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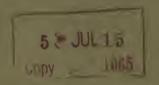








### Anglesey Antiquarian Society and Field Club.



## TRANSACTIONS 1933.



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# TRANSACTIONS 1933.

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### ANGLESEY ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY AND FIELD CLUB.

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Jones, Major H. Walter, Tros yr Afon, Penmon, Anglesey.

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\*Librarian, Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington.

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do. Lloyd, Mrs., do.

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Routledge, Miss Orta, Llaneilian, Amlwch.

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Savage, Mrs., do.

Schwabe, Mrs.. Garth y Don, Glyngarth, Menai Bridge.

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Thomas, Capt. W. S., Plas Garnedd, Llanfairpwll.

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Williams, Rev. J. Vaughan, The Parsonage, Llandegfan.

Williams, W. Gilbert, M.A., Rhostryfan, Caernarvonshire. Williams, Rev. W. J., The Rectory, Newborough. Williams, W. St. John, Llys Derwydd, Llangefni. Williams, Mrs., do. do. Williams, Miss Eirwen, do. do. Withinshaw, A. H., Fron Heulog, Llangefni. Withinshaw, Mrs., do. do. Withy, Miss Mary M., Llanfaes Vicarage, Beaumaris.

If any Member finds his or her name incorrectly given, the Secretary will be obliged by the error being pointed out to him.

Corresponding Societies:
Queensland Museum, Brisbane (R. H. Harris, Director).
Flintshire Historical Society.

# ANGLESEY ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY AND FIELD CLUB. BALANCE SHEET FOR YEAR ENDED 31st MARCH, 1933.

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(Signed) J. JONES, BRYN OWEN.

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# ANGLESEY EXCAVATIONS FUND, 1932-3.

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I have examined the above accounts with vouchers and Bank Pass-Book and found them correct.

(Signed) J. JONES, BRYN OWEN.

31/3/33

### LOCAL OBSERVERS.

The undermentioned ladies and gentlemen have kindly consented to act as Local Observers for the following districts during the year 1933—34:—

- District 1.—Llanfaethlu, Llanfairynghornwy, Llanrhwydrus, Llanrhuddlad: Rev. Griffith Williams, Llanddeusant Rectory.
- District II.—Llanbadrig, Llanfechell, Rhosbeirio: John Griffiths, Esq., Hafod, Cemaes Bay.
- District III.—Holyhead, Rhoscolyn:
  W. B. Thomas, Esq., Dunedin, Holyhead.
- District IV.—Llanfachraeth, Llanfair-yn-neubwll, Llanfigael, Llanfwrog, Llanynghenedl, Bodedern:
  O. E. Jones, Esq., Council School, Valley.
- District V.—Llanbabo, Llanddeusant, Llanfflewin, Llantrisant:
  Miss J. Ellinor Prichard.
- District VI.—Amlwch, Bodewryd, Llaneilian, Rhosybol: R. L. Edwards, Esq., J.P., Bodafon, Dulas.
- District VII.—Ceirchiog, Gwalchmai, Llanbeulan, Llanfaelog, Llanfilangel-yn-nhowyn, Llechylched:
  J. W. Thomas, Esq., Council School, Rhosneigr.
- District VIII.—Bodwrog, Ceidio, Llandrygarn, Llannerchymedd, Llech-cynfarwy, Coedana:
  O. T. Jones, Esq., Council School, Llannerchymedd.
- District IX.—Llandyfrydog, Llanfilangel-tre'r-beirdd, Llanwenllwyfo, Penrhoslligwy: Rev. Daniel Jones, B.A., Penrhoslligwy Vicarage.
- District X.—Aberffraw, Llangadwaladr, Llangwyfan, Trefdraeth: J. W. Thomas, Esq., Council School, Rhosneigr.
- District XI.—Cerrigeeinwen, Heneglwys, Llangefni, Llangristiolus, Llangwyllog, Tregaian:
  Miss S. F. Lloyd, J.P., Plas Tregaian, Llangwyllog.
- District XII.—Llanallgo, Llaneugrad, Llanfair-mathafarn-eithaf : ROLAND LLOYD, Esq., Eirianallt, Ty'nygongl.
- District XIII.—Llanddwyn, Llanfair-y-ewmmwd, Llanfihangel Esceifiog (part), Llangaffo, Llangeinwen, Llanidan, Newborough:
  Dr. J. O. Williams, Bryngwyn Hall, Llanfairpwll.
- District XIV.—Llanffinan, Penmynydd, Llanbedr-goch, Llanddyfnan, Pentraeth:
  Rev. H. Richards, B.A., Pentraeth Rectory.
- District XIVa.—Llanddaniel-fab, Llantysilio, Llanddwen, Llanfairpwll, Llanfihangel Esceifiog (part):
  - R. LLOYD HUGHES, Esq., J.P., Plas Penrhyn. Dwyran.
- District XV.-Beaumaris, Llandegfan, Llanddona, Llanfaes, Llanfihangeldin-sulwy, Llangoed, Llaniestyn, Llansadwrn, Penmon, Ynys Seiriol: Mrs. Walter H. Jones, Tros yr Afon, Penmon.

### The following Instructions have been issued to the Observers, together with Maps of their Districts:

- 1. The red-ink numbers on the Map correspond with the numbers in the list of objects, thus showing their position.
- 2. You are requested to visit every object in your district every year at some date between September 1st., and the middle of the following February, and to forward a Report on the general condition of such objects to the Secretary before the end of February without fail.
- 3. It will be advisable also, if you can find an opportunity, to make a tour of inspection six months after your last visit.
- 4. If you are aware of, or should discover, other interesting objects not included in the official list, you should forward particulars to the Secretary with a view to their inclusion in such list.
- 5. In the event of any damage or destruction, threatened or perpetrated, to any scheduled object, you should immediately communicate with the Secretary and the Excursion Secretary. If the matter is pressing, a visit to the spot where the object is situated might enable you to prevent such injury or destruction.
- 6. If the object is an Ancient Monument under the care of the Commissioners for the Protection of Ancient Monuments (vide list), threatened or actual damage should be reported to H.M. Office of Works, in addition to the Secretaries.
- 7. Observers who are unavoidably prevented from making a special or half-yearly visit are permitted to request the Secretary to appoint some other person to make such visit for them and to furnish a signed Report thereon.
- 8. In many cases perforated stones, stone hammers and stone implements are to be seen on the window-sills and in the gardens of cottages. Usually the owner is ready to part with them for a small sum, and it is hoped that in this manner some specimens may ultimately find their way into the Society's Museum.

### REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE.

Your Committee beg to present their nineteenth Report, for the year 1932—33.

Between 1st April. 1932, and 31st March 1933, 24 new members were elected, 4 members have died, 13 members have withdrawn and the names of 7 members have been erased from the list of members, under Rule 10, because their subscriptions were more than six months in arrear. The total membership at the end of the current year was 250.

We regret to state that a vacancy has occurred on your Committee owing to the death of the Chairman, Mr. H. O. Hughes. We have appointed Mr. S. J. Evans as Chairman and Mr. R. Lloyd Hughes to fill the vacancy on the Committee.

The Accounts of the Hon. Treasurer have been audited. The balance in hand at the end of 1932—33 was £123 15s. 1d., compared with £120 8s. 2d. at the end of the previous year.

The Accounts of the Anglesey Exeavations Fund have been audited. The balance in hand at the end of March last was £30 15s. 4d. In connection with this Fund payments were made for excavations at Pant y Saer cromlech and filling in, exeavations at Pant y Saer Hut-eireles, and removing the water-stoup at Tal y Llyn Church. The expenditure was £47 12s. 8d. which was met by grants from the Cambrian Archaeological Association.

The excavations at a hut-eirele at Dinmor, Penmon, referred to in our last Report, have been fully described in *Archaeologia Cambrensis* and Mr. C. W. Phillips is contributing an article on his work to this year's *Transactions*.

We regret to record the deaths of the following members:— Mr. H. O. Hughes (Chairman of Committee). Lady Hughes-Hunter. Rev. Canon W. M. Morgan Jones.

Mr. Ll. Howell Twentyman.

After the Annual General Meeting in April last, Prof. D. Thoday, M.A., F.R.S.S.Af., delivered a lecture on Contractile Roots but, owing to the fact that the General Meeting in the autumn had to be cancelled because another meeting had been fixed to take place in Llangefni on the same day, no second address was given.

Transactions included many interesting articles for which our thanks are due to the contributors.

During the past year three Excursions were arranged. A Report on these Excursions will appear in *Transactions*.

For reasons stated above, your Committee met on only one occasion when Mr. H. O. Hughes, Mrs. Schwabe, Miss Ridsdale, Lord Boston, Mr. H. R. Davies, Mr. Hugh Owen, Mr. R. L. Edwards, Mr. R. W. Jones, Mr. S. J. Evans, Mr. Roland Lloyd and Mr. E. Neil Baynes were present.

(Signed) S. J. Evans, Chairman.

(Signed) E. Neil Baynes, Hon. Secretary.

2 June, 1933.

### ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

Annual General Meeting held at the County School, Llangefni, on Saturday, the 30th April, 1932, at 2-30 p.m., Lord Boston (*President*) in the Chair.

### MINUTES.

Minutes.—The Minutes of the last General Meeting were read and signed.

President —On the motion of Mr. H. R. Davies, seconded by the Rev. Canon Evans, Lord Boston was re-elected President.

Vice-Presidents.—The Rev. Canon Evans moved the re-election of the Vice-Presidents. This was seconded and carried.

Officers and Committee.—The election of the Officers and Committee, including Mr. R. W. Jones in place of the Rev. T. Smith, deceased, was moved by the President, seconded by Dr. Richard Owen, and carried.

Report of the Committee and Accounts of the Hon, Treasurer— These were read.

Angiesey Excavations Fund.—The Secretary explained the position of this Fund and referred to excavations proposed to be carried out this year. A statement of the Accounts would appear in *Transactions*.

President.—The President stated that the condition of the Society was satisfactory, and the number of members was not much below that of last year, which, considering the present financial depression, was a matter for congratulation. There had been, however, an increase in the number of members who had died over those of former years. During the past year we had lost eleven members owing to death and he would make special reference to three:—Mr. John Moir, who was one of our Observers, the Rev. T. Smith—lately a member of the Committee, and Mrs. Jones, Bryn Owen, who had been a constant attendant at our Meetings. Lord Boston felt sure that members would tender their deep sympathy to Miss Moir, Mrs. Smith and Mr. John Jones.

The President then moved the adoption of the Report and the Accounts. They were passed after being seconded by Mr. S. J. Evans. Excursions.—The Hon. Excursion Secretary read a list of proposed Excursions and the following were selected:—(1) to Parys Mountain, (2) to Port Meirion and (3) to Llanddwyn, and, as an alternative, an Excursion to a Slate Quarry.

Prof. D. Thoday, M.A., F.R.S.S.Af., then delivered a Lecture on Contractile Roots, illustrated by lantern slides. Prof. Thoday then passed round specimens for examination. Dr. Greenly moved a vote of thanks to Dr. Thoday. This was seconded by Dr. Leslie Jones and carried unanimously.

Members were entertained to tea on the invitation of the President.

### EXCURSIONS, 1932.

Three Excursions were arranged during the Summer:—
(a) Parys Mountain, under the leadership of T. Clegg, Esq.,
A.R.C.Sc.; (b) Llanddwyn, under the leadership of Hugh Owen,
Esq., M.A., F.S.A.; (c) Port Meirion, under the leadership of
Clough Williams-Ellis, Esq., M.C., F.R.I.B.A.

### (a) PARYS MOUNTAIN. June 11th.

The party, consisting of approximately 80 members, assembled by the "Gwen" shaft and here the Leader, Mr. Clegg, gave an outline of the history of the mines from about 1547 to the present, After testing the depth of the deepest shaft the party proceeded to the "Great Open Cast" or "Parys Mine." Here the geology of the mountain was explained. The nature of its rocks, the manner of occurrence of the ore and how it was mined were all described. Proceeding to the East pit, or Mona Mine, the site of the furnaces was pointed out and the party was shown where the famous "Ladies of Parys" worked, and how they broke up the ore into small pieces. After examining the Old Wind Mill and visiting the shafts in its vicinity the party returned to the main road by way of the north-west route down the mountain. The members then assembled at Gwyndy, where they were entertained to tea at the invitation of Dr. Thomas Jones and Mrs. Jones, to whom the cordial thanks of the company were accorded.

### (b) Llanddwyn. June 25th.

About 55 members assembled at the Prichard-Jones Institute, Newborough, where they partook of light refreshments after which they proceeded for three miles across the Newborough Warren towards Llanddwyn. A welcome rest was taken on the seashore when the Leader, Mr. Hugh Owen, referred briefly to the sand-hills and to the island. During a great storm in the year 1331, 186 acres of the land were so entirely destroyed by the sea and overrun by sand that the land was useless for further cultivation.

The main features of the island were described and how Saint Dwynwen came to be regarded as the Venus of Wales. The party then crossed to the island proceeding along the western coast. The various coves were much admired and St. Dwynwen's Well was inspected with interest. Another rest was taken within the ruins of Llanddwyn Church, a brief history of which was given by the Leader. Many members then visited the Light-

house while others wandered about the island. Later, the members returned to Newborough where they were entertained to a most welcome tea which was nearly over when the last two members of the party arrived!

At the close of the proceedings Mr. H. R. Davies was warmly thanked for his kindness in entertaining the members to light refreshments before leaving Newborough and to tea on their return. The vote was proposed in his own and happy genial way by Mr. H. O. Hughes, Cefn Mawr.

### (c) PORT MEIRION. July 13th.

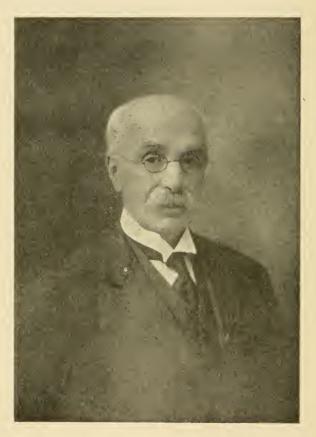
The weather for this Excursion was not altogether favourable, yet the Excursion proved most interesting and enjoyable. The party was met by Mr. Cough Williams-Ellis, who gave a vivid and most interesting account of the origin and development of Port Meirion.

The Society is under an especial obligation to the Leaders who placed their time and expert knowledge at the disposal of the members and were ever ready to encourage questions.

R. W. JONES,

Hon. Excursion Secretary.





H. O. HUGHES, Esq., J.P., 1856-1932.

### H. O. HUGHES, ESQ., J.P. (1856—1932).

In 1920 the Anglesey Antiquarian Society and Field Club sustained the loss of its first Chairman of Committee, Mr. Thomas Prichard of Llwydiarth Esgob. Now, after the lapse of thirteen years, we regret to record the death of his successor, Mr. H. O. Hughes of Cefn Mawr, Llangaffo, which occurred on the 14th of December last, at the age of 76 years.

Mr. H. O. Hughes, son of Mr. Richard Hughes and grandson of Mr. Hugh Hughes of Cefn Mawr, was at one time private secretary to Mr. D. A. Thomas, M.P., afterwards Lord Rhondda, but retired about 25 years ago and returned to his old home where he resided with his sisters who, with a brother, Mr. R. Lloyd Hughes, of Plâs Penrhyn, survive him.

Mr. H. O. Hughes had occupied many important positions. He was a member of the Court of Governors of the University College of North Wales, Bangor, and of the National Library of Wales; he also served for some years on the Anglesey County Council and was closely associated with many other movements for the benefit of his native County.

Keenly interested in the drama, he was the author of several short plays in English and Welsh, some of which have been performed in England and Wales.

Besides acting as Chairman of our Committee, Mr. Hughes was a zealous Local Observer for the Llanddaniel-fab District until 1930. His yearly Reports were regularly submitted and bear witness to the care he bestowed on their preparation. The Report on "Capel Cadwaladr," Llanddaniel, which appeared in "Notes" (1918), is reprinted in this number of Transactions as many members do not possess copies of the "Notes." The trouble he took and the details given in the Report are an object-lesson to our Observers and, at the same time, a memorial to our late Chairman whose loss we all greatly deplore.

### CAPEL CADWALADR, BODLEW.(1)

BY THE LATE H. O. HUGHES, Esq., J.P.

Many of the old chapels for which Anglesey was noted have either been allowed to fall into ruins or wilfully destroyed so that no trace of the old building remains. Under the latter category must be included Capel Cadwaladr at Bodlew in the parish of Llanddaniel-fab,

Rowlands, writing at the beginning of the 18th century in Mona Antiqua, states "on the top of a rising ground near Bodlew in the parish of Llanddeiniel, a deep excavated area, of considerable length and breadth, very flat and level at the bottom, of the form of a pear, in plane, edged about with stones and a bank of earth; and the entrance to it is in the smaller narrow end; it is commonly called Hen Fonwent, having the ruins of a Chapel in the middle called Capel Cadwaladr. The building in the middle of the plot seems by the situation and form to have been a Christian oratory; the name, viz., Capel Cadwaladr, attesting the same. But what the place was anciently I know not." A rough ground plan is given which shews remains of a building, standing east and west, in the centre of a long irregular enclosure "40 yards by 27 yards." The longer axis of this enclosure is N.E. to S.W. and the entrance between the converging walls or banks at the S.W. end. The site is marked on the O.S. 1841 as "Y forwent Capel Cadwaladr."

Mr. H. O. Hughes, Cefn Mawr, our Local Observer in the south east of the Island, has been making enquiries concerning the site, and he reports as follows:—"I went to Bodlew on Monday, January 28, 1918. The present tenant, Mrs. Williams. knew nothing of the site of "Capel Cadwaladr" or "Yr Hen Fonwent," but directed her son to take me to an old workman, William Jones, Pen y Bonc, Llanddaniel. This man has been living at Pen y Bonc since 1866. He is now 69 years of age.

By his directions I visited a corner of the field lying to the N.E. of Bodlew farm-yard, where I found a portion of the ground that has evidently at one time been excavated, but it has subsequently been filled in, and appears to be good pasture land like the rest of the field.

<sup>(1)</sup> Reprinted from A.A.S. notes, 1918,

Roughly measured this sunken portion corresponds with the dimensions of figure 5 given by Henry Rowlands 1766. The entrance or narrow end is now level with the surrounding land and it has thereby lost its pearlike form.

There are no walls to be seen at present, nor any indications of ruins near the spot. The lower portion of the hollow is 7 or 8 feet below the surrounding ridges, except in the S.W. direction where the entrance, mentioned by Rowlands, stood.

I noticed a circular hole, now also covered with grass, near the spot where the words "40 yards" are written on the plan, and found on enquiry that gravel had been extracted there and used for the new farm buildings 12 or 15 years ago.

William Jones was present when the excavation took place. He assures me that the workmen found no remains of stone walls or any kind of building. There were stones in the gravel, but they were only such stones as occur in the ground in many parts of Bodlew. He knew of the traditions that an old "Fonwent" once occupied the site, but he could furnish me with no particulars nor does he remember the spot different from its present appearance, except that the gravel pit did not exist when he first remembered it.

I hope to see a former tenant soon when I will question him on the subject. This man, Mr. Griffiths, left there over 20 years ago. He is an old man now and I believe that he was born at Bodlew.

Later:—I called to see Mr. Edward Griffith, late of Bodlew, on Saturday morning, February 23, 1918. Mr. Griffith is 79 years old having been born at Bodlew in 1838. He now resides with his daughter, Mrs. Lewis at Cerrig y Bareut, Llangeinwen, Anglescy. He left Bodlew 22 years ago.

Mr. Griffith does not remember the time when Hen Fonwent differed from its present appearance. He has himself ploughed the whole field including Hen Fonwent on several occasions. The soil is very thin on the upper portions of the slopes, but it is deeper and more fertile looking on the bottom of the excavated area. The different crops were always heavier on this bottom part than on any other portion of the field.

His mother lived at Bodlew before him. He does not remember her ever mentioning having seen any old buildings or

the foundations of old walls on the spot named. He himself never earted any stones from the place nor has he heard of others doing so. Several antiquarians came to enquire for Capel Cadwaladr when he lived at Bodlew.

He says that there was a large stone on the N.E. side of the hollow near the hedge which forms its boundary on that side. The stone bore no marks or inscription and measured about 4 feet in length, by 3 feet in width and about 6 inches in thickness. It was there when he left. I found no such stone when I visited Bodlew a few weeks ago.

He came across no stones when ploughing Hen Fonwent. Some old men said that they had seen what appeared like graves there, but that must have been long before his time.

# THE EXCAVATION OF A HUT SITE AT PARC DINMOR, PENMON.

By C. W. PHILLIPS, F.S.A.

Note.—This excavation was carried out in 1931 at the cost of the Anglesey Excavation Fund, and is fully described in *Arch. Cam.* (Dec.) 1932, p. 247. The sums expended were repaid by a grant from the Cambrian Archaeological Association.

Mr. Phillips has kindly contributed this abbreviated report for our

Transactions.

Through the kindness of Mr. David Evans of Penmon, the excavation of a hut site threatened by the extension of the Parc

Dinmor quarry was made possible in September, 1931.

The site is 200 yards from the sea shore and about 100 feet above high water mark. The hut, which is solitary, stands on the edge of the limestone outcrop overlooking the little valley running down to the Parc Dinmor quarry. There are traces of a wall running along the edge from the hut in the direction of Penmon Priory, but its condition is so bad that it is impossible to say how far it extended. Ancient field systems, possibly connected with the hut, are to be seen on the opposite slope of the valley.

When cleared of its infilling the hut proved to be roughly circular, with an internal diameter of 25 feet and a wall averaging 7 feet in thickness, and still surviving to a height of 2 feet in most places. On the west side the close proximity of the site to the small limestone escarpment accounted for the disappearance of most of the wall, which had obviously slithered down. The wall was built of great slabs of limestone prised off the outcrop, and the outcrop itself had been pressed into service as wall footing on the north side. The hut was disappointingly bare of internal structural features. With the exception of a constructed socket hole for the central post in a fissure of the solid rock floor, and a number of slabs placed on end across a chord of the hut to form a sort of alcove, there was nothing. The door faced due east, was five feet wide, and had no porch, though a certain amount of protection was probably given by the wall along the edge of the escarpment, which joined the hut wall on the south side of the door.

A puzzling feature was the absence of any form of fireplace or any sign of fires having been lighted in the hut. The filling was, on the whole, remarkably clean, and the only place where any dark matter occurred was on the floor in the alcove, which may be accounted for by the view that this was a bed, and that the dark matter is decayed bracken and other coarse bedding.

The chief finds in the hut, besides innumerable pot-boilers and some hammer stones, were a fine saddle quern with rubber, part of another, and two iron objects from the floor—a gouge and part of a composite sickle. The only other scrap of metal was a piece of bronze strip which was found in a midden at the foot of the north wall on the outside.

The food of the dwellers seems to have consisted largely of shell fish and cereals, for there was a notable absence of animal bones, the few scraps that were found relating to Celtic ox, Celtic sheep, and pig. A scrap of red deer antler and a molar of a horse probably do not relate to food.

The shell fish remains were very numerous, especially in a large hole in the limestone on the west side of the hut, where there was a large deposit of mussel shells. There was plenty of midden along the north side of the hut also, but inside little except in the door way. The shell fish in order of frequency were mussel, winkle, limpet, oyster, cockle, and whelk.

It is not easy to reconstruct the life of the people who lived in this hut. They seem to have had no pottery of any kind, but there was probably no lack of wooden objects to take its place, though none have survived. The iron gouge implies the hollowing of wood, and it is likely that many of these huts, which present so little evidence of furniture today, were quite well equipped as far as rough carpentry and wood carving could provide.

The evidence of the querns and sickle establishes a probable connection between the inhabitants and some of the neighbouring fields, though the scantiness of animal remains makes it improbable that these particular folk kept any cattle.

The question of date is also obscure. The presence of the sickle, which is of a type normally associated with the Romano-British period in England, argues a Roman or early post-Roman date. The gouge is not so distinctive, and might be found in the equipment of any peasant from 500 B.C. onwards into the Middle Ages. If this site was contemporary with the Roman occupation of North Wales or later, it is unusual to find no scrap of distinctively Roman material, for there is nearly always some shard of pottery or trifling metal object to betray the Roman influence, but its absence here need not alter the view expressed above.

The digging of one hut in this way may not seem to advance our knowledge very far, but it adds one more item to the corpus of information which is steadily accumulating, and it is only in this way that we shall be able to judge how the Welsh people lived in the first millenium of the present era.





1. AXE-HAMMER. (North America.)

## A STONE AXE-HAMMER OF NORTH AMERICAN TYPE.

By E. NEIL BAYNES, F.S.A.

When primitive man desired to break a hard object he picked up the nearest and most suitable stone and used it as a hammer, after which no doubt he threw it away. Some particular stone, however, may have proved so handy that he put it on one side for future use.

Later he discovered that if he could find a stone, or small boulder, with a waist or groove round its smaller diameter, he could twist some pliant twig or piece of wood round it, and, by lashing the doubled ends together, form a handle which would give him a more efficient tool, perhaps worth preserving. This may be called Type A.

Suitable waisted stones may have been difficult to find, especially those of large size, and the next step was to chip a waist round a well shaped stone to receive the make-shift handle—Type B. These objects are termed mallets. They were quickly made and intended for rough work only. Mr. J. Graham Callander kindly sent me a photograph of two small axe-hammers, now in the National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh. One, from Uist, about 4 inches long, has a grooved waist. The other  $2\frac{1}{4}$  inches long, is of steatite and was found at Evie, Orkney.

For other uses we find beautifully made axe-hammers, these are not merely chipped, but ground and polished all over. Instead of the chipped waist, hollows were "pecked" on opposite sides until they met in the middle, thus forming a hole to receive a solid handle—Type C. Later, axe-hammers were made square in section with circular holes for the haft or handle.

There is one type of axe-hammer, Type D, which, in point of finish, comes between Types B and C, but approximates rather to the latter than the former. This is known as the North American type, or Miner's tool type, because a number of specimens have been found in parts of North America, and it is said that the Indians made use of them to break buffalo bones in order to extract the marrow. A typical specimen, Fig. 1, is neatly finished and of some hard green stone, with a smooth grooved waist. One end, to be used as a hammer, is blunt; the other (slightly damaged in the illustration) is in the shape of an axe. On both sides of the waist there may be raised bands or cordons.

A hammer of this (N.A.) type was found about seven years ago near Beaumaris, Fig. 2, about 2 ft. 6 ins. below the surface, but adjacent to a quantity of modern broken glass and china, and it seems probable that it was thrown into the dump of recent years. From the nature of the surroundings in which it was found it is therefore impossible to assign it any particular date. The find was reported by Mr. Geoffrey Holme who obtained all particulars as to its discovery.

Our Member, Mr. J. E. Griffith, has in his collection a similar hammer found on Vodol farm, near Bangor, (1) Fig. 3, and half of another small one, but the "find-spot" is not known. Mr. Griffith also told me of another specimen in the Borough Museum at Buxton, which he believed to have been found at Llannerehymedd. The Curator of the Museum enquired of a Mrs. Chambers, who had presented the hammer to the Museum, as to the district of Anglesey in which it had been found. said that her husband had picked it up but she did not know where. Mr. E. H. Hill, the Curator of the Museum, tells me that this specimen is  $6\frac{1}{2}$  ins. long by  $4\frac{1}{2}$  ins. wide and weighs  $5\frac{3}{4}$  lbs. The Beaumaris hammer measures  $7\frac{3}{4}$  ins. by  $4\frac{1}{2}$  ins. and weighs  $7\frac{1}{2}$  lbs.

In the Guildford Museum is preserved a hammer of similar type, found at Limpsfield, Surrey, some feet underground. It measures about  $5\frac{1}{2}$  ins. by 3 ins. (2)

Mrs. Cunnington called my attention to another specimen in the Devizes Museum, found on ploughed land at West Kennet in the Avebury District. It is apparently of greenstone—a form of dolerite. It measures  $5\frac{1}{2}$  ins. by  $3\frac{1}{2}$  ins. and weighs nearly 2 lbs.(3)

Dr. A. Mahr, Curator of the Dublin Museum, kindly referred me to the record of an axe-hammer found in connection with old mining operations at Killarney. (4)

The Curator of the Salisbury, South Wilts and Blackmore Museum, writes that there was once a large collection of American examples in that Museum. These have been presented to the British Museum.

Another example is to be seen in the Plymouth Museum. This came from Portugal.

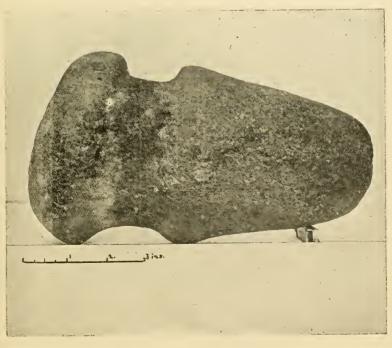
These are the only examples I have been able to trace in the British Isles, but my search has not been an exhaustive one

Arch. Cam., 1930, p. 201.

Arch. Cam., 1950, p. 201. Surrey Artig. Journ. 6, (1926), p. 181. Wills. Arch. Mag., (Dec. 1921), vol. xii, p. 373. A Descriptive Catalogue of the Antiquities in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy. W. R. Wylde, Dublin, (1857).



2. Axe Hammer. (Beaumaris)



3. AXE-HAMMER (Vodol.)



and I shall welcome particulars of any other axe-hammers of N.A. type which have not come to my notice.

Mr. Joseph Sinel, Curator of the Guernsey Museum, illustrates another specimen, found in Jersey, of fine grained dolerite or basalt. (5) He writes:—"With regard to the Normandy specimens, I know that there are some scattered examples among collectors, but there is no comprehensive collection except in the Museum devoted to Archaeology in Paris. In the Lukis Museum in Guernsey are two specimens, not only of the same type and size (as the Jersey axe-hammer), but of the same stone, which were found in North America near the Hudson River."

Mile, de Manneville reports that in the Trocadero Ethnographical Museum at Paris, she found several specimens of stone axes, and casts of others, something like the photograph of the Beaumaris Axe-hammer.

On the Continent the N.A. type has been found in France, Germany, (6) Spain, Portugal, and even at Sinai in Arabia. (7)

Unfortunately, we have little or no evidence in Great Britain as to objects of a known date being found in connection with these hammers. The Beaumaris specimen was found in soft ground in a rubbish pit, close to what appeared to be the foundation of an old house. The Vodol hammer was turned up on a farm, but of the finding of the Llannerchymedd hammer there is no record. The West Kennet hammer came to light on ploughed lands on a down, while the Irish specimen, apparently, was found in or near ancient Killarney mines. There is no record of the finding of the Guildford specimen which can serve for dating purposes.

Mr. Sinel is inclined to assign the Jersey specimen to the neolithic period because it was found on undisturbed moorland and on the same horizon as numerous fragments of neolithic pottery.

Another reference to the neolithic age is given by M. Goury<sup>(8)</sup> He writes:—"These hammers appear to belong to the Provencal region. They have been found in ancient mining exploitations where they were used for the extraction of the copper mineral. In the Vaucluse, however, there is no locality where metal is found. Consequently they must there be attributed to the neolithic period." As, however, in neither case can a neolithic origin be proved it may be safer to refer them to a later period.

Prehistoric Times and Men in the Channel Islands, 2nd ed., (1923), p. 99. Vorzeit. Ban. 2, (1822). Dr. Julius Berghen, in der vorzeit. Wilts. Arch. Mag. , L'Homme des Ciles Lacustres. George Goury. Picard, Paris, 1922.

In ancient mining operations it is said that a fire was built against the rock face, and after the rock had been well heated, cold water was thrown against it to cause the rock to split. A heavy mallet, such as the example in our Museum and probably from Anglesey, Fig. 4, weighing 7 lbs., could then be used to break down the loose rock fragments, but before the ore could be smelted it was necessary to break it into very small pieces. For the latter purpose the N.A. type would be suitable.

Dr. A. Mahr sent me a photograph of a waisted mallet in the National Museum of Ireland. It is about  $5\frac{1}{2}$  ins. long and  $3\frac{1}{7}$  ins. wide.

If used as mining tools in Anglesey, one might have expected that these hammers would have come to light near Parys Mountain, where copper was worked in early times. Mr. Fanning Evans, however, has not seen a specimen of N.A. type at Parys Mountain, but he found many large pebbles underground with evident signs that they had been used as hammers, i.e., they were worn at both ends, but there was no sign of a waist. One example in his possession is squared on two sides.

In the British Museum are two waisted mallets found on Parys Mountain many years ago.

One is led to consider whether these hammers were imported or made locally, and for this question the nature of the stone is important.

Dr. E. Greenly, F.G.S., has examined the Vodol and Beaumaris specimens. He finds the Vodol hammer to be of some igneous rock composed of felspar, and on the whole, he considers that one of the more altered diabase sills of North Wales is the most probable source of the stone. "If not from North Wales it must have been brought from far away."

The Beaumaris hammer Dr. Greenly describes as a hard sandstone and writes:—"On examination I do not think a decisive answer can be given as to whether it is an Anglesey rock or not, for sandstones vary so, and many types occur in Anglesey. This might be, but on the whole I am inclined to think it is not, from Anglesey. I am tolerably sure it is not a Carboniferous sandstone. It is not a Mona Complex type. Of extensive sandstones in the Island, that leaves only Ordovician. But these usually have a greenish matrix, which this has not. Nor are the massive ones so full of large micas as this. You can find varienties without the green matrix with large micas. I think the chances are that this is not an Ordovician of Anglesey. In which case it is likely to be from elsewhere. If you have reason to suppose importation, then I can at any rate say that



4. Waisted Mallet.



there is nothing about the type to forbid this view." Dr. Thomas, who kindly examined the hammer, is of opinion that it might have been derived from some boulder in the Menai Bridge district. It cannot therefore be said that these hammers were certainly made of a foreign rock.

The examples from N.A. usually appear to be of a greenish colour and composed of some kind of dolerite.

The distribution of the N.A. type in North Wales, Somerset, Jersey, France, Germany and the Mediterranean, suggests importation from abroad for mining or other purposes, and such traffic is more likely to have been from west to east than the reverse.

The Beaumaris hammer is however made of sandstone, and thus ineapable of delivering a heavy blow without fracture. Already a portion of one side has flaked off from use. It differs in one respect from the general N.A. type in that it has longitudinal grooves on both sides, running almost from the waist to the hammer face, and it is possible that this hammer is a local copy of a N.A. specimen with an added touch of ornamentation fancied by the maker.

## MILITARY PLACE-NAMES IN WALES.(1)

By HUGH OWEN, M.A., F.S.A.

The history of a country cannot be fully understood without a knowledge of its place-names; they are the foot-marks of the races which have from time to time inhabited that country, and are numerous and important in proportion to the length of stay and numerical superiority of each race. (2)

In place-names the pronunciation of the names by the natives, the form of the words as fixed by the researches of early writers, together with the forms found in the earliest written sources, should form the basis for etymological investigation. The spoken forms may often enough diverge in the matter of vowel and consonant from the earliest written form, but the losses of phonology in Welsh dialects are known with sufficient precision to enable the divergent spoken form to be adjusted to the earliest written form.

Yet the elucidation of place-names is difficult, owing to:-

(a) The combination of native and foreign elements. (3) For examples of hybridism consider the Flemish colony in Pembrokeshire in Henry I's time and the Norman settlement in South Glamorgan in the 11th century, where the hybrid names give some geographical clues to the inroads and settlements of these invaders. Again, compare the Latinized form of the Welsh name, e.g. Môn (Mona), Aberconwy (Aberconovium); also the Anglicized form of the Welsh name, e.g. Talyfan (Talafan), Gwynfa (Wenvoe). "Norman scribes at all times endeavoured to preserve Welsh place-names, and incorporated them to the best of their ability, even if erratic and incongruous in form, into their various records."(4) One might also consider the gross mutilation of place-names in modern "Tourists' Guides to Wales" and the monoglot English railway officials' pronunciation of Welsh names.

THE DISPLACEMENT OF NATIVE BY FOREIGN NAMES. "Of all place-names the most permanent and the least apt to be displaced by conquering invaders are river names."(5)

A few paragraphs in this paper are reprinted by permission of the Editor of V Cymmrodor, from the Introduction to Peniarth MS. 118, fos. 829-837, by Hugh Owen, in Y Cymmrodor (1917), pp. 115-132.
 See Review of "Traces of History in Names of Places" by Flavell Edmunds,—Arch. Camb. IV. i. 147.
 "Fields for the Celtic Students," by Rev. G. Hartwell Jones—Trans. Liverpool Welsh

<sup>\*\*</sup> Fields for the Centre Student, by Rev. G. Hartwen Johns. Prop. 2. Arch. Camb., VI. ix., 409; see also Introduction Rec. of Kaernarron (Rolls Series). 
"Welsh Place-names," by J. E. Lloyd, Editor's Note—Y Cymmrodor xi, (1892), (5)

The Chronicle of Robert of Brunne refers to names of towns

in Britain changed by foreigners:-

"ffor regnynge<sup>(6)</sup> of kynges straunge, ffor diverse speehe, langage men chaunge. that han this lond often ywonnen, & thorow riden & thorow ronnen. &<sup>(7)</sup> the names chaunget ther fore. Som names ar lasse, & som ar more; I hope fo<sup>(8)</sup> tounes that now are Hold ther names that first ware."(9)

- (c) THE CURTAILING OF NAMES WITH A SUBSEQUENT FORGETFULNESS OF THEIR PRIMITIVE MEANING, an explanatory element being very often added which is in fact already contained in the original form, e.g. Dinas Dinlle, (10)
- (d) THE UNSCIENTIFIC ETYMOLOGY OF PLACE-NAMES AS PROPOUNDED BY LOCAL ANTIQUARIES, so that but few names have survived the ravages of time and of the Ordnance Survey without suffering some change. There are plenty of spurious forms to be found in the Ordnanee Survey maps. Local antiquaries with an etymological turn of mind will probably give the map form or, what is quite as bad, an "emended" form; the emendation will not infrequently be found to serve the purpose of making an easy etymology or else to fit in with some local legend, e.g. Coed Helen (Carnarvon). Helen is an "improvement" of some local antiquary to suit the Helen legend in Wales; the real form is "Alun," and is the form to-day used by the illiterates of that district.

Many names of eamps are either quite legendary or are given by the earlier inhabitants to describe some striking features of their locality, e.g. mountains, hills, mounds, rocks, moors, woods, rivers.

Personal names occur very frequently in place-names, and in Welsh they are almost invariably affixed to those names that portray some local feature (e.g. Porth-madog, Caer-gybi) or to Llan-names, e.g. Llan-badrig, Llan-dudno. (11) It was customary in medieval times in Wales for men to take their names from places where they were born or resided, e.g. Pennant,

 <sup>(6)</sup> be remouyng.
 (7) ere.
 (8) MS, the.
 (9) Chron. of Rob

MS. the.

Chron. of Robt. of Brunne, I., 144. For names of men and places corrupted by the Romans, see Card. MS. 32, f. 86.

"Welsh Place Names," by J. E. Lloyd.— Y Cymmrodor, XI (1892), pp. 17—20.

How far back can Llan names be traced? What proportion of them contain the names of saints? Are they all ecclesiastical?

Mostyn. (12) Even to-day traces of this practice are frequent particularly among those poetically inclined.

The science of place-names in Wales has barely begun to assume form and it would be uncritical at the present time to regard the etymology of a place-name, except in very obvious cases, as satisfactory evidence. But, as a clue, with terms known to be associated with fortified places, it should have excellent value as pointing to certain directions of research. For example, the term munt, (13) if found as a place-name, does not prove that there was a fortified place there at any time, but its occurrence is valuable in raising the question, Was there a fort there? It might turn out eventually that munt meant something else besides "fort." Again, munt might be identified with either "mound" or "mount." A clear parallel case is the term still used colloquially for Bardsey Sound, which is Swnt Enlli; this is of course the English word "sound." The difference in the consonants is easily explained. There are no native words in Welsh ending in-nd, and -nt would be the nearest fit: the short vowel falls into line with Welsh phonesis, for there is no such thing in Welsh as a long vowel + nt. (The apparent exception ânt, a syncopation of a ânt is not spoken; literary ant is spoken an, e.g. mi an nhw; long dipthongs occur + nt, e.g. W. paent, Eng. paint). On the other hand there is apparently a native word munt existing in the plural form mynnau according to W. O. Pughe, in Breconshire, ar y mynnau meaning "on the hills." If this plural had been from the English singular "mount," it would have been myntau.

To have a sound list of fort-names is so important that even a slight treatment is justified, if only to make a start. It is necessary to ascertain the usages of these terms for military strongholds in Breton and in surviving Cornish place-names before discussing their functions in Welsh, but that work is in the special province of a trained philologist.

A fortification or place named after an individual should be good evidence because it may help to support some tradition of his existence or actions, but the etymological dissection should not be pushed too far, e.g. Caer Arianrod should be taken as meaning "the fort of Arianrod" and not as the Celtic mythologists would expand the term. (14)

<sup>(12)</sup> Do such surnames as Pennant and Mostyn go back beyond Norman times? Such surnames were widely adopted in England: was the Welsh usage borrowed?

"The Personal Name System in Old Welsh," by J. E. Lloyd— I' Cymmrodor, IX, pp. 39, 41; "Early Welsh (in relation to other Aryan) personal names," by Rev. E. MacClure— Arch. Camb., V. vii, 257—73; The Origin and History of Irish Names of Places, by P. W. Joyce, 1, pp. 272—3 (Longmans, 1901).

(13) e.g. Mwnt Penardd or Penarth—Owen Jones' Cymru, I, 273 (Blackic & Son, 1875).

(14) The Mabinogion, original Introduction by Lady Charlotte Guest,

The commonest place-names in Wales suggesting fortifications of some kind are din or dinas, caer, tommen, moel, llys (?) and castell. It is as difficult to distinguish between these terms as it is between the Irish dun, rath, lis, cathair and caisel, (15) because they are often used indifferently in the literature of Wales<sup>(16)</sup> and of Ireland respectively, to designate a similar object—a "stronghold." The nomenclature of medieval military engines is similarly confused by the chroniclers in a hopeless manner.(17)

(a) Din (both as prefix and suffix) or dinas. This name is found much more frequently(18) in North than in South Wales.

as the following list indicates:-

North Wales—Anglesey (3), Carnarvon (13), Merioneth (4), (19) Denbigh (10), (20) Flint (0), (21) Montgomery (3)(22) = Total 33.

South Wales—Cardigan (4), Pembroke (2), (23) Brecknock (2), Carmarthen (0), Glamorgan (1), Radnor (1), (24) Monmouth (1) = Total 11.

This greater frequency—as also in the case of the names caer. (25) tommen. (26) and moel(27)—is possibly due to the fact that the castle, and with it the word castell, was introduced earlier, and to a greater extent, in South Wales; and as it superseded the previously constructed forts the original name—din or dinas, caer, tommen, moel—would inevitably in many places become obsolete.

From the descriptions available (28) of din or dinas sites in Wales it is found that most of them are strongholds on hill-tops, and appear by nature to be much stronger than the caerau<sup>(29)</sup> for purposes of defence. The din or dinas stronghold corresponds

See p. 39.

<sup>(15)</sup> O'Curry's Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish, vol. I, pp. cexxxviii, cccv—cccvii, eccix, vol. III, p. 3; vol. I, pp. ccciv—cccv, vol. I, p. ecciv; vol. I. pp. cccvi—cccvii; vol. IV., p. 4; vol. I., pp. cccv, cccix.
(16) e.g. "Ac o hynny allan y kynhaliodd y Saeson heddwch y ryngtheun A diwyllio y tir gorau, ac adeiliad kestyll a cheyrydd a dinesydd. Ac val hynny i wrreasant veddiant y Bryttaniaid."—Llyfr du Basing, s.a. 688.
(17) Oman's History of the Art of War in the Middle Ages, p. 545 (Methuen, 1898).
(18) For this list the chief source of information is Owen Jones' Cyparu. The fulness of the list of military place-names from this source was checked with that obtained from an almost complete set of 25-inch Ordanace Survey Maps for one Welsh county—Caernarvonshire, and was found to be in the proportion of two in Owen Jones' Cyparu to three in the 25-inch O.S. maps. For all the other counties in the principality Owen Jones' Cyparu is mainly relied upon, on the strength of this somewhat favourable sampling, as an inspection of the 25-inch O.S. maps for the whole of Wales would entail too much time and expense. and expense and expense.
Royal Commission's Inventory (4).
Ibid. (6).
Ibid. (0).
Ibid. (6).
Ibid. (8).
Ibid. (8).

<sup>(19)</sup> (20) (21) (22) (23) (24) (25) (26) (27)

See p. 30. See p. 40. See p. 41. Pennant's Tours in Wales; O. Jones' Cymru; Leland's Itinerary; Arch. Camb., etc.

in many respects to the old English burh, being a fortified enclosure which may sometimes have been intended only for an armed camp. Evidently it was a primitive type of fort. To-day, sites bearing that name shew considerable variety in area—from half-an-acre (e.g. Dinas near Dolbadarn in Carnarvonshire) to sixty-nine acres (e.g. Dinas Mawr in Denbighshire).

The term din means "a fort," and corresponds to Irish dun, Celtic u becoming i in Welsh. It is likely that din-as was "a collection of forts," and that the name came gradually to be applied to the chief fort—probably the head-quarters. (30) The suffix -as occurs in Welsh branas="a rookery," i.e. a collection of rooks; it is found also as -es, e.g. Welsh davates="a flock of sheep," and Welsh buches="a herd of cattle": this is the old Welsh suffix -hes. It must however be noted that the word dinas is never found as dines, nor is h preserved in the earlier spellings of it. There is actually an alternation between a and e in the suffix -eb. In this connection compare undeb, cudeb, etc., which are frequently written undab, cudab, etc.

Dinas in Welsh has long come to mean "a city," and the confusion of meanings between the old and the new is found in the inconsequential place-name Dinas Dinlle. Dinas is clearly a late super-imposition in this name, and could only have been applied at a time when the meaning of Dinlle had been forgotten. Similar compounds are Dinas Dinorwig, Dinas Dinoethwy, Dinas Corddin, Caer Din, Caer Fordin, Caer Ddin, Caer Dinhengroen, Caer Ddinog, Caer Ddineu, in each of which both elements are fort-names, and each element differing in some respect from the other. Compare Llyn Strellyn (Ystrad-llyn) and Llyn Cwellyn (Cawell-lyn)—clear instances of tautology. Irish names of places exhibit a similar tendency. "Sometimes we find two of the terms lios, rath and dun combined in one name; and in this case, either the first is used adjectively, e.g. Dunlace, p. 277 (dunlios), or it is a mere explanatory term used synonymously with the second; or such a name might originate in successive structures."(31)

In literary Welsh dinas is now feminine, but in place-names the old masculine gender is frequently preserved, e.g. Dinas Mawr, Braich y Dinas, Craig y Dinas (near Clynnog in Carnarvonshire); however, the spoken form is liable to follow the modern feminine gender, e.g. Braich y Ddinas.

<sup>(30)</sup> See also "Celtic Remains," by Lewis Morris, p. 133 in Arch. Camb.; Arch. Camb. V1, iii, 71; "Welsh Place Names," by J. E. Lloyd—Y Cymmrodor, XI, pp. 22—3.

<sup>(31)</sup> Origin and History of Irish Names of Places, by P. W. Joyce, I, 282 (Longmans, 1901),

(b) Caer. The name caer, like dinas. (32) is much more common in the north than in the south of the principality, and particularly so in Carnaryonshire or Snowdonia—the last stronghold of Welsh independence—as suggested by the following list:-

North Wales—Anglesev (6), Carnaryon (27), Merioneth (9), (33) Denbigh (9), (34) Flint (4), (35) Montgomery (11), (36) Total 66.

South Wales—Cardigan (10), Pembroke (4), (37) Brecknock (6), Carmarthen (3), Glamorgan (10), Radnor (3), (38) Monmouth (9), Total 37.

The term *caer* is applied somewhat indiscriminately to forts on hills and plains. Its site was sometimes on a comparatively high hill: generally circular in shape it enclosed an area of from one to two acres. At other times the caer is represented by a rectangular or other enclosure of simple plan on fairly level ground. Roman "finds" are so frequently associated with this latter type of fort that it is generally regarded as a Roman camp which, by the novice, is oceasionally confused with the moated homestead of the 15th and 16th centuries. (39)

The etymology of the word caer (plural caerau, caeroedd and caerydd) cannot help us at the present time because it is not established; it cannot be phonetically derived from the Latin castra according to the established processes of Latin phonology in Welsh, i.e. the Latin of the Roman occupation, because no instance is known of the passing of Latin str into Welsh dipthong rr; -str- should remain in Welsh as in transtrum > trawst(r), that is, with a possible loss of the r. The aw dipthong in trawst may have helped to shed the final r, owing to the tendency to an irregular form trawst(y)r; however, one might compare cebystr, which became cebyst in the dialects from Latin capistrum. "halter," in which the r drops but the word does not contain aw.

From castra \*castr might be expected. The derivation of caer from castra is still held to be possible even by a scholar like Thurneysen, who suggests (Handbuch des Alt-Irischen, p. 517) that the Irish cathir=" a city," corresponds to Welsh cader=" a stronghold," beside caer="a eity," from two modifications of castra in British speech, into \*casera and \*catera. Thurneysen compares montar, muinter from monater and moniter from monasterium (monisterium).

<sup>(32)</sup> (33)

See pp. 37—38. Roy. Com. Inv. (6), Ibid. (5), Ibid. (3), Ibid. (19), Ibid. (18), Ibid. (10). (34)

<sup>(35)</sup> 

<sup>(36)</sup> 

<sup>(37)</sup> 

<sup>(38)</sup> 

See Earthwork of England, by Alleroft, Ch. XiV (Macmillan), (39)

"In some parts of Cardiganshire caerau is occasionally used for caerau "fields." (40) W. O. Pughe in his Dictionary (1832) gives caer y fynwent, "the churchyard wall." Caer is used in the Welsh Bible almost invariably for "a wall."(41) It is interesting in this connection to compare English "hedge," which was not always a mere enclosure, but sometimes a military defence. "Haia" is often found in Domesday, and means "an enclosure for wild beasts." It was used in Normandy for a defence and an enclosure. (42) Again, the English "burh" or "burg" was a fortified enclosure sometimes intended only, like those on the Roman wall, for an armed camp, but probably of considerable dimensions, to accommodate women and ehildren, in addition to the men and their "supplies." Originally "burh" meant a wall of some kind (earth, wood or stone) built for protection, then the meaning was extended from a protecting bulwark to the thing protected.

The name Gaerwen has been suggested as meaning "a fort on, or in close proximity to, wide marsh-lands;"(43) here, the -wen cannot mean "white" (cf. Gaerwen ddu), it is rather the modern Welsh term weun. The Welsh bards of the 12th century were rather addicted to the reversal of terms, e.g. Gwengaer, gwenllus, gwendraeth.

"Gwenglaer vch gwengaer vt ym daerhawd" (Myv.

Arch. 198b).

"Trafynidr tost gwingost gwengaer bapir" (Ibid. 305a). Gwendraeth shows that gwen cannot be the feminine form of gwyn, because traeth is masculine as in gwyndraeth. (44)

No doubt the language at some time distinguished between dinas and caer, but in what way cannot be ascertained unless

by archaeological surveys and scientific excavation.

(c) Another place-name suggesting a fortification of some kind is tommen—derived from Low Latin tumba—tomm+the Welsh feminine singulative suffix -en: tomm is also applied to "dung-heap," e.g. tommen dail (English "midden"), probably from the fact of its having been earthed up for preservation. By the term tommen is generally meant an artificial mount, with encircling ditch or fosse, the area so enclosed being usually less than half an acre, e.g. Tommen Fawr (Carnaryonshire), Tommen y Faerdre and Tommen y Rhodwydd (Denbighshire), Tommen y Bala (Merionethshire), Tommen Llanio (Cardiganshire).

<sup>(40)</sup> Y Cymmrodor, XI, pp. 26—7, by Prof. J. E. Lloyd.
(41) Compare "Gwaer neb a wynai gaer ne wal" (Card. MS. 49, f. 78).
(42) Clarke's Mediaeval Military Architecture, 1, 26 (Wyman, 1884).
(43) H. Higgins, Esq., M.A., Trefriw, Caernaryonshire.
(44) Lewis Morus's Trial of the Mob, stanza 3, line 4.

Was the tommen type of fort originally a round barrow of the pre-historic age, but subsequently adapted for military purposes? (45) One might also compare the names Tommen Gastelh (Gwydhelwern), Tommen Gastelh (Lhanvor) and Castelh Tommen y mur (Lhandekwyn) referred to in Ed. Llwyd's Parochialia (46)

The tommen site is often found on a river bank or on the edge of a lake, though the name does not occur nearly so frequently as dinas or caer, as the following numbers indicate:—

N. Wales—Carnaryon (2), Merioneth (2), (47) Denbigh (3), (48)

Montgomery (3), (49) but none in Anglesey or Flint. (50)

S. Wales—Cardigan (1), Breeknock (1), Radnor (1), (51) with no examples in the remaining counties.

(d) The name moel (plural moelydd) does not appear to be used at all in South Wales, (52) but in the north of the principality it is not uncommon, its distribution being as follows:—

Anglesey (1), Carnarvon (6), Merioneth (4), (53) Flint (3), (54)

Denbigh (5), Montgomery (1). (55)

As a substantive, moel signifies "a bare height" or "bald conical hill," and its use for a fort is probably from the accident of the suitability of bare round hills for strongholds, which are generally camps on hills, natural mostly but sometimes artificial, of oval shape, with artificial defences. In olden times the word moel was used as a surname, e.g. Hywel Foel (Howell the Bald).

(e) Of the name llys (Indo-Germanic plt-su, Pedersen, § 413, Irish lis=" a fort"; cognate with English "field") sufficient examples are not as yet forthcoming to warrant any statement as to the particular type, if any, of the military enclosure indicated. In later times llys certainly came to mean "court" whether of the judiciary or of the crown.

e.g. Hir hun Wailgun en llis Ros.

("Long is the sleep of Maelgwyn in the court of Rhos"). In Culhwch "cadlys" is used for "the bailey of a castle": consider also the following examples:-

See Remains of the Pre-historic Age in England, by B. C. A. Windle, pp. 140—5.
(Methuen, 1904),
Arch. Camb. Supplement (April, 1910), part ii, pp. 49, 62 and 104 respectively.
Roy. Com. Inv. (9).
Ibid. (8).
Ibid. (15).
Ibid. (1).
Ibid. (3).
Ibid., Radnor (0), but 3 examples in Pembrokeshire.
Ibid. (8).
Ibid. (8).
Ibid. (8).
Ibid. (10). (45) See Remains of the Pre-historic Age in England, by B. C. A. Windle, pp. 140-5.

<sup>(46)</sup> (47) (48) (49) (50) (51) (52) (53)

Ny seuis na thwr na bwr (=burgh) bu trein (=prostrate) Nac argoed na choed na chadlys drein<sup>(56)</sup> (=a stockade of thorns)

mynet dros y teir catlys awnaethant hyt pan dyuuant y mywn ygaer. (57)

With cadlys one may compare cadlas—used in Carnaryonshire to-day to denote an enclosure for the haystack,

- The frequency with which proper names are attached to the word *castell* in place-names suggests:
- (i) the personal element, and possibly indicates the original builder, e.g. Castell Madoc (Brecknockshire): castell-forts bearing personal names would appear to be comparatively modern and yet, what of castell- (and caer-) forms with a mutated initial of the personal name, e.g. Caer yai (Caer of Cai?), Castell Bhabon, Caer Dhinas gawr, the latter suggesting incidentally that Dinas was a personal name? Are such as these *early* forms?
- (ii) the proximity of a town, and suggests that the fort either protected the town or held it in subjection, e.g. Castell y Wyddgrug.

Most of the *castell*-names, even where the proper names are absent, are applied to fortified mounts, wholly or partly artificial, and probably of the mount-and-bailey type, but the descriptions as yet available of these castell-forts are not in themselves sufficiently conclusive on this point.

The type, as well as the name, shows castell to be a fort of later date than dinas or caer. In the Book of Llandaf the word castell occurs only about six times; it does not appear once in the Gododin, which contains dinas six and caer four times. It may be observed in this connection that the military references in the Pedeir Kainc of the Mabinogion suggest a period in Wales prior to A.D. 1100; the descriptions of the castles in the other tales of the so-called Mabinogion clearly refer to some time at least subsequent to A.D. 1250, while it is stated that the *Peniarth* MS. containing the White Book Mabinogion was written about A.D. 1282.<sup>(58)</sup> The later *Mabinogion* tales are not in their original Welsh form (excepting Culhwch and Br. Rhonabwy), but simply popular French versions of them re-translated into Welsh. omitting the old Welsh geographical references and adding "vast feudal eastles" of which there was an abundance in France—the land of minstrel and troubadour. To identify

Mur. Arch., p. 226 (Denbigh, 1870).
White Book Mabinogion, p. 244b (J. Gwenogiryn Evans, 1907).
See Introduction to White Book Mabinogion (J. Gwenogiryn Evans), p. xiii.
See also "Discussion of the Geography of the Mabinogion, by Sir Edward Anwyl,
in Zeitschrift fur Keltische Philologie, Vol. I, p. 288. (57) (58)

each castle mentioned in them is impossible as the French minstrel had entirely forgotten the old original Welsh names. (60)

It is also evident that castell was a different kind of stronghold from the caer, e.g.:—

"Ni savei racdun ruych pell

Nac aer na chaer na chastell."(61)

(Nor battle nor caer nor castle would stand . . , before them).

. . . . a wnaeth kaer a chastell yn y gogledd ar lan afon Alklüd ag a elwid Kastell y morynion ag a elwir heddiw kaer leil lleon."(62)

(. . . . made a caer and castle in the north . . . .)

The feature that distinguishes the castell from its predecessors—dinas and caer—is the tower, whether the motte of the mount-and-bailey type or the keep of the later stone castle. This type of stronghold for permanent occupation suited a man with only a few trusted followers, and would be quite unsuitable to a tribe—with women and children. "The Latin castellum corresponding to the Welsh caer—eontinued to be regularly used as descriptive of a fortified enclosure, whether surrounded by walls or earthworks, being even applied by Giraldus Cambrensis to a turf entrenehment at Pembroke."(63) Probably in some cases it was found suitable to build a tower in a former din or caer, and then utilize the latter as a bailey.

The word *castell* is generally assumed to be derived from the Latin castellum (Irish caisel). Caiseal is very common in Irish and is always used to signify a circular stone fort, and is either cognate with, or derived from, the Latin castellum; it is found in the most ancient Irish MSS.; the modern form is cashel."(64)

<sup>(60)</sup> See also Life in Wales in Mediaeval Times, by Miss Mary Williams—Y Cymnrodor (1916), pp. 167—171.
(61) Myr. Arch., p. 175 (Denbigh, 1870).
(62) Card. MS. 21, Part iii (1569), p. 353.
(63) Geoffrey de Mandeville, by J. H. Round, p. 328 (Longmans, 1892).
(64) The Origin and History of Irish Names of Places, by P. W. Joyce, vol. I, p. 286. (Longmans, 1901)

## ANGLESEY COURT ROLLS, 1346.(1)

BY G. PEREDUR JONES, M.A., UNIVERSITY OF SHEFFIELD.

[THURSDAY, APRIL 20TH].

County Court of Anglesey held at Beaumaris on Thursday in Easter Week, 20 Edward [III].

AMERCEMENT, 6d. Llywelyn ap Dafydd Fychan convicted at the suit of Robert de Smalwode.

AMERCEMENT, 6d. Einion Ddu ap Einion ap Elidir convicted at the suit of Dafydd ap Einion in a plea of debt.

AMERCEMENT, 6d. I orwerth ap Rees ap Howel convicted at the suit of Gwilym ap Gruffydd in a plea of wrongful detention of half a mark.

AMERCEMENT, 6d. Einion Tewe, summoned to answer Ken' Goch, clerk, in a plea of detention of chattels, did not come. Ordered to be at the next.

AMERCEMENTS, [ ]. Rees ap Iorwerth (6d.), Iorwerth ap Gruffydd Capellanus (6d.), Eden' ap Dafydd (nothing: 6d. crossed out), Einion ap ydey, Iorwerth ap Einion Goch (6d.), Gruffydd Cam (6d.) and Ieuan ap Dafydd Routh, summoned to answer Robert de Smalwode in a plea of debt, did not come.

AMERCEMENTS, [ ]. Ithel ap Dafydd (nothing), the heirs of Wenllian ferch Meredydd (6d.), Howel ap Iorwerth ap Einion and Eden' ap Howel Cam (6d.), summoned to answer John de Warewyk in a plea of debt, did not come.

AMERCEMENTS, 3s. Ithel ap Ieuan (6d.), Iorwerth ap Ken' Ddu (nothing), Ken' ap Dafydd Ddu (nothing), Dafydd ap Cochyn (nothing, because dead), Madog ap Tudur ap Llywelyn (nothing), Llywelyn ap Tudur (6d.) and the hamlet (6d.) of Botunot, summoned to answer the same concerning the same, did not come.

AMERCEMENTS, 12d. Gruffydd Cam (6d.) and Llywelyn ap Nynnew (6d.?), summoned to answer the same concerning the same, did not come.

AMERCEMENT, 12d. The community of the villeins of the commote of Lywan, summoned to answer the community of the villeins of the commote of Malt[r]aith, did not come.

<sup>(1)</sup> For the preceding parts of this document see Anglesey Antiquarian Society Transactions, 1930, pp. 33—49, and 1932, pp. 42—49.

County Courts of Anglesey after the close of Easter, 20 Edward [III].

[THURSDAY, MAY 18TH].

County Court of Anglesey held at Beaumaris the Thursday next before St. Dunstan's Day, 20 Edward [III].

AMERCEMENTS, [ ]. The Raglots and Ringilds of the Commotes of Taleb[olyon] and Dynd[aethwy] did not eome to the court, nor any servant (garcio) in their stead.

To the Next. Ken' Gogh, clerk, plaintiff, thrice summoned in an action against Einion Tewap Dafydd, defendant, concerning wrongful detention of chattels, did not come. Because the said Einion has been chosen for the Prince's army it is ordered that the suitors have a day for judgment to be given at the next.

To the NEXT. The community of the villeins of Malt[r]aith complains that the community of the villeins of Lywan did not pay its share of 40s. of green wax, with which all the villeins of the Cantref were amerced. The villeins of Lywan say that they are not bound to pay a share of that money. Inquiry to be made at the next.

To the Next. Howel Voel, of the commote of Taleb[olyon], has a day at the next to answer Walter le Fouler, attorney of John de Warewyk, in a plea of debt.

PROCEEDINGS STAYED. Dafydd ap Iorwerth ap Cedifor and Bleddyn ap Ithel, of the commote of Malt[r]aith exacti [summoned?] at the suit of Master Stephen de Ketelbergh, appeared and produced writs of supersedeas under the seal of the Justice.

AMERCEMENT, 6d. The villeins of Botunet did not come to answer John de Warewyk in a plea of debt.

AMERCEMENT, 6d. The villeins of Ynuskinith, by their attorneys Llowarch ap y Barth and Dafydd ap Ieuan, convicted on the oath of Walter le Fouler of wrongful detention of 20d. against John de Warewyk.

To the Next. A day at the next for the jury to return a verdict in the case between Ieuan ap Philip, villein of the Lord Prince, of Kemelin, plaintiff, and Howel ap Dafydd ap Howel, defendant, in a plea of wrongful taking of two draught horses.

Assessors. Einion Dommok, Meredydd Loit, Gruffydd ap Llywelyn, Howel ap Madog, Madog ap Einion, Meredydd ap Dafydd. [THURSDAY, JUNE 15TH].

County Court of Anglesey held at Beaumaris on Thursday the feast of Corpus Christi 20 Edward [III].

ESSOIN. The community of the freemen and villeins of the commote of Talebolion, except Holehed and Treflowargh, plaintiffs, against the communities of Thlanuaur and Trefirior in a plea of debt. The latter essoin by Thomas le Spencer.

AMERCEMENT, 6d. Howel Voel, who had a day fixed by the court to be present to answer J[ohn] de W[arwyk], did

not come.

AMERCEMENTS, 18d. Iorwerth ap Iorwerth Routh (6d.), Ithel his brother (6d.) and Hunyth daughter of Ithel (6d.), summoned to answer Iorwerth ap Dafydd ap Elias in a plea of debt, did not come. Madog ap Goronwy, Iorwerth ap Goronwy, Teg[wared?] ap Goronwy, Madog ap Elidir, Goronwy Gethin and Madog ap Einion ordered to be summoned to the next to answer the same concerning the same and other matters.

TO THE NEXT. A day given to Iorwerth ap Dafydd ap Elias, plaintiff, and Ieuan Vaghan ap Ieuan ap Meic, the widow of Einion Cragh and the son of Was Hir, defendants, in a plea

of debt.

To the Next. A day given to the community of the villeins of Maltraith, plaintiffs, and the community of the villeins of the commote of Lywan, defendants, in an action concerning the payment of an americanent of green wax. Ordered to be at the next without essoin.

AMERCEMENT, nil. Icuan ap Philip, villein, of Kemelyn, convicted, in an action against Howel ap Dafydd, defendant, concerning the taking and detention of two draught horses.

AMERCEMENTS, 12d. Llywarch ap Iorwerth de Aberalau (6d.), Einion Our de Trefeden' (nothing, by oath of the Ringild) and Dafydd Our, summoned to answer the Lord Prince concern-

ing things objected against them, did not come.

TO THE NEXT. The suitors had a day to give judgment between Ken' gogh, elerk, plaintiff, and Einion Tew ap Dafydd who, thrice summoned to answer the said Ken' concerning detention of chattels value 39s. 11\(^3\_4\)d., did not come. All the suitors of the whole commote ordered to be at the next.

To the next. The hamlet of Botunot has a day to answer

John de Warwyk in a plea of debt.

TO THE NEXT. The ease between Iorwerth ap Gruffydd Cam, plaintiff, and Heilyn Duy concerning trespass, adjourned from the hundred court of Lywan, postponed to the next for lack of jurors. Rees ap Howel ap Rees, elected and sworn, is given the same day.

TO THE NEXT. The ease between Teg' ap Goronwy, plaintiff. and Rees ap Rees Loit, defendant, concerning the taking and wrongful detention of two cows (which seizure, on account of the rent of Goronwy's land, the said Rees avows) postponed to the next

# [THURSDAY, JULY 13TH].

County Court of Anglesey held at Beaumaris on Thursday next after the feast of the Translation of St. Thomas the Martyr, 20 Edward [III].

AMERCEMENTS, 12d. Madog ap leuan ap Howel (6d.) aud Icuan ap Meredydd ap Kend' [=Kendalo, Cynddelw] (6d.) for

chattering and disturbing the court.

AMERCEMENTS, 12d. Madog ap Goronwy (6d.) and the widow of Einion Cragh (6d.) summoned to answer Griffin Tew. attorney of Iorwerth ap Dafydd ap Elias, did not come. Ordered to be at the next.

AMERCEMENT, 6d. Einion Tew (6d.) summoned the third time to answer Ken' Gogh, elerk, concerning the wrongful detention of 39s. 111d, of the price of chattels, did not come. The same Einion convicted by the same court.

TO THE NEXT. Howel Voel ordered to be at the next to answer W[alter] le F[owler], attorney of J[ohn] de Warr[wyk]

in a plea of debt.

AMERCEMENT, 6d. The hamlet of Botunot convicted by judgment of the court in an action against Walter le Fowler, attorney of J [ohn] de Warr [wvk], concerning the wrongful detention of 10d., did not come after the third summons.

AMERCEMENT, 6d. Heilyn Duy convicted at the suit of lorwerth ap Gruffydd Cam in a plea of breach of contract to his damage of 12d. Einion ap Dafydd [sic.]

AMERCEMENT, 6d. Einion ap Dafydd Ringild convicted on his own recognisance at the suit of Robert de Smalwode in a

plea of wrongful detention of 6d.

AMERCEMENT, 6d. Ieuaf ap lorwerth convicted on his own recognisance at the suit of Robert de Smalwode in a plea of wrongful detention of 15d.

AMERCEMENT, 12d. Teg' ap Goronwy convicted of trespass

against Rees ap Rees Loit.

Amercement, 12d. Iorwerth Wythel convicted of false

claim against [b]ank].

FINE. 3s. Dafydd Our made fine of 3s. to the Lord Prince because he married a villein of the Lord Prince: sureties, Gruffydd ap Llywelyn and leuan ap leuan.

[THURSDAY, AUGUST 10TH].

County Court of Anglesey held at Beaumaris on Thursday, St. Laurence's Day, 20 Edward [III].

CORONER. Howel Lippa elected coroner for the commotes of Talebolion, Turkelin and Dindaethwy in virtue of a writ of the Prince directed to the sheriff and with the assent of the suitors of the county, and he took oath etc.

TO THE NEXT. Howel Voel, Leuqe [=Lleueu] daughter of Meredydd and Ieuan Gogh ap Madog ordered to be at the next

to answer John de Warr[wyk] in a plea of debt.

AMERCEMENTS, [blank]. Rees ap Iorwerth (6d.), Dafydd Duy ap Teg' (6d.), Iorwerth ap Gruffydd Capellanus (6d.), Gruffydd Cam (6d.) and Ithel Vaghan (6d.), summoned to answer Robert de Smalwode in a plea of debt, did not come. Ordered to be at the next.

TO THE NEXT. Ordered that Dafydd ap lorwerth ap Dafydd and the heir of Iorwerth ap Gruffydd be summoned to

the next to answer the same concerning the same.

JUDGMENT. Owing to lack of suitors judgment between the community of freemen and villeins of the commote of Talebolion (except the tenants of Holehed and Treflowargh), plaintiffs, and the communities of Lanuaur and Trefirior, defendants; in a plea of wrongful detention of 20s., to their damage half a mark, is deferred to the next.

# [THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 7TH].

County Court of Anglesey held at Beaumaris on Thursday the eve of the feast of the Nativity of B.M., 20 Edward [III].

ESSOIN. Iorwerth ap Dafydd ap Elias, plaintiff, in an action for debt against Angh[arad] widow of Einion Cragh and Dafydd his son, essoined through Hoel ap Madog. The same Iorwerth essoined through the same Hoel in actions against Ieuan Vaghan ap Ieuan (for debt), John ap Ieuan [and] Madog ap Ieuan his son and against the community of the tenants of the land of Iorwerth ap Philip Gogh (for debt).

TO THE NEXT. Inquiry to be made at the next whether the communities of the townships of Thlanuaur and Trefirior withold from the community of Talebolion (except the tenants of Holeheued and Treflowargh) 31s., as the latter complain, to

their damage of half a mark.

To the Next. Walter le Fouler has a day cum tercia  $manu^{(2)}$  to prove a debt of 28d. against Howel Voel.

<sup>(2) &</sup>quot;With the third hand," that is, with three other people to swear that what he vouched was true. On manus, "oath," see Cowel, Law Dictionary sub voc.

AMERCEMENT, nil. Ieuan Gogh, summoned to answer Walter le Fouler concerning a plea of debt, did not come. Ordered etc.

Rees ap Iorwerth (nil) convicted on his own recognisance

of wrongful detention of 5s. 9d.

AMERCEMENT, 6d. Dafydd Duy ap Teg' condemned because, thrice summoned, he did not come to answer Robert Smalwode concerning 3s. 6d., to his damage 4d.

AMERCEMENT, 6d. Iorwerth ap Gruffydd Capellanus in the same way, at the suit of the same, concerning 5s. 4d., to his

damage 6d.

AMERCEMENT, 6d. Gruffydd Cam in the same way, at the suit of the same, is condemned in an action concerning 40d., to

his damage 4d.

To the Next. The same Robert de Smalwode has a day to prove *cum quinta manu*<sup>(3)</sup> his debt against Philip Vaghan. The same Robert, plaintiff, and Ieuan ap Iorwerth ap Ithel, defendant, in a plea of debt, have a day at the next.

Inquiry to be made at the next whether Dafydd ap Goue Duy withholds 21s. 2d. against Thomas le Spencer, raglot of the

advocarii.

AMERCEMENT, 6d. Iorwerth ap Einion Duy, summoned to answer Thomas le Spencer in a plea of debt, did not come. Ordered etc.

To the Next. Inquiry to be made at the next whether Madog Pot withholds from Thomas le Spencer 29d. of advowry money. (4)

To the Next. A day given to Llywelyn ap Iorwerth, plaintiff, and Gruffydd ap Madog ap Iorwerth, defendant, in an action concerning a debt of 8s. 4d., damage half a mark. Ordered to be at the next.

(5)AMERCEMENTS, 18d. Iorwerth (6d.), Einion (6d.) and Ithel (6d.), sons of Einion Duy, summoned to answer Angh[arad] daughter of Ken' ap Philip in a plea of trespass, did not come. Ordered etc.

AMERCEMENT, 6d. Hoel ap Llywelyn ap Gruffydd convicted at the suit of Robert de Smalwode concerning 5s. 4d., damage 3d.

<sup>(3) &</sup>quot;With the fifth hand," i.e., the oaths of five others.
(4) xxixd. de aduoc[aria]. Such a payment was known in Welsh as arian arddel and was made by gwyr arddelw, or aduocarii, i.e. strangers coming into a lordship to settle. See Palmer and Owen, History of Ancient Tenures of Land in North Wales and the Marches, pp. 184 seq.
(5) Written above the line—Epi, " of the Bishop."

## THE ARMOURED EFFIGY IN BEAUMARIS CHURCH.

By GEOFFREY G. HOLME.

The effigies upon the table-tomb in Beaumaris Church have been identified as those of Sir Rowland Bulkeley and his wife Alice, daughter of Sir William Beaconsal.<sup>(1)</sup> Sir Rowland, who was Constable of Beaumaris Castle in 1502, died in 1537.<sup>(2)</sup>

That the approximate date of the tomb is known adds much to its general interest and, regarding the effigy of the knight in particular, provides an authentic example of period armour faithfully portrayed in every particular, even to the hinges, straps, and arming-points.

The accompanying drawings are made to scale; the viewline of the side elevation is taken across the body of the lion to enable the foot-covering of the knight to be seen.

Immediately behind the head of the effigy is a small upright shield, which from the nature of the drawings cannot be clearly identified. This shield forms no part of the defensive armour; it is provided for the heraldic emblazonment of the monument. A similar shield is placed at the foot.

The head of the knight is supported upon his great heume, or tilting helm; unfortunately, the shield masks the most interesting part of the helm. The visible portion gives some indication of a type used for fighting on foot.<sup>(3)</sup>

<sup>(1)</sup> Archaeologia Cambrensis, Vol. lxxxv. (1930), Part 2, p. 441.

<sup>(2)</sup> Ibid., Vol. lxxix. (1924), Part 1, p. 158.

<sup>(3)</sup> During the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries two distinct forms of helm were in general use. The first, and perhaps the more usual, has no movable visor; it is composed of three pieces, back and front plates rivetted together on either side, and a saucer-shaped skull plate. The front plate is bent in the centre to a vertical angle or ridge; this line, usually slightly concave, starting from the chin projects forwards as it rises until it reaches the ocularium, a horizontal opening, near the top, an inch or so in width, produced by shortening the front of the skull plate to that extent. The vision slit comes into full play when the head is bent forward in the attitude adopted at the tourney. The best known example is the so-called Brocas helm; this is described and illustrated, together with another of similar form by Mr. John Hewitt, in the Archaeological Journal, Vol. xxi., p. 60. A further excellent specimen is preserved in the Pyx Chapel, Westminster Abbey; this is fully described in the Archaeological Journal, Vol. xxv., p. 224.

xxv., p. 224.

The other class of helm is referred to by Sir Guy Francis Laking, as follows:— "We shall finally mention in this chapter what we term bascinet-helms, that series of head-pieces the use of which was restricted to the knight fighting on foot, en champ clos. We will first take what is known as the Capel helm. Very spacious, it allowed perfect freedom to the head of the combatant. The large visor is pierced with more than two hundred and fifty small apertures, which assisted the respiration of the wearer and allowed him to see clearly. This eyy-shaped helm, free from any projections or indentations, offered but a smooth surface to the point of an antagonist's sword or pole arm, . . . . The hinges and pivots were placed beneath the visor, sheltered from blows.

A Record of European Armour and Arms through seven centuries by Sir Guy Francis Laking, Bart. (C. Bell & Sons, London, 1920), Vol. 2, p. 155.

The helm is surmounted by the Bulkeley crest, a bull's head; the horns have disappeared but the sockets in which they were inserted remain, the right ear is also missing. The neck and shoulders are covered by a mantling held in place by a torse. In heraldic representation "towards the end of the 14th century the junction of the crest with the helm began to be marked by a twisted wreath or orle of two or more differently coloured stuffs. . . . . . The decadence of heraldry which began under the Tudor kings is responsible for detaching the orle and crest and representing them apart from the helm to which they belong, and modern ignorance has perverted the orle into a twisted bar. (4)

From beneath the head and shoulders of the effigy the mantling again appears in a double fold, with dagged ends and tasselled cord.

Contrary to the custom in a period when military figures in effigies and upon brasses were usually represented bareheaded, the knight wears his fighting helmet, a visored salade. The visor evidently is not intended to be pivoted, it acts as a reinforcing plate to the front of the helmet and also contains the ocularium. When in action the helmet would be drawn over the face until the horizontal openings, which form the ocularia, were level with the eyes; this brings the rim of the helmet in line with the mouth, giving protection to the upper part of the face. The studs surrounding the head-piece are intended to hold, on the inside, the leather strap to which the lining was secured. (6)

The neck and lower part of the face are protected by a baviere or mentonniere. This was habitually used with the salade: it was a plate fastened by one or more screws or almayne (sliding) rivets to the upper part of the breastplate, and was

<sup>(4)</sup> A Grammar of English Heraldry by W. H. St. John Hope (Cambridge University Press, 1913), pp. 56—7.

<sup>(5)</sup> The ocularium is sometimes cut in the front of the salade but more often it is found in a pivoted visor which could be thrown back: Armour and Weapons by Charles Ffoulkes (Oxford Clarendon Press, 1909), p. 82.

<sup>(6) &</sup>quot;Around the centre of the skull-piece is a series of hemispherically headed rivets which held the leather strap for the attachment of the lining..... The row of rivets which runs around the centre of the skull served for the attachment of a strap to which the lining could be sewn..... A series of rivets, flush on the outside, held a strap just above the level of the slit for the eyes, to which the wadded cap or lining was sewn" (The Salude head-piece). A Record of European Armour and Arms by Sir G. F. Laking (Bell & Sons, London, 1920), Vol. 2, pp. 25—27.

<sup>(7)</sup> To-day we are accustomed to apply the word bevor to that movable portion of the close helmet which actually covers the face and into the top of which the visor of the helmet fits. It is, however, with the bevor considered as a separate defence that we are now concerned. It has erroneously been called the mentonniere; but there is no record of that term having been used so early as the fifteenth century. Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 46.

moulded so as to cover the lower part of the face to the lips or nose and reach to the ears on both sides."(8) Below this is a mutilated fragment, probably the remains of a hasp and staple, securing the mentonniere to the breast-plate.(9)

Around the neck is a collar of the S—S, clasping a diamond-shaped ornament; the lower edge of the mentonniere is hidden by the S—S collar, apparently it *over*-lies the breastplate.

The high-shouldered appearance of the effigy shows the natural effect of wearing beneath the armour a padded arming doublet which, upon the shoulders, might be as much as three or four fingers' breadth in thickness. (10) The doublet, or "hauscement for the Bode," answered the double purpose of deadening the force of a blow and, by means of arming-points attached to it, distributing the weight of the armour over various parts of the body. This is referred to in one of the Hastings MSS. of the 15th century and discussed by the late Mr. Albert Way in one of his articles upon "Mediaeval manners and costume," (11) from which the following is taken:—

"How a man schalle be armyd at his ese, when he schal fighte on foote.

"He schal have noo schurte up-on-him, but a dowbelet of fustean bynyd with satene, cutte fulle of hoolis: the dowbelet muste be strongeli bounden, there the poyntis muste be sette aboute the greet of the arme, and the b(e)ste before and behynde, and the gussetis of mayle muste be sowid unto the dowbelet in the bought of the arme, and undir the arme: the armynge poyntis muste be made of fyne twyne, such as men make stryngis for crossebowes, and they muste be trussid smalle, and poyntid as poyntis. Also they muste be wexid with cordeweneris coode, (a) and than they wolle neythir recche(b) nor breke. Also a payre hosyne of stamyn sengille, and a payre of shorte bulwerkis

<sup>(8)</sup> British and Foreign Arms and Armour by C. H. Ashdown (Jack, London), pp. 219-20.

<sup>(9)</sup> It (the salade) was made more completely protective by a chin-piece called the baviere, strapped round the neck or fastened to the breast-plate for tilting. Armour in England by J. Starkie Gardner (Seely & Co., London, 1898), p. 58. In some of the later and more elaborated bevors there was an aperture in the lower part of the gorget plate which litted over a staple in the top of the breastplate, through which a pin passed holding the bevor rigidly in position so that the face which it protected could move with ease within it. In other cases it was merely attached by a strap around the neek. A Record of European Armour and Arms by Sir G. F. Laking (Bell & Sons, London, 1920), Vol. 2, p. 48.

<sup>(10) &</sup>quot;It would seem that in France the garment of linen worn under the tourney-armour was folded till it was three fingers thick on the shoulders. In the Low Countries, however, the pourpoint was of a different fashion, for there they made the garment of two thicknesses and stuffed this with cotton-waste to the thickness of four fingers. The difference of thickness would be accounted for by the fact that folded linen would not compress so much as cotton-waste."—The Armourer and his Craft by Charles Ffoulkes (Methuen & Co., London, 1912), p. 88.

<sup>(11)</sup> Archaeological Journal, Vol. iv, p. 234,

of thynne blanket, to put aboute his kneys, for chawfynge of his lighernes. (c) Also a payre of shone of thikke cordewene, and they muste be frette with smal whipcordes, thre knottis up-on-a-corde, and thre coordis muste be faste sowid un-to-the hele of the shoo, and fyne cordis in the myddille of the soole of the same shoo, and that ther be betwene the frettis of the heele and the frettis of the myddille of the shoo the space of thre fyngris."

(a) Cordeners wex (Lansdowne MS, 285) is one of numerous ingredients to be used in making a good "entreet" or salve.

(b) "I ratche. I streeche out a length. If it be to shorte, ratche it out.

(c) Leg harneis (Lansdowne MS.).

Referring again to the effigy, the upper part of the body is protected by a cuirass short waisted and globular in form; the details of the backplate are not shown owing to the recumbent position of the body; the breast-plate is reinforced by a demi-placate, curving upwards towards a point; the edges of the plates are rolled outwards, probably over a wire. (12) On the right side is the base of the lance-rest, the hook pertaining to this has been broken off.

Rerebrace and vambrace encase the upper and lower arm; these are hinged on the outside and fastened by straps, purposely placed on the inside to mitigate the possibility of severance during combat. The elbow is protected by a coude, or elbow-cop (now much worn), to which the rerebrace and vambrace are connected, as shewn upon the drawing, by an arming point attached to the doublet. The coude is further secured by two bands passing over the inside bend of the elbow which, it will be noticed, is not provided with mail defence; this is of interest as it probably implies that a complete hauberk of mail is not worn under the plate armour. Protection to the inside of the elbow is provided by the projecting wings of the coude which curve slightly inwards. The brassard, comprising the three items of arm defence, is hung to the shoulder of the doublet;(13) the arming-points can be seen in the side elevation. Above and below the elbow-cop are three articulated plates to facilitate the free movement of the arm.

The shoulders are provided with epaulieres composed of five laminated plates; the arrangement varies slightly between the two. The arming-points fastening the epaulieres to the doublet are clearly shown; sliding rivets connecting the several

A Record of European Armour and Arms by Sir G. F. Laking (Bell & Sons, London, 1920), Vol. 2, p. 27.

When the three pieces called collectively the Brassard were joined together they were kept in place by arming-points fastened to the haustement or doublet just below the shoulder. The Armourer and his Craft by C. Ffoulkes (Methuen & Co., London, 1912), p. 111. (13)

plates together are omitted or possibly have been worn away. The hollow of the shoulder is protected either by a gusset of mail stitched to the doublet or by part of a complete hauberk of mail (14)

Pauldrons supply an additional defence to the vulnerable places between the breastplate and rerebraces. (15) These are secured in the centre by a stud with an ornamental head. (16) The side edges are raised to divert a glancing thrust, and the upper edge, also raised, is turned outwards as a low neck- or pike-guard. Contrary to the usual custom, the pauldrons including the pike-guard are of similar size and form. (17) will be noticed that the inner side of the right pauldron has a semi-circular notch, allowing space for the lance when eouched.

The hands are encased in laminated mitten gauntlets; the thumbs, owing to damage, are practically obliterated and for the same reason it is impossible to say if the ends of the fingers were exposed. The cuffs are polygonal, wide at the extremity, and furnished with a small bead at the junction with the gauntlet. It is difficult to understand how the rigid curve of the metacarpal plate could allow the wrists to be straightened; as the joints over the knuckles are now, in part, very badly worn it is quite possible that one or more narrow articulated plates at the wrists have been entirely worn away. The present smooth surface of the sides of the hands and wrists give the false impression that the plates continue and enclose the palm of the hand. (18)

<sup>(14)</sup> Nothing was worn beneath (the plate armour, c. 1450) but the fustian doublet, well padded and lined with satin, with the small lozenge-shaped gussets of mail under the limb-joints and the short petticoat of mail tied round the waist. Armour in England by J. S. Gardner (Seely & Co., Lordon, 1898), p. 55.
Gussets and, in the sixteenth century, sleeves of mail protected the bend of the arm and armpit and sometimes the bend of the knee, when not adequately covered with plate.—The Armourer and his Craft by C. Ffoulkes (Mcthuen & Co., London, 1912), p. 109.
(15) The last chink, leaving the mail exposed under the armpit, was a vulnerable opening in the armour called the Vif de Tharnois or the default de la cuirasse.—Armour in England by J. S. Gardner (Seely & Co., London, 1898), p. 45
The pauldrons were strapped to the neck opening of the cuirass or hung from spring pins which project from the shoulder plate.—The Armourer and his Craft by C. Ffoulkes (Methuen & Co., London, 1912), p. 111.
(17) In most suits of plate of the 15th and early 16th centuries that portion of the pauldron which covers the breastplate is larger on the left side than on the right.—Armour and Weapons by C. Ffoulkes (Oxford Clarendon Press, 1909), p. 59.

<sup>(18)</sup> The ease with which the wrist can be bent in any direction within a cuffed gauntlet ce ease with which the wrist can be bent in any direction within a cuffed gauntlet composed of a single plate, will be realised by an examination of the early form of plate gauntlet which, with various modifications and additions to finger protection, was the stereotyped pattern from c. 1350 to c. 1450. In this the plate was contracted at the wrist and bell-mouthed at each end, giving the appearance of an hour glass—the term by which it is known. The plate extends to the knuckles, covering only the back and sides of the hand; the underside of the curf is also open at the lower end. This was secured to a leather glove, to the fingers of which small overlapping plates were attached. The gauntlets of Edward the Black Prince, hanging with other achievements over his tomb at Canterbury, although probably made for funerary purposes, affords an excellent illustration.

Below the cuirass are seven lines of taces of various widths. all cusped in the centre and overlapping upwards. Each plate is divided (for convenience when arming), into two semi-circles strapped together on either side. No sliding rivets, connecting one lame with another, are visible; this, combined with the irregularity with which the plates are centred, suggests that they are supposed to be attached to a leather apron, and not connected by rivets.(19)

Below the taces are six pentagonal tuilles with concave sides and ridge-and-hollow faces; the two in front are slightly larger than the others. Each tuille overlaps, by about twothirds of its length, the lowest tace, and is secured by two straps to the one above. A skirt of mail<sup>(20)</sup> is seen, between the tuilles. below the taces; the edge of the skirt is vandyked to correspond with the points of the tuilles. It will be noticed that the lowest tace is about three times the width of the others.

What little remains of the sword upon the left side of the figure shows that it was long and narrow. The hilt has been reduced to a meaningless block of stone, of a size for which it is difficult to account; a thin line curving slightly downwards, upon the second lowest tace, may be the remains of the quillon.

The dagger on the right of the figure has an acutely pointed blade 15 inches in length, the greater part of this is reduced to a mere outline, but there is some indication of a channel down the centre of the blade; if this can be relied upon the dagger is a naked weapon, which would account for its attachment to the belt by a thin cord secured, not to a scabbard, but to a hole in the quillon of the dagger. The short quillons seem to be complete; the hilt is not so, about one half of the grip, which is octagonal in section, is intact, the remainder together with the pommel cannot be traced.

The sword is suspended by a narrow strap carried diagonally across the body from the right hip and forked at the lower end; a buckle and strap end are shown in the usual position,

<sup>(19) (</sup>Agincourt type, 1415—1435). The breast and back plates are finished at the waist by a short skirt formed by rows of plates overlapping each other upwards and secured by straps buckled over the opening at the right side; they are supported on a lining of leather or other strong material.—English Church Monuments by F. H. Crossley (Batsford, London, 1921), p. 243.
We meet at this time (i.e. the beginning of the 16th century) with the sliding rivets, a new mode of attachment for the plates which enabled them to play fully over each other without parting company. The overlapping tassets of most of the close-fitting skirts are made in this fashion, to which the term Almayne rivets so frequently met with in inventories is believed to apply.—Armour in England by J. S. Gardner (Seely & Co., London, 1898), p. 69.
The skirt of taces consisting of laminated hoops fastened together by "almayne" or sliding rivets as worn in the 16th century.—Costume in Brasses by Herbert Druitt (Moring, London, 1906), p. 177.
(20) See Note (14) p. 54.

the latter is furnished with a metal chape, a similar strap is carried in the opposite direction to support the dagger. Both straps are relieved at short intervals by ornamental studs.

The legs are encased in hinged cuisses and greaves, double beaded at the joints and strapped on the inside. The greaves are arched over the instep, each opening being filled with a gusset of mail.

The genouillieres are highly decorative; the back of the knee is protected by the wings, the addition of mail gussets, if intended, could not be executed owing to the position of the figure. Cusped lames extend above and below the knee cap; it is obvious that the radiating ridges would not permit these to slide over each other, they are merely ornamental reinforcements to the leg defence.

Upon the feet are laminated plate sabatons of an early type. The attachment of the plates to the leather soles is not discernible and the joints between the sabatons and greaves are hidden by ornate spur straps, by which rowel spurs are attached to the heels.

The feet rest upon the body of a lion; beyond this is a small heraldic shield corresponding with that at the head of the effigy.

The complete suit of armour may have been modified when the knight was mounted; as shown upon the effigy it is intended for fighting on foot.<sup>(21)</sup>

With very rare exceptions—from many causes easy to be detected—effigies were certainly executed either during the life-time of the personages represented or immediately after their decease and, in the case of any man of high rank, it may be assumed as certain that the armour represented in his effigy was carefully studied and faithfully modelled from the suit—in all probability the favourite suit—that he had habitually worn. (22) It would appear from the indentures extant of the various tombs in metal and alabaster, that a wooden pattern or working model was provided for the tomb-makers. (23) Many warriors in their old age requested that the armour delineated upon their monumental slabs should be that in which they achieved renown in youth or manhood. (24)

<sup>(21)</sup> Wherever a cuisse is found that protects the back of the thigh we may be sure that the owner fought on foot.—The Armourer and his Craft by C. Ffoulkes (Methuen & Co., London, 1912), p. 6.

<sup>(22)</sup> Arms and Armour in Antiquity and the Middle Ages by Charles Boutell (Gibbings & Co., London, 1902), pp. 184—5.

<sup>(23)</sup> English Church Monuments by F. H. Crossley (Batsford, London, 1921), p. 28.
(24) British and Foreign Arms and Armour by C. H. Ashdown (Jack, London), Pre-

<sup>(24)</sup> British and Foreign Arms and Armour by C. H. Ashdown (Jack, London), Preface, p. xi.

The application of these statements to the armour in question would probably place the period it represents as c.~1500.

It is difficult to form an opinion of the date based upon the merits of the armour itself, in the suit as a whole, owing to the want of uniformity in some of the individual pieces. The salade taken alone might well date as far back as the middle of the 15th century; it was the principal helmet in use throughout the Wars of the Roses, and is constantly represented in manuscripts of that period. Towards the end of that century it was partially superseded by a closed helmet—the armet. In all the pictures of the triumphs and battle-pieces of Henry VIII at Hampton Court, the English men-at-arms invariably wear the armet and it is abundantly represented in works of art during the remainder of the Tudor period. Noticeably in the picture of the meeting of Henry VIII and Maximilian, the English are all shown wearing armets while the Germans still wear the salade.

On the other hand, the broad-toed sabaton was introduced, certainly not earlier than the commencement of the last quarter of the 15th century and, most probably, some ten years later. These overlapped, in date, the earlier pointed sollerets, which survived until the end of the century. An early example of the sabaton, and one which agrees in form and construction with those in the Beaumaris effigy, is shown on the brass of Piers Gerard, 1492, Winwick Church, Lancs. (28) These are quite distinct from the later "duck-bill" or the grotesque "bear-paw," associated with the reign of Henry VIII.

The Lancastrian S—S collar is not much in evidence during the Yorkist period, "only one instance of its use, on a brass, having been noticed."<sup>(29)</sup> It was revived when Henry VII came to the throne, and died out in the following reign.

The suit as a whole shows the graceful lines, together with some other features, of the Gothic period, c. 1440 to c. 1500,<sup>(30)</sup> but lacks the pointed elbow-cops and extravagant enlargement of the elbow-guards and shoulder-pieces so prevalent at that

<sup>(25)</sup> Armour in England by J. S. Gardner (Seely & Co., London, 1898), p. 58.

<sup>(26)</sup> Ibid., p. 62.

<sup>(26)</sup> Ibid., p. 62.

<sup>(27)</sup> Armour and Weapons by C. Ffoulkes (Oxford Clarendon Press, 1909), p. 83.

<sup>(28)</sup> British and Foreign Arms and Armour by C. H. Ashdown (Jack, London), p. 232.

 <sup>(29)</sup> In the Kniveton brass at Mugginton, Derbyshire, c. 1475.—The Brasses of England by H. W. Maclin (Methuen & Co., London, 1907). p. 194.
 (30) Armour and Weapons by C. Ffoulkes (Oxford Clarendon Press, 1909), p. 69.

time. There is little or no indication of the Maximilian period, c.~1500 to  $c.~1540;^{(31)}$  it will be sufficient to mention that at that time demi-placates, the articulations of the breast and back plates—except in rare instances—were wholly abolished, and replaced by a stout and rigid pectoral more adapted to receive the shock of the lance in the tilt-yard.  $^{(32)}$ 

The dates assigned to these two periods of course include, between them, an overlapping or transition period, but this was of short duration. A striking example of the suddenness of the change, as it appears in brasses, may be seen in the church of Houghton Conquest, Beds., where there are two figures of the same personage separated only by an interval of seven years; in the one (dated 1493) he is in full Yorkist armour, in the other (dated 1500) in Tudor armour. (33)

The type of armour expressed in the Beaumaris effigy appears to represent the period of change and may probably be assigned to the reign of Henry VII (1485—1509).

<sup>(31)</sup> Armour and Weapons by C. Ffoulkes (Oxford Clarendon Press, 1909), p. 70.

<sup>(31)</sup> Ibid., p. 70.

<sup>(32)</sup> Armour in England—Part II. Foreign Armour in England by J. S. Gardner (Seely & Co., London, 1898), p. 44.

<sup>(33)</sup> The Brasses of England by H. W. Macklin (Methuen & Co., London, 1907), p. 220.









## CORPORATION OF BEAUMARIS MINUTE BOOK(1) (1691—93; 1715; 1724—80).

BY HUGH OWEN, M.A., F.S.A.

f. 316. 28 Sep. 1691: Whereas Owen Coytmor gent one of the Cheife Burgesses of ye said Borrough doeth now live and altogether Inhabite within the County of Carnarvon, and being sickely hath therefore a Minde to bee disfranchised from being one of the Cheiffe Burgesses of the said Borrough We Do therefore the said Mayor Recorder Bayleiffes and Cheife Burgesses of the said Borrough and present att the said Meetinge doo att this Desire and Request Remove Discharge and Disfranchise him the said Owen Coytmor from being Cheiffe Burgesse of the said Borrough and from all Benefit and Advantage thereunto belonginge for the better support of good Rule and Government of the said Borrough.

Robert Owen Clerk
Richard Rowlands
Beverley Bedoes
Hugh Gallaway
Randle Evans
Meredyth Parry

Thomas Bulkeley
Robert Bulkeley
Coningesby Williams
Fran, Bulkeley
Hugh Roberts
David Parry

Bulkeley
Owen Hughes Recorder
David Parry

Bulkeley
Owen Hughes Recorder
David Parry

William Griffith

28 Sep. 1691: The persons hereunder named were then Elected Burgesses and Cheiffe Burgesses of the said Borrough and likewise then Sworn as followeth,

Francis Bulkeley was then Elected and Sworne Burgesse and alsoe

Cheiffe Burgesse of ye said Borrough.

Robert Hampton gent was then Elected Burgesse and Cheiffe Burgesse. Gabriell Beane was then Elected to bee Cheiffe Burgesse. [The same list of names as above, but omitting the name of Fran. Bulkeley)

ff. 317—8, 321. Officers of the Borough elected in:—
1691.

The Hon. Thomas Bulkeley, Esq. Mayor Randle Evans & Gent.
Meredyth Parry | Bayleiffes
Gabrielle Beane Coroner
Richard Moris & SergiantsRichard Griffith | at-Mace
Richard Griffith Water Bayleiffe
Cornelius Evans & Churchwardens.
Hugh Pugh
William Williams | Searchers & Sealers
& Hugh Lloyd | of Leather.
Edward Bushell & Sydemen
William Parry |
William Williams & Common
Griffith ap Richard | Appraisors.
Michael Williams | Burleighmen
& Owen Griffith |

Owen Griffith Scavenger
William Hughes Smith & Overseers of
John Williams Smith
Owen Griffith Beadle

Robert Hampton Gent & Gabrielle Beane Gent Meredyth Parry Gent Richard Griffith & Richard Moris Richard Griffith John Burges & John Williams William Williams & Hugh Lloyd Edward Bushell & Denis Humphreyes William Williams & Griffith ap Richard Michaell Williams & Gwen Griffith Hugh Jones

ffrancis Bulkeley Esq

<sup>(1)</sup> For the preceding parts of this Minute Book, see Anglesey Antiquarian Society Transactions, 1932, pp. 75-90.

Constables:

John Richards, Castle Street.

John Price, Watergate.

Robert Williams Church Street.

Randle Hughes, Northgate.

William Parry.
William Hughes.
William Robins.
Robert Carter.

David ap Wm. Parry, St. Katherines. Rowland Vaughan, of the Liberties.

f. 318. 5 Oct. 1691: Doctor John Jones and Cornelius Evans elected and sworne Common Burgesses.

Robert Hampton Gent sworne Burgesse and also Cheiffe Burgesse.

Gabriell Beane gent sworne Cheiffe Burgesse.

f, 322, 14 Oct. 1692: John Owen of Cremlyn Esq elected and sworne Burgesse.

10 Nov. 1692: John Burges gent elected and sworne Common Burgesse.

- f. 323. 26 July 1693: Itt is ordered by the Mayor and Bayleiffes of the said Borrough and the rest of the Cheiffe Burgesses then present and who have hereunto subscribed. That the said Mayor and Bayleiffes, my Lord Bulkeley, Henry Sparrow Esq., Mr William Griffith, Mr. Owen Roberts and Mr Richard Rowlands and such other of the foure and Twenty as are here present Shall Inspect into all the Records and the Deeds Evidences and Writings belonging to the said Borrough and shall informe the rest of the foure and twenty with the contents thereof &c.,
- f. 433. 25 Apr. 1715: Whereas upon a Representation made by the Surveyors of the High Ways for the town and Libertyes of Bewmares in the said County of Anglesey to the Mayor Recorder and Bayliffes of the said Burrough of Bewmares att the said Court that the Kings High Way or Street Called Church Street lying within the said Burrough, and a gutter lying in the said Kings High Way or Street is very far out of repair to the great Annoyance of all his Majesties subjects going that way, and which ought to be repaired by the Inhabitants of the said Burrough which said High Way is so far out of repair that it cannot be repaired as it ought to be without a tax for that purpose wherewith the said Court of Quarter Sessions was very well satisfyed having viewed the same It is therefore ordered by the said Court that the sume of three pence in the pound according to the Land Rate of the said Burrough shall be assessed, leavyed and collected upon the Inhabitants of the said Burrough towards the repairing and amending the said High Way or Street for making of a Gutter to carry of the Water Course from a place ealled Plas Coch to the Cross of Bewmares and thenceforwards to the River called Avon y Castell in Bewmares aforesaid being the old Water Course.
- f. 138. It is ordered that the sum of six pounds in the hands of Mr. Cadwaladr Williams bequeathed by Deborah Black the Interest thereof to be applyed yearly for ever to the poor of Bewmares be paid into the hands of the present Bayliffes to be laid out at Interest and in the meantime the poor to be annually paid according to the testatory will of the said Gentlemen Bayliffes and their successors at Michaelmas yearly.
- f. 139. 22 July 1725: Revd. Richard Edmunds, Clerk, elected a Common and Cheiffe Burgess. It is ordered that sixpence in the pound be raised according to the Late Rate within the said Burrough for the repairs of the highway within the said Burrough.
- 5 Aug. 1727: Watkin Williams Wynne, Esquire, was elected a Common and Capital Burgess.

- f. 149. 14 Sept. 1728: The Rt. Hon. Riehard Lord Viscount Bulkeley of Cashel in the Kingdom of Ireland, John Owen of Presaddfed in the County of Anglesey, Esquire, Lewis Atkinson, Esquire, were chosen Common and then Cheife Burgesses.
- ff. 150—2. **21 Sept. 1728:** John Bulkeley of Llanfaes in the County of Anglesey, Gent. elected Common Burgess and immediately afterwards was sworn Common Burgess and then chosen and sworn Capitall Burgess...

John Parry of Bewmares Freeholder, William Peters of Bewmares Glazier and William Lloyd of Bewmares Corvizer being Common Burgesses were elected and sworn Chiefe Burgesses.

- 23 Sept. 1728: John Green of Bewmares Gent, a Capitall Burgess was at his own request disffranchised and discharged as Capitall Burgess and Common Counsellor.
- f, 153. Thomas Williams a Common Burgess elected and sworn a Capitall Burgess.
- f. 160. 10 Sept. 1730: Ordered that a Coale Barell be forthwith provided at the Expense of the Town.
- f. 164. 25 Sept. 1732: The Honourable Henry Bertie, Esq. a Capitall Burgess was at his own request disffranchised and discharged as Capitall Burgess, therefore Charles Morris gent, was elected and sworn Capitall Burgess in his stead.

Rev. Robert Lloyd Clerk elected and sworn Common and Capitall Burgess.

Henry Edmunds gent, and Robert Vaughan gent, elected and sworn Common Burgesses.

f. 162. **3 Sept. 1733:** Thomas Rowlands of Caera in the County of Anglesey Esq. Elected and Sworn a Common Burgess and then elected and sworn a Capitall or Cheife Burgess.

Robert Williams of Wrexham in the County of Denbigh, Esq. elected and sworn a Common Burgess,

- f. 163. Watkin Williams Wynne Esq. lately elected a Common and also Capitall Burgess now sworn as Common and as Capitall Burgess.
- f. 165. 11 Nov. 1733: Ordered that the sum of 12d, in the pound be paid by the Inhabitants and Landholders within the said Burrough for the repairing of St. Mary's Church in Bewmares for the year next ensuing.

Richard Grey Carpenter sworn a Common Burgess he having paid £2 15 0 for his ffreedom,

- f. 169. 6 Dec. 1734: Thomas Harrison elected and sworn Common Burgess.
  - £3 3 0 paid to Mr Charles Morris Bailiff.
- f. 170. 16 Dec. 1734: Ordered that the sum of 18d to the pound be forthwith leavyed and collected upon all and every the inhabitants of the said Burrough towards the repairing of the Church or Chapel of St. Mary, the roofe of the said Church being very ruinous and out of repair and that the same be layd out for that purpose.

- f. 171. 30 Dec. 1734: Whereas it hath been represented to us that severall passages upon the Town Wall of the said Burrough are generally so dirty with severall . . . . and are thereby become very obnoxious to the inhabitants of the said Burrough and severall ill-disposed persons going that way throw down the Battlements of the said Wall which is expensive to the said Burrough to repair from time to time to . . . . whereby the said passages are become Great Nuzance, It is therefore ordered that the severall passages upon and over the said Wall be forthwith stoped by the overseers of the Highway within the said Burrough at the charge of the said Burrough.
- f. 173. 11 Nov. 1736: Ordered that John Jones being appoynted Constable of Castle Street haveing refused the same office shall be committed to the Common Goale of the said Burrough there to remayn until further orders.
- f. 175. 18 Feb. 1737/8: Hon, James Bulkeley Esq. chosen and elected Common Burgess and immediately afterwards chosen and elected a Common Councillor and Cheife Burgess of the Burrough, . .
- f. 176. **28 Feb. 1738:** William Vaughan of Plas Newydd in the County of Carnarvon Gent. was duly elected chosen and sworn Town Clerk and Clerk of the Peace for the said Burrough.

Duncan Stewart of Bewmares elected and sworn Common Burgess... £5 5 0 paid into the hands of Wm. Peters Esq. Bailiffe.

- f. 177. 27 Mar. 1739: Whereas the Rt. Honourable James Lord Viscount Bulkeley the present Mayor of the said Burrough being called upon to go speedily to London upon urgent business and his return to the said Burrough is uncertain whereby there may be a failure of Justice by reason of his absence during the remaining part of this year We therefore remove his Lordship from his said Office of Mayoralty from this time forth for the remaining part of this year.
- f. 178. . . . . We the Bayliffes and Capitall Burgesses do elect Lewis Atkinson Esq. one of the Capitall Burgesses of the said Burrough to succeed his Lordship in the said Office of Mayor of the said Burrough for the remaining part of this year and be it remembered that the said Lewis Atkinson being so elected did accordingly then and there also first take the oathes of allegiance and Supremacy and immediately afterwards the oath of a Mayor of the said Burrough.
- f.~182. **22 Sep. 1740:** William Price Esq. William Wynne Esq. George Cook Gent, and Tobias Thomas Carpenter chosen Common Burgesses and then Cheife Burgesses. . .
- ff. 185—6. . . . 1741: Whereas severall persons have lately used and exercised severall Trades or occupations within the said Burrough that are foreigners and not made free thereof to the great detriment and prejudice of such persons that have been made Burgesses and paid for their freedom there Now we the Mayor Recorder Bayliffes and Capitall Burgesses of the said Burrough whose names are herunto subscribed for the Better Governing and preserving of the Rights Libertys and priviledges of the said Burrough Do hereby order and decree that no person or persons whatsoever shall or do use or exercise any Trade or occupation by him her or themselves within the said Burrough of Bewmares unless he she or they be a Burgess or Burgesses or widow or widows to a Burgess or Burgesses of the said Burrough upon pain or forfeiting or being fined

for every such offence (the sum of Ten Shillings) due proof being thereof made upon oath by one or more witness or witnesses before the Mayor Recorder and Bayliffes for the time being or one or more of them and that the said Mayor Recorder and Bayliffes for the time being or such of them before whom such Oath or Information shall be made as aforesaid shall Immediately Issue out . . . . their warrant or warrants directed to the Serjeants at Mace and Constables of the peace for the said Burrough of Bewmares (leaf torn) . . . . . or any of them to Leavy by distress and sale the goods of the person or persons of whom such Information shall be made as aforesaid the said sum of Ten Shillings together with the cost of such Distress and that in case such person or persons against whom such Information be made shall have no Goods within the said Burrough or Liberties thereof whereby the said fine may be charged as aforesaid that he she or they shall be conveyed to the Heinhouse or Common Goal of the said Burrough there to remain without Bail for the space of

And it is further ordered and decreed that the said Serjeants at Mace and Constables of the peace for the time being or any of them who shall have Leavyed the said fine as aforesaid shall immediately pay the same into the hands of the . . . . . Bayliffe of the said Burrough for the time being to be by him applyed towards the repair of the Town Walls of the said Burrough or for some other publick use within the same Burrough or Libertys thereof. And that this order may be better observed and that such person or persons that have offended in any the offences aforesaid may have notice of this Order and be prevented from being guilty of such offence for the future. It is ordered that a true Coppy of this order be made out by the Town Clerk of this Burrough and fixed next Saturday being a . . . . . day upon the publick Cross in the said Burrough of Bewmares.

ff. 187-90. Whereas by the Antient Charter of King Edward the first to the town of Bewmares there was a yeild of Merchandize with Hanse and other Customs and Liberties to such a yield appertaining granted to the said Town so that none that is not of that yeald shall use and do any merchandize in the said Town but through the goodwill of the Burgesses thereof And Whereas all the antient Customs Libertyes priviledges and franchises of the said Burrough of Bewmares have been confirmed to the Mayor Bayliffes and Burgesses of the said Burrough by a Charter in the fourth year of Queen Elizabeth Sovereign and thereby power given to the Mayor Bayliffes and Chief Burgesses of the said Burrough to make and Establish Such Laws Decrees and Ordinances as touch and concern the said Burrough and for the Good Rule State and Government of the Same . . . also of the Officers Ministers and Artificers Inhabiting and resident in the same Burrough. And Whereas by the Charters and Customs of the said Burrough no person not being free of the said Burrough of Bewmares may or ought to Sell Shew or put to Sale any Wares or Merchandizes within the said Burrough or the Liberties of the same by Retail or Keep any Shop Warehouse or other place whatsoever for Show Sale or puting to Sale of any Wares or Merchandizes or for use or exercise of any Art Trade or Handieraft within the Same. And Whereas diverse persons that are strangers and foreigners and who have not had the Liberty priviledges and Exemptions of the said Burrough of Bewmares conferred upon them (not regarding the said Antient Charters franchizes Customs or Libertyes but wholly seeking their own private gain proffit and advantage) have of Late Devised and practised how to defraud the said Charters Customs franchizes and Libert yes and for that end do usually and ordinarily Show Sell and put to Sale their Wares and merchandizes and use and exercise

Arts Trades and Handicrafts within the said Burrough and Libertyes of the same to the Great detriment and hurt of the said Burrough of those who pay Scot and Lot and of those who bear Offices and undergo other Charges which Strangers and others not free of the said Burrough are not charged withal nor will perform for reformation of the said Disorders and for avoiding of such prejudice and Damage as thereby accrews to the freemen of the said Burrough and to provide for the Common proffit and good of the freemen and Burgesses of the said Burrough. It is by the Mayor Bayliffes and Chief Burgesses of the said Burrough of Bewmares (the major part of them being now in this Common Council assembled) Ordered and Decreed that no person or persons whatsoever inhabiting and residing in the said Burrough not being free of the said Burrough shall at any time after the -----day of --- now next ensuing by any way or means whatsoever either directly or indirectly by himself herself or themselves or by his her of their agents or servants shew sell or put to sale or shall keep any shop warehouse or other place whatsoever within the said Burrough or the Liberties thereof for shewing selling or putting to sale of any wares or merchandizes whatsoever by way of retail or shall use any Art Trade or Handicraft whatsoever within the said Burrough or the Liberties of the same before he she or they have agreed with the Mayor Bailiffes and Chief Burgesses of the said Burrough for his her or their Liberty upon pain to forfeit and pay to the said Mayor and Bayliffes for the use of the said Burrough the sum of ---- of Lawfull Brittish Money for every day wherein such person or persons shall Shew Sell or put to Sale or shall keep any Shop Warehouse or other place whatsoever for Shew Sale or putting to Sale of any Wares or Merchandizes whatsoever by way of retail or use any Art Trade or Handicraft whatsoever And it is also ordered and decreed that all penaltyes and fforfeitures in and by this Act before Limitted and Appointed after demand and refusal of paying the same shall and may be Levied by Distress of the Goods of the person or persons so offending on the said Burrough to be found or shall be recovered by Action of debt in the Court of Great Sessions for the County of Anglesey. Provided always that this Ordinance or anything therein contained shall not extend to any person or persons that shall bring or cause to be brought any Victualles Wares or any Merchandizes whatsoever to be sold in any ffair or market held and kept within the said Burrough or the Libertyes thereof But that they and every of them may sell in any ffair or Markett held and kept as aforesaid any Victualles Wares or any other Merchandize whatsoever as they might Lawfully have done before the makeing hereof.

- f. 191. **25 Aug. 1742:** By the Unanimous Votes Consentes and Assentes of the Mayor Bayliffes and Cheife Burgesses Thomas Evans of Llannerch y Medd in the County of Anglesey Gent, was duely Elected Chosen and Sworn Town Clerk for the said Burrough.
- f. 195. **27 Sep. 1742:** William Edwards of the Town of Bewmares Shopkeeper was chosen Chief Burgess of the said Burrough.
- $f.\ 209.\ {\bf 23}$  Sep. 1745: William Humphrey of the said Burrough Grocer Chosen Cheif Burgess . . . .
- f. 211. **30 Sep. 1745:** Owen Hughes of Bewmares gent, was Duly Elected Chosen and Sworn Town Clerk and Clerk of the Peace for the said Burrough.

- f. 215. 11 Nov. 1745: Henry Durbar elected and chosen a Common Burgess . . . upon payment of £2 2 0.
- f. 217. 22 Sep. 1746: John Williams of Ty Fry in the County of Anglesey Esq. chosen and sworn Common Burgess and immediately afterwards Chief Burgess . .
- f.~231.~10 Nov. 1748: John Jones Mercer Elected and Chosen a Common Burgess , , upon payment of £5 5 0,
- f. 239. 25 Sept. 1749: Richard Grays of Bewmares Shipwright Chosen a Chief Burgess.
- f. 241. 2 Oct. 1749: Henry Williams of Plastirion in the County of Anglesey Chosen a Common Burgess and then a Cheif Burgess . . .
- f. 245. 24 Sept. 1750: John Roberts of Bewmares Shipwright Chosen a Common Burgess , , , upon payment of £2 2 0.
- f. 253. **30 Sept. 1751:** William Lewis of Llanddufnan in the County of Anglesey Esq. and John Jones of Bewmares Mercer chosen and sworn Common Burgesses and then Chief Burgesses.
- ff. 255—7. **25 Sept. 1752:** Hugh Griffith of Llanvair in the County of Carnarvon Esq. William Roberts of Bodiar in the County of Anglesey Esq. Rev. Robert Hughes of Plas Coch in the County of Anglesey Clerk were Chosen Common Burgesses . . . and then Chief Burgesses.
- f. 259. 29 Jan. 1753: Lewis Williams elected one of the Serjeants at Mace in the room of William Hughes lately Deceased.
- f. 260. **20 Aug. 1753:** John Lloyd Chosen and Sworn to the office of Serjeant and likewise to the office of Water Bayliffe upon the death of Hugh Jones late Serjeant and Water Bailiffe.
- f. 261. 24 Sep. 1753: William Lewis of Penmon in the County of Anglesey Gent. Chosen a Common Burgess... and then Chief Burgess...
- $f,\,267,\,$  **20 Apr. 1754:** Richard Price of Vaenol in the county of Flint Esq. chosen a Common Burgess . . . and then Common Counsell and Chief Burgess . . .
- f. 445. It is commanded to the Serjeants at Mace of the said Burrough That one of you Attack Thomas Jones of the said Burrough writing master by good summons that he be and appear at the next Court to be kept and held in and for the said Burrough to Answer Peter Colefax Perwig maker in a plea of Debt of Ten Shillings and Six pence Witness Hugh Griffith Esq. Mayor and William Jones Esq. Recorder Tobias Thomas and William Humphreys Esqs. Bayliffs this Twenty Seventh day of August In the Twenty Eighth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Second of Great Britain ffrance and Ireland King Defender of the ffaith.

Owen Hughes Town Clerk of the said Burrough.

Thomas Jones.

You are served with this process to the Intent that you may by your Attorney appear at the next Court to be kept and held in and for the said Burrough on the Twenty Nineth day of the Instant month of August In order to your Defence in this Action.

August 29th, 1754.

- f. 275. **22 Sep. 1755:** John Hughes Rector of the Burrough of Bewmares chosen a Common Burgess . . . and then sworn and then elected and sworn a Chief Burgess.
- f. 277. 29 Sep. 1755: John Williams of Trearddur in the County of Anglesey Esq. chosen a Common Burgess and then sworn . . . and then a Chief Burgess . . .
- f. 279. 10 Nov. 1755: John Edmund Carpenter elected and sworn a Common Burgess . . . upon payment of One gninea and ffee.
- f. 281. 22 Mar. 1756: By the unanimous Votes Consent and Assents of the Mayor Bayliffes and Cheif Burgesses Hugh Criffith of Llanvair in the county of Carnaryon Esquire was Duely Elected Chosen and Sworn Recorder of the said Burrough.
- f. 287. 10 Nov. 1756: William Evans Sadler elected and sworn Common Burgess . . . upon payment of Three Guineas and the Town Clerk's ffee.
- f. 290. 26 Sep. 1757: It was proposed by John Lloyd one of the Serjeants at Mace of the said Burrough for the Encouragement and Advancement of the Trade of the said Burrough and for the Safety of Ships going out and coming into the Port or Harbour of the said Burrough To Erect at his own proper Cost and Charges one Pearch upon a Rock called the horse otherwise Carreg Edwan and also to fix one Buoy on a Causway on the East Side of Priestholm Island In the Parish of Penmon And whereas it is considered that it is for the benefit and advantage of the said Burrough It is therefore ordered by the unanimous assent and consent of the Mayor Bayliffs and Capitall Burgesses of the said Burrough That he the said John Lloyd shall and may be at Liberty to erect the said Pearch and Buoy on the said Rock and Causway, And for his Greater Encouragement to have all accustomary ffees paid by ships and vessels passing and repassing the same upon paying to the said Mayor and Bayliffs and their Successors for the time being for the use of the said Corporation The Summe of fforty three shillings yearly and every year by equal portions on Lady Day and Michaelmas so long as the said John Lloyd shall Continue to hold the same And that the said Town Clerk of the said Burrough Do forthwith prepare a Lease of the said premiscs to the said John Lloyd for the term of Twentyone years from the Twenty Ninth Day of this Instant Month of September with reasonable and proper Covenants. Owen Hughes Town Clerk.
- f.~294.~ 23 Sep. 1758: Ellis Wynne Esq. elected a Common Burgess and sworn . . . and then elected and sworn a Chief Burgess . . .
- f. 299. **4 Sep. 1759:** Hugh Davies elected a Common Burgess and sworn . . . and then elected and sworn a Chief Burgess . . .
- f. 301. 1 Oct. 1759: Owen Lewis of Coed Cadw elected a Common Burgess and sworn . . . and then elected and sworn a Chief Burgess . . .
- $f.\ 303.$  12 Nov. 1759: John Thomas of Bewmares Tanner elected a Common Burgess and sworn . . . upon payment of the Town Clerk's ffee.
- f. 305. 19 Jan. 1760: William Williams of Bewmares Carpenter elected a Common Burgess and sworn...then a Cheife Burgess,

John Williams of Trearddur Esq. one of the Cheife Burgesses of the said Burrough was then Elected and preffered to the office of a Mayor of the said Burrough for the remayning part of this year In the room of Ellis Wynne Esq. the late Mayor Deceased and accordingly the said John Williams being So Elected Did first take the oath of Alegience and Supremacy and Imediately afterwards the oath of a Mayor of the said Burrough In the presence of . . . .

- f.~307.~ **22 Sep. 1760:** William Williams of the said Burrough Grocer . . . elected a Common Burgess and sworn . . . then elected and sworn a Chief Burgess . . .
- f.~313.~3 Apr. 1761: The Honourable Sir Hugh Williams Barronet chosen a Common Burgess and sworn . . . then elected and sworn Chief Burgess.
- f. 329. 27 Sep. 1762: Owen Holland of Conway in the county of Carnarvon Esq Robert Hughes Plas Coeh Esq and Rev. William Griffith Rector of Bewmares Clerk elected Common Burgesses and sworn... and then Chief Burgesses....
- f. 334. 3 Oct. 1763: Bodychan Sparrow of Red Hill in the county of Anglesey Esq. elected a Common Burgess and sworn... and then Chief Burgess...
- f. 337. 24 Sep. 1764: Hugh Jones of Bewmares Sadler elected a Common Burgess and sworn... upon payment of One Guinea and the Town Clerk's ffees.

The Rev. Mr. Richard Williams Rector of the Burrough of Bewmares elected a Common Burgess and sworn . . . then elected and sworn a Chief Burgess . . .

- f. 343. 23 Sep. 1765: John Lewis of Bewmares Esq. and Peter Colefax of Bewmares Periwigmaker elected Common Burgesses and sworn , , , then elected and sworn Chief Burgesses , , ,
- John Young of Bewmares Grocer elected Common Burgess and sworn . . . upon payment of one Guinea and the Town Clerks usuall ffees.
- f. 345. 30 Sep. 1765: Hugh Wynn of Bewmares Appothecary elected Common Burgess . . . and then sworn Chief Burgess . . .
- f. 353. 25 Sep. 1767: James Hughes of Bewmures Grocer a Common Burgess elected and sworn Chief Burgess . . .
- f.~359,~8 Feb. 1768: Henry Jones and Robert Dew Shoemakers elected Common Burgesses . . . upon payment of one Guinea each . . .
- f. 361. **26 Sep. 1768:** John Roberts of Bewmares Grocer a Common Burgess was elected a Chief Burgess . . .
- f. 369. 2 Oct. 1769: Griffith Roberts Clerk and Owen Hughes Gent were elected Common Burgesses and sworn . . . then sworn Chief Burgesses . . .
- f. 377. 21 Dec. 1770: Hugh Davies Gent at his own instance and request being one of the Capital Burgesses... was this day distranchised and so discharged from the calling of a Chief Burgess and also from his attendance for the future as Capital Burgess of the said Borough,

f. 379. 23 Sep. 1771: John Jones of Henllys Esq. and Richard Williams of Bewmares Farmer elected Common Burgesses . . . and sworn . . . then elected and sworn Chief Burgesses . . .

William Williams elected and sworn Common Burgess.

14 Dec. 1771: Whereas the Inhabitants of the said Burrough keeping Hoogs & swine within the said Burrough do contrary to Law suffer the same to go about the streets and do such Trespasses on the Neighbouring Lands by reason thereof and of their being not ringed It is therefore Ordered that all person or persons that keep any Hoggs or Swine that they respectively keep the same within their respective Yards or Backsides And are not to suffer the same to go into the Streets upon any pretence whatsoever, And that they have Notice hereof Immediately given them whereby this order may be the better Observed And that thereupon they are severally Ordered to have their Hogs and Swine ringed: And further that if any person or persons shall refuse so to do and Contrary to this Order shall suffer their Hoggs and Swine to go about the Streets and do not ring them that then such person or persons shall for such Offence pay the Sum of Six Pence for every such Hog or Swine to the Use of the poor of the said Burrough by distress and Sale of the Goods of the persons refusing to pay the same.

Ordered that Mr. Robert Lloyd of Holy-head be paid the sum of three guineas for his Care and Trouble in Inspecting the Carpenters work at the Church, the same to be allowed the present majestrates in their next account.

- f. 387. 28 Sep. 1772: Ordered that the Sum of one shilling according to a pound rate be forthwith leavyed and Collected upon all and every the Inhabitants of the said Borough Towards the repairing of the Church or Chapel of St. Mary in the Town of Bewmares aforesaid and also discharging a Debt due to William Williams for work done at the said Chapel and that the same be laid out for that purpose.
- f. 391. 20 Nov. 1772: John Young Gent, a Common Burgess elected and sworn a Capital Burgess... Owen Jones of the said Borough Grocer elected and sworn a Common Burgess upon Payment of one Guinea and the usual Fees.
- f. 392. Ordered to prepare a Lease for Thomas Tyrer of Llavan fferry for the Term of seven years from Michaelmas last if he lives so long at the annual rent of Ten pounds. He to Hazard and run all Risque of the Boats being lost or Cast away and to provide others in their Stead if it shall so happen and also to repair the boats and to deliver them up Together with Cables, Anchors, etc. at the end of the Term in . . . condition.
- f. 357. 20 Nov. 1772: John Young Gent a Common Burgess elected and sworn a Capital Burgess.
- f. 358. Owen Jones of Bewmares elected and sworn a Common Burgess . . . upon payment of One Guinea and the Town Clerk's usual Fees.
- $f,\ 399.$  **26 Sep. 1774:** The Rt. Hon, Thomas James Lord Bulkeley elected a Common Burgess and sworn . . , then sworn and chosen Chief Burgess . . .
- f. 401. 3 Oct. 1774: Paul Panton Esq. elected Common Burgess and sworn . . . then sworn and chosen Chief Burgess . . .

f. 447. Mr. Thomas Jones

Whereas Complaint hath been made to the Mayor and Bayliffes and Capitall Burgesses of the said Borough that you have lately exposed for Sale diverse goods wares and merchandizes by retail within the said Borough and have not taken our your freedom to the great Detriment and prejudice of such persons as have been made Burgesses and paid for their freedom Whereby you have Incurred the forfeiture or penalty of one shilling for every day you have Exposed for sale any goods wares or merchandizes according to an order of the Mayor and Bailiffs founded upon the Antient priviledge and custom granted to this Corporation by the Charter of the said Borough Therefore you are to take notice that unless you take out your freedom on the 2nd day of October next the said penalty or forfeiture will be levyed out of your goods and Chattels by distress and sale thereof. Sept. 27, 1775.

Owen Hughes, Town Clerk.

- f. 407. 2 Oct. 1775: John Griffith of Carreg-lwyd in the county of Anglesey Esq. elected and sworn a Common Burgess . . . then chosen Chief Burgess . . .
- 19 Apr. 1776: For the purpose of Choosing of a Bailiff of the said Borough in the Room of Hugh Jones Esq. late Bailiff now deceased according to the Tenor and Effect of the Charter granted to the said Borough Therefore we whose names are hereunto subscribed Do Ellect John Young Esq. Bailiff of the same Borough To Execute the office of a Bailiff during the Rest of this year He having first taken the Oath to Execute the said Office of a Bailiff and a Justice of the Peace. In the

Burgess . . . then chosen Chief Burgess . . .

- f. 414. 23 Sep. 1776: Whereas the Right Honourable Thomas James Lord Viscount Bulkeley the Mayor of this Burrough has Neglected his Duty by not attending here this day for the purport of Electing Officers for this Burrough We the Head Burgesses of this Burrough Do Remove the said Thomas James Lord Viscount Bulkeley from the said Office of Mayor of this Burrough And we do therefore Chuse and prefer Sir Hugh Williams Baronet one of the Head Burgesses of this Burrough to be Mayor of this Burrough in the Room of the said Thomas James Lord Viscount Bulkeley.
- f. 415. Whereas the Right Honourable Thomas James Lord Viscount Bulkeley the late Mayor of the said Borough was removed from his Office of Mayoralty We the Bailiffs and Capital Burgesses Aforesaid Do Elect Sir Hugh Williams Baronet one of the Capital Burgesses of the said Burrough to succeed his Lordship in the said Office of Mayor of the said Burrough for the remaining part of this year And be it remembered that the said Sir Hugh Williams Baronet being so Elected did Accordingly then and there, first, Take the Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy and Immediately Afterwards the Oath of a Mayor of the said Burrough in the presence of Us.

J. Lewis Griffith Roberts Hugh Wynn John Roberts James Hughes William Jones Henry Hughes

H. Griffith Recorder. Richard Williams  $\setminus Bailiffs$ . John Young William Lewis Owen Holland Richard Williams J. H. Jones W. Edwards

Henry Hughes Gent. elected and sworn Common Burgess and Immediately Afterwards was Chose Chief Burgess and Took the Oaths of a Chief Burgess.

- f. 420. 18 Nov. 1776: Ordered that John Owen be appointed Scavenger and Keeper of St. Mary's Fields for the year ensuing instead of Griffith Williams with the usual Salary and Privileges and that he be further allowed the money taken for Pounding Swine suffered to go at large, viz. Eight Pence per Head besides a salary of Twenty Shillings.
- f. 425. 29 Sep. 1777: The Honourable Sir George Warren Knight of the Bath elected and sworn Common Burgess . . . then Chief Burgess . . .
- f. 431. 5 Oct. 1778: Ordered that Thomas Tyrer do Immediately set up as many Poles as is Necessary from Beaumaris to Aber for the Safe Guidance of Passengers over Lavan Sands.

Ordered that the Town Clerk do send for the Last Edition of Burns Justice and likewise for a New Corporation Book of Orders.

f. 436. 11 Nov. 1778: The persons bereunder named were first sworn Common Burgesses . . . upon payment of the severall sums to their respective names appearing:—
Thomas Williams Shopkeeper upon payment of 3 guineas, John Parry Mallster 5 guineas, Thomas Hughes Gardener 5 guineas, Rice Jones Malster 3 guineas, Robert Allen Glazier 3 guineas, Hugh Lewis of Bewmares Malster 2 guineas, the Town Clerk's ffees being additional in each case.

- f. 432. 6 Jan. 1779: Upon the Application of Richard Jones and Thomas Williams the Present Town Stewards and Overseers of the Poor It appears to us that an Assessment of Eighteen Pence in the Pound will be necessary for the Relief of the Poor Repairs of the Church and other Purposes It is therefore Ordered that the said Town Stewards do forthwith prepare such assessment and collect the same.
- f. 437. 14 Aug. 1779: Henry Hughes Gent. one of the Capital Burgesses was elected one of the Bailiffