "he with the Lyon of Scotland would subdue all England", almost in the same terms as the prophecy cited in the Indictment against Rhys ap Griffith.

The first seven days of August, James spent at Newbotell; and the next fortnight in Dalkeith. Then, at the end of August, he went to Leith. There Ellington wrote him a letter to Queen Mary, which Ellington was dispatched to convey to Flanders. No sooner had Ellington landed in Antwerp than he put himself in communication with Stephen Vaughan, one of Cromwell's most active agents on the Continent, and, as we have seen, he not only betrayed James's plans, but offered to capture James himself and deliver him over to the English Government. Vaughan, on November 17, sent Ellington to England. On November 21 he writes to Cromwell from Antwerp:—

"Four days past I sent, in company of Martin Caley, Henry Ellington, sometime servant to Abraam. He came here out of Scotland with letters from James Griffith Appowell to the Queen of Hungary. These letters, with others of his writings, I sent in my letters enclosed to you."—(*S. P.*, vol. vi, 1,448.)

Cromwell tried, in characteristic fashion, to use the

<sup>1</sup> Henry Rice, in MS. 14,416 of the Phillipps Collection, in a marginal note, which was not published in the *Cambr. Reg.*, states that "Edward Floyd, being ashamed of his villanie, fled his country and was never heard of afterwards."



opportunity to the utmost. It was an anxious and critical time for Henry VIII and his Minister. The new Queen was not popular; Henry himself had been disappointed that the child of the union was not a boy, so as to make sure the succession to the throne. The Emperor was more than suspected of being a warm partisan of his aunt, Queen Catherine, and it was important to discover how far he was willing to go in defending her interests and righting her wrongs. Cromwell, thinking to find through James ap Griffith the secret mind of the Emperor and his sister, the Regent, despatched Ellington back to the Netherlands with all speed, with instructions to deliver James's letter to Queen Mary, and hand over the reply to him. No one was let into the secret, so that when Ellington arrived in Brussels, not even Hacket, who was acting as agent in Stephen Vaughan's absence, suspected that Ellington was anything but a *bona fide* messenger from James ap Griffith.<sup>1</sup> How Cromwell's subtlety was baulked is told by Ellington in a letter which he wrote from Antwerp on December 20.

“On the first December I came to Brussels, where my Lady Mary is, and delivered my letter to the Bishop of Palermo, her chancellor, who delivered it to the Queen, and brought me an answer from her that she thanked James Greffythe, whom she called my master, for his goodwill to the Emperor and his offers, which you shall further know when I come home. For the ship he has written for, she can send him none without the Emperor's commandment, for they have nothing adoing against England or Ireland, but if he came there he shall be welcome. I left Brussels 5 December for Antwerp, and on the morrow, which was Sunday (*i.e.*, December 8), went to Mass, and met a Scotchman that came over from Scotland in the same ship with me. He loves James well, and his business is in Louvain and Brussels. He had made great inquiries for me amongst the

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<sup>1</sup> *S. P.*, vol. vi, 1523.

English. when I was gone to England, but seeing me there, he laid wait for me, and brought me before the skowtte, saying I had brought letters out of Scotland to my Lady Mary, had been in England and showed the letters to the King. I was brought to the Pynbanke "whereon they wolde apullyd me," on which I confessed that I had shown the letter to the Council, and I was compelled by reason of my oath, and in order to come quietly into the realm to live with my wife and children as I did, and that this traitor carried me out of Ireland into Scotland against my will, For this they have kept me in prison 16 days [*sic*], and have sent to my Lady Mary to know her pleasure, and I have written to Mr. Hakett. I beg you not to change your favor because I have failed in this business. The matter could not be kept close, for Griffith communicated the letter to all the crew. If the King will let me have a ship, I will deliver Griffith to him."

From the time when Ellington was despatched into Flanders from Leith, we hear nothing of James ap Griffith's movements. He must have stopped in Scotland awaiting the coming of the ship which he had asked from Queen Mary. That he suspected Ellington from the first is evident from his action in telling the crew the object of Ellington's journey. No doubt he thought to frighten Ellington into fidelity, as he had no one else to send.

Shortly after the departure of Ellington, David Williams, James's servant, was sent on a message to England or Wales. We know that he was apprehended, and that he was examined, perhaps after torture or threat of torture, as happened to Ellington in Antwerp. But nothing is known as to where he was arrested, except that it was in the house of one Thomas Lewis.<sup>1</sup> In Cromwell's "remembrance to Master Richard Cromwell to

<sup>1</sup> A Thomas Lewes is mentioned as one of the "servitors for the dresser" at Anne Boleyn's Coronation (*S. P.*, vol. vi, p. 248), and it may be that David Williams was apprehended in London. The Richard Cromwell who examined David was, of course, the nephew of

examine the servant of James Griffith Powell," we find that among the ten questions which were to be put to David Williams were:—

8. "Why he came from his master now, and what letters and tokens he had to his master's friends in England or Wales?"

9. "How long he had been in Thomas Lewes's house before he was taken, and what communication he had with Lewis about his master?"

10. "Whether Lewes did not speak with him secretly since he was taken, and what communication he had with him?"

As the answers to these questions have been lost, it would be useless at this distance of time to conjecture what they were. What is certain is that by some means or other Ellington was released from his captivity in Antwerp, and was at home at Bristol in April 1534, while, in the next month, we find James ap Griffith at Lubeck, in the territory of the Duke of Holste. On May 12, John Coke writes to Cromwell from Barowe:—

"Received to-day a letter from Lubeck . . . that Griffith ap Howel and his wife have come from Scotland to a town 10 miles from Lubeck [Ulm?], in the dominion of the Duke of Holste."—(*S. P.*, vol. vii, No. 650.)

He did not long remain in the dominion of a prince-ling who was known to be inclined to the Protestant cause. On May 25, Dr. Legh writes to Cromwell from Hamburg:—

"The Welshman who was in the Tower, and after in Scotland, was lately with the Duke of Holst. He said he was a great man in England, and banished for the Princess Dowager's sake, but he heard of me and privily went his way, some say to Ferdinand, others to the Emperor."—(*S. P.*, vol. vii, No. 710.)

If a conjecture as to James's destination may be

Mr. Secretary Cromwell, the son of Morgan Williams, of Putney and Glamorganshire, and the great grandfather of Oliver Cromwell. (*S. P.*, vol. vi, 1591, ii.)

hazarded, we are inclined to believe that James attempted to attach himself to Reginald Pole at Venice. Pole was at this time not even in holy orders, though he held several ecclesiastical offices in England, including the Deanery of Exeter. He was uncertain what line to take with regard to King Henry's divorce. A sincere liking for the King, and perhaps the whispers of worldly ambition, inclined him to extenuate the King's conduct. He had, in some measure, been Henry's instrument in obtaining the opinion of the University of Paris some years before on the validity of the marriage with Catherine of Arragon. He was a man of singularly mild and moderate temper, a convinced and genuine reformer, a patriotic Englishman, proud of his native land, though ever mindful of his Welsh descent,<sup>1</sup> averse to extreme measures, and hoping against hope to his last day to bring about a reconciliation between England and the Papacy. It was natural that James, both as a Welshman and a Catholic, should have repaired to Pole. There is no direct evidence of the fact, but that the theory is permissible may be gathered from the subsequent connection of James with Pole, and from a letter written from Venice on August 4, 1534, by Martin de Cornoca to Charles V:—

“There is now living in these parts a great English personage, named Reynaldo Polo, of the blood royal, of the illustrious house of Clarence, and the Earl of Warwick. He is the son of the Countess of Salisbury. . . . Pole is by his mother's side of the noblest blood in the kingdom. His father, Sir Richard Pole, was a worthy knight of Wales, a near relative of the late King, and greatly esteemed in his country. . . . He is related to most of the great

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<sup>1</sup> *V.*, *e.g.*, vol. xii, pt. i, No. 107. Pole's father, Sir Richard Pole, “a knight of Wales”, was lineally descended from the ancient Princes of Powys, who in Edw. I's time adopted the Norman name of “de la Pole”.

families, and is connected by an indissoluble friendship with all the Queen's friends, and especially with a great lord named de Deulier. The whole of Wales is devoted to his house, for his sake and the sake of his relations Vuquingan and Vorgona [Buckingham and Abergavenny]. On account of their love for the Princess and the death of Don Ris, who was beheaded three years ago, the whole province is alienated from the King. . . . It would be a pious and famous deed to help such a man in preserving a kingdom oppressed by a harlot and her friends, and in reinstating the Queen and Princess. . . . Does not know Pole's mind about all this, but thinks he would not be wanting in the delivery of his country from tyranny."—(*S. P.*, vol. vii, No. 1040.)

But if the Emperor's correspondent, who waxed almost lyrical in his enthusiasm for Pole and his hatred of Anne Boleyn, did not receive his information from the great man himself, from whom could it have been derived? His informant, whoever he was, was well versed in the state and condition of Wales. He knew, and laid great stress upon, Pole's ancient connection with the Principality, his relationship to great Welsh noblemen, and the date, manner, and effect of Rhys ap Griffith's death. We have no record of any Welshman's adherence to Pole except James ap Griffith. It requires no great stretch of fancy, therefore, to hear the voice of James behind the hand of Martin de Cornoca.

Reginald Pole, however, was in dire poverty at this time. His supplies from England had been stopped, as his royal kinsman was becoming more and more suspicious of his attitude and intentions. On July 4, 1535—not quite a year after—the Bishop of Farnza wrote to the Cardinal Palmieri urging that Pole, who was then in Padua “in a low state and ruined”, should be given Cardinal Fisher's hat.<sup>1</sup> Pole had no use for adventurers such as James, and no means of maintaining them. It is no wonder that by

<sup>1</sup> *S. P.*, vol. viii, 986.

the end of the year James should be back once more in Flanders, where there was always a ready market for a good sword. In December 1534, Stephen Vaughan, writing to Cromwell from Antwerp, states that

“My lord of Bure entertains Jamys Griffith ap Powell and his wife, and has given them a house in Bure. The knave sent his wife to the Queen of Hungary with an interpreter to show her griefs. The Queen gave her 100 gnylden.”—(*S. P.*, vol. vii, No. 1567.)

Throughout the next year, 1535, we can find hardly a trace of James's movements on the Continent. We gather from some of Cromwell's “remembrances” that he was trying to keep in touch with his Welsh friends and adherents. In 1534, for instance, we find a memorandum “to send into Wales for him that would have conveyed James Griffith Aphôwell's man”, but we know nothing of the incident to which the entry refers.<sup>1</sup> Again, in the autumn of 1535, another “remembrance” is to “examine the person that came from the traitor James Griffith ap Howell”.<sup>2</sup> On September 9, 1535, also, occurred the incident at Calais, to which reference has already been made, when David Lloyd ap Owen, of Machynlleth, tried to get into communication with James, who was supposed to be then somewhere in Flanders.

Early in 1536 we come across another of James ap Griffith's emissaries. A “remembrance” of Cromwell's mentions “a bill for the execution of him that came from James Griffith ap Howel, which killed the two men at Hounslow.”<sup>3</sup> Of this incident, again, we know nothing more than is contained in this bald entry. But it is clear that James was still active, and that he was still able to send messengers to his friends. The Government were becoming alarmed, and in March Henry VIII sent two

<sup>1</sup> *S. P.*, vol. vii, No. 108.

<sup>2</sup> *S. P.*, vol. ix, 498.

<sup>3</sup> *S. P.*, vol. x, 254.

autograph letters, one to Stayber and the Consuls and Senate at Nuremberg, and the other to Charles V, concerning James ap Griffith and his companion, Harry Phillips. He requests the Senate of Nuremberg

“to arrest two criminals, James Griffith Apowell [an English subject of low birth, guilty of treason, robbery, manslaughter, and sacrilege, who is travelling with a rebel named] Henry Philip through Germany on his way from Flanders to Italy.”—*S. P.*, vol. x, 529-530.)

In his letter to the Emperor, Henry desires that the two “rebels” may be given up to Pate, the Archdeacon of Lincoln, who was his ambassador at the Emperor’s Court.

In the following month, April 30, 1536, Bishop Lee wrote from Brecknock to inform Cromwell that “David Vaughan, officer of Kidwelly, in Wales, is accused by your servant Jankin Lloyd, for assisting the rebellion of James ap Howell Griffith. I send you the process.” Whether this refers to the old affair of 1530, when James fortified himself in the castle at Emlyn, or to Vaughan’s part in the departure of James from Kidwelly in 1533, or whether it relates to some attempt on the part of James to raise another insurrection in Wales, cannot be determined. There was a general impression abroad that Wales was ready for rebellion—“the people only wait for a chief to take the field,” Chapuys said in 1534. The scandal about the King’s divorce, the violent break with Rome, the death of young Rhys, the abrogation of ancient religious customs, the extinction of old Welsh customs in 1534, the changes in the law relating to land tenure, the rough rule of Bishop Lee, the spoliations and hypocrisy of Bishop Barlow, of St. David’s, the dissolution of the monasteries, and the incorporation of Wales with England, entailing unknown consequences, all helped to render

men's minds restless and unquiet. A spark might have been sufficient to light up afresh the old racial antipathy between Welsh and English, and James ap Griffith seems to have done his best to ignite the flame. In 1537 we know that the greatest confusion prevailed in Arwystli and Cyveiliog, two districts of Powys with which James had been connected. The disturbance arose through the clashing claims of the Earl of Worcester and Lord Ferrars to exercise jurisdiction in these provinces of Powys. There is no proof of James's complicity in the turmoil, but when we remember the attempt of David Lloyd ap Owen, of Machynlleth, the chief town of Cyveiliog, to get into touch with James in 1535, the supposition cannot be lightly scouted.<sup>1</sup>

In April 1537, we know from Melanethon's letter to Vitus Theodorus that James was starting from Wittenberg for Nuremberg, whose Senate had been warned the previous year against harbouring the "rebel". We hear no more of him during the rest of the year. Pole had been made a Cardinal in 1536, and in 1537 he was appointed Legate to England, though he was only thirty-seven years old. The young Cardinal did not care for his task. He travelled slowly, and took Paris, Cambray, and Liege on his way. He was beset by English spies, perhaps even by would-be assassins. When he arrived at Liege, he was entertained in princely style by the Bishop at the old episcopal palace. No stranger was allowed to come or go

<sup>1</sup> *J., S. P.*, vol. xii, pt. i, Nos. 1183, 1271, pt. ii, Nos. 158, 490, 776, 835, 852, 857, 896-7, 985-6, 993, 1024, 1057, 1199.

By December 20, 1537, however, Bishop Lee was able to inform Cromwell that all was quiet in Wales, "savyng now and then a little conveying amongst themselves for a fat sheep or bullock in Kery, Kedewen, Arustley, and Kevylyoke: which is impossible to be amended, for thieves I found them and thieves I shall leave them."—(*S. P.*, vol. xii, pt. ii, 1237.)



unexamined. Among those who came was a Welshman named Vaughan, who had fled out of England for manslaughter. At Barowe, he made the acquaintance of John Hutton, another of Cromwell's agents. On May 26, 1537, Hutton wrote to his employer from Brussels that

"To-day one Vaughan came to me. . . . He had come to me at Baroughe for relief in great necessity, which I procured him from the merchants; and he says he applied to Henry Phillippes, an Englishman in Lovayn, who offered to get him into the service with Cardinal Pole, knowing one of his gentlemen named Throgmorton. In further conversation he discovered that Michael Throgmorton was to be sent to England as soon as Pole was settled in Liege, with letters to several of Pole's friends, which Philippis undertook to convey, as he had done some letters to his father, baked within a loaf of bread. They were to be set on land in Cornwall, and he offered to take Vaughan with him. I advised him to encourage the enterprise, and gave him 40s. He is to inform me secretly of everything while he is here, and on landing cause them to be attached. As to his crimes, I have promised to sue not only for his pardon but for a reward."—(*S. P.*, vol. xii, pt. i, 1293.)

In 1536, Harry Phillips, "the betrayer of good Tyn-dale," was travelling through Germany with James. His career had been a chequered one. He had lived a wild life in his youth in England, and fled across the seas after robbing his father. For years he had lived in Louvain the happy-go-lucky life of a student, always up to mischief and sometimes to graver offences. He had betrayed Tyn-dale to the Government, not that he wanted money so much as because he detested the Protestant heresy. "The fellow hath a great wit, he is excellent in language," said no friendly critic of him in 1539.<sup>1</sup> His association with James may serve to explain the latter's activity in 1536. He was full of schemes such as Hutton describes in his letter, and nothing would have given him more genuine

<sup>1</sup> Wriothesley to Cromwell, *S. P.*, vol. xiv, pt. i, 247.

pleasure than to use his ingenuity to circumvent the King's agents, and put James in communication with his friends in Wales.<sup>1</sup> It is not worth while giving in full the story of Vaughan's acquaintance with Pole, and the dubious part which Harry Phillips played in it. It is sufficient to record that when Pole saw Vaughan he said to him—

“As I am informed, you be banished out of your native country as well as I. I rejoyce to see a Welshman, as my grandfather came out of Wales. I have my full number of servants, but if you will come to Italy when I am there I will be glad to take you.”—(*S. P.*, vol. xii, pt. ii, 107.)

Vaughan returned to Hutton and told him all. “Vaughan shall return and enter further into the matter”, added Hutton, in his letter to the King. But Vaughan seems to have had qualms of conscience, and nothing more was done.<sup>2</sup>

James could hardly have been with Pole in May and June 1537 at Liege, or we should have found Phillips recommending Vaughan not to Throgmorton, but to his fellow-countryman. In the spring of the following year James was once more in Germany. On March 24, 1538, Thomas Theobald wrote to the King from Augsburg in these terms:—

“Pleaseth it your Grace to understand that [whereas] . . .  
[I] did inform your Grace and my lord Preavy Seal . . .  
which nameth himself here Sir James Greffeth . . . .”

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<sup>1</sup> The writer of the article on Cardinal Pole in the *Dict. of National Biography*, said that while Pole was at Venice in 1538, he was “beset by spies and would-be assassins—one of them, the plausible scoundrel Phillips, who had betrayed the martyr Tindal.” Phillips, no doubt, deserves some hard words, but there is no proof that he was either a spy or an assassin. On the contrary, all his actions show him to have been a sincere and loyal Catholic. Nor is it probable that he tried or intended to assassinate Pole.

<sup>2</sup> *S. P.*, vol. xii, pt. ii, 128.

when if my lord Privy Seal had geve[n] commandment unto me to] take him, I could have found the means . . . . [that he should] have been other in hold or punished as a t[raitor] : for at my depar,tyng from Tubyng, one of his chief compa[nions] . . . . hath married his daughter came from Augsburg . . . . he and his father-in-law, James Poell, to be fallen a . . . . declaring unto me many of his practises of what . . . . of the which I know some of them to be true and most . . . . and in specially in that he showed me that he should [be at] this present with the Duke of Saxony, which I know we[ll] to be a] lie, as I proved also since he went about with many p . . . . to invade me, for my reports unto certain of the c[ity] of Augsburg, was an occasion that they were comman[ded to] depart thence: how be it James Poell hath not shew[ed] him]self there openly this half year and more. But my ans[wer] unto this Welchman was this, that I thought that the King's [grace] did know better where he was than he could inform [me], and if his Grace had been desirous to have had him take[n] he had not now been at liberty; and if his grace had hy[m], I doubt not but he would punish him worthily, according to his deserving: and whereas he is now out of his Grace's hands, his Grace does not pass of him. After this he would have had me to help him to be in service with the Prince as a gentle[man], not as a man of war, in the which when I would give him no comfort, then he went about to borrow money of me, w[hen] because his wife was great with child, and upon the e[conditi]on he should depart incontinent, I gave him a gu . . . . and his costs there, dispatching him after a good sort: ho[w]ebeit], I dining the next day with the governor of the city, [and] one or two of the Prince's Council, showed him what he wa[s] and] about what practises he came, and declared to them the tray[son] of James Poel and his abuses here: whereupon they ma[de] this answer, that if he that were at Tubyng with [me] were of that conspiracy and trayson, they would take him [and] hang him, and likewise if James of Poel came [hither] they would, if they might show him surely, punish hy[m] as a traitor, for albeit in all Doeheland they do great[ly] abhor traitors, yet the gentlemen of Sueveland be [above] all other in punishing that fault. Whereunto I answered that [I did] perceive no other of him that was at Tubyng, but that he [was] a banished man, as I did mark by the burning of his ha[nd], which and the misery he is in, or like to come to,

we[re] punishment enough for him, seeing I had no [knowledge] of [any] other [things] committed of him : but in case this . . . . thither if they did take him and punish him upon . . . . en they should not only in that behalf do high just[ice and to the king's] grace of England high pleasure, but also the ci[ties and princes] imperial, whom he hath and intendeth . . . . [d]eceave, &c., and if he come there now in my absence . . . . he shall have there but small courtesy. I am [sure he] had been there long or this time, but for fear of [me]: for while riding towards Italy I passed through Ulmes, 7 Dutch miles from Tubing, where James Poel was 3 weeks before my coming, but he tarried not. Perhaps when he hears that I have departed he will make suit to the Duke of Wirtemberg, as he has done to other princes, but his errand is done or he come. The chief persons of Augsburg say that if this information had come to them from the king of England when he was here, they would have taken and worthily punished him. Laurence Staber might have taken him if he would. If the King wants him taken, I think I could nearly do it as well as Staber, for the chief of the learned men, both spiritual and temporal, and others, officers and gentlemen of Tubing and thereabouts, do highly favour me . . . . So that I trust to be able to know everything and write often, and to get to Rome without being known for an Englishman.”

—(*S. P.*, vol. xiii, pt. i, 592.)

This letter casts a cruel light on the life which was being led by our exile in the courts of various German princelings. He had continually to change his ground, from Ulmes to Tubing, from Tubing to Bure, from Bure to Wittenberg, from Wittenberg to Nuremberg, from Nuremberg to Augsburg. No sooner had he found a new patron, than an agent of the English King appeared on the scene and laid terrible charges against him, as Henry himself had done, of being guilty of rebellion, treason, homicide, robbery, and sacrilege. Living this hunted life, it is no wonder if the poor exile lost his nerve somewhat, and that Melancthon should have thought he “took little pleasure in the Court at Wittenberg”. The scene which Theobald

describes with such malicious pleasure, and with such graphic minuteness, of his interview with our exile's son-in-law, shows to what mean and petty shifts the company had been reduced. Sage, whose beauty had attracted a King when she was barely sixteen, is now, at twenty, the wife of a penurious vagabond, who professes his ability and readiness to betray his father-in-law, and who is glad to accept a contemptuous guinea from the agent of the King who has banished him, on condition that he shall "depart incontinent", "because his wife was great with child". Even if, as one sometimes suspects, the son-in-law only wished to "spoil the Egyptian" without doing an injury to his wife's father,—for he did not tell Theobald what was James's real address at the time—it was still a paltry and ignominious device. The name of this precious rogue is not given, but Theobald says that he was "a banished man, as I did mark by the burning of his hand". The description is reminiscent of the Welshman to whom Cardinal Pole said at Liege, in June of the previous year, "You be banished out of your country as well as I". That Welshman's name was Vaughan, who fled or was banished from England for manslaughter. He, like James ap Griffith, was acquainted with Harry Phillips; he, also like James, wished to attach himself to Pole. He pretended to Hutton that he was anxious to betray Pole, as the husband of Sage pretended to Theobald his willingness to betray her father. Hutton gave Vaughan 40s. to encourage him in his traitorous designs; Theobald gave the other a guinea, "dispatching him after a good sort". Vaughan, at a pinch, let his conscience master him, and the enterprise against Pole failed; Theobald's vagabond displays flashes of prudence, which would enable him to retrace his steps, if necessary. The part which both characters play is contemptible. Pole had no use for

such poor stuff, and Theobald thought he was not worth hanging. There is no direct and conclusive proof that Hutton's Vaughan and Theobald's rogue are one and the same person; but the conjecture is somewhat borne out by certain later references to James ap Griffith's son-in-law. On September 9, 1540, a meeting of the Privy Council was held at Ampthill. The business transacted was entered as follows in the minute book of the Council:—

“ Letters brought from Norfolk, declaring receipt of letters from Mr. Pate, of the coming over of Philip ap Henry, *alias* Philip ap Hary, *alias* — Vaughan, who also came to Court from beyond sea, where he was long in company of Poole and James ap Howell, whose daughter he married at Regnisborough: after being examined he was set at liberty and commanded to attend daily.”—(*Proceedings of the Privy Council*, vol. vii, pp. 32, 33; *S. P.*, vol. xvi, p. 32, 10.)

On the next day it is recorded that Ap Henry was to attend daily that they might take occasion “to suck some material thing out out of him”. On September 16, a letter is sent to Pate from the Council telling him that a pardon would be granted to his *protegé*. On October 14 Pate writes to thank the King “for the pardon granted, at his request, to Philip ap Henrie. He trusted therein to do the King service, as the Duke of Norfolk can testify.”<sup>1</sup> On June 28 of the following year, a formal and engrossed pardon, countersigned by Thomas Audeley, Chancellor, is made out to Philipp ap Harry.<sup>2</sup>

It is unnecessary to dwell, in any detail, upon the statements in the minute book, which seem to identify the Vaughan of Hutton with the son-in-law of James ap Griffith. Both are called Vaughan; both had long been “in company of Poole and James ap Howell” beyond sea;

<sup>1</sup> *S. P.*, vol. xvi, 160.

<sup>2</sup> *S. P.*, vol. xvi, 947 (74).

both were looked upon as likely objects "to suck some material thing out of". No more is heard of Philip ap Harry and his dangerously beautiful wife. The homicide was pardoned; the exile returned. The next eighteen years were among the most bloody and horrible in English history. Let us be thankful that the veil has not been lifted over Philip ap Harry's subsequent career, else we might discover him "smelling out Papists" under Edward VI or lighting the faggots in the days of Mary.

In the midst of such nauseating treachery and petty persecution, it is gratifying to find that never once does James himself seem to have tried to curry favour with the relentless King and his agents, by betraying his patrons or his comrades. Theobald, while scorning to take the life of so poor a creature as the son-in-law, never lost an opportunity of making things uncomfortable for James. He relates to the Council at Tubing the heinousness of James's offences, and hints to them that if they punish him, they would "in that behalf do high justice and to the King's grace of England high pleasure". Wherever he goes, he endeavours to prevent James from winning the ear of Prince or Councillor, and he even suggests, though in somewhat faltering accents, that he might be able to capture the redoubtable exile, who had so long eluded Henry's wrath. The last thing Theobald did in August 1538, before "departing from Almayne towards Italy", was to write to Archbishop Crammer about "James Poell".<sup>1</sup>

When Theobald arrived in Italy he found James already there. Germany had become too hot for him. He was known in every town and country as the enemy of the terrible Island King, and trouble seemed always to

<sup>1</sup> *V.*, end of Letter to Crammer, *S. P.*, vol. xiii, pt. ii, No. 509.

follow in his train. Writing from Padua on October 1st to Cromwell and Cranmer, Theobald relates how he had just met Throgmorton, the fussy and talkative servant of Cardinal Pole. Throgmorton was a timorous man—"Every wagging of a straw maketh him now afraid," said Theobald. He told Theobald that Harry Phillips had asked his master for employment, but Phillips was "arrayed as a switzer or a man of war", and Pole became afraid that he was "suborned by the Council either to destroy him or at least search what he did"; and so he forbade him his house and the whole dominion of Venice.<sup>1</sup> Throgmorton added "that James off Poel had gone to Rome to seek his master, but they suspected him, as they did Phillips, and would cause him to forsake these parts."<sup>2</sup> It must have been about this time that James came across Anthony Budgewood at Bologna. Anthony had been servant to the Marquis of Dorset, and then to Thomas Cromwell. In the summer of 1538 he suddenly fled to Rome, and on December 29 he sent a petition to the Pope for help. His meeting with James he thus describes:—

"And there [at Bologna] I met James Griffet, a Welshman, who sent me by his letters to Dominus Bernardus Boerius to aid me in all my business at Rome: and then that James told me that Cardinal Pole was in Venice, and so I went to Venice, and when I came there he was gone to Rome . . . ."

This would seem to indicate that James was familiar with the ground, and had made useful acquaintances in Italy. Another statement of Budgewood's shows the extent and minuteness of James's familiarity with the habits of English agents in Italy, and serves to explain his long immunity from their attempts at capture.

<sup>1</sup> *S. P.*, vol. xiii, pt. ii, 509.

<sup>2</sup> *S. P.*, vol. xiii, pt. ii, 507.



“On Saturday last Lee met me in the street [at Rome] and asked me if I had any message into England, because within two days he was going thither: so I think it is necessary to follow him and his baggage, because James Griffith told me in Bologna that every month he sent letters by post.”—(*S. P.*, vol. xiv, pt. i, No. 1.)

If Pole was suspicious of James ap Griffith's fidelity in the autumn of 1538, he was soon to receive the best proof that his suspicions were unfounded. Early in 1539 a comprehensive Act of Attainder was passed by the English Parliament. A score or more of the King's enemies were attainted, and among them several persons whose names have been mentioned in the course of this narrative: Lady Salisbury and her son, Cardinal Pole; Michael Throgmorton; Robert Branceteur; Henry Philippes; and “James Griffith Appowel, late of London”.<sup>1</sup> On June 3 following, one Thomas Rolffe was appointed “auditor of the lands of James Griffith”.<sup>2</sup> After this, we need not be surprised to find in the following year a petition to Cromwell from Jenkin, the son of James ap Griffith, who does not appear to have shared his father's exile, but who was probably living in South Wales (it may be in Cryngae with his father's old friend, Thomas ap Rhydderch, whose granddaughter he married), asking for some honourable employment with which he might maintain himself.

“To the right honorable my lorde Cromwell, lord pryvy seell.  
“Most humbly shewith unto your honorable good lordshipe your humble peticyoner and daily orator, Jenkyn ap Jamys ap Gryffith ap Howell, that where as youre poore orator hath noo lands nor other lyvyng of certyantie whereby he shuld lyve upon, and also hath noo service with noo honorable man, whereby he myght lyve, as an honest yong gentilman should do nowe in this hard world, whiche is grette hevynesse to your poore orator, In tendre consideracion of the

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<sup>1</sup> *S. P.*, vol. xiv, pt. i, No. 867, cap. 15.

<sup>2</sup> *S. P.*, vol. xiv, pt. i, No. 1192 (3).

premisses ffor so moche as your poore orator's hole hart and mynde ys only to your honorable good lordship (under the Kyng highnes) byfore any honorable man lvyving, May it therfore please your honorable good lordshipe of your most habundant charytie to accepte and admittyte your humble poore orator into your lordship's service, And he shall than be glad to do his dutie and diligence in the same accordingly, And thus at the reverence of Almyghty God, to whom your humble peticyoner shall duly pray for the most prosperouse preservacyon of your good lordshipe long in honour to endure."—(*S. P.*, vol. xv, 1029 (35).)

Jenkin's petition to Cromwell seems to have been more successful than his prayer "for the most prosperous preservation" of his patron "long in honour to endure". As Wolsey's last act as minister was to discharge Rhys ap Griffith with a reprimand, so one of Cromwell's last exercises of patronage was probably to bestow a small office on Jenkin ap James, young Rhys's second cousin. Lewis Dwnn, in his *Heraldic Visitation to Wales*, in 1597 (p. 62), says that Mary, the daughter of Sion ap Thomas ap Harri ap Thomas ap Gruffydd ap Nielas of Cryngae (who had married Maud, the daughter and heiress of our old acquaintance, Thomas ap Rhydderch),

"abriododd John (*alias* Jenkin) Powel mab i Siams ap Gruffydd ap Howel, marsial o'r Hawl."

What the words "marsial o'r Hawl" mean, and whether they refer to John or to his father James, may be the subject of differing opinions. We prefer to believe that they apply to John, and that he was given some official post—perhaps a sinecure—by Thomas Cromwell, who may have felt disposed, having a prescient warning of his own fate, to show mercy to the son of an attainted traitor. Whatever the office was, it was at all events sufficient to enable Jenkyn to marry, and to "lyve as an honest young gentleman should do now in this hard world". He is described in the *Book of Golden Grove* (cited above) as of

Penrallt, esquire, and he left behind the assurance that his family would reach at least to the third generation, for one of his daughters was married to a clergyman—John Lewis, vicar of Llanpumpsaint. Jenkyn himself is mentioned by Dwnn as if he were still living in 1597,—not an improbable thing even for one who was a “yong gentilman” in 1540.

The last years of James ap Griffith himself are wrapt in almost rayless obscurity. We have seen that he was in Italy in 1538, vainly asking to be taken into the service of Cardinal Pole. In the following year, Pole was sent by the Pope to the Emperor in Spain, and it may be that James accompanied him, but of this there is no kind of evidence. In 1540 Pole was appointed to the secular government of the patrimony of St. Peter, and the Pope assigned him a bodyguard. Pole was, as we have seen, anxious to do a Welshman a good turn in Liege, and promised to give him employment in Italy. It is not unlikely that now, after James’s integrity had been demonstrated by his inclusion in the same Act of Attainder as Pole himself, the kindly young Cardinal should have taken pity on a Catholic fellow-countryman, of whom even the Protestant Melancthon could compassionately write: “His exile is long, his misfortune long,” and should have promoted him to be an officer in his own bodyguard.<sup>1</sup>

An absurd mistake, which has led to endless confusion,

<sup>1</sup> Wyatt, the English ambassador at the Imperial Court, writing his apologia to the Council from prison in March 1541, recalls that once in Paris “a light fellow, a gunner, that was an Englishman and came out of Ireland with an Irish traitor named James, I have forgot his other name,” called on him. The gunner was “a drunken fellow” whom he rebuked out of his house, and who came to advertise him of James’s coming again. James ap Griffith went and came out of Ireland with a gunner—John Owen—and it is just possible that he may be the person mentioned. (*S. P.*, vol. xvi, 640.)

was made by Sir Thomas Seymour, the English agent at Vienna. Writing to Henry VIII on August 8, 1542, from the Emperor's camp outside Buda, he says that

"Two days ago Lawrence Grey . . . . came to declare that lately two Englishmen, Harry Pfelepes and James Griffeth Uppowell came to Vienna. Perceiving Pfelepes to be a traitor, Grey fell out with him and laid 'trayterey' to his charge, and he is detained by the heads of the town. . . . The other, being the ranker traitor, as I think, has a letter from the Bishop of Rome to be captain of 2,000 'howsherenes', the best light horse of Hungary: and seems to have some hope thereof, or else he would not 'leave his return to Rome from Noremberge to tarry the King's coming to Vienna.' He names himself Robert Bramto(n), but is well known in Vienna to have before this confessed himself a gentleman of Wales, and his names to be James Greffeth Upowehell. Mistrusts him the more because he says 'who so ever saith that Harry Pfelepes is not an honest true man he is unonest himself.' Has written to Hance Honganowde, the King's lieutenant (who is in Vienna) according to the copy enclosed. If his answer shows him disposed to do the King 'this pleasure', will ride to Vienna and examine the parties."—(*S. P.*, vol. xvii, 583.)

It will be noted that Harry Phillips's companion described himself as Robert Bramton, or Robert Branceteur, and that it was only by Grey that he was said to be James ap Griffith. Seymour himself had not seen the two "rebels" at the time. Three weeks later, on September 5, he rode into Vienna, saw "the lord of Felee, lieutenant of that town and all Ostrege", who told him

"Robert Bramstone had been put in trouble by Mr. Wyett in France, and delivered upon the Emperor's letters to the French King: and he would be loth to put them (*i.e.*, Phillips and Bramston) in trouble, and then have them delivered by such means, and had written to the King."—(*S. P.*, vol. xvii, 748.)

In the second letter, it will be observed, there is no mention of James ap Griffith, but "the lord of Felee" is

assured that the man in Vienna is the same Robert Branceteur who was imprisoned in Paris at the instance of the English ambassador, and who was released upon the indignant remonstrance of the Emperor, as a member of whose suite he was passing through the French capital. In the next year, Seymour writes to the King that "Branceteur and other semblable rebels" had gone to Scotland.<sup>1</sup> By that time Seymour had no doubt satisfied himself as to the identity of Harry Phillips's comrade.

Unfortunately, the casual mistake of Seymour—or rather of Laurence Grey—has misled the compilers of the Index to the State Papers, who in turn have misled Froude and others. That Branceteur was a totally distinct person from James ap Griffith hardly needs to be proved. Branceteur had been for years in the Emperor's service in 1533, before James had started on his long Odyssey (vol. vi, Nos. 79, 315, 838). When Branceteur was arrested in Paris in 1540, the Emperor angrily interfered on his behalf, because, said Wyatt in a letter to Henry VIII,

"this man had done him service, gone on an embassy to the King of Persia when his regular ambassador sickened by the way. I have had him follow me this ten or twelve years in all my voyages, in Africa, in Province, in Italy, and now here . . . and since that time I know not that he hath been in England, whereby he hath done offence to the king, unless it be for going with Cardinal Pole, that asked me leave for him by cause of the language."—(*S. P.*, vol. xv, 38.)

Finally, in the same Act of Attainder as James ap Griffith's, we find the name of "Robert Branceteur, late of London, merchant, and now in Italy devising the king's destruction, who, having knowledge of the late rebellion made by Darcy and others, moved divers outward princes to levy war against the king".<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *S. P.*, vol. xviii, (2), No. 290.   <sup>2</sup> *S. P.*, vol. xiv, pt. i, No. 867, cap. 15.

Nor is it difficult to perceive how the mistake originally arose. We have seen how closely Harry Phillips and James ap Griffith have been connected. They are mentioned in the same letters by Henry VIII as "two rebels travelling through Germany", and both had been in communication, about the same time, with Cardinal Pole. When Phillips appeared in Vienna, mated to an accomplished swash-buckler, who no doubt talked familiarly of Pole, it was, perhaps, pardonable in an English stranger to mistake him for James ap Griffith. Branceteur had long been friendly with Pole, and he had struck a friendship with Harry Phillips in the Low Countries, soon after his release from the Paris prison. Harry's daring humour, and fondness for tricking English spies and agents, appealed to Branceteur's blunt and reckless temper. Together they succeeded, in Flanders, in cleverly outwitting an English spy, a servant of Wallop's, one of Henry's ambassadors, and laying him by the heels.<sup>1</sup>

The allusion to James ap Griffith in the *Acts of the Privy Council*, vol. ii, p. 224 (cited above), shows that as late as October 1548, James was still looked upon as being alive and in exile. In the following year, Cardinal Pole, writing from Rome to the Bishop of Ceneda, the Papal Nuncio in France, recommended to him

"especially Captain Grifetto in case he should either have to remain [in England, whither he was being sent as one of two envoys whom Pole was sending to the Protector Somerset] or to return in France."—(*Calendar State Papers: Venice*, p. 234.)

The compilers of the State Papers' Index have assumed that the "Captain Grifetto" mentioned in Pole's letter is James ap Griffith. Nor, perhaps, is the assumption unjustified, when the facts of James's career and his long

<sup>1</sup> *S. P.*, vol. xv, 188, 203, 449; vol. xvi, 30, 176, 349.

acquaintance with Pole are considered. If, as Henry Rice states, on the strength of family tradition, James ap Griffith did at last return to his native land, he probably did so on the accession of Mary, when all his faults and treasons would be turned, by the whirligig of time, into loyal virtues. No formal pardon or annulment of the Act of Attainder was procured; or else the record of them is lost. His best years, and the whole of his substance, had been spent in the cause of Rome and Mary. He probably did not find the "Restoration" any more complete or satisfactory than other loyalists did then or since. If Rice's story is to be relied upon, he repaired to Cardigan-shire, "where he died most miserably". It is permissible to hope that he repaired to his son's seat at Penrallt, and that when the close of his stormy and adventurous career came, it found him surrounded by his own kith, at peace with the world, having expiated, by repentant confession and long suffering, the one great offence of his life, the "appechement" of his young kinsman, Rhys ap Griffith.

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# The Wogans of Merzion, Pembrokeshire, Somersetshire, and Wiltshire.

Henry Wogan, of . . . , d. Isabel,  
Warren, Pembrokeshire, ob.  
31 Aug. 1499. the sister of  
Roger Silvayne.

Richard Wogan, = Alice Columba.  
of Westroppe,  
Wiltshire, ob.  
1506.

(2) . . . . Montague. = Alice Wogan. = (1) Thomas Pyke.

(2) Anne or Agnes = John Wogan, of = (1) . . . .  
Rosse, ob. 1575. Sylvinche, born  
1498, ob. 1559.

John Pyke,  
alive in 1499.

Mary = William  
Stourton.

Hugh Wogan, = Jane, d. of  
ob. 1555 s.p. Christopher  
Chiev- crell.

Marjorie = John  
Larder

Alice = Robert  
Harrison.

Bridget = Giles  
Saunders

Mary = Robert  
Morgan.

Philippa,  
b. 1541.



# Old County Families of Dyfed.

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## II.

### THE WOGANS OF MERRION AND SOMERSETSHIRE.

BY FRANCIS GREEN.

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IN my account of the Wogans of Boulston I referred to the connection between that family and another branch of the race in Somersetshire, and identified Henry Wogan<sup>1</sup> of Warren in Pembrokeshire, who made his will in 1499, as the Henry Wogan of Boulston who married Elizabeth, sister of Sir James ap Owen of Pentre Evan, and was the father of Richard Wogan of Boulston. Since that article has appeared in print evidence has turned up which indicates that this could not have been the case unless he had led a Jekyll and Hyde existence—in other words, had a son and heir in Somersetshire as well as in Pembrokeshire—which, in view of the fact that two different post mortem inquisitions were held on his property, is not very probable. The confusion has arisen from the coincidence that both Henry Wogan of Warren and his namesake at Boulston each had a son called Richard. It is on occasions such as this that one regrets that Mr. T. E. Morris has lived some nine hundred years or so too late. Had his interesting paper,<sup>2</sup> “The Re-naming of Welshmen,” been read and duly acted on before the Conquest what a blessing it would

<sup>1</sup> *Y Cymmrodor*, vol. xv, p. 106.

<sup>2</sup> *Transactions of the Hon. Society of Cymmrodorion*, 1901-2, p. 1.

have been to genealogists and historians, and what endless mistakes and incidents would be avoided at the present day.

Proof is afforded, by a post mortem inquisition, of the existence of a Richard Wogan in Somersetshire, who died in 1506, and was undoubtedly a different person to his contemporary at Boulston, as his property was inherited by the Somersetshire branch; and this, taken in conjunction with the evidence of Gerrard, referred to later on, renders it almost certain that Henry Wogan of Warren was the founder of the Wogans of Wiltshire and Somersetshire.

The exact relationship of Henry Wogan to the other branches in Pembrokeshire is unfortunately not ascertainable from the records so far come to light, but there is very little doubt that he was a member either of the Boulston or of the Wiston family. He died on the 31st August 1499, and the inquisition,<sup>1</sup> taken at Bridgwater on his death, shows that he owned a messuage and some one hundred acres of land, called Orchardlond, in Knightisby, Somersetshire, of the annual value of 2*gs.* 8*d.*, held of Richard Newton, Esq., and that Richard Wogan, his son and heir, was twenty-two years of age at the date of his father's death. He also appears to have held, either as trustee or otherwise, a share of the manor of Brockeley, in the same county; as by an inquisition,<sup>2</sup> held at Wells in 1499, it was found that FitzJamys senior, Henry Wogan, and Thomas Montague, Esqrs., conveyed one moiety of that manor to Alice Montague, formerly wife of Thomas Pyke, for her life, with remainder to her son, John Pyke, junior. It also records that Alice died seised of the property, and that her son, John Pyke, was then alive. Unfortunately the document is so faded that I was unable to decipher

<sup>1</sup> *Chan.*, vol. xiv, No. 43; also *Exchq.*, File 986, Ser. 2, No. 10.

<sup>2</sup> *Exchq.*, File 896, Ser. 2, No. 6.

the date of Alice Montague's death. The inquisition was held on 26th October 1499, while that of Henry Wogan took place a few days earlier, thus suggesting that he predeceased her. If this were so, it would strengthen the suspicion that Alice Montague was none other than Henry Wogan's daughter,<sup>1</sup> to whom he bequeathed by his will 100 marks.

It might be imagined from the inquisition on the death of Henry Wogan that he was not a very large landed proprietor; it was, however, the custom to hold an inquisition in each county in which the deceased owned property, and the explanation probably is that the documents relating to inquiries made in other counties have disappeared. The curious feature is that although there seems very little doubt that he held other lands in Somersetshire, no mention of them is found in the Somersetshire inquisition. As to his other possessions, the *Description of Somerset*, by T. Gerrard, in 1653, affords a little light. Referring to Sylving or Sylvinche, which it will be remembered was mentioned as the residence of John Wogan<sup>2</sup> who died in 1559, the author says:—

“Silvayne which gave that name unto ye ancient owners of it; of whom Richard Silvayne increased his estate by matching with Margarett, co-heire to John Merland of Orchardley in this county, by whom he had one sonne Roger and a daughter named Isabell. This Roger had one only daughter, Elianora, second wife of Sir Thomas Beauchampe of Whitlackington (36 Hen. VI), whom she outlived, but died herself without childe; whereupon Silvayne fell unto Henry Ogan in right of his wife . . . daughter and heire general of Isabell, sister of Roger Silvayne, and the heires of Ougan in our grandfathers' daies parted this place

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<sup>1</sup> *Y Cymmrodor*, vol. xv, p. 105.

<sup>2</sup> *Y Cymmrodor*, vol. xv, p. 106.

between Stourton, Larder, Crewkerne, etc., but now by purchase it belongs, if not the whole the most, unto Sir George Speake of Whitlackington.”

Now as we have seen, Henry Wogan was the owner of Orchardlond, no doubt the same place as Orchardley, and although we find no direct mention of this property amongst the assets of the family in later years, Silvinche, as will be shown further on, was owned by his descendants, and if the Somersetshire historian be correct, came to him through his marriage with the daughter of Isabel Silvayne.

Richard, the son of Henry Wogan, is probably the person mentioned in the will<sup>1</sup> of William Dawstone, proved in 1500. By it the testator bequeathed to “Richard Ogan one jactett of Chamlet of black colour”. He also gave to Philip Ogan, whom he appointed overseer of his will, “my other horse”, the best horse having been previously bequeathed to the Prior of Taunton “for my tithes forgotten”; from which we gather that Mr. Dawstone was somewhat neglectful of the dues of the Church. Probably this Philip was a brother of Richard, and the son of Henry Wogan of Warren.

There are several inquisitions<sup>2</sup> on the death of Richard Wogan. They are unanimous in stating that he died in March 1506, and the majority agree that his death occurred on the 10th of that month. His property, briefly summarised, was as follows:—

## WILTSHIRE.

Annual Value.

The manors of Hampton Turbile and West	
Thorpe, held of the King <i>in capite</i> by knight's	
service .. .. .	.. £22 10 0

<sup>1</sup> 10 Moone.

<sup>2</sup> *Exchq.*, File 970, Ser. 2, No. 7; *Chan.*, vol. xxxiii, Nos. 90 and 100; *Chan.*, vol. xxiii, No. 260.

	Annual Value.
A capital messuage and 319 acres of land in Est Bedwyn held of the King, the service being unknown .. .. .	£4 0 0
Three messuages, 4 cottages, and 100 acres of land in Wilton, Stowford, Chylehampton, Bychehampton and South Newcoken, held of the Abbey of Wilton by a rent of 20s. .. .. .	— — —

SOMERSETSHIRE.

One messuage and toft, one mill, two dovecotes, one garden, 154 acres of land, and a rent of 40s. 2*d.* in Sylvene, Atherston, Amgerslygh, Abbott's Isle and South Bradon:—

The property in Sylvene and Atherston was held of the heirs of John Speke as of the manor of Whitelackyngton by fealty and suit at the court there .. .. . 45 13 0

The property in Amyerslygh was held of C. Capell, knight, by a rent of a red rose .. 1 10 8

The property in Abbott's Isle was held of the heirs of Roger Newburgh, knight, by socage and a rent of 2s. .. .. . 15 10

The property in South Bradon was held of Nicholas Bradhin, knight, by socage and a rent of 4*d.* .. .. . 12 8

Richard Wogan's wife was Alice Columba, but the inquisition<sup>1</sup> which mentions her name does not reveal her identity, but states that in 1503-4 a suit was brought by Sir Richard Speke and John Soper, at Richard Wogan's request, by which the Somersetshire property was recovered by them, and in April 1519, was granted by them to Alice Columba for her life. This presumably was a post nuptial settlement. It is thus evident that she survived her husband. The only issue of Richard that I have discovered is his son and heir John, who was born at Westroppe, in the parish of Highworth in Wiltshire, on

<sup>1</sup> *Inq. P. M., Chan.*, vol. xxxiii, No. 90.

10th March 1498,<sup>1</sup> and was baptised at Highworth. He was, therefore, only about eight years of age at the date of his father's death. There are several inquisitions<sup>2</sup> extant in regard to John Wogan's property, which, in addition to that held by his father, comprised the following:—

## WILTSHIRE.

	• Annual Value.
The manor of Est Bedwyn, 8 messuages, and 2,100 acres of land in Est Bedwyn held of the Queen, the service being unknown .. ..	£7 11 0
One messuage and 92 acres of land in Wotten Basset .. .. .	— — —

## PEMBROKESHIRE.

The manor of Myryan,<sup>3</sup> 16 messuages, 3,020 acres of land, and the moiety of a mill, in Myryan,<sup>1</sup> Kanamston,<sup>1</sup> Knegh,<sup>5</sup> Treff Braun,<sup>6</sup> and Newton<sup>7</sup> near Knegh and Warran,<sup>8</sup> held of the heirs of Isabel, wife of John Wogan, knight, of Wooston,<sup>9</sup> Pembrokeshire, by a rent of a rose .. .. 14 9 2

Here, for the first time since the will of Henry Wogan in 1499, do we find direct evidence of a connection between the Somersetshire family and Pembrokeshire; yet from the fact that Henry Wogan, by his last testament, not only desired to be buried at "Woran",<sup>8</sup> but also bequeathed a legacy of 6s. 8d. to the church there, the inference is that

<sup>1</sup> *Inq. P. M., Chan.*, vol. xxxv, No. 120.

<sup>2</sup> *Inq. P. M., Chan.*, vol. cxxiv, No. 197; *Chan.*, vol. cxix, No. 151; *Inq. P. M., Exchq.*, File 999, Ser. 2, No. 2; *Inq. P. M., Exchq.*, File 946, Ser. 2, No. 25.

<sup>3</sup> Merrion in Warren Parish.

<sup>4</sup> Cannaston in Robeston Wathen parish.

<sup>5</sup> Neath in Rhoscrowther parish.

<sup>6</sup> Trebrowen in Rhoscrowther parish.

<sup>7</sup> In Rhoscrowther parish.

<sup>8</sup> Warren. <sup>9</sup> Wiston.

he owned the estate in question, and that it descended through Richard to Henry's grandson, John. There are no records of inquisitions held in Pembrokeshire on the deaths of either Henry or Richard Wogan, and the same remark holds good in regard to John Wogan; but, on the other hand, the extent of the Pembrokeshire property is contained in two Somersetshire inquiries on the death of John Wogan. Possibly the reason why no reference is made to the Pembrokeshire estate in the English inquisitions of Richard Wogan is that Escheators may have been more particular in the time of Elizabeth than their confrères in the reigns of her predecessors.

Up till 1498, the family's headquarters appear to have been in Wiltshire,<sup>1</sup> but subsequently John Wogan must have moved to Sylvinche, as in his will he is described as of that place. There are few, if any, remains left of the old home of John Wogan at Sylvinche, as will be seen from the following description, for which I am indebted to the courtesy of the present vicar of Whitelackington; it was written in November 1901:—"Sylvinge, or Sylvinche, as they call it now, is a dairy farm on the boundary of this parish and Stocklinch. There is no trace of a mansion. At present it consists of a modern cottage built two years ago by the Squire, Major Vaughan-Lee, who now owns the property. This is attached to an older thatched-covered stone house of the type of the labourers' cottages about here, only a little larger. I believe the modern cottage replaced a similar building to the older one still in existence, and when the two made one building, as they may once have done, it would have been a fair-sized residence."

The name of John Wogan's wife was Anne or Agnes,

<sup>1</sup> *Inq. P. M., Chan.*, vol. xxxv, No. 120.

and, as mentioned in my account<sup>1</sup> of the Wogans of Boulston, her maiden surname was probably Rosse. In the light of records which have recently turned up there can be little doubt that she was his second wife. She was apparently an heiress in her own right, as she devised the bulk of her property to John Rosse, who was presumably her nephew. Whether her daughter Mary, mentioned in her will, made in 1574, as the wife of William Stourton, of Warminster, was the issue of her marriage with John Wogan, or from a previous union, is not clear. The date of her marriage with John Wogan was probably in the reign of Philip and Mary, as the inquisition<sup>2</sup> states that he conveyed the manor of Sylvinche, with other property, to Hugh Paulet, knight, and George Speake, Esq., upon trust for himself and his wife Agnes for their lives, but the date of the year in which the grant was made is illegible in the document. Assuming, however, that the union took place in 1555 (1 and 2 Philip and Mary) the date would certainly admit of a daughter being of a marriageable age by 1574; but, on the other hand, if Mary had been the daughter of John Wogan, one would expect to find her taking a share of the property with his other daughters. The children from the first marriage were:—

Hugh Wogan.

Margery, the wife of John Larder, gent.

Alice, the wife of Robert Harryson.

Brigette, the wife of Giles Saunders.

Mary, the wife of Robert Morgan, esq.

Philippa Wogan, who was about eighteen years of age in 1559.

Hugh Wogan, the only son, married about 1554<sup>3</sup> Jane, one of the daughters of Christopher Cheverell; and in

<sup>1</sup> *Y Cymmrodor*, vol. xv, p. 106.

<sup>2</sup> *Inq. P. M., Chan.*, vol. cxix, No. 151.

<sup>3</sup> *Inq. P. M., Chan.*, vol. cxix, No. 151.



that year his father conveyed the Pembrokeshire estate, a messuage, garden, and 10 acres of land in Whitlackington and Atherston, 52 acres in Petmyster and Amerslyge, 22 acres in Abbotsfylde and 8 acres in South Bradon in Somersetshire, to Robert Morgan, Nicholas Marten, Walter Grey, Robert Fowk, John Larder, Nicholas Rosse and Richard Younge, upon trust, as to the Pembrokeshire property, for Hugh Wogan and his wife Jane for their lives, with remainder to their sons, and, in default of issue, upon trust for the heirs of John Wogan the grantor; and as to the other property, upon the same trusts subject to a life estate for the said John Wogan.

Hugh Wogan, however, died<sup>1</sup> in Dorsetshire on 29th May 1555, without issue, and his wife Jane, who survived, took a life interest in the Pembrokeshire property. His father died on 31st March 1559, and was survived by his wife Agnes, whose will<sup>2</sup> was proved in 1575. On the death of Jane, the widow of Hugh Wogan, the Pembrokeshire property, under the deed of settlement, descended to the five co-heiresses of John Wogan, who no doubt, as stated by Gerrard, sold it. At all events, in 1571, the legal estate of the manor of Merrion was vested in Mark Abowen and John Abowen, clerk, as in that year a fine was levied on the manor of "Merrion" and "Llanunwesse" and other lands, in which they were defendants, and Thomas Abowen and Francis Laugharne were plaintiffs, when the manors in question were adjudged to be the property of the claimants. No doubt this was merely a settlement of the lands mentioned. The names only of the parties to the fine are given, so it is impossible to ascertain from it their identity, but unquestionably they were

<sup>1</sup> *Inq. P. M.*, vol. cxix, No. 151.

<sup>2</sup> *Y Cymmrodor*, vol. xv, p. 107.

members of the Roblinston family, as George Owen, the Pembrokeshire historian, in his list of manors<sup>1</sup> in Pembrokeshire in 1587-8 (30 Eliz.), states that the manor of "Meirian" was then owned by Bowen of Roblinston. Now Thomas Bowen, the son of Mark Bowen, of Roblinston, married Margaret, the daughter of Owen Laugharne, of St. Brides, who died in 1550, and her brother was Francis Laugharne. It is, therefore, likely that the fine in question was in connection with a settlement on the marriage of Thomas Bowen with Margaret Laugharne.

How long the manor of Merrion remained in the possession of the Bowens of Roblinston is uncertain. The next mention of it is in a fine levied in 1600, when Hugh Owen and his wife Lucy were plaintiffs, and John Pledall or Pleydell was defendant. Later on a fine was levied in 1623 on the manor. On this occasion Morris Bowen and his wife Matilda were defendants, so that the legal estate, at all events, was then vested in the Bowen family. In 1692 a fine was levied in which Stephen Morris and William Morgan were defendants, and Thomas Owen was plaintiff. In this suit not only the manor of Merrion, but the manors of Stackpole and Nangle were involved. It is impossible to draw any satisfactory conclusion from this record. The defendants, however, called upon Gilbert Lort, presumably Sir Gilbert Lort, the last baronet, who died without issue in 1698,<sup>2</sup> to warrant the title; and in view of this, and of the fact that the manor of Stackpole had belonged to the Lort family since 1613, it is a fair assumption that the Lorts had acquired the manor of Merrion by purchase or otherwise. This is further borne out by a writ in 1718, when Edward Archer, the defen-

<sup>1</sup> *Owen's Pembrokeshire*, vol. ii, p. 522.

<sup>2</sup> *Old Pembroke Families*, p. 31.

dant, called upon John Campbell<sup>1</sup> to warrant the titles of the manors of Stackpole, Merrion, and Nangle, Stackpole having been inherited by the ancestors of the present Lord Cawdor through a marriage with Elizabeth Lort, the heiress of Sir Gilbert Lort.

<sup>1</sup> Son of Elizabeth Lort and Sir Alexander Campbell, of Cawdor, in Nairnshire.

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# The Holy Grail.

A DISCRIMINATION OF THE NATIVE AND FOREIGN  
ELEMENTS OF THE LEGEND.

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## PART I.—EARLY HISTORY.

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THE story of the Grail has two parts, one called *Joseph of Arimathea*, or *Li romanz de l'estoire dou Graal*, or generally, "The Early History"; the other, which is by some considered the earlier of the two in respect of origin, *The Quest of the Grail*. The earliest extant version of the Quest, called *Li Contes del Graal*, is dated variously between 1175 and 1182, and of the Early History, *Li romanz de l'estoire dou Graal* by De Borron, the earliest known text is assigned to the end of the century. Without debating the question of priority, we will begin our enquiry in the natural order, that is with the Early History; first making a few necessary observations on the name by which the whole story is generally known.

What ought to be understood by "Grail" is as difficult to determine as is the origin of the story which tells of it. According to most, grail is a dish or vessel of the type of basin, but one learned commentator maintained that it was a book, *gradale*=gradual, a service book. Robert De Borron, who wrote his *Romanz* about the year 1200, says the Grail was the vessel in which Joseph of Arimathea gathered up the blood Christ shed upon the Cross, and that Christ had

used the same vessel at the house of Simon for the institution of the Sacrament. When Jesus was taken the house was looted—

“Leenz eut un veissel mout gent,  
Où Criz feisoit son sacrement ;  
Un Juis le veissel trouva  
Chiés Symon,” etc.,

vv. 394-7.

and the Genoese, who supposed they had acquired this precious memorial of the Supper, called it *sacro catino*, to which name the word “grail” fairly corresponds in some MSS. and in Du Cange. The latter has “*Gradale*, Catino species, pro *grasale*. Inter vasa mensaria seu utensilia coquinae annumeratur in charta ann. 1263,” and “*Grasala*, *grasale*, vasis genus, ex ligno, terrâ, metalove, non unius notionis ; occurrit enim pro vase rotundo largiore ac minus profundo.” The diminutive *gradaletto* remained in use in Italy as a general name for table-ware till the fourteenth century, for it is so used in the Italian version of the story:<sup>1</sup> “Tutte le scodelle e gli gradaletti de Dinadan erano nuove e belle.” Another form of the name is *Sung Real*, which, if a corruption, shows at least what was at one time the belief concerning this relic. The MS. edited by Furnivall for the Roxburghe Club is entitled *Seynt Graal or the Sank Ryal* ; it is a version of the Early History. Helinandus, writing in 1220 *circa*, while recognising the domestic uses of the vessel called grail, endeavours to give a spiritual sense to the word. He says “*Gradalis* aut *gradale* gallice dicitur scutella lata et aliquantulum profunda in quæ preciosæ dapes divitibus solent apponi *gradatim* unus morsellus post alium in diversis ordinibus ; . . . Dicitur et

<sup>1</sup> *La Tavola Ritonda*, vol. i, p. 273, MS. of the fourteenth century, printed at Bologna, 1865.

vulgari nomine *greal*, quia grata et acceptabilis est in ea comedenti"; and this was a favourite explanation. The *Grand St. Graal*, written about the time when Helinandus made that note, says of Nasciens that, "being shown the vessel wherein was Christ's blood, he thought that never was anything to be compared with it for excellence; for whereas nothing he had seen before but somewhat displeased him (li degraast) this pleased him entirely (li grée)."¹

This will be enough to show how uncertain was the opinion about this "vessel" at the time when the stories are said to have been made. No one at the time seemed to know whether the Grail, about which he wrote, was dish or cup, whether it was a vessel only, or a vessel containing the Precious Blood shed on Calvary. There is agreement, however, in ranking it above all memorials of the Passion, which the Church was reputed to possess; and surely, the Cup which Christ's own hands had held at the Institution, or the Dish in which He had dipped at the Supper, could not have been exceeded in sanctity by any other relics of His life on earth, and, if any portion of the Divine blood had been preserved with either, the tremendous importance of the possession would have been unspeakable.

When we think of this it will appear more strange that any uncertainty should have existed as to the precise nature of the relic; we shall have to reconsider the circumstances, to see that the obscurity surrounding it is natural. It lies in the detachment of the first Christians from all material things. Living in constant expectation of the second coming of their Lord, all phenomena of His earthly life and of their own were disregarded, so that it

¹ Alfred Nutt, *Studies in the Holy Grail*, analysis of the *Grand St. Graal*.

was not until this first state of expectancy had given way that the Church began to regard its own history more closely, and to preserve its monuments.

Whether, then, the Dish and the Cup of the Last Supper were ever used again by the first disciples in their solemn commemorations, or whether they were thought too sacred for use, we shall never know; but we may presume the Church had not yet begun to venerate any such memorials. We hear nothing of the relics of Stephen, nor of the place where the body was laid. A century later Justin Martyr also suffered and was buried, and the place of his sepulture is equally unknown. What we call relics are evidences of later date, and of a more systematic persecution. When suffering became the badge of a christian, the Church consoled herself by making trophies of the bodies of her martyrs. The *cultus* thus began. Garments torn by wild beasts, sponges dipped in blood, were exhibited at the tombs when the anniversaries came round, and were affectionately and reverently kissed by the crowds passing through the cemeteries. At first, probably, such relics were the property of relatives only, and not until private interests diminished did the Church acquire her full right; but with the success of Constantine came also the triumphs of the martyrs. The magnificent basilicas erected over their tombs brought crowds of pilgrims, and the memorial churches grew in wealth and beauty by their offerings. The possession of relics became a source of prosperity to City as well as Church; all relics were eagerly demanded, but especially those of the first days, and, of these whatever might recall the Life or the Passion of our Lord. The Holy Places of Palestine began to be visited; the mother of the Emperor was one of the first pilgrims, and to her was vouchsafed the discovery of the Cross, and of other relics of the Passion. Further discoveries were constantly

expected.<sup>1</sup> Portraits of Christ were demanded, and though the more prudent doctors declared that none existed, or ought to exist, it was not long before the curiosity of the ladies of the Court was satisfied. At first was produced the portrait made by Christ himself on the napkin of Veronica, then under its supreme sanction others, reported to have been painted by St. Luke. Nothing, finally, belonging to Christ's ministry on earth, but found its illustration—from the cradle of Bethlehem to the prints of the feet on the Mount of Olives. This being so, it is not to be supposed that the greatest, the most precious relic of all, would be wanting. If the blood of the meanest of God's servants had been treasured, was it credible that the piety of the "beloved disciple" or of Joseph, who took upon himself the last duties of the dead, had failed to preserve for the Church that most precious blood of the Divine Master? The imagination of those days would not have tolerated so great a neglect. In the fifth century Germanus visited the tomb of St. Alban and took away some of the earth supposed to be stained with the blood of the Martyr.<sup>2</sup> In the sixth century, Gregory of Tours tells how a certain Gallic matron returned from Judea *in the first century* with a shell full of the blood of John the Baptist, then recently murdered by Herod.<sup>3</sup> In the seventh century the earth soaked with the blood of Oswald, who fell at Maserfield, A.D. 642,<sup>4</sup> was religiously preserved.

<sup>1</sup> The Bordeaux Pilgrim, who arrived at Jerusalem about seven years later than the Empress, found already certain sites established, which had not been recognised in her time, viz., the House of Caiaphas, "where is the pillar of Christ's scourging"; the House of Peter, the Little Hill of Golgotha, "the Crypt where our Lord's body was laid."—Beazley, *Modern Geography*, vol. i.

<sup>2</sup> Constantius, *De Vita Germani*, cap. vi.

<sup>3</sup> *De Gloria Martyrum*, cap. 12.

<sup>4</sup> Bede, *Hist. Eccles.*



Such like instances are unmistakable. They show what would have been the feeling against Joseph if it could have been believed that this Holy relic had been lost to the Church by his fault. True, the blood was not openly shown, but that would not have hindered the belief in its existence somewhere ; it might have been supposed hidden during time of persecution, to be one day revealed. Such like beliefs were common. The *Book of the Penitence of Adam* tells of "the Cave of Treasures", where were preserved the gold of Paradise, the myrrh and the incense, which *Adam had taken away with him*, to be offered one day to the infant Saviour by the Magi.<sup>1</sup>

Renan, commenting on this, remarks that the belief in the existence of this cavern was widespread in the East.<sup>2</sup> It is more difficult, in the presence of these beliefs, to suppose that a tradition of the existence of the Precious Blood did *not* exist than that it did, but it is true that an opinion contrary to this was also held, and that there were pious and learned persons to whom the idea was distasteful. Theodosius, writing also in the sixth century, says :— "There are indeed some persons who affirm that every part of the true cross which touched the naked body of the Lord and was stained with His blood, was caught up to heaven straightway from all human touch and sight, and that it will at last appear in the Day of Judgment."<sup>3</sup> It was argued also that, since Christ had ascended into Heaven, every part of His human body must have been taken thither, and that nothing pertaining to it remained. To many people the popular belief would appear the more reasonable ; but that was peculiarly an age of marvels, and

<sup>1</sup> Migne, vol. xxiii, col. 290.

<sup>2</sup> *Journal Asiatique*, 5th series, vol. ii, p. 427.

<sup>3</sup> *De Terra Sancta*, Trans. by Dr. Bernard for the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, 1891.

no *natural* difficulty would have been considered on one side or the other; we may conclude that the prevailing belief would have been that which corresponded best with popular sentiment, and what evidence there is goes to support that. In 1204 Dandolo sent to Venice, after the taking of Constantinople, a portion of earth stained with blood, said to have been taken from the place where the Cross had stood, but whether preserved by the care of Joseph of Arimathea, or discovered later, is not said, nor is it known how long the relic had been in possession of the Emperors. In 1150, a few drops of the Precious Blood were presented by Count Theodore of Flanders to the town of Bruges, and the "Chapel of the Holy Blood" was built for the care and exposition of the relic. Other portions also were brought from the East by Crusaders, and are still in certain Treasuries on the Continent. Richard, Earl of Cornwall, presented part of the same holy relic to the church of Hailes, in Gloucestershire, and to the Abbey of Ashridge, in Hertfordshire. Of the existence of these before the twelfth century nothing perhaps is known; pilgrims do not mention the Holy Blood, but they did not visit Constantinople, and what remained of this was, possibly, in the custody of the Emperors only, with whom also the other great memorials of the Passion were deposited: the Crown of Thorns, the sponge, one of the nails (the others formed part of the Crown of Lombardy, and the sword of Charlemagne). The spear remained at Jerusalem, and is mentioned by Pilgrims. Theodosius describes it as still to be seen in the Church of Golgotha, where it "shone by night as the sun by day". Antonius, a pilgrim, saw there also the cup (of onyx) which the Lord blessed at the Supper; this was about 570 A.D. The invasion of Chosroës in 614 would have led to the hiding of all relics, and some may have

been hidden and forgotten. In 680 A.D. came Arculf, and he describes "the Cup of the Lord"; "of silver, about the size of a French quart, and has two little handles to it on either side." "From this cup, as is reported, the Lord drank after His resurrection, as He sat at meat with the Apostles, and this holy Arculf saw and touched with his own hand and kissed through the opening of the perforated cover of a little shrine in which it was preserved; indeed the whole people of the City resort constantly to this Cup with great reverence."<sup>1</sup> He was then shown the spear "in the portico (aisle) of Constantine's basilica." The pilgrimage of Arculf was known in Strathclyde, in Northumbria probably, and in Wales, in the eighth century, his relation having been put into writing by Adamnan in 686. We may assume then that in the eighth century certain chief relics of the Passion were currently reported as existing: the Blood at Constantinople, with the true Cross and the others already mentioned; the Cup of the Last Supper and the Spear at Jerusalem. The last two being commended to the veneration of British Christians by the Abbot of the famous monastery of Hi.

Some part of the story of Joseph of Arimathea was also known here.<sup>2</sup> Everywhere, indeed, his personality had taken great hold on the imagination of Christians from the first, no hero of the Faith appealed so strongly to their admiration, no one had a greater claim on their gratitude; "Benefactor Dei" he is called by Gregory of Tours. The popular affection for Joseph was strengthened by the

<sup>1</sup> *The Churches of Constantine at Jerusalem.* Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, 1891, quoting from Adamnan.

<sup>2</sup> Nutt, *Studies*, p. 221. Nicolas, *Les Evangiles Apocryphes*, p. 365, says that the Anglo-Saxon version of the *Gospel of Nicodemus* has many Welsh idioms, and he refers to the *Archaeologia Britannica*, p. 256.

popular love of justice; amends must be made for the neglect of Joseph by the canonical writers. The sacred texts say nothing about him after the entombment. What became of him? Did he flee with the Maries and other witnesses of the Resurrection? If so, there was nothing to prevent his coming to Provence in some Syrian ship, and the legend of the landing at Marseilles may have been the popular answer to the question.

Legends of Joseph began to be made at a very early date. The compiler of the *Gospel of Nicodemus* only put together what was and had long been common belief concerning him, and he did not necessarily collect all the stories current; that which concerns us, for example, did not come into the purpose for which the "Gospel" was written, *viz.*, the cultivation of the belief in a nether world, a place of waiting for judgment. This belief, of so great importance to the Church, depended on the popular or so-called apocryphal writings more than on the canonical, and for this reason the book which professed to have been revealed to the two sons of Simeon was quoted and approved by churchmen when other apocryphal stories of Joseph were left to maintain themselves by their picturesqueness alone. So eminent a person as the Archbishop of Tours introduces parts of the *Gesta Pilati* and the *Evangelium* into his version of the Life of Christ,<sup>1</sup> no doubt because they filled a gap left by the canonical writers. When Gregory wrote, the article of the Creed, *Descendit ad inferos*, had not yet been generally received,<sup>2</sup> and it was the more necessary to keep all "evidences" in sight, hence the

<sup>1</sup> Part of the general introduction to the *Church History of the Franks*.

<sup>2</sup> It was accepted by the fourth Council of Toledo in A.D. 633, and reaffirmed in A.D. 693. The Apostles' Creed, so called, was not finally settled as to its terms until the ninth century.

importance of that part of the story of Joseph. Our legend of the landing in Provence and of the preservation of the Precious Blood served no doctrinal purpose, and it existed, if at all, in popular story only. De Borron's *Estoire* contains the earliest written statement we have of the preservation of it by Joseph. Now, was De Borron the inventor of that part of the Joseph legend?

An examination of the *Estoire* makes the supposition of his absolute authorship impossible. It is full of details which we cannot believe he invented, descriptions of ceremonies, for example, which in his time were obsolete, unknown, and could only have been inserted by him because he found them in the story, or the scraps of stories, from which he was working. It is worth while to examine some of these.

The ceremony of central importance in any supposed *cultus* of the Grail must be the Celebration or Commemoration of the Last Supper. As described by De Borron this is of extreme simplicity, such as the poorest disciples in Palestine might have had among themselves. A table is dressed in the desert, the *vessel* was placed in the middle, and in front of it *a fish*, then the people were called to sit round, except such as were sinners. Why this fish? De Borron, who is supposed to have invented the "Early History", does not know. He attempts an explanation which does very little credit to his intelligence, and completely destroys any presumption of his authorship. The truth is, that when he wrote, the fish had long disappeared from the Eucharistic feast, of which it was an ordinary feature in primitive times; the story he was telling, therefore, must have been a very early one, or the ritual of the Grail had somewhere preserved to itself the ancient "use". The simplicity of the rite is further shown by the assertion, pointedly made, that "only the words of Christ Himself"

were used at the consecration. The discipline also is primitive: the catechumens and penitents *stand*, and are required to leave before the mysteries were reached. "Then all the people were invited, but only those who were conscious of having obeyed all the precepts Joseph had taught them were to sit at the table." "Those sitting at the table were penetrated with a delicious satisfaction which those standing did not feel . . . these left the chamber covered with shame."<sup>1</sup> One very ancient feature in the tradition is found in the *Grand St. Graal*. Joseph enters the "Ark" in order to consecrate. The practice of consecrating secretly is now peculiar to the Eastern rite, but once it was general. No traces of it remained in the West so late as A.D. 1200, unless in certain Basilicas of Italy, where curtains appear to have been fixed to the baldachins which enclosed the altars; but possibly the very narrow openings into the chancels of some of our most ancient Welsh and Irish churches may have relation to this practice.<sup>2</sup>

A very curious ceremony is described in the *High History*<sup>3</sup> and also by Gerbert. It is a manner of "creeping to the Cross", and, as both writers take pains to explain what it means, it may have belonged to an older story. The rite is performed by two priests (or hermits) named Alexis and Jonas; nothing calls for the names of the two actors in this scene, and we are led to suppose it

<sup>1</sup> De Borron. Furnivall, app. to vol. i, *The Seynt Graal*, vv. 2537 *et seq.* The withdrawal of catechumens, or those "unfit to sit at Christ's table", is also part of the preparation for the great solemnity with which the *Queste* closes.

<sup>2</sup> The church of St. Bridget at Kildare had a *solid* screen of timber right across, separating the nave from the choir or sanctuary.—Warren, *Celtic Ritual*, p. 89.

<sup>3</sup> Branches, xvi, 3, and xviii, 17; also in Potvin's abstract of Gerbert, p. 213, or Nutt, *Studies*, p. 24.

has been taken, names and all, from some mystery play ; unless there is, or was, a story of Alexis and Jonas, which both writers by some coincidence resorted to for their incidents. All the stories of the Grail furnish illustrations of archaisms, but we are more particularly concerned at present with the *Estoire*, as this has the reputation of being the earliest to tell of the "Invention" of the Grail and of its coming to Britain.

The story of Joseph leading his small army of Christians into Britain (the promised land) is modelled on that of the wanderings of Israel in the desert. The analogy is so obvious it might have been made at any time, but there are peculiarities in De Borron's treatment of it which show it could not have been derived from the canonical scriptures, and that it was taken either from some apocryphal book or was the confused ending of a long tradition. The Moses of the *Estoire* is not the leader. Joseph was that, and Moses appears in the ungracious part of rebel and Anti-Christ, endeavouring to recover the place which under the Christian dispensation he had lost. In this allegory we must suppose Joseph to be sometimes Christ, as when he sits at the head of the Grail table ; sometimes Moses, as leader of the chosen people. As Christ, his proper vicegerent would have been Peter, who sometimes appears in that rôle ; but in other places Peter is also Moses—the true Moses who has been supplanted. He has no clearly-marked function in the story, he is introduced by De Borron suddenly, and as suddenly disappears. We might suppose that the author was diversely inspired, and that if one story told about Peter another did not. He promises, for instance, that when he comes to the Vaus d'Avaron (Avalon) he will say

"quen vie Petrus mena  
Qu' il devint", etc.—

but he either forgets to do so, or he has nothing to tell. Perhaps the *Grand St. Graal* partly supplies the defect; there is in it a long story of Peter; how he was cast ashore an infant and found by the daughter of King Orcaws, how he was brought up secretly by the Princess, and how he became a most valiant knight. The chivalric part we need not follow, but the opening of the story, which identifies Peter with Moses, may perhaps belong to that which De Borron had before him. The identification or parallelism of Peter and Moses is very ancient. In the early mosaics Peter is the recipient of the New Law; in representations of Moses striking the rock Peter is clearly the person represented—"Moyses figura fuit Petri", says St. Augustine. This displacement of Moses by Peter is maintained in the Grail as part of the system of disparagement of the Old Law which runs through it. It is more noteworthy, perhaps, that in these places the writers always speak as if the New Law had been recently established, a thing quite inconsistent with the belief that the *Estoire* was entirely a work of the twelfth century; whether the establishment of the New Law may refer to the introduction of Christianity into Britain or to the success of Christianity generally. The grotesque side of De Borron's picture, where he distorts the character of Moses, is possibly a pure blunder. Peter has another opponent named Symen or Symeu, who is called Moys' father. He tries to kill Peter. Moses had been punished for his presumption in taking the high seat by seven flaming hands which carried him to a place "burning like a dry bush"; Symen is punished similarly, he is carried off by devils and thrust into a fiery grave. This looks as if Simon Magus may have been confounded with the Moses who, at first set in apposition with Peter, became later his opponent and enemy; a curious travesty of ancient symbolism if true, and unmistakably a



blunder in respect of the persons. Shall we take this as a measure of De Borron's knowledge of Sacred History, or ought we to consider that he is repeating an ancient story which he did not think himself at liberty to alter?

The manner of consecrating Joseph as "Sovran Shepherd", could scarcely have been invented by De Borron; in the twelfth century no one would have thought of making any man a bishop who was not already priest, though that would not have been considered irregular in the fifth.<sup>1</sup> Not more would it have occurred to him to make Joseph Bishop for the sole purpose of consecrating the Eucharist; that point of order belongs also to a very early period of Church history. These and such-like anachronisms in De Borron's text lead us to suspect he is not the author of all he writes, and that the "book" to which he refers may have been a real one. Granting a previous belief in the existence of the "vessel" and of the Precious Blood, some story of Joseph which connected him directly with the preservation of the relic seems necessary, to no one else could the pious act have been attributed. This story would have been the Gospel of Joseph, and its object would have been to redress the injustice which Joseph may be said to have received. The omission of his name from the Canon of the Mass may have been a grievance.

<sup>1</sup> Consecration of laymen to the episcopate, *per saltum*, was still valid in the sixth century in Gaul, but the Church disliked it. In Ireland at that time there does not appear to have been any question (of the story of St. Columba); and in the Celtic Church generally the ancient liberty may have existed so long as that Church remained independent, but in the twelfth century such laxity was no longer possible. Henry I, being anxious to appoint an Englishman to the See of St. David, caused the Queen's chancellor, a layman, to be ordained priest one day and consecrated the next. He feared the Welshmen might be before him, but this was the most he could do; no doubt he would gladly have saved one of these days had he dared.

In the "great book" of the Grail, from which De Borron says he is quoting, Christ promises that "never should the sacrifice be offered without mention being made of what Joseph had done." The Sacrament of the Altar became, for the *cultores* of the "Benefactor Dei", a joint commemoration of Jesus and Joseph: "The Altar shall represent the sepulchre where you laid me, the corporal, the cloth in which you wound my body, the chalice will recall the vessel in which you caught my blood, and the paten resting on the chalice shall signify the stone placed over the sepulchre."<sup>1</sup> If De Borron invented this he was hardy. If it is derived from that ancient book we need not wonder if it is now lost. The destruction of heretical books was a duty, and the reference to the diptychs is a direct challenge to the Church.<sup>2</sup>

We may now turn to the legends connected with the arrival in Britain: there is the Glastonbury legend, which in some of its particulars is very old, and there is the legend of the landing in Provence. The latter was popular.<sup>3</sup> Joseph of Arimathea is represented as landing on the coast of Provence with Mary Magdalen and the other Maries, Lazarus, and about forty in all. This company of disciples is described as being wafted over the sea, very much as were Joseph and his companions in the story of the Grail. Marseilles would have been in the first century the proper port for any one voyaging from the East to Britain. The route from Marseilles was by the Rhône to Lyons, and then it either turned aside to

<sup>1</sup> De Borron's poem, vv. 901-13.

<sup>2</sup> As a matter of fact the romances of the Grail were expressly interdicted by the Court of Rome at the same time that the Order of Templars was suppressed. See Moland, *Les Origines Littéraires de la France*, p. 71.

<sup>3</sup> *Acta Sanctorum*, 17th March, and the Legend of *Les Saintes Maries aux Bouches du Rhône*, still current in Provence.

descend the Loire or it continued upwards by the Saône, to descend the valley of the Seine or to pass into the lower Rhine, and so by one course or the other to reach the estuary of the Thames, the creeks of the South Coast, or the Severn Sea. It was by Marseilles that Christianity came to Gaul and Britain. The Christianity of Southern Gaul, moreover, was essentially Asiatic or Syriac, and if this legend of the Grail had its origin in Syria, it may have been first heard of in Europe at Marseilles; and this may be what is meant by the memory of so many of the holy women who were present at the Cross and the Sepulchre, being preserved there. Provence was the final home of many personages in the drama of the Passion. Pilate came here after his disgrace, and lived at Vienne. Martha lived at Tarascon, and the Magdalen in the solitude of the Sainte Baume.<sup>1</sup> Among those who landed from the rudderless ship was the Hemorroïssa, who is sometimes identified with Martha. She is called Marie la Venisienne in the *Grand St. Graal*, and Verrine by De Borron. The latter name (or Ste. Venise) is that by which she is known in Northern France, where she probably represents a former goddess of the Romanized Gauls.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Depuis longtemps," says Renan, "un courant de communications reciproques était établi entre les ports d'Asie Mineure et les rivages méditerranéens de la Gaule. Ces populations d'Asie et de Syrie, très portées à l'émigration vers l'occident, aimaient à remonter le Rhône et la Saône, ayant avec elles un bazar portatif de marchandises diverses, ou bien s'arrêtant sur les rives de ces grands fleuves, aux endroits où s'offrait à elles l'espérance de vivre. Vienne et Lyons étaient en quelque sorte le point de mire de ces émigrants qui apportaient en Gaule les qualités de marchands, de domestiques, d'ouvriers et mêmes de médecins."—Renan, *L'Eglise Chrétienne*, p. 468. These emigrants formed a large part of the population of the cities on the river, and the stories of Martha, Mary Magdalen, and Pilate may be part of the deposit of legend they have left there.

<sup>2</sup> Maury, *Croyances et Légendes de l'Antiquité* (La Veronique).

In this case, then, De Borron would be repeating a local tradition, but there is confusion nevertheless, Veronica, not Verrine, is really meant; the uncertainty, however, is of very early date. De Borron perhaps justifies his use of the local name by calling the imprinted *sudarium* "la Veronique". All the legend of the landing in Provence, and of the events which determined the exile of Joseph, would not have been known at every place on the route we have indicated; there would have been many stories, some attaching themselves to one place, some to another, and they might have arrived in Britain from the East or from the West, or Winchester and Salisbury might have been the places where they were first known. There seems to be no further memory of Joseph in Provence than that he landed; it may be presumed that he did not remain, and may have followed the ordinary course of immigrants, northward. A tradition that his body was at Moyon Moustier in Alsace at the end of the eighth century, and that it was subsequently stolen, is recorded by Mabillon, and in the *Acta Sanctorum*.<sup>1</sup> It is not said whither the body was taken, but the Vatican church claims to possess one of the arms. A legend of Joseph in Alsace is an argument for the existence of our legend there also, and we may couple this with the recent translation of the *Evangelium* in England—clearly an interest in him and his work was increasing. In England the centre of the Joseph legend is Glastonbury, and, curiously enough it has little to do with the Grail; Glastonbury may be the Abbey of Glays and the Ile de Verre, but it is not certain that it was Avalon, and nothing is said in the story of Joseph, as it is given by the French authors, about the wattled church, or the Thorn. The fragments of the

<sup>1</sup> Mab. *Annales*, sub anno 799. *Acta Sanctorum*, Martii 17.

“Early History” which seem to relate to the conversion of Britain belong to the Augustinian mission rather than to the earlier Celtic Christianity. The story which attributes the conversion to Peter has been mentioned. This is part of the enlarged story (*the Grand St. Graal*); De Borron does not bring the Grail to Britain, though he may have intended it. He relates how Peter received a divine commission, direct, and that he chose the West for the scene of his labours,

“En la terre vers Occident,  
Ki est sauvage durement  
Es vaus d' Avaron m'en irei.”

vv. 3219-21.

When the *Grand St. Graal* was written the Welsh influence appears to have dominated, and we have Celidoine, Nasciens and Mordrains as the active lieutenants of Joseph for the conversion of Britain, the story of Petrus and King Lucius coming rather awkwardly in another place. Still, though the names are mainly Celtic, the story told reminds us of the perils of Augustine's mission and its re-establishment by Theodore. Celidoine, after converting a few, one hundred and fifty, persons, is put in prison with his converts, and that might have been the end, but Mordrains has a vision of the extremity of the Christians, and arrives in time. Glastonbury would thus have been the second home of the legend. The chosen knight assumed the shield of Joseph of Arimathea at a “certain abbey”. Now the body of Joseph was translated to the Abbey of Glays from an Abbey of the Cross.<sup>1</sup> The almost inaccessible

<sup>1</sup> Lonelich, *Seynt Graal*. The French version says only that Joseph dies, apparently at the Castle of Galafort in Northumberland, whence the body was carried to Scotland because of a great famine there, which it changed instantly to a great plenty; and that the body was there *enteres en une abeie de glay*, “which Abbey of Glaystyngbery now men hald,” says Lonelich, chap. liv, Roxburghe Club edition, 1863.

position of Glastonbury may have led to its becoming a refuge for persecuted or timorous Christians, either at the time of the invasion of Wessex or later, when Alfred betook himself to Athelney. The translation of the body of Joseph from the North suggests rather a flight thence. The names Celidoine, Nasciens and many others, in the Story of the Grail belong to the North. The only British names in De Borron are Brons, Alain and Enygeus. Brons=Bran (the Blessed) "who first brought Christianity to Britain", and was very appropriately first keeper of the Grail; Alain, who in one part of the story seems to have been intended for the same office, may represent the Breton side of the legend, which De Borron decided to neglect in favour of the British form; Enygeus, may be the same with the mother of Arthur. The *Grand St. Graal*, which extends and fills up the story, gives us more names. Nasciens, who was the "first to behold the wonders of the Grail", is supposed by the learned author of the *Arthurian Legend* to be the same with Nectan or Naitan who played so decided a part in the establishment of Catholic Christianity in the North. Of Nasciens' line, the last was Galahad. Nasciens' son was Celidoine, the eponymous hero of Scotland. Evelach was the first convert; the name is that of one of the sons of Cunedã, but it has also much higher dignity in Welsh genealogies. "Avallach, son of Canalech, son of Beli, and his mother was Anna, who they say was cousin of the Virgin Mary."<sup>1</sup> Evelach is also called Mordrains or Mordains, Noodrans, which is explained as "hard of belief"; it may perhaps have relation to Meaux (Melda) where he was born, though it is said to have been given *after* his baptism. He was the son of a cobbler, and was sent to Rome, with other youths and maidens, as

<sup>1</sup> Rees, *Cambro-British Saints*, "Life of St. Carannog". The name occurs again in the genealogies of St. Cadoc and St. David; in this last is a Euguen, son of the sister of Mary.

tribute in the time of Augustus Caesar ; the two daughters of the Count of the Town were also sent, and Evelach was their servant—the beginnings of a very pretty story of which we should have been glad to hear the rest. Another Frenchman gets into the story as Blaise, the “Master” of Merlin ; he is Lupus the celebrated Bishop of Troyes, who accompanied Germanus on his first expedition to Britain ; and again we have one of the founders of Christianity in Britain figuring as a fundamental personage in our story. Perhaps Germanus is also commemorated under the form Gonemans, the first instructor of Perceval. It cannot be pretended that these names occur in an orderly, connected narrative, but they do belong to the very beginnings of Christianity in this Island, and the use of them may imply a belief that the coming of the Grail was contemporary, or nearly so, with the coming of the Gospel. The tradition which mixes one with the other may have been a scarcely intelligible story in the twelfth century. It had passed through many hands, from Celt to Saxon, from Saxon to Frank, and also, by another route, from Breton to Frank and Norman, no wonder if it had changed form and personifications ; it is wonderful that so many of the oldest names have been preserved.

The Early History, “commencemens de l'estoire del saint graal,” ends with the coming of the Saxons (*li saine*) and the deposition of the Grail in a castle built for it “en-i-estrange roiaume ou il auoit plente de niche (simple) gent : qui ne sauoient rien fors seulement de terre cultilier,” the charge of the Grail being given to Alain<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> According to the *Grand St. Graal* ; but De Borron, after appointing Alain in the earlier part of the story, appears to forget him and he makes Brons the Grail keeper. The change of name (and family) may have been a result of the wandering of the story ; the line of keepers tracing from Brons being part of the Welsh tradition, that deriving from Alain being Breton.

and his descendants, the last of whom was Galahad. And so ends this first part of the Story of the Grail. It is the history, apparently, of the belief that some portion of the Precious Blood still existed on earth, notwithstanding the discouragement given to that belief by sober-minded men; it is therefore the story of an unauthorized or "pious" belief and of a cult, if cult there was, which was practised secretly, unless, under peculiar circumstances, overt acts might have been permitted in honour of the relic. The signs of a ritual of the Grail, and more especially the persistence of the primitive mode of celebration, out of which grew the story of the Round Table, seems to prove an uninterrupted tradition of fellowship among believers in the Grail; the tradition of names also supports the presumption of antiquity for the legend. It must be understood, however, that the object of these papers is not to establish a formal tradition or *Legend of the Grail*, but to show that there might have been, and probably was, a belief in the existence of some relic of the Passion of pre-eminent sanctity from very early times, and that the belief attracted to itself a great mass of legend and folk-story wherever it took root. This relic, if not the Precious Blood itself, was some other most intimate memorial of the Last Supper; the identification of the Grail with the supposed relic is the object of our enquiry. But in arriving at this, many matters of no less importance in the story will have to be considered; and first of these is the question: What was meant by the Round Table?

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## PART II.—THE ROUND TABLE.

The story of the Grail tended naturally to become one of adventure; Christians would inevitably ask, "Where then is the Castle of Corbenic, and why should not the Grail be exposed to the adoration of the Faithful?" When this time came, and a hero had to be found, equal by his reputation to achieve the discovery of the Vessel, it would be to Arthur's Court romancers would turn: to Arthur himself or to the foremost of his knights, to Gwalchmai or Owen. The story of Arthur, more especially the later and more familiar part of it, represents him as little likely to undertake an enterprise wholly religious; but Arthur was Emperor and victorious, and the destined Leader therefore, if not the Hero of every great achievement. He thus inevitably became Christian Hero of Britain, and the Round Table of the Grail will always be known as his.

The table at which Arthur feasted with his champions did not differ in respect of its "roundness", or otherwise, from the table of Conchobar at Emain, or that at which Charlemagne may have sat with his peers. The number of the peers, or companions, was the same in all; it was the number consecrated alike by Pagan and Christian precedent, and symbolised a certain divinity attaching to the central figure. Arthur's fable has become famous beyond others because of the Grail, but in itself it had no pre-eminent lustre, nor was it exceptional in any way. Roundness was not peculiar to Arthur's table, —all "tables" were round at the time; nor was there anything unusual in a great chief holding a table for his immediate household, the great officers of state, who were called, in the general language of Europe, the *comes* of the

King. The dignity of Arthur's table and its distinction above all others, was due only to the Grail, to its identification with the table of the Grail, and for this reason only does it belong to our subject.

The "table" of Joseph of Arimathea was not of his invention, but imitated from that at which Christ himself presided. The *Queste* says, "Since Christ's coming were three chief tables: first, that at which Christ often ate with his Apostles; the second table was that of the Holy Grail, established in semblance and remembrance of the first, by which many miracles were wrought in this land in the time of Joseph of Arimathea, in the beginning when Christianity was brought to this country; and last came the round table made by Merlin's counsel to show the roundness of the world and the firmament."<sup>1</sup>

The *Petit Saint Graal* says shortly, "Our Lord made the first table, Joseph the second, Merlin the third"; and other statements agree. Now we know exactly what that "table" was like at which Christ ate with his disciples. In the first century, whether in the public *cenacula* or in private houses, guests meeting to eat the evening meal together had but one custom at table: they reclined on couches arranged on three sides of a space, in which stood a little stool (*mensa*)<sup>2</sup> on which the dish was placed. This arrangement was the *triclinium*, the couches of which never held more than three persons each, nine *comedentes* in all. When a great dinner was given the number of *triclinia* was increased.<sup>3</sup> In public dining-rooms, such as

<sup>1</sup> *La Queste del Saint Graal*, printed for the Roxburghe Club, 1864, chap. v.

<sup>2</sup> *Mensa*, of course, does not mean "stool," nor does it mean "table" properly, it must be referred to *metior*.

<sup>3</sup> The *Chrysotriclinium* at Constantinople had apses for eight "beds", it was an octagonal building.

may have been the "upper-room" at Jerusalem, where companies of more than nine sometimes supped together, and where also less state was used, a thick bolster (*torus, pulvinus*) took the place of the three couches. This was laid on the ground, or on a low platform, and almost encircled the *mensa*. Because of its shape when so laid, C (that of the Greek S), it was called *sigma*. The feasters lay outside the *sigma* on the ground, or on a carpet, and supported the body on the cushion and the left elbow; each guest was thus able to reach the dish with his right hand. This circular grouping must have been the arrangement of the twelve who ate the Last Supper with their Lord. There can be no doubt of this whatever. It is equally certain that in this way, and no other, Arthur must have messed in camp with the British chiefs; but some proofs of this may be asked, seeing that, in the romances, the round-table is sometimes spoken of as a very substantial piece of furniture at which the knights sat. In the twelfth century the change from the recumbent position to the upright had been made, and a misunderstanding of what had been formerly the custom, was very natural. Tables, in the modern sense, were by that time in use in all civilized countries, and the difficulty of attaching any but the common meaning to the word would have been very great; it was increased, moreover, by the acceptation of *mensa* as the equivalent Latin.

The Roman fashion of reclining at meat had certainly not been abolished in the fifth century, when the last legion left Britain. Illustrations of the sixth century show us that both in court and camp the old custom was maintained. In the Ambrosian Library is a pictured MS. of the *Iliad*, of the sixth century; the Greek chieftains are represented feeding on the plain, or eating their evening meal; they recline on the *sigma* in groups of three or four.

The Abimelech and Pharaoh scenes of the Vienna "Genesis" of about the same date, show that the fashion of reclining at meals was still observed at Court; but here the *mensa* has become a semi-circular table and the *pulvinus* a couch fitted closely to the rounded part. In the church of S. Apollinare in Classe at Ravenna, is a mosaic of the Last Supper, where the disciples recline at a table very like those in the Vienna MS.; the mosaic is of the sixth century. In the same century, Antoninus of Placentia was shown at Cana "the very couch" on which Jesus reclined at the wedding feast; not a picture this, but the substantial "bed", and proof, therefore, that the custom of reclining still held not only in Syria but in Italy, for Antoninus does not speak of it as strange or antiquated.

Now, these illustrations cover the time when the living Arthur had his "table" in Britain. He succeeded to a Roman post, he was possibly of Roman origin, and his customs were doubtless those of a Roman general. We may take those pictures in the Ambrosian *Iliad*, of the Greeks under the walls of Troy, as very fair evidence of what might have been seen in a British camp in the fifth century. The Vienna MS. shows us the utmost state the Dux Britanniae might have exhibited in his feasts at York. If, however, examples of the Celtic custom of the time be preferred, we must turn to Ireland, where Roman influence was least felt. There we find remains of what are called *Fullocht Fionns*, or Fenian hearths; they were sometimes paved for supporting a fire, sometimes dug out and lined with stout planks, which are embedded in close marl or clay, presumably for boiling water by means of hot stones. Where a fire was made, the flesh might be broiled, or fried, or a caldron would be used for seething.

Very fine caldrons have been found in Ireland, and the tales of the country record some famous ones. Arthur

made an expedition to Anwfn to obtain for himself a celebrated caldron. The caldron of the Dagda we shall speak of later. These "hearths", where the meat was cooked, were apparently feasting places also; we presume this because of the mound of earth surrounding each one, horseshoe like—the universal *torus* or *sigma*.<sup>1</sup>

Turning from camp to palace, we have the description of the "mead hall" of Conchobar at Emain, which was ordered, as we are told, upon the pattern of the great palace of Tara. It had nine "beds", *i.e.*, *triclinia*. The "bed" of the king was in the "forefront" of the hall, it had a ceiling of silver with pillars of bronze.<sup>2</sup> Under this canopy (*daís*) he feasted with his twelve "chariot chiefs". There is obviously no essential difference between the Roman fashions and these; either the ring round the *mensa* or the more stylish "bed" was the rule.

It is believed that the custom of sitting at meat, whether on bench or chair, though not without its examples in the ancient world, was in its domestic and everyday obser-

<sup>1</sup> See W. G. Wood-Martin, *Traces of the Elder Faiths of Ireland*, 1902, vol. i, pp. 121 *et seq.* As part of this subject, the *Brudins* or wayside hostels of ancient Erin ought to be mentioned; they were free to all, and food and shelter were given. The *Brudin Da Derga* was the most famous, its caldron was always simmering. From the fact that these *Brudins* never failed to entertain the wayfarer may have arisen the fable of the inexhaustible or magic caldrons. It is perhaps to the closing of these hostels that the prologue of the *Conte* refers, where it laments for the good old time, when "the rich land of Logres was full of springs which harboured damsels who fed the wayfarer with meat and pasties and bread." It should have been said that the *Fullocht Fionns* and the *Brudins* are always found near water courses—"wherever a well or spring develops into a good sized rivulet."

<sup>2</sup> This suggests a four-poster, but it was not exactly that; the translator calls it a "compartment", but admits that bed is the literal word, perhaps *exedra* would be a fair rendering. See the *Cuchullin Saga*, Grimm Library, Nutt, 1898, p. 57.

vance, Teutonic. If so, it would not have got into vogue in countries where Roman fashions were practised until respect for the Roman name had been lost. The Franks may have begun the revolution in Gaul and the Normans completed it. They at least brought it to Wales. In the twelfth century, still, the Welsh ate sitting on the ground on bundles of hay or sedges, over which a cover of some sort was spread. The story of Owen shows Arthur seated on such a cushion in his own hall, and in the lives of the Welsh Saints are frequent evidences that the ancient custom still prevailed in Wales in their time:—"Qui nichil aut modicum habet in penum quod opponat *discumbentibus*", and "circa modium cervisiæ ordinatim *in modum circuli* illud circumdando *discubuerunt*." These will suffice to prove that the modern "table" was unknown in Wales at the time of our Story. Giraldus says, moreover, the Welsh "had no tables" even in his time, 1188, the date of the *peregrinatio*. It is certain, then, that by "round table" must be understood *the circle of the guests*, not any piece of furniture whatever. San Marte suggests this in his preface to the *Seynt Graal*, without, however, offering proofs; he was acute enough to perceive some *équivoque* in the name.

Now, there was only one moment when the name "round table" could have come into use, and this was just as the new fashion of sitting to meat at a "board" (Scandinavian *bord*=plank, *tabula*) was getting itself established. The "board" was usually long, extending down the hall on either side, with seats against the walls; or it was set athwart at the upper end for the master of the feast, the king or lord. The "high-seat", with canopy or *daïs*, was first placed at the end of the hall, in Norway, in

<sup>1</sup> Giraldus Cambrensis, *Descriptio Kamb.*, Bk. i, ch. 10. *Mabinogion*, Story of "Owain, or the Lady of the Fountain." Rees, *Cambro-British Saints*, Life of St. Brynach, p. 12; Life of St. Cadoc, p. 45.

the time of Olaf the Quiet, 1066-93,<sup>1</sup> in France perhaps earlier.

In the *Bernward Gospels*, of the eleventh century, the Last Supper is represented as being eaten at a long table; sometime in that century then, and perhaps as early as the tenth, the antique *mensa* had become a table; and the name "round table" would have been given as well to the half round table (at first with a semi-circular bed for reclining, afterwards with seats), as to the more ancient *torus*, wherever the more ancient use of sitting or lying on the ground was maintained. During the time of transition only could the "table" of Arthur have been called "round table", for before the change began *tabula* had no meaning as applied to the apparatus for feasting, and later, in the twelfth century say, when the vestiges of ancient custom had been lost, Arthur's "table" could only have been imagined as like the usual high-table of the day; just as the Last Supper was supposed by mediæval painters to have been eaten at the same high-table. The name *Round Table* then is a sign of a certain antiquity, of a time of transition, when the ancient use of Rome and the civilised world was giving way to the fashions introduced by Franks and Northmen.

Arthur's *mensa*, or *mwys*, or *callawr* or whatever may have been the word which had to be exchanged for *table* when tables became fashionable, had probably never ceased to be a subject of boasting and regret to his compatriots. Their last great leader was best remembered by his campaigns, and not least, we may imagine, by the songs and shouts of his champions as they feasted with him after a battle. In after days of disunion and disaster, Arthur's

<sup>1</sup> *Heimskringla*, X, ii, and cf. the *Eyrbyggja Saga*, Morris and Magnusson, 1892, p. 269.

camp fire would become a memory and also a symbol of victory, and when, under pressure of the Saxons; the wretched Cymry found themselves crowded into a poor mountainous country, Arthur's caldron would become, in their stories, an inexhaustible vessel, magical, like the mythic caldron of Gwyddno. What memory of Arthur popular rhymes have preserved is precisely of his table :

“When good King Arthur ruled this land,” &c.

But Arthur was also Grail King; he would therefore have another table, also round, but of more ceremonious decking. We may see this table to-day as it may have been imagined, before the eleventh century, in MSS. where the Last Supper is depicted. Christ sits at a half round table, not as at first *in cornu sinistro* (to the left of one looking at the straight side of it), but *in the middle of the round*, the Apostles on either hand, “*en virunt et en coste*”, as says the poem of “The Pilgrimage of Charlemagne”; just as the Bishop sat in church with his clergy.<sup>1</sup>

Such, shortly, is the history of the transformations which changed the almost universal *mensa* and *triclinia*, or the *stibadium* with its *torus*, into the long table with seats. Some steps have been omitted so as not to burden this paper with details, but, broadly, the course was as indicated: first, the adoption of the sitting posture, either on cushions on the ground or on *subsellia*; then, when the tables became long, chairs, faldstools, or benches. During the same time the “table” was being modified as follows :

<sup>1</sup> The position of the bishop's seat in the middle of the curve of the apse, of very ancient adoption, no doubt led to the variation in the placing of Christ and his Apostles in pictures of the Last Supper, which began in the sixth century. Cf. Fleury, *La Messe*. The *Rossano* MS. of the same century places them as does the mosaic of Ravenna.



the *mensa* was increased in size and height and was made half round to correspond with the closely-fitting "bed", then seats were adapted to the *mensa*; this became the table of the master of the feast and his principal guests, and in church, the altar, round which sat the clergy with their bishop; in the lower part of the hall other guests and the "family" of the Lord had small tables at which they sat in groups, often in twos; or they sat on the ground round a great platter, lifted, perhaps, above the floor by short legs, as the Japanese *zen*. The small tables were readily placed and carried away; they were probably set on trestles. Then came the long tables, at first removable also, and finally "dormant". There was little difference at first between the ordering of a feast in hall and the disposition of the messes in camp. King Mangous and a hundred companions camp near a spring—

"Et quant bien l'orent conrée (corné?)  
 Les tables misent, si s'assist  
 Li rois si com lui plot, et sist  
 A son dois, et tout environ  
 S'assisent li. C. compaignon."

*Conte*, vv. 38588-92.

At a meeting of the Round Table the knights are described in the same *Conte*—

"Assis partout, si com il durent  
 Au dois et as tables *par tière*";

v. 1588.

and in another place

"S'assist li rois  
 Lassus *amont* al mestre dois."

v. 21912.

where it is plain that "tables" is used for the more ancient *mensae*, *mwysau*, *missoria*, set on the ground, unless we assume that tables and trestles were carried for a hundred people, and faldstools also; but the expression *par tière* scarcely allows of any other interpretation than that of

sitting on the ground. The half-round table, *dois*, for the King, is abundantly represented in MSS.<sup>1</sup>

We now understand how it happened, that while the Trouvères were repeating stories of the Grail, in which the feasters are described as sitting *par tière*, they also imagined a round table big enough to seat five hundred knights. The beginnings of the story were inherited, and they were repeated with reasonable accuracy by the French writers, but as the tale grew in their hands they had to work it out as they might. The number of the "companions" of the table increased from twelve to twelve score, and then they were reckoned by hundreds, and for all these the supposed table had to be enlarged. The Trouvères were thus brought to imagine a monstrosity, but they had for it a certain authority in the *Estoire*; the table which Joseph dressed for believers in the Grail was a circle on the grass, which, according to the number of communicants, would be greater or less; it would be easily adjusted, but always the table was full—

"Dou peuple assist une partie  
Li autre ne s'assistront mie  
La taule (table) toute pleine estoit  
Fors le liu qui pleins ne pooit  
Estre ;"

*De Borron*, vv. 2559-63.

If all had sat it would have been only full, just the same, the one place excepted.

And now we come to speak of this one place, *le liu vuit*, which is so important a feature in the Table of the Grail and the Round Table equally; which is indeed the same place, the two tables being one.

The "high-seat" in the hall was that of the King or

<sup>1</sup> *Miniature sacre e profane dell'anno 1023*. Monte Cassino. Westwood, *Palaeographia Sacra Pictoria*.

Master, it was left empty in his absence and at his death, and could only be filled again after death by his son, or by his elected successor. The seat would remain vacant in case a young son inherited, until his coming of age, and anyone daring in the meantime to occupy it, would have looked to be rudely expelled. Leading up to, and placing in the high-seat was formal investiture. The practice in the case of bishops and their seat in church was the same: between the death of one bishop and the institution of another the "see" was vacant. The Table of the Grail was established "in semblance and remembrance of the first", viz., of that at which Christ had eaten with His Apostles. At this table the place of Christ could only be filled by His legitimate representative. De Borron did not understand that, he thought the vacant place was that of Judas.

"Qui par folie  
De nostre compeignie eissi."

v. 2529.

He was confused, perhaps, by the presence of Joseph, who may have seemed to him the proper president, and he rightly was, so soon as this part of Joseph's history had been invented; but the Grail is older than the story of Joseph of Arimathea, and when that was taken in hand to give a logical foundation to the belief in the existence of the Precious Blood, the Table of the Grail with its one vacant seat was already in existence. De Borron was right in making Joseph the visible president during his life, and in assuming therefore that an empty seat would be that of an Apostle, but he might have suspected some confusion if he had regarded more closely the story he tells, for it makes Moses ambitious of the office of Leader. This is part of another story, where Peter, the vicegerent of Christ, is assailed by Moses, who thinks himself entitled to the place. De Borron did not like to exclude this inci-

dent, but Joseph was the necessary Leader, the first of the series of Grail-keepers and heroes to which Perceval and Galahad belong, and he could only make a vacant place by supposing that of Judas had not been filled.

The punishment of Moses was a frightful example; henceforth the *liu vuit* becomes the *siège perilleux* of the romances. It had been the seat of Christ reserved for His second coming; it was now the seat of the "Good Knight", who should preside in His name, and let all usurpers beware.

A contemporary illustration will show exactly what was understood of this *liu vuit*; it is from the poem of "The Pilgrimage of Charlemagne," written early in the second half of the eleventh century.<sup>1</sup> At that time, when pilgrimages were general, and a visit to the Holy Sepulchre the ambition of every brave and pious soul, it was not permissible that the great Emperor should have done less than the best, so a pilgrimage to Jerusalem was imagined for him also, and he is supposed to go thither with his peers. When he arrived he went straight to the "Temple", where, in the sanctuary, were the seats of Christ and his Apostles; that of Christ carefully "sealed", to guard it from profane intrusion. It was believed that here He had instituted His sacrament—

"Dieu i chantait messe, si firent li apostle  
Et le xii chaires i sunt tutes encore  
La trezième est en mi ben sellée e close."

Charles took it without hesitation, and his twelve peers the seats of the Apostles—

"Karles i entrat, ben ont al queor grant joie  
Le xii peers as autres en virunt et en coste  
Ainz n'i sist hume ne unkes prus encore."

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<sup>1</sup> Gaston Paris, *La vie poétique de Charlemagne*, and *Romania*, No. xxv, p. 481.

Nevertheless Charles had no fear, nor would a Briton have feared any more for Arthur placed in the same seat. Were they not both Champions of Christendom, carrying on in their day the work Christ had begun, killing His enemies, maintaining His Law? It was part of the proper mythical character of each that he should preside at the table Christ had established as a perpetual sign of His kingship.

*(To be continued.)*

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## Reviews.

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EISTEDDFOD GENEDLAETHOL BANGOR (1902): Y Farddoniaeth a'i Beirniadaeth. Dan Olygiaeth E. Vincent Evans. Cyhoeddedig gan GYMDEITHAS yr EISTEDDFOD GENEDLAETHOL, 64, Chancery Lane, Llundain, 1903.

AWDL Y GADAIR: "*Ymadawiad Arthur*", gan T. Gwynn Jones, Caernarfon.

PRYDDEST Y GORON: "*Trystan ac Esyllt*", gan R. Silyn Roberts, M.A., Llundain.

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CRWYDRODD yr Awen Gymreig ym mhell oddiar ban bynciai Hywel ab Owain Gwynedd ei "Orhoffedd", neu ban nyddai Dafydd ab Gwilym ei gywyddau i Forfudd; ac fel y dywedir am y gwr adfydus, hi a ymdarawodd â chymdeithion rhyfedd. Pe gallasai y Cynfeirdd ddychwelyd i dir y byw, prin iawn yr adwaenent eu mam Ceridwen, gan mor llesg ei cham, mor llwyd ei gwep, ac mor garpiog ei gwisg lawer pryd. Sawl gwaith y gwelsom y foneddiges eiriandlws a groesewid gynt i fysg tywysogion wedi syrthio, druan o honi, ar elusen plwy neu drugaredd Dorcas. Ond gwnaeth Pwyllgor Llenyddol Bangor ymdrech i'w hudo yn ol i'w hen gynefin, sef llwybrau anian; a chawn weled iddynt lwyddo i raddau o leiaf. A thyma'r moddion a gymerasant i'w denu; nid ei llygad-dynu a llawer o aur ac arian, eithr cynyg testynau cyfaddas iddi ganu arnynt. Pa fenyw freiniol na ddirywiasai o gydgam â'r fath bethau a "Brawdoliaeth Gyffredinol"? Pa bren tîrf na wywa wedi tynu ei wreiddiau o'r ddaear roddasai faeth iddo?

Testyn y Gadair oedd "*Ymadawiad Arthur*"; testyn y

Goron "Trystan ac Esyllt". Yr oedd cymaint a hyn o debygrwydd rhyngddynt, perthynai y ddau i gyff y chwedlau Arthuraid; yr oeddynt yn rhamantus ac yn Gymreig. Ond yr oedd y ddwy stori yn bur wahanol i'w gilydd, a gofynent ymdriniaeth wahanol. Un digwyddiad, un syniad geid yn "Ymadawiad Arthur"; i wneyd gwrhydri ohono rhaid i'r bardd wrth amgyffred, darfelydd, ac awen. Ar y llaw arall stori amlganhennog ydoedd "Trystan ac Esyllt", yn orlawn o amryfal elfenau, ac ar brydiau yn treiddio i guddfanau mwyaf cyfrin traserch. Cynwysai y testyn hwn gyflawnder o ddefnyddiau; y penaf peth a ofynid oddiar y bardd oedd gallu i ddeithol ac i grynhoi. Yr oedd llawer o feirdd, mewn llawer iaith, wedi canu ar y ddau destyn, ac oni buasai eu bod yn dwyn y nodwedd sydd byth yn newydd, tra byth yn hen, gallasai hyn fod yn anfantais i'r ymgeisydd. Amcan yr ysgrif hon yw chwilio ansawdd y ddau gyfansoddiad buddugol, er gweled pa gymaint o ffyniant a ddilynodd antur y Pwyllgor. Cymerwn orchest y Gadair yn gyntaf.

Er fod y Proffeswr J. Morris Jones, yn ei feirniadaeth ddysgedig a dyddorol, wedi talu clod uchel i *Tir na n-Og*,<sup>1</sup> prin y sylwodd ddigon ar yr hyn a ymddengys i mi yn brif gamp yr awdl, sef ei *dramatic qualities*. Mor gyfyng oedd cyleh y testyn fel yr oedd yn demtasiwn i gyfansoddwr anghelfydd fyned tuallan iddo a llusgo pob math o bethau afreidiol ac amherthynasol i mewn. Hyny wnaeth wyth o'r deng ymgeisydd. Yn lle barddoniaeth, eb y beirniad, "ni gawn ymsonau a myfyrdodau, traethodau ar ddylanwad Arthur, Arthur eto'n fyw, ac felly ymlaen." Prawf yw hyn o dlodi awenyddol, o anallu i amgyffred y testyn, o eiddilweh dychymyg. Yr oedd Camlan wedi ei hymladd

<sup>1</sup> Y ffug-enw a ddefnyddiwyd gan awdwr yr Awdl fuddugol, Mr. T. Gwynn Jones.—(E.V.E.)

rhwng Arthur a'r carnfradwr Medrawd. Ni bu erioed y fath wrhydri, erioed y fath laddfa. "And ever they fought still till it was nigh night, and by that time was there a hundred thousand laid dead upon the down"—dyna eiriau yr hen chwedleuwr diddan Malory. Meddianodd *Tir na n-Og* ei hun. Efe yn unig gafodd "weledigaeth eglur". Difynaf sylw y beirniad ar ei ddull o gyfleu yr hanes. "Medrod wedi ei ladd. Y mae yn dechreu fel hyn ar ddiwedd cad Gamlan, ac yna'n adrodd yr hanes, a dim ond yr hanes, hyd y diwedd, ond ei fod ef yn ei addurno a disgrifiadau a chyffelybiaethau tlysiion o'i waith ei hun, a'r oll yn null ac ysbryd y rhamantwyr." Ond fe wnaeth *Tir na n-Og* fwy na hyd yn oed hyny. Mewn byr eiriau fe dynodd bictiwr ddyry ini well dirnadaeth o frawychdod yr olygfa na phe dilynasai hynt y frwydr yn fanwl. Medrawd wedi ei ladd! Y gorchfygwyr yn anos y gorchfygedig! Wedi'r trin neb yn aros i gadw gwylnos a'r meirwon oddieithr y brenin clwyfedig a'r ffyddlon farchog Bedwyr!

"Yno, mal duw celanedd,  
A'i bwys ar garn glwys ei gledd,  
Y naill oedd, a'r llall gerllaw,  
A golwg syn yn gwyliaw."

Nid anhebyg i hyn ydyw dull Tennyson o agor ei gerdd ar yr un testyn, "Morte d'Arthur":

"So all day long the noise of battle roll'd  
Among the mountains by the winter sea;  
Until King Arthur's table, man by man,  
Had fallen in Lyonesse about their Lord."

Dichon fod *Tir na n-Og* yn ddyledus i Tennyson am yr awgrym. Boed hyny fel y bo, yr wyf hyfed a meddwl fod y Cymro yn y fan hon yn fwy grymus na'r Sais. Llwyddodd *Tir na n-Og* i gadw'r nodwedd hon i fyny bron hyd y diwedd. Lle mae Tennyson yn colli, ceir fod *Tir na n-Og* yn enill, sef mewn angerddoldeb a chynildeb. Mae



cymeriadau Tennyson yn rhy barabllus. Nid naturiol, i'm tyb i, yw gwneuthur i frenhin wedi ei glwyfo hyd farw draddodi araeth o bum-llinell-ar-hugain yn y dull chwydd-fawr ac amleiriog hwn :

“The sequel of to-day unsolders all  
The goodliest fellowship of famous knights  
Whereof this world holds record,”

ac felly ymlaen. Gwell genyf dawedogrwydd a dwyster *Tir na n-Og*. Pan fynai Bedwyr i'r brenin ymuno yn yr anos, ei ateb yw :

“Ebr yntau ; Clyw, brwnt y clwyf  
Hwn ; clyw, Fedwyr, claf ydwyf.”

Ni ddaw neb person arall i dori ar y gyfëillach hon sydd yn dyfnhau ar drothwy'r bedd. Dim ond y ddeuddyn—a'r celaneddau! Yng nglyn a chysondeb dramadig, dengys *Tir na n-Og* fedrusrwydd dihafal i dynu *contrasts*. Mor frawychus, eto mor dyner, yw y darlun hwn o'r haul yn bwrw ei rudd-wawr dros yr erchylldra !

“Troes gemliw wawl tros Gamlan  
Oni bu coch wyneb can  
A marw pawb o'r Cymry pur  
Yno syrthiodd dros Arthur,  
Ac onid oedd holl gnawd du  
Drudion Medrawd yn madru !”

“Drudion Medrawd (*Mordred's braves*) yn madru”—buasai hwn bron yn anioddefol heb y tosturi oddifry. Ni fyn y bardd arteithio ein teimladau yn rhy hir. Ceir gwanwyn a gaeaf, marwolaeth a bywyd bob amser finfu a'u gilydd. Ar ei fraich gref cludodd Bedwyr y brenin claf ymaith i le esmwyth lle caffai ymgeledd.

“Yngo'r oedd lannerch rhwng iraidd lwyri  
A llen dêr wastad o feillion drosti ;  
Wynned oedd a phe dôi hi, Olwen dlos,  
Ar hyd yr himos i grwydro arni.

“A ffynon dirion o dan y deri  
 Oedd, a fernid â rhad gyneddf arni,  
 Sef oedd, os ef ae iddi, y dôi glâf  
 I’w glan heb anaf na’i glwy’n ei boeni.”

Ond rhy dda y gwyddai y teyrnfilwr elwyfus fod ei awr wedi dod, a rhaid gwneyd y goreu o’r munudau gwerthfawr oedd yn aros. Dyry i’r marchog y genadwri fythgofiadwy drist, sef myned o hono a bwrw yr hen gleddyf hardd ergydlym Caledfwlch i’r llyn gerllaw, a dychwelyd i adrodd yr hyn a ddigwyddai. Yma ceir un o’r darnau prydferthaf yn yr awdl. Clywsom lawer o son am *natural magic*. Peth anhawdd i’w ddeffinio yw, oddieithr ei fod yn golygu rhyw ddawn gyfriniol i ddeongli natur—nid yn unig i adnabod ei hwyneb, ond hefyd i glywed curiadau ei ehalon. Dyma’r olygfa a ymagorodd o flaen Bedwyr wedi myned i wneyd y neges a roddes Arthur iddo :

“O’r drum, rhoes Bedwyr dremyn,  
 A chafas faith, frychlas fryn,  
 Tonnog, a marian tano,  
 Yn dres fraith ar draws y fro,  
 ‘Roedd prydferth flodau’r perthi,  
 Unlliw ôd nen ewyn lli ;  
 Dibrin flodau’r eithin aur  
 Mal haen o glych melynaur ;  
 Mân flodau’r grug yn hugan  
 Ar y geillt, o borffor gwan ;  
 A gwrïd yr haul ar grwydr hyd  
 Y bau, bron bob rhyw ennyd  
 Yn newid lliw, troi dull hon  
 A’i hen weddau’n newyddion.”

Nid wyf yn petruso dweyd fod y penill hwn yn farddoniaeth byw, ac yn deilwng o’r delyn Gymreig yn ei dyddiau hoewaf a dedwyddaf. Yn sydyn clywai Bedwyr ryw “grawc anghynes grâs” a dorai yn anhyfryd ar ei fyfyrdodau ; a safodd yn syn i wrando. Hyd y gwn, mae y ddyfais hon gan *Tir na n-Og* yn perthyn iddo ’i hun. Ni cheir dim tebyg yng nghân Tennyson nag yn hanesion

Malory. Dywedais nad oedd un bod rhesymol i'w weld yn y fangre oddigerth Arthur a'i farchog. Y mae ymddangosiad disymwth y frân ddu frudiol yn gwneyd yr olygfa yn fwy llethol fyth.

“Brân ddu groch ar bren oedd grin,  
Goelfawr a hir ei gylfin,  
Fwriai'n oer, afar ei nwyd,  
Fregliach o'r dderwen friglwyd.”

A pha iaith mor addas i greglais yr aderyn hwn a thriban milwr?

“Glywaist ti a gant y frân,  
Ai drwg ai da'r darogan,  
'Na fid cryf heb gleddyf glân.”

Parodd hyn i Fedwyr ystyried ac ymson ag ef ei hun. Mae'n sicr fod cywreinwaith y cledd yn ei demtio, ond nid hyn a gyfaddefai efe iddo ei hun. Pa fodd yr ymdarawai ei wlad wedi colli yr arf anorfod hwn?

“Cododd Bedwyr y cadarn  
Gledd gerfydd ei gelfydd garn,  
A thremio'n hir a thrwm wnaeth  
Ar ei gywrain ragoriaeth.”

Mor anhawdd oedd ymadael a'r fath drysor! A thyma Bedwyr yn dechreu anwesu'r cledd a'i gyfarch fel petai beth byw:—

“Ba dro fyth” eb Bedwyr, “fai  
Ddigon i'r sawl a'th ddygai  
Di, Galedfwlch deg, glodfawr,  
Heb falio, a'th luchio i lawr  
Megys pedfai ddirmygwr,  
Onid aet o dan y dwr!  
A'n hil, Och! ba ryw farn lem  
Nas gallai'n dal pes collem  
Dithau? Gan adwythig gur  
Y dinerthwyd dawn Arthur,  
Onide, diau nad hyn  
A barasai, heb resyn.  
Diogel mi a'th gelaf,  
A gwel'd a ddigwyddo gâf.”

Rhaid fod poen wedi dyrysu pen y brenin—dyna sut y cyfiawnhai Bedwyr ei dwyll. Ac yn lle bwrw y cledd i'r llyn yn ol arch ei deyrn, efe a'i cuddiodd mewn ogof gerllaw. Yna dychwelodd at Arthur a chelwydd ar ei dafod. Yn y fan yma eto tybiaf fod Tennyson yn llawer gwanach na'r bardd Cymreig.

“He gazed so long  
That both his eyes were dazzled, as he stood,  
This way and that dividing the swift mind,  
In act to throw: but at the last it seem'd  
Better to leave Excalibur conceal'd  
There in the many-knotted waterflags,  
That whistled stiff and dry about the marge.”

“Better to leave Excalibur conceal'd”,—nid hawdd fuasai llunio brawddeg fwy anheilwng o'r achlysur. Ond ni chymerai y brenin mo'i dwyllo. “Ba argoel fu”, ebai. A Bedwyr atebodd:—

“Hyd y gwn, bid wiw gennyd,  
Ni bu un arwydd o'r byd.”

Braidd yn wan yw yntau, *Tir na n-Og*, yn yr ateb hwn. Llinell wael enbyd yw, “Ni bu un arwydd o'r byd.” Gymaint yn well yw y geiriau ddyry Malory yng ngenau y marchog: “Sir”, said he, “I saw nothing but waves and wind.” Eilchwyl gorfu i Fedwyr fynd ymaith ar ei neges drom. Och! mor anhawdd oedd ymadael â'r cledd. Yn ebrwydd mae *Tir na n-Og* yn adenill ei nerth a'i swyn-gyfaredd. Dyma eto ddarlun byw:—

“Yna rhag genau'r ogo,  
Safodd ac edrychodd dro;  
Eto, nid oedd yno ddyd  
Yn ymyl, na swyn, namyn  
Twrw'r dwr, man lle torrai'r don.  
Mwynder hiraethus meindon  
Awel y'mysg y dail mân—  
Ochenaïd enaid anian.”

Pan oedd ar gyrchu y cledd o'r ogof, clywodd grawc y frân.

“Gwae i'n tud o frud y frân  
A drwg oedd ei darogan—  
'Na fid cryf heb gleddyf glân.'”

Eilchwyl dychwelyd at Arthur. Yma eto ceir ychydig o arwydd llesgedd neu ddiotalwch yng ngwaith *Tir na n-Og*. Onid rhyddiaith troednoeth yw llinell gyntaf yr englyn hwn?

“Ceisiodd Bedwyr bob cysur—oedd ddichon  
Wrth ddychwel yn brysur;  
Er gwaith câd, er gwaetha' cur,  
Rhy wrthun oedd marw Arthur!”

Lled ddibwynt, hefyd, yw yr esgyll. Mae ateb Bedwyr i'w feistr yn well y tro yma. “Ba argoel sydd?”

“Troes Bedwyr gan ynganu,  
'Un arwydd, farglwydd ni fu,  
Ond dwr a'i dwrdd yn taro  
Ar y graig, a'i su drwy'r gro.'”

Yr wyf yn tueddu i feddwl fod *Tir na n-Og* wedi efelychu tipyn ar Tennyson yn y fan yna:—

“I heard the water lapping on the crag,  
And the long ripple washing in the reeds.”

Ni thyciodd y celwydd. Cychwyn eto tua'r llyn, a cherydd ei frenin yn ei glust, fu raid i Fedwyr. Y drydedd waith daeth at yr ogof. Prin yr wyf yn hoffi'r llinell:

Plygodd, penlinodd mewn pannwl yno,

Nid achwyn yr wyf ar y gair—“pannwyl” (*a hollow*), ond tybiaf fôd gormod o debygrwydd sain drwy y llinell, nes ei gwneyd fel tincian efydd. Ond hawdd maddeu y mân feflau hyn, pan geir yn ymyl ddarn mor orchestol a'r disgrifiad a ganlyn o'r cledd:—

“Trwy'r bwlich, dwyn Caledfwlich lân  
O'r gwyll a orug allan.  
Ei ddyrnfol aur addurnfawr,

Cywrain oedd, ac arni wawr  
 O liwiau gemau lawer,  
 Lliw'r tân a lliw eira têt,  
 Lliw'r gwaed rhudd, lliw gwydr a haul,  
 Neu ser y'ngghyfnos araul ;  
 Ei hir lafn dur lyfned oedd  
 A difreg lif y dyfroedd,  
 A gloywed â gwiw lewych  
 Rhudd yr haul ar ddisglair ddrych."

Dyddorol yw cymharu y darn hwn a disgrifiad Tennyson :

"There drew he forth the brand Excalibur,  
 And o'er him, drawing it, the winter moon,  
 Brightening the skirts of a long cloud, ran forth  
 And sparkled keen with frost against the hilt :  
 For all the haft twinkled with diamond sparks,  
 Myriad of topaz-lights, and jacinth-work  
 Of subtlest jewellery."

Edrychwn lle maent yn ymdebygu, a lle y gwahaniaethant. *Blank verse*, wrth gwrs, yw y llinellau Seisnig; er hyny, cynhwysant gryn lawer o gynghanedd o ddosbarth y "braidd gyffwrdd", a byddai yn iechyd i'r moel-odlwyr Cymreig sylwi ar hyn :

"The brand Excalibur.  
 And o'er him. . . . winter moon  
 Long cloud . . . . sparkled keen  
 With frost against the hilt . . . . for all the haft  
 Topaz-lights . . . . subtlest  
 Jacinth-work . . . . jewellery."

Er nad yw y gynghanedd wedi ei gweu wrth real fanol, na thybier mai damweiniol yw. Y mae yn fwy cudd na'r gynghanedd Gymreig, ac ar ryw ystyr yn fwy celfydd. Dibynai y bardd ar ei glust ei hun i gynyrchu cydbwysedd prydfferth rhwng y cydseiniaid a'r llafariaid. Yn y mesur Seisnig, nid yw fai yn y byd fod rhan o linell yn cynganeddu a'r llinell nesaf. Yn y darn cywydd cawn gynghanedd reolaidd, a hi yn ddiau yw'r felusaf i'r glust

Gymreig. Y mae cynganeddion *Tir na n-Og* yn gywrain heb fod yn rhodresgar. Ar eithriad y deuwn ar draws swu clogsiâu difwsg fel “a magwyr yn ei mygu”. Mae'n amlwg fod *Tir na n-Og* dan ryw gymaint o ddyled i Tennyson am ei ddisgrifiad penigamp o'r addurnwaith. Llinell gampus yw “Lliw 'r tân a lliw eira têr”, ond perthyn yn agos i “With frost against the hilt”. Wedi'r cwbl, nid yw hynny o debygrwydd sydd yma yn tynu dim oddiar ogoniant y darn Cymraeg.

O'r diwedd mae y marchog yn ufuddhau. “Yn iach Galedfwlch glodfawr”, llefai, dan fwrw y llafn i'r llyn.

“Ond ar un naid, er hynny  
 Chwyfiodd ei fraich ufrudd fry,  
 A'r arf drosto drithro drôdd  
 Heb aros, ac fe'i bwriodd  
 Onid oedd fel darn o dân  
 Yn y nwyfre yn hofran.  
 Fel modrwy trwy'r gwagle trôdd  
 Eunydd, a syth ddisgynnodd  
 Fel mellten glaer, ysplenydd,  
 A welwo deg wawl y dydd ;  
 Ond cyn iddo daro'r dwr,  
 I'w wyneb daeth rhyw gymwr' ;  
 Ar hyn o'r llyn cododd llaw  
 Gadarn, gan fedrus gydiaw  
 Yn ei garn, ac yna gyd  
 A deheurwydd drud wryd,  
 Codi'r cleddyf a'i chwyfio,  
 Gwamiad a thrychiad dri thro ;  
 Yna'n ol hynny wele,  
 Tan y dwfr y tynwyd e !”

Disgrifiad rhagorol. Mae darfelydd y bardd yn gyfartal i'w ddawn i drosi geiriau. Mor gyson, mor gryno yw y darlun drwyddo ; mor lân oddiwrth ddim byd ystrydebol ! Does yma ddim gwastraff ; êl pob ergyd i'w nod yn syth ac uniongyrch. Ni thynwn oddiwrth werth y disgrifiad drwy ei gymharu ag eiddo Tennyson :—

“Then quickly rose Sir Bedivere, and ran,  
 And, leaping down the ridges lightly, plunged  
 Among the bulrush-beds, and clutch'd the sword,  
 And strongly wheel'd and threw it. The great brand  
 Made lightnings in the splendour of the moon,  
 And flashing round and round, and whirl'd in an arch,  
 Shot like a streamer of the northern morn,  
 Seen where the moving isles of winter shock  
 By night, with noises of the northern sea.  
 So flash'd and fell the brand Excalibur :  
 But ere he dipt the surface, rose an arm  
 Clothed in white samite, mystic, wonderful,  
 And caught him by the hilt, and brandish'd him  
 Three times, and drew him under in the mere.”

Nid gwiw gwadu fod Tennyson wedi awgrymu rhai o ymadroddion goreu *Tir na n-Og*, er engraifft:—

“And strongly wheel'd and threw it.”

“A'r arf drosto drithro drôdd.”

“Made lightnings in the splendour of the moon.”

“Fel mellten glaer, ysplenydd.”

“And flashing round and round,” etc.

“Fel modrwy trwy'r gwagle trôdd.”

“But ere he dipt the surface.”

“Ond cyn iddo daro'r dwr.”

Dyma'r cwbl a geir yn y chwedl: “And then he threw the sword into the water as far as he might, and there came an arm and a hand above the water and met it and caught it, and so shook it thrice and brandished. And then the hand vanished away with the sword in the water.” Dengys hyn faint o gynorthwy gafodd *Tir na n-Og* oddi-wrth Tennyson. Mwy priodol, hwyrach fyddai “ysbrydoliaeth” na “chynorthwy”. Oni thynodd Tennyson ei hun yn helaeth oddiar Malory yn yr “Idylls of the King”? Nis gwaeth faint o ddeunydd gafodd *Tir na n-Og* yng ngherdd Tennyson; oni chreodd rywbeth newydd? Ac wedi'r cwbl, onid oes mawr wahaniaeth rhyngddynt? Mae *Tir na n-Og* yn ddigon beiddgar i dori llinell newydd pan welo hyn yn oreu.



Rhaid i minau frysio, fel y bu gorfod i Fedwyr, i gludo'r brenin claf hyd fin y dwr. Caraswn ddifynu disgrifiad Tennyson o'r gorchwyl blin a phruddaidd hwnw. Dengys fwy o ofal ac o dosturi dros glwyfau y gwr ardderchog oedd ar adael y byd na *Tir na n-Og*.

“Quick, quick!

I fear it is too late, and I shall die.”

Fel engraifft o saerniaeth farddonol, hwyrach nad oes yn awdl *Tir na n-Og* ddim cystal a'i ddisgrifiad o'r llong oedd i gludo Arthur i Ynys Afallon. Llong ddu ddarparodd Tennyson, “dark as a funeral scarf from stem to stern,” ag ar ei bwrdd lu o wryfon urddasol mewn galarwisgoedd, “black-stoled, black-hooded”. Ond “llong eres”, sydd gan *Tir na n-Og*, a thyma'i ddisgrifiad:—

“Y'nghraidd y llong, ar ddull ail  
 I orsedd, 'roedd glwth eursail,  
 Ac ar ei gerfwaith cywrain  
 Gwrlid mwyth o 'sgarlad main.  
 Tair hefyd o wryfon  
 Ar sedd wrth yr orsedd hon  
 Eisteddai. Dlysed oeddynt!  
 Nid oedd gwedd Blodeuwedd gynt  
 O geinder ail; rhag gwyndawd  
 Perlog ne eu purloyw gnawd  
 Pylai gwawr y pali gwyn,  
 A ymdonnai am dany'n':  
 A lliw teg eu gwalltiau aur  
 Drwyddo fal cawod ruddaur.  
 Gyddfau a thalcennau cân  
 Mal eira ymyl Aran;  
 Deufan goch pob dwyfoch deg,  
 Lliw gwin drwy wynlliw gwaneq.”

Y mae y darlun godidog yna ynddo ei hun yn werth mwy na chadair Bangor. Ond beth yn enw barddas, a wnaeth i *Tir na n-Og* ollwng i mewn i'w awdl linell mor ddiawen, mor ddiurddas a hon:—

“A chodwyd e'n barchedig—i'r glwth draw.”

Os byth y caffo gyfle, tyned hi allan pe costiai hyny iddo ei fywyd. Lled oeraidd ydyw araeth ffarwel Arthur. Brudio am ddyddiau adfydus a wna, ac am ei ail ddyfodiad.

“Yn fy nghledd  
Gafaelaf, dygaf eilwaith  
Glod yn ol i'n gwlad a'n hiaith.”

Eto, mae yr araeth hon yn gorwedd yn esmythach ar galon Cymro na'r bregeth wyntog a geir yn yr un cyfwng yng nghân Tennyson; “The old order changeth, giving place to new,” &c. Ac y mae diwedd awdl *Tir na n-Og* yn hollol deilwng o'r dechreuad.

“Yn y pellter fel peraidd  
Anadliad, sibryliad braidd,  
Darfu'r llais; o drofâu'r llyn  
Anial, lledodd niwl llwydwyn,  
Yna araf cyniweiriodd,  
Ac yno'r llong dano dódd  
A'i chelu; fel drychiolaeth  
Yn y niwl diflannu wnaeth.  
“Bedwyr yn drist a distaw  
At y drin aeth eto draw.”

Nis gallaf ddychmygu am ddim mwy effeithiol na'r diwedd glo hwn. Hapus a phrydferth iawn, hefyd, yw disgrifiad Tennyson o ymadawiad y llong: maddeuer imi am ei ddifynu:—

“So said he, and the barge with oar and sail  
Moved from the brink, like some full-breasted swan  
That fluting a wild carol ere her death,  
Ruffles her pure cold plume, and takes the flood  
With swarthy webs. Long stood Sir Bedivere,  
Revolving many memories, till the hull  
Look'd one black dot against the verge of dawn,  
And on the mere the wailing died away.”

Nid wyf yn hoff o broffwydo, ond credaf y cymer awdl *Tir na n-Og* safle uchel ym mysg caniadau ei wlad. Enwais y gamp fwyaf arni, sef *dramatic realization*. Yn nesaf at hyny ei rhagoriaeth yw mireindeb. Y mae yr awdwr yn

*artist.* Anlwg ei fod wedi ofrydu yr iaith yn llwyr, a gwyr yn dda sut i'w defnyddio. Gwelir fod ei arddull yn tynu yn nes at gyfnod Dafydd ab Gwilym na'r dyddiau diweddar hyn. Eto, nid arddull Dafydd ab Gwilym moni. Saif, yn wir, ar ei phen ei hun. Dichon fod ei iaith a'i ddull-ymadrodd yn rhy goeth, rhy glasurol i rai pobl; ond eu hanffawd hwy yw hyny. Gwir iddo arfer rhai geiriau ansathredig, megis *llas, deryw, drudion, breithell, gurm, gnawd, orug, neud, glaisf, dioer, gwyndawd, pannwl*; ond nid ydynt mor lliosog, ac y mae rhai o honynt na ddylesid eu gollwng oddiar gof. Un arall o deithi mwyaf hudolus yr awdl yw swyngyfaredd. Y mae *Tir na n-Og* yn caru natur yn fwy nag athrawiaeth. Efe a ddug yr awen Gymreig yn ol i'w hen arfer. Ychydig o fesurau a ddefnydiodd—Unodl Union, Deuair Hirion, Toddaid, a Thriban Milwr. Gwnaeth yn ddoeth ymwrthod a phethau ffug-gywrain ym mhlith y mesurau Cymreig. Os oes bai ar yr awdl, yr wyf bron meddwl y gall fod rhy fychan o deimlad ynddi. Buaswn yn barod i gyfnewid peth o'r ceinder marmoraidd am ychydig o ddaagrau. Ond nid wylo gwneyd ychwaith: gwell genyf heb hwnw. Be ddywed yr hen benill bendigaid:—

“Ti gei glywed os gwrandewi  
Swm y galon fach yn tori.”

Oni sibrydodd yr Awen wrth y bardd, “Dod dy glust ar fron y gwron elwyfedig, a thi a gei glywed swm y galon fawr yn dryllio.” Ond dyna; nis gall dyn na bardd fod yn bobpeth.

Deliais yr awdl ochr yn ochr a chyfansoddiad y prif-fardd Tennyson, gyda dau neu dri o amcanion. Tybiais mai nid anyddorol fyddai i'r darlennydd wybod i ba raddau yr oedd y bardd byw yn ddyledus i'r marw, yr anenwog i'r bydenwog. Os digwydd i rai o awenwyr ieuaine Cymru ddarllen hyn o ysgrif, hwyrach yr argyhoeddir hwynt

gymaint allent fanteisio drwy efrydu gweithiau dynion mwy na hwy eu hunain. Hefyd, yr oedd yn haws ffurfio barn deg am yr awdl drwy ei dal yn gyfochrog â gwaith awdurol, a chyferbynu yr hyn oedd wych yn y naill â'r hyn oedd wael yn y llall. Yn olaf, credaf imi roddi prawf y gall y bardd Cymreig, ond iddo wneyd tegwch ag ef ei hun, fod yn gystal a'r goreuon. Am un peth yn arbenig dylem ddiolch i *Tir na n-Og*; ni ddarfu iddo, fel y gwnaeth Tennyson yn ei ol-arawd, gyffelybu Arthur—yr Arthur a ddaw—i “modern gentleman of stateliest port”. Cyngor bach yng nghlust *Tir na n-Og*—Na fydded iddo gipris am ormod gwobrau. Mae un gadair gystal a chant. Y cywydd deuair-hirion yw ei nerth. Boed iddo ddewis ei destynau fel y daw yr hwyl, a chanu ar ei fwyd ei hun.

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## II.

PAN drown oddiwrth awdl *Tir na n-Og* at bryddest *Gwydion ab Don*,<sup>2</sup> symudwn i hinsawdd dra gwahanol. Nid oes eisieu manylu ar y gwahaniaeth rhwng y ddau ddull o ganu—yr hen a'r diweddar, y caeth a'r rhydd. Llai fyth sydd o anghen dadleu pa un yw y mwyaf gorchestol: pe caem y ddau ar eu goreu, gwynfydedig yn wir fyddem. Na, meddwl yr oeddwn am y ddau destyn. Yn y naill, cerddem ar adegau hyd lenyreh paradwysaidd. Ond swm hiraeth a marwolaeth oedd yn yr awel. Nid yw ceinder yn gyfyngedig i fywyd na dedwyddwch. Onid yw gruddiau angeu yn aml yn hawddgar, ymylon bedd yn flodeuog? Yn ing “Ymadawiad Arthur” ni chlywsom air o son am Wenhwyfar, na thanau'r delyn, na dewiniaeth Myrddin. Ond yn stori amlgeinc-

<sup>2</sup> Hwn yw y ffug-enw a ddefnyddiwyd gan y Parch. R. Silyn Roberts, M.A., awdwr y Bryddest fuddugol.—(E.V.E.)

iog Trystan ac Esysllt, yr hyn oedd yn ein haros oedd swynion serch, ei nwyfiant a'i soriant, ei fwyn ofalon, ei dor calon a'i dranc. Bawb ohonom oedd wedi croesi'r cyhydedd, deisyfasom fyned yn ifanc drachefn. Canys hoen ieuenetid sydd lond y testyn. Yr oeddym, hefyd, yn gwybod am y bardd enillodd y llawryf. Darllenasom ei delynegion. Disgwyliem lawer oddiwrtho. O blith y rhai a ganasant o'i flaen i'r un testyn, dylid enwi Matthew Arnold a Swinburne. Nodweddir cerdd Arnold gan dawelwech prudd-dyner. Disgrifir y gwron yn ei gystudd olaf, yn ail fyw yr helynt caru mewn breuddwyd. Difera ambell air neu riddfaniad dros ei wefusau, yna dyry'r bardd gainc i mewn i lenwi'r bylechau. Ymestyn cân Swinburne i bum mil o linellau agos. Edrydd efe yr hanes bron o'r dechreu i'r diwedd gydag afiaeth, darfelydd, a dawn digyffelyb. Mae byd o wahaniaeth rhwng cynllun ac arddull y ddwy gerdd.

Er mwyn hwylusdod rhoddaf grynhodeb o'r hanes, wedi ei godi o *Chambers' Encyclopædia* :

“Tristrem was the love-child of King Mark of Cornwall's sister and Roland of Ermonie, and at fifteen repaired to Cornwall, where he charmed the whole Court by his minstrelsy. He slew Moraunt in mortal combat, and lay ill three years of the wounds he received, but was borne to Ireland, and there cured by Ysolt or Ysonde, daughter of the Queen. On his return to Cornwall he told his uncle of the marvellous beauty of the Irish Princess, and was sent to solicit her hand for him in marriage. Tristrem escorted Ysonde on her voyage to England; but both unwittingly drank of a love-potion intended for Mark, and from that day to the day of their death no man or woman could come between their loves. Ysonde was married to the King of Cornwall, but by the help of her clever maid, Brengwain, had many a secret interview with her lover. Tristrem was banished from Cornwall, but again brought to his uncle's Court, and again their inevitable loves began anew. Next he wandered to Spain, Ermonie, Brittany, and here married another Ysonde—her with the white hand, daughter of Duke Florentine—but he could not forget his love for Ysonde of Ireland. Grievously wounded in battle, he sent a messenger to bring her to him. ‘If you bring her with you,’ he charged him, ‘hoist a white sail; if you bring her not, let your sail

be black.' Soon the ship is sighted, and Tristrem asks eagerly what is the colour of her sail. It was white, but Ysonde of Brittany, her heart being filled with bitter jealousy, told Tristrem the sail was black, whereupon the heart-sick lover sank back and died. Ysonde of Ireland threw herself in passionate despair upon his body and died heart-broken beside him. King Mark subsequently learned the story of the love-potion, and buried the twain in one grave, planting over Ysonde a rose-bush, over Tristrem a vine, which grew up so inextricably intertwined that no man could separate them."

Stori hynod o brydferth! Cyfrifir hi gan lawer yn frenhines ym mysg storiau serch. O'r ddeuddegfed ganrif hyd ein hamser ni fe ysbrydolodd lu o feirddion a cherddorion ym mhob gwlad yn Ewrob i ganu a phrydyddu. Hon yw testyn un o brif weithiau Wagner. Cydnebydd yr awdurdodau penaf mai stori Geltaidd yw. Ai dyna'r rheswm paham y darfu i'r beirdd Cymreig ei diystyru mor hir? Nid yw hyny yn glod nac yn enill iddynt. Modd bynag fe roddodd dewisiad Pwyllgor Bangor gyfleustra ardderchog i rai ohonynt anfarwoli eu hunain. Yn llyfr Malory mae y chwedl yn faith a chymysglyd, ag iddi lawer ystlys a mwy na digon o aniweirdeb. Fel yr awgrymwyd eisoes, o hyny y cyfyd yr unig anhawster sydd yn perthyn i'r testyn. Y gamp, felly, oedd sut i ddeol y pethau mwyaf gwrthun yn y stori heb aberthu ei bywyd a'i swyn.

Rhanodd *Gwydion ab Don* ei gerdd yn bum penod. Yn y gyntaf gwelwn long yn marchogaeth y tonau tua'r Iwerddon, a Thyrstan ar ei bwrdd. Ceir disgrifiad bywiog a chryno o'r gwron clwyfedig :

"Ar gwrlid drud, mewn gwisg o borffor breiniol,  
Gorwedda clwyfus wr o drem urddasol,  
Y gwinau walt, lliw'r gneuen, yn modrwyog  
Gylchynnu'i wyneb hardd, boneddig, rhywiog ;  
Ond yn ei lygaid tristwch du deyrnasa,  
A gwywder bedd ar lwydni i rudd arhosa :  
Ei glwyf a ysa'i fywyd tan ei ddwyfron,  
A' i wenwyn marwol fferra waed ei galon.

A segur ydyw'r waew fawr ei grym,  
 Yr helm o ddu, a'r cleddyf hirbraff llym;  
 Ei fron ni wisg y gref ddihafal lurig  
 A heriodd ruthr llawer ymwan ffyrnig,  
 Gorffwysa'i delyn euraidd wrth ei ystlys,  
 A'i thannau yn anghofio'i thonau melus."

Mae arddull y darn uchod yn fwy Cymreig, a'i symudiad yn fwy urddasol na llawer pryddest a goronwyd yn yr Eisteddfod Genedlaethol. Er hyny, llithra'r awdwr weithiau. Mwy boddhaol fuasai llai o "wr o drem", "gwisg o borffor", "helm o ddu". Cydmarer y darn hwn a disgrifiad *Tir na n-Og* o'r llong y dodwyd Arthur arni, a gwelir fod pellder difesur rhyngddynt. Yn dilyn y llinellau yna, ceir cipdrem dros fywyd boreol Trystan—marwolaeth ei fam, ei gampau fel cerddor a milwr, ei ddyfodiad i Gernyw, ac yn benaf yr ornest fawr rhyngddo a Morollt, pan laddwyd y Gwyddel ac y clwyfwyd yntau. Ar y cyfan mae yr iaith yn gref, ond canfyddwn ar brydiau duedd i rigymu, megys :

"Ym mroch yr helynt Trystan a ddaeth o daith i'r llys,  
 Ac achos Cernyw arno'i hun gymerodd gyda brys."

Lled ddof hefyd yw ei ddisgrifiad o'r ymladd :

"Roedd wyneb yr ynysig yn weirglodd wastad las,  
 Ac yno bwriwyd Morollt falch a'i ryfelfarch a las.  
 Disgynnodd Trystan yntau i'w gyrechu gyda'i gledd,  
 Ond yn yr ymgyreh cafodd glwyf a lwydodd wrid ei wedd.  
 Er gwaetha'r archoll hyrddiodd un dynnod grymus mawr  
 Nes hollti helm ei elyn a'i fwrw'n fud i'r llaw;  
 A darn o'r glaif elodforus a dorrodd yn y briw  
 Anrhydedd gorsedd Cernyw lon a gadwodd Trystan wiw."

Gymaint yn fwy arwrol yw rhyddiaeth Malory ! Dyma ddarn o'i ddisgrifiad ef :

"And they began fer to fewtre their spears, and they met so fiercely together that they smote each other down, both horse and all, to the earth. But Sir Marhaus smote Sir Tristram a great wound in his side with his spear, and then they avoided their horses, and

drew out their swords anon, and cast their shields before them, and then they lashed together as it had been two wild boars that be courageous."

Pan orweddaï Trystan yn glaf, daeth "gwr o hil y tylwyth teg" ato a dywedodd mai yn llys Iwerddon yn unig y caffai feddyginiaeth i'w glwyf.

"A'r Ynys Werdd, trwy fâr y don ormesol,  
A gyreha'r clwyfus wr o drem urddasol."

"O drem urddasol" eto! Fel yna y gadewir Trystan ar y mor i gyfeirio ei rawd am yr Iwerddon. Ni adroddir ei hanes wedi cyrhaedd y wlad hono, yr hyn a bâr dipyn o ddyrswch i'r darlennydd.

"Y Llys Gennad" yw penawd yr ail adran. Egyr gyda molawd fer ar ddylanwad serch. Bydd genyf rywbeth i'w ddweyd am y dernyn hwn cyn diweddu. Erbyn hyn y mae Trystan yn ol yng Nghernyw, a chodir y llen arno yn eistedd ar grib craig uwchben y mor ac yn canu alawon serch i Eysyllt, y ferch a welsai yn llys Iwerddon. Mae y darlun hwn wedi ei liwio yn hynod o gelfydd:

"Yng Nghernyw lon yn sw'n y lli ar glogwyn uchel unig  
Eisteddai gwr o osgedd hardd urddasol a bonheddig;  
Modrwyau aml am ei law, ei wisg o bali purddu,  
A rhagdal aur rhuddemog drud gynhalia'i wallt gwineuddu;  
Cain lafnau euraidd oedd yn cau'i wintasau cordwal newydd,  
Ei ddeheu law gynhaliaï bwys ei delyn aur ysblennydd;  
Ei rudd orffwysai ar y llall: a'i dywell drem freuddwydiol  
Yn erwydro ar hiraethlon daith trwy wyll y nos ledrithiol  
I oleu llys yr Ynys Werdd, ei gyfoeth a'i ysblander,  
A mel acenion Eysyllt wen yn ysbrydoli'i londer."

Rhed ei fyfyrdodau yn ol at y feinir deg "fu'n chwilio'r archoll echrys". Iachasai'r fam y clwyf, ond "clwyfasai'r ferch ei ddwyfron". Mae'n eglur tuhwnt i bob dadl fod Trystan wedi syrthio yn ddwfn mewn serch ag Eysyllt. Rhag bod cysgod o amheuaeth ar y pwnc, gesyd y bardd delyneg hiraethlawn yng ngenau Trystan:





Nid oes raid wrth fardd i ddweyd pethau fel yna. Gwell, hefyd, fuasai y gerdd heb linell mor aflednais a hon, am yr hen frenin March :

“A theimlai iasau nwydau serch yn cerdded ei wythiennau.”

Eto :

“Ond os dychwelai codid had i March o'r ieuanc fanon.”

Beth allsai fod yn fwy disynwyr, pan ystyriom nad oedd March erioed wedi gweled y ferch, na'r ffurf a roddir i'w orchymyn. “Dos” ebe March :

“I ddwyn fy mherl dros frig y don i'w chartref yn fy mreichiau.”

Perl—cartref—breichiau! A pha fath garwr oedd Trystan, pan dderbynai y gorchymyn hwn i gyrchu y ferch i arall heb wrthdystiad bach na mawr? Yr anffawd yw fod *Gwydion ab Don* wedi gwneyd i Drystan ac E sylt syrthio mewn serch a'u gilydd yn llawer rhy gynar, a cheir gweld fod hyn wedi ei dynu i fagl arall. Ie, mae dau yn caru E sylt, sef y brenin a'i nai. “Ond sut i'w chael”, medd y bardd :

“Tr llys anfonwyd rhoddion heirdd i'r brenin a'r frenhines,  
A thlysau aur a gemau drud i E sylt dywysoges.”

Drwy hyn cafodd Trystan ei draed eilwaith ar dir Iwerddon. Ond ni sonir dim am dano'n cyflwyno'r genadwri a ddygasai oddiwrth frenin Cernyw. Y peth a wnaeth oedd myned allan i ymladd â draig oedd yn blino'r wlad, ac oherwydd iddo ei lladd bu Trystan yn fawr ei barch. Arfollwyd gwledd iddo, a galwyd ar y frenhines a'r ferch i'w ymgeleddu. Dechreua E sylt amheu ai nid efe oedd y llanc a ymwelodd a'r llys o'r blaen dan yr enw Tantrys. Tra mae Trystan yn y baddon, archwilia hithau ei wisg a'i arfau, a thyn ei gledd o'r wain—fenyw gywrain—yn ei gorawydd am ryw dystiolaeth. Yn ebrwydd cenfydd y bwlech yn y llafn, a thyna'r gwirionedd yn gwawrio ar ei meddwl,

“ Fflachiodd goleuni ffaith i'w bryd yn sydyn fel taranfollt :  
 Cofiodd y darn dynesid gynt o ben elwyfedig Morollt.  
 Dial gynheuai yn ei gwaed : a rhuthrai i daro'r gelyn  
 Oedd yn y baddon marmor gwyn yn llesg a diamddiffyn.  
 ' Tydi dywelltaist waed fy nghâr', dolefa'r ferch yn lliediog,  
 ' Tydi yw gelyn penna ngwlad, y gwaedlyd Drystan farchog.'  
 A chyda'r gair dyrchafai'r cledd i drychu Trystan fradus ;  
 Ond gwelai wen, a llygaid du, a gwallt gwineuddu Tantrys.”

Mae y ferch yn gwareiddio ac yn maddeu. Ond mor afresymol yw yr ymfflamychiad hwn; mor anaturiol y darlun! Beth barai i Epyllt ymboeni cymaint am “ben elwyfedig Morollt?” A hi yn “serhocach na Lalage,” beth enynasai y fath ddygasedd ynddi at y “gwr a garai orau”? Iseult, you had a vile temper. Dywedir, hwyrach, fod digwyddiad cyffelyb yn llyfr Malory. Oes, ond y mae wedi ei gyfleu yn bur wahanol. Nid Epyllt, ond ei mham, a fygythiai lofruddio'r marchog “yn y baddon”, a rhoddir rheswm da paham. Yr oedd Morollt yn frawd i'r frenhines. Ni wneir hyny yn eglur yn y bryddest. Hawdd fuasai hebgor yr hanesyn rhyfedd hwn, ond os nad allasai *Gwydion ab Don* wrthsefyll y dentasiwn o'i ddefnyddio, beth oedd yn galw am iddo ei wyrdroi a'i wneuthur yn anfesuroel ddigrifach peth nag y cafodd ef? Modd bynag, fe ddaeth Trystan allan o'r baddon yn fyw a gwisgodd am dano, a bu yn edifar gan y fun iddi fod mor chwyrn.

“Breuddwydliai Epyllt ieuane am y gwr a garai orau  
 A'r dagrau'n perlio ar ei grudd o dan ei muchudd aelau,  
 Glân a diniwed oedd ei serch fel gwynder blodau'r gwanwyn,  
 A'i theimlad tyner mor ddi-nwyd ag awel Mai mewn irlwyn.”

Cyrhaeddir y *climax* yn y drydedd benod, “Y Cwpan Swyn”. Mae y llong yn mordwyo yn ol tua Chernyw, a'r ddeuddyn dedwydd, Trystan ac Epyllt, ar ei bwrdd. Llithra'r dydd heibio yn ddifyr rhwng ymddiddanion cariadlawn ac odlau mwyn y delyn. Erbyn yr hwyr edrychai y rhwyfwyr yn llesg gan y gwres a'r lludded.

“Ac meddai Trystan : ‘Wyr, gorffwysweh, weithion,  
 ‘A gwyliaf finnau’ch hun ar fron yr eigion.’  
 Gafaelai yn y rhwyfau hir anhyblyg,  
 O’i nerth ystwythent megys gwiaii helyg.  
 Ei rym digymar yrrai’r llong i’w thaith ;  
 Fel gwisgi gysgod cerddai’i llwybyr llaith.”

Nid oes air o grybwylliad am hyn yn hanes Malory. Cymerwyd y syniad, mi dybiaf, o gerdd Swinburne. Pedwar rhwyfwr sydd ar ei long ef ; ac er mwyn ystwytho ei gymalau, cymerth Trystan le un o honynt wrth y rhwyf.

“Then Tristram girt him for an oarsman’s place  
 And took his oar and smote, and toiled with might  
 In the east wind’s full face and the strong sea’s spite  
 Labouring ; and all the rowers rowed hard, but he  
 More mightily than any wearier three.”

Ond ni foddlonai *Gwydion ab Don* ar hyny ; mynai efe i Drystan wneyd gwaith y cwbl. Nid wyf yn ei feio am fenthycio’r ddyfais, ond yn hytrach am ei difetha. Y gwir amcan oedd codi syched ar Drystan ar gyfer y peth pwysig—y pwysicaf yn y gerdd—oedd i ddilyn. “Trystan, gad dy rwyfo”, sibrydai Esyllt, ac yntau a eisteddodd wrth ei thraed. Yna ceir disgrifiad maith o’r ymserchu fu rhwng y ddau. Difynaf ranau ohono, a gofynaf i’r darlennydd sylwi mor frwd oedd eu teimladau, mor nwydlawn eu hymarweddiad.

“Addolai Trystan brydferth fun ei gariad,  
 A pheraroglau serch yn meddwi’i deimlad,  
 Trwy wythiennau llosgai tân y duwiau ;  
 A chrynnai neges serch ar ei wefusau.

Ei mynwes hithau’n llawn o dyner dân,  
 A’i wres yn araf wrido ’i gruddiau glân ;  
 Pelydrai ’i llygaid fel dwy seren befr :  
 Agosrwydd Trystan deimlai megys gwefr ;  
 Disgynnai llesmair serch ar ei haelodau  
 A’i ddwys ddyhead byw yn llenwi ei bronau.

Dymunai Trystan sugno môl y rhos :  
A chuddio i ben am byth tan lennir nos.

Fe blygai Esysllt ar y cwrlid purddu :  
A'i lili law roi ar ei wallt gwinuddu ;  
A phwysai i ben i orwedd ar ei gliniau ;  
A themlai'r gwres enuynai i wythiennau."

A llawer mwy o bethau cyffelyb, yn gwneyd cant o linellau. Prin y gallasai'r awdwr dynu y gorchudd ymbellach oddiar ddygyfor cariad heb groesi terfynau gweddeidd-dra. Yn wir y mae rhai o'r llinellau yn cerdded yr ymylon. Ond dyma'r pwynt—yr oedd y Cwpan Swyn eto heb ei yfed! Pryder y frenhines am y ferch oedd yn myned i briodi hen wr wnaeth iddi barotoi y diodlyn serch. Wele eiriau Malory :

"And then the Queen, La Beale Isonde's mother, gave Dame Bragwaine, her daughter's gentlewoman, and unto Governale a drink, and charged them that what day King Mark should wed, that same day they should give him that drink, so that King Mark should drink with La Beale Isonde, and then 'I undertake,' said the Queen 'either shall love other all the days of their life.'"

Dyna sut y daeth y *love philtre* i chware rhan mor bwysig yn y stori. Y mae *Gwydion ab Don* wedi gwneyd i Drystan syrthio mewn serch ag Esysllt, ac Esysllt â Thrystan o'r dechreu. Beth sydd i'r cwpan ei wneyd wedi hyn? Mor wahanol yw ymdriniaeth Swinburne! Cyfyd syched angerddol ar Drystan wedi y rhwyfo, a geilw am ddiod. Naid Esysllt i fyny rhed i ymofyn gwin; cenfydd y gostrel aur wedi ei chuddio ym mynwes Branwen, a dwg hi at Drystan. Nid oes dim mwy effeithiol yug ngherdd Swinburne na'r llinellau lle disgrifia'r ddeuddlyn yn edrych i wynebau eu gilydd am y tro olaf yn ddibrofiad o boenau serch :

"The last hour of their hurtless hearts at rest,  
The last that peace should touch them breast to breast,  
The last that sorrow far from them should sit,  
This last was with them and they knew not it."

Yf y ddau o'r ddiod, a thyna'r drwg wedi ei wneyd, y fflam aniffoddol wedi ei henyn. Disgrifia *Gwydion ab Don* y weithred hon yn fanwl. Ond i ba beth? Yng nghân Swinburne gofyna Trystan i'r fun gyffwrth y cwpan â'i gwefusau :

“Give me to drink and give me for a pledge  
The touch of four lips on the beaker's edge.”

Dyfais Swinburne ei hun yw hon, a thyma'r defnydd wna *Gwydion ab Don* ohoni :

“I gwpan swyn edrychai'r nen ddigymyl ;  
A gwelai bedair gwefus ar ei ymyl  
Yn yfed hudwin tynged heb betrusder,  
Yn drachtio rhudd ddiodlyn gwinllan Gwener.”

Dau yn yfed o'r un gostrel, neu phiol, ar unwaith ! Nid felly Swinburne ; y fun yn gyntaf, yna y llane. Wedi yr yfed, ceir gan *Gwydion ab Don* ail genllif o ufelwy serch a nwyd :—

“Hi deimla'r tân yn ennyn yn ei chalon,  
A'i wres yn gwrido 'i grudd, yn chwyddo 'i dwyfron,  
Ei chorff yn crynnu dan ei loesion melus,  
A'i swynion yn parlysu ei hewyllys.  
Gogwyddai 'i phen : a cheisiai guddio 'i llygaid ;  
Ond methai 'i gwallt gymylu 'u pelydr taubaid.  
A thraserch Trystan, wedi ei wallgofi,  
Fel ufel mynwes Etna yn dylosgi,  
Dynesai ; ymddisgleiriai llygaid Esyllt,  
Serch, dychryn, nwyd yn llenwi eu dyfnder trywyllt ;  
Dychlamai bronnau'r ddau ; ymwelwai 'u gruddiau ;  
Byrhái, dyfuhai, cyflymai 'u hanadliadau.”

Yr unig wahaniaeth rhwng y darn hwn a'r disgrifiad ddifynwyd eisoes cyn yfed ohonynt o'r Cwpan Swyn yw yr awgrym o drythyllweh tua'r diwedd. Cyfrifir Swinburne y mwyaf nwyfus a hyf ei leferydd o'r beirdd Seisnig, ond y mae yn llawer cynilach o'i eiriau a'i afaeth na *Gwydion ab Don* yn y cyfwng hwn. Dim ond un-llinell-

ar-bymtheg sydd ganddo ar ganlyniad uniongyrchol yr yfed. Dyma'r cryfaf o honynt :

“And all their life changed in them, for they quaffed

Death . . . . .

Each on each

Hung with strange eyes and hovered as a bird

Wounded, and each mouth trembled for a word :

Their heads neared, and their hands were drawn in one,

And they saw dark, though still the unsunken sun

Far through fine rain shot fire into the south ;

And their four lips became one burning mouth.”

Erys dwy benod eto—“Yr Alltud”, a'r “Hwyl Ddu”. Ond mae'r amynedd yn pallu. Fe'm sionwyd yn aruthr yn y gerdd hon. Dywedais air da am ran ohoni. Gyda gofal ac ymdrech, diau y gallasai yr awdwr gynyrechu rhywbeth a bri arno, ond methodd a chadw ei safon ei hun i fyny. Ar brydiau naid yn uchel i'r nwyfre, ond yn ebrwydd disgynna yn ol i'r ddaear. Mae weithiau yn ehedydd, weithiau fel hwyaden yn hedfan ar ei thraed. Yn awr ac eilwaith meddienir ef gan iasau o glefyd y Bardd Newydd. Ar dudalen 36, ceir y ddwy linell a ganlyn bron y drws nesaf i'w gilydd :

“Mae calon tragwyddoldeb ynddo'n curo.”

“Mae'r sêr yn gwenu cariad tragwyddoldeb.”

Am Esvyllt ym mhothder ei serch dywed :

“Ni chaiff ond cariad weld ei thrysor penaf,—

Shecinah glân ei chysegr saneteiddiolaf.”

A glybuwyd erioed y fath ffwlbri? Yn un o'i delynegion serch sonia am “y manna a'r gwin”, ac “emynau mawl”. Os emyn, emyn; os telyneg, telyneg. Yn gymysg a hyny daw y mursendod colegaidd y soniais am dano. Fwy nag unwaith ceir ganddo bethau gwir chwerthiullyd. Yn y bedwaredd benod llwyddodd rhyw grythor

erwydrol drwy dric lled blentynaidd i ysbeilio y brenin March o'i wraig. Ond yr oedd Trystan yn gwylio ei gyfleustra "mewn ogof yn y coed". Daeth yntau ar warthaf y crythor a chyda tipyn o *strategy*, cipiodd E sylt o'i feddiant. Chware teg iddo; nid twyll twyllo twyllwr. Y peth sydd yn anfaddeuol yn yr helynt yw y cwpled a ganlyn :

"A fflachiodd cilwg Trystan, i'r Gwyddel rhoddodd wth:  
'Fy nhelyn aur a biau'r ged enillaist ti a'th grwth.'

Beth pe dywedasai Mathew Arnold neu Swinburne yn eu cerddi hyglod :

"His eye flashed out in anger fierce, he gave the Pat a shove,  
'My golden harp has won the girl, a fiddler she's above.'

Pan êl *Gwydion ab Don* i gyfarch yr Awen, boed iddo ar bob cyfrif orchfygu ei duedd i wneuthur ei hun yn gareg ateb i feirdd eraill, waeth pwy fyddont. Yn y gân hon ceir amryw adseiniau o Elfed. Un o honynt yw "Milfil chwerthin distaw'r lli" ("Milfil chwerthin ei dilw"—*Caniadau Elfed*). Ar y goreu nid yw ond cyfieithiad o ymadrodd enwog Æschylus, "Kumaton anerithmon gelasma" (*Prometheus Bound*). Mae amryw feirdd ereill wedi gwneyd defnydd ohono (*e.g.* "Many twinkling smile of Ocean"—*Keble*), ac y mae i'w gael ym mhob geiriadur Groeg o bwys. Gan ei fod wedi chwerthin ers mwy na dwy fil o flynyddoedd, y mae'n bryd iddo dynu ei gernau adref. Engreiffitiau pellach o Elfediaeth yw "O ddwyfol serch, anfarwol serch", a "Llwybyr paradwys mab a merch".

"O! wynfyd Serch, O! ddolur Serch."

"Penyd nefolaidd mab a merch."

(*Caniadau Elfed*.)

Un o'r pethau hynotaf yn perthyn i gerdd Swinburne yw ei ragarawd maith ar Serch fel dylanwad cynwynol drwy'r greadigaeth. Ceir rhagymodrodd byr ar yr un



pwne ar ddechreu ail benod *Gwydion ab Don*. Dechreua Swinburne fel hyn :

“Love, that is first and last of all things made.”

A Gwydion ab Don :

“Serch, cryfach yw nag anghen du, a hynach na'r mynyddoedd.”

Mae'n ddigon eglur eisoes mai Swinburne awgrymodd y drychfeddwl hwn i *Gwydion ab Don*. Yn awr mi godaf ychydig linellau o'r naill a'r llall er mwyn dangos pa ddefnydd wnaeth bardd coronog Bangor o'r awgrym :

“One fiery raiment with all lives inwrought,  
And lights of sunny and starry deed and thought.”

“Serch yw goleuni bywyd dyn a dwyfol grewr hyder.

“And with the pulse and motion of his breath  
Through the great heart of the earth strikes life and death.”

“Ym more gwyn ieuentyd bod, ar wawr y dechreu cynnar,  
Deffrodd pelydrau tân yr haul nwyd serch ym mron y ddaear.”

“Love that is blood within the veins of time.”

“Anfarwol serch yw'r bywiol waed yng ngwythiennau amser.”

Tybiaf i mi ddangos yn fy sylwadau ar awdl *Tir na n-Og* nad wyf yn gulfarn na chrintachlyd ynghylch hawl awdwr i gymeryd awgrymiadau o waith awdwr arall. Y cwestiwn yw hwn,—beth a wna o honynt. Yr hyn a wnaeth *Gwydion ab Don* yma oedd pigo llinellau o ragarawd Swinburne a'u troi i'r Gymraeg a'u doddi yn ei gân ei hun yn y drefn a welodd efe yn oreu. Beth yw y llinell olaf a ddifyuais heblaw cyfieithiad noeth o un o'r llinellau mwyaf barddonol a ysgrifennodd Swinburne erioed?

Ond yr anaf mwyaf ar y gerdd yw ei chynlluniad. Teimlwn fod gormod o wagle rhwng y benod gyntaf a'r ail. Trwyddo i gyd cyll y cyfansoddiad mewn cysondeb. Nid oes yma ddim o'r *dramatic instinct* hwnw a esyd y fath arbenigrwydd ar awdl *Tir na n-Og*. Ni bu *Gwydion ab*

*Don* yn ddoeth i ddewis y pethau goreu o'r hen chwedl; ni bu yn gelfydd wrth gyfleu y rhai a ddewisodd. Benthyciodd amryw bethau o gerdd Swinburne, ac andwyodd hwynt. Gwaeth na'r cwbl methodd yn ei ymgais i ddwyn rhawd y stori i'w *glimax* yn namwain y Cwpan Swyn, yr hyn yw craidd a chnewyllyn yr holl ramant.

R. A. GRIFFITH (*Elphin*).

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OLD PEMBROKE FAMILIES in the Ancient County Palatine of Pembroke. Compiled (in part from the Floyd MSS.) by Henry Owen, D.C.L. Oxon., F.S.A., High Sheriff of Pembrokeshire. London: Published for the Author by Chas. J. Clark, 36, Essex Street, Strand, 1902.

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IN the book before us Dr. Owen makes another valuable addition to his scholarly researches into the history of his native county. The work forms a welcome supplement to the volumes he has already issued, concerned as those are with the topography of the shire.

We owe what knowledge we possess of the ancient families of Pembroke to the History of the verbose and inaccurate Fenton. The contrast between the two books is remarkable. Indeed, one might well suppose that Dr. Owen had ever before his mind's eye a fear of Fenton's failings, for never was there a book so shorn of verbiage and so minutely accurate. The author might well have been pardoned had he dwelt at greater length upon the

story of some of the notable personages whose names he records, or given the reader a glimpse of the romances which underlie the history of the families whose fortunes he narrates. But he dismisses the famous Tournament held at Carew Castle in 1507 with a bare reference, and even Sir John Perrot has to be content with a paltry page or two. To a certain extent, however, this deficiency is made less apparent by the play of the dry wit never absent from Dr. Owen's pages. Occasionally, also, the reader is enlivened by the author's cynical contempt for shams, as for instance in his exposure of the Norman pedigree of the De La Roche family.

When William the Conqueror turned his horde of adventurers loose over England and Wales, the rich pasture lands of Glamorgan and Pembroke soon attracted their notice. Not only did these districts promise a rich harvest to the Norman knight, whose only fortune was his sword, but he also got something else which probably pleased him quite as much, namely, his stomachful of fighting. There were other attractions too, does Welsh tradition belie not, for if fate decreed that the Welsh chieftain and his heirs fell on the field of battle, the Norman was seldom averse to an alliance with the chieftain's daughter and her estate. The fair Welshwomen made easy captives of the men who had defeated their fathers and brothers. The voluminous works of Mr. G. T. Clark and Dr. De Gray Birch have, of recent years, placed us in possession of a mass of details about the Glamorgan settlers; but hitherto no attempt has been made to reduce these isolated facts into an accurate and consecutive narrative.

That interesting story still remains to be told, and we fancy the coming historian will find his labours considerably lightened by delving into the Floyd Collections now

at Aberystwyth College. Dr. Owen has generously paid his acknowledgments to Mr. Floyd, though every page of the book bears witness to his own unrivalled knowledge of the history of the County.

But what remains to be done for the Glamorgan lords has been accomplished for their Pembroke compeers in the book before us. We have here a succinct and compressed account of twenty-eight of the chief families of the County Palatine. When it is stated that eight of these families settled in the county early in the twelfth century, and that the history of all the others is traced back to the fourteenth century, it will be easy for those who delight in antiquarian pursuits to gauge the value of the book.

Few of the families mentioned are to-day represented in the county, and fewer still retain their ancient heritages. The Hon. Mrs. Trollope, who is at present the owner of Carew Castle, is a lineal descendant of Nest, the "Helen of Wales", who brought it as dower to Gerald de Windsor about the year 1104. Surely few families in the United Kingdom have a record such as this. The Wirriots also, who were settled at Orielton in the twelfth century are now represented by Sir Hugh Owen, of Goodwick, one of whose ancestors married the heiress of the family. From Nest and Gerald de Windsor are descended some of the most famous families of Ireland: the Fitzgeralds, who became Earls of Kildare and Dukes of Leinster; the Fitz-Maurices, Earls of Kerry and Marquises of Lansdowne; the Graces, Barons of Courtstown, and the Gerards, Lord Gerrard. A branch of the family returned to Wales at a later date, and, settling in North Wales, became the founders of many of the best-known families there, such as the Vaughans of Corsygedol, and the Wynns of Peniarth.

Quite a controversy seems to have risen as to the

meaning of the word Carew. Old Richard Carew, the Elizabethan historian of Cornwall, quaintly says :

“Carew, of ancient, Carru was,  
And Carru is a plough ;  
Roman's the trade, Frenchman the word,  
I do the name avow.”

Dr. Owen thinks the word is of Welsh origin, and probably meant *Cuerau*, camps, the local pronunciation, Carey, giving some colour to this surmise. In Welsh poetry of the fifteenth century, it is spelt *Caeryw*, and this was probably the Welsh pronunciation as distinguished from that adopted by those living in the locality, who were certainly not Welsh-speaking.

Next to the Carews, the families whose history presents the greatest interest are the Wogans, the Perrots and the Owens. Sir John Wogan, “the greatest man of all the Wogan families, and one of the greatest men whom Pembrokeshire has produced”, was Justiciary of Ireland in the thirteenth century, where “he kept everything so quiet that we hear of no trouble in a great while”.

Surely, no better proof of shrewd diplomacy or great wisdom could be adduced. Another Wogan, Thomas by name, signed the death warrant of Charles I. At the Restoration he escaped to Utrecht, and amused himself by plotting against his jovial majesty Charles II. Tradition says that he afterwards returned to his native county, and lived on charity in the church porch of Walwyn's Castle, where he was one morning found dead. Yet another Wogan was a correspondent of Dean Swift, and was created a baronet by the Pretender in 1719. A Sir John Wogan, of Wiston, was killed fighting for the Yorkists at the battle of Banbury in 1469, along with many another gallant Welshman.

“Y maes grymusa o Gred,  
 Ae o wall ef a golled ;  
 Ym Mabri y bu'r dial  
 Ar Gymru deg a mawr dal.”

This Sir John had married Maud Clement, the heiress of William (not Jenkin) Clement, lord of Penarth in Cardiganshire, and in his wife's right he was a Lord Marcher. The Wogan family had many branches, “but now, as far as Pembrokeshire is concerned, the great wide-spreading house of Wogan has perished as though it had never been”.

What is said of the Wogans may be applied to the other families with which this book deals. Living in almost regal state, ruling their domains as absolute monarchs, having their own laws and courts, owning but scant allegiance to the king himself, the Norman adventurers and their descendants for centuries held sway over Glamorgan and Pembroke.

The ruins of their great castles still dot the fruitful valleys of these counties, but their founders' fame is forgotten, and their names, if they survive, are found, not in castles of the great, but in the lowly homes of the poor. Few books contain so much of the element of romance as the one before us, though the author has studiously refrained from straying into sentimental moralizings. But if so disposed the reader's imagination can to some extent supply this deficiency. The book is a welcome instance of the better and more scientific method of dealing with history, which has so long been lacking in Wales. It is printed on good paper, in a clear and bold type, and neatly bound in buckram.

J. H. DAVIES.

THE WELSH WARS OF EDWARD I. A Contribution to Mediæval Military History, Based on Original Documents. By John E. Morris, M.A., formerly Demi of Magdalen College, Oxford. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1901.

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It is now very generally recognised that the value of an historical work no longer depends chiefly on the interest of the subject-matter, or the attractiveness of the author's style. There are many important problems of national history which could scarcely interest the general reader; and, again, there are many highly-trained and acute historical scholars who could make no pretension to elegance of literary composition. When these difficult problems have been solved by the patient researches of the scientific student there will be materials available for the construction of a national history which may take its place amongst the masterpieces of our national literature.

These reflections naturally occur to us after the perusal of such a monograph as that which Mr. Morris has laboriously compiled to illustrate the historical significance of "The Welsh Wars of Edward I."

A work of this kind makes somewhat high demands upon the intelligence both of its author and his readers, but the former is also required to possess a special knowledge of several distinct branches of historical and antiquarian study. It is important, therefore, to satisfy ourselves that the author's equipment is sufficient for the historical object which he has in view, before we rely upon the authority of his statements, and here we are at once reassured by the comprehension and technical know-

ledge of "the sources" which is displayed throughout Mr. Morris's book.

From this point of view alone the book must be of real value to the students of the period, whilst its interest is certainly many-sided. As an essay on the military aspects of the Feudal System it contributes a number of new and material facts to our knowledge of contemporary warfare; but this, though perhaps the chief, is not the only merit of Mr. Morris's work. The customs and topography of the Welsh Marches are carefully described, with references to original records, which unfortunately are not described in a series of mediæval calendars, such as those which are devoted to the description of the Scottish and Irish records preserved in the London Archives.

Naturally, these careful details of the military operations against the Welsh fastnesses between the years 1277 and 1295 involve an examination of the political and constitutional history of the period, and, to some extent, of the social and economic conditions of the times. Mr. Morris handles the difficult subject of the Edwardian policy with much dexterity; and, allowing for a good many necessary assumptions, it may fairly be considered that many obscure points in that policy have been illumined by the author's industrious researches. Indeed, it was inevitable that the production of a mass of statistics from contemporary records should materially contribute to the better comprehension of the deep-laid plans of the conqueror of Wales and Scotland. In this connexion Mr. Morris seems to have received valuable assistance from a careful study of the best authorities, though he very properly declines to follow the example of a former generation of scholars in a blind acceptance of the statements of contemporary chroniclers.

On the other hand, Mr. Morris's speculations on several



difficult constitutional questions do not appear always convincing, and his account of Knight-service and Scutage in this later period does not add to our knowledge of the subject. Here, perhaps, Mr. Morris lost an opportunity of throwing light upon the later history of this institution by his obvious anxiety to reconcile the conditions which existed in the twelfth century with those which characterize the period of transition at the close of the thirteenth. More than once the author hazards, in a half-hearted fashion, suggestions of his own, which show a true appreciation of the altered conditions. In short, if Mr. Morris had been a little more dogmatic at this point his conclusions would perhaps have been both more valuable and more intelligible to the general reader. As an instance in point the "Note on Scutage" (p. 108) may be mentioned, which appears to have been inserted at the end of the chapter dealing with the Edwardian army for the purpose of discounting the theories to which the author has apparently given some credence in the preceding pages. At the same time, it is scarcely fair to lay stress upon a point which lies somewhat beyond the scope of Mr. Morris's work, and it would be still less fair to pick out a few slips here and there in the references and facts. The feeling of every practical student of History who has read this book carefully, and estimated the methods by which it has been compiled, should be one of keen appreciation of the writer's industry and scholarly discernment.

HUBERT HALL.

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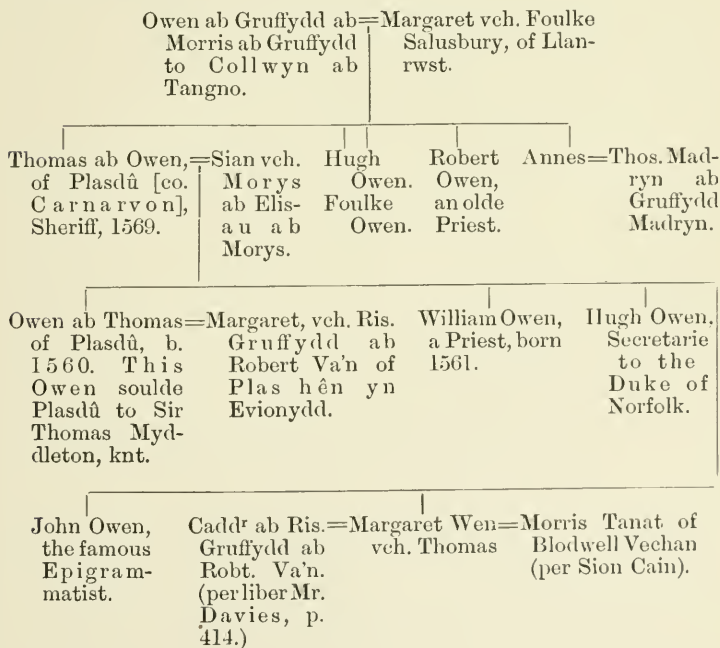


“What became of Hugh I have not been able to ascertain; but all the daughters appear to have married. One of them to . . . . ‘Nightingale, a white silversmith.’ This couple were living in great poverty in Beaumaris, when an estate fell to Nightingale in England, and there they went to live.

“Captain” Hugh Owen could hardly be described as a *relation* of Sir Hugh, of Bodeon. To find a common ancestor they must go back to Howel ab Iorwerth Ddû, whose eldest son, Hwlkin ab Howel—Sir Hugh’s ancestor—was alive on the next Monday after the Festival of the Assumption, 21 Richard II (1398). Captain Hugh Owen was descended from Hwlkin’s third brother, Llewelyn ab Howel.

HUGH OWEN THE CONSPIRATOR.

“In reference to *Hugh Owen, of Plasddû*, the ‘Conspirator’, there can be no doubt that the Salusbury Pedigree is wrong. He was unquestionably uncle to John Owen the Epigrammatist, brother of Thomas Owen, of Plasddû, and son of Owen ab Gruffydd ab Morris, by his wife, Margaret Salusbury, of Llanrwst.

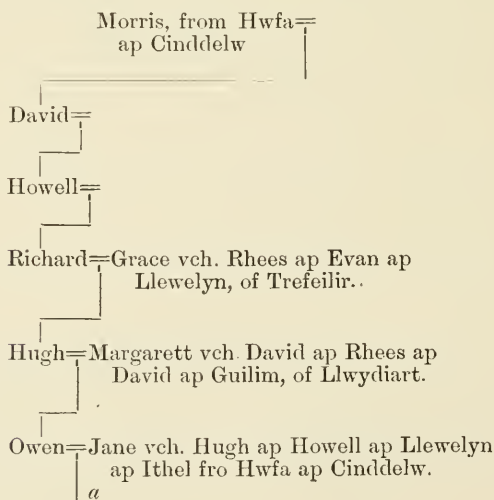


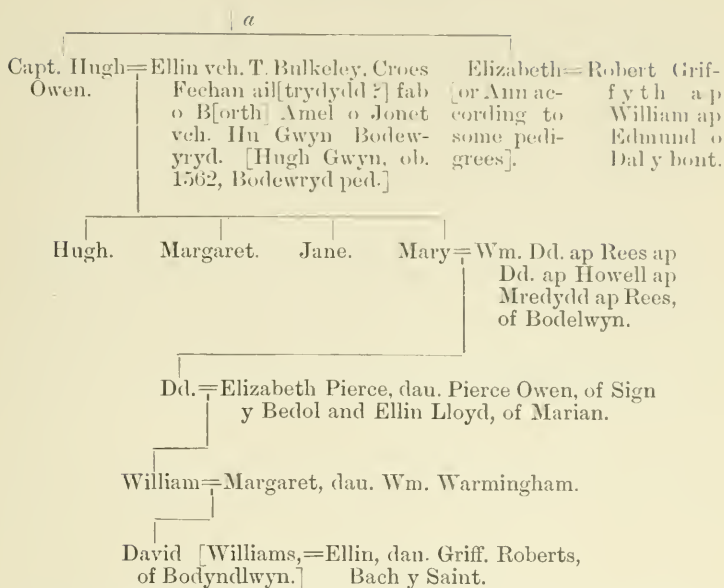
“In an old Carnarvonshire MS. I find the above Hugh Owen described as—privatte Counsell to the Prince of Parma. This Hugh Owen was born in this county [Carnarvon], a younger brother of an ancient gentleman’s house, called Plas dû. He served in great credit with the Earl of Arundell, and was a chief actor in the Duke of Norfolk’s action, and was thought to be the wisest man amongst them; and when he saw that his Counsell was not followed, he traversed his ground in time into Brussells, where he continued privee Councillor to the State for forty years, until the end of his dayes.”

MR. W. PRICHARD WILLIAMS, of Bangor, wrote to Mr. Llewelyn Williams, as follows :—

“I submit to you a copy of Hugh Owen’s Gwenynnog pedigree taken from a MS. in the possession of Mr. J. E. Griffiths, Bryn Dinas, Bangor, who has kindly allowed me to make the extract for you. It does not throw much light on Hugh Owen’s life. The fact that his wife’s grandfather died in 1562 may be of help. John Ellis, of Tai Croesion—in whose handwriting the book is mainly written—is considered the most accurate and careful of the North Wales Genealogists.

GWENWYNNOG [LLANFFLEWYN].





"There was one married to Price Prichd., Scubor ddu, another Edw. Owen Prees, of Cynddöll or Gardd Gynddöll, in Rhos godyn, and secondly, Trefridin, another to Nevydd issa, another to ——— Nightingale, a whitesmith. I have seen him, his wife and dau. at Beumarsh Hospital. An estate fell to him in Eng<sup>l</sup> and there went in a hired coach."

[From a MS. "Llyfr Iachau", in the possession of J. E. Griffith, Esq., F.L.S., etc., Bryn Dinas, Bangor, in the handwriting of John Ellis, Tai Croesion. The above pedigree, to and including Captain Hugh Owen, is in John Ells' hand (*circa* 1720), and he gives Catherine as the name of his wife. But another hand has drawn a line through Catherine and carried the pedigree on from "Ellin".]

#### JOHN ROBERTS, TRAWSFYNYDD.<sup>1</sup>

With reference to John Roberts, the Benedictine Martyr, Mr. PRICHARD WILLIAMS writes:—

"I have been trying for some years to gather information about the family history of John Roberts without any success. A very

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* "The Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion," Session 1901-02, p. 120.—[E.V.E.]

concise account of his life is given in a little book written in Welsh, and published in 1824, in the interest of the Roman Catholics. His birth-place is given as 'Dolgellau'. However, Dom Bede Camm is utterly wrong in associating his name with John Roberts of the Vaner Gymmer. That can be clearly seen from Lewis Dwnn, as you point out in your article. I notice that you have transcribed that pedigree from Camm's book, and not from Lewis Dwnn, as the (G) is meaningless at the end of the line. It should be at the beginning of the next, thus :—(G) [gwraig] John Roberts, etc.

"Your own conjecture about Dól y Ddwryd will not bear investigation either. If you will consult Lewis Dwnn again you will find that Sion ab Robert ab John ab Robert is referred to in a footnote as being coroner for Merionethshire, and that is the John Roberts you must be referring to. Dól y Moch and Dól y Ddwryd refer to one and the same place. Further, the parishes of Festiniog and Trawsfynydd are not contiguous, Maentwrog lying between them. I think that John Roberts' home must be looked for in the Dolgelly end of Trawsfynydd parish."











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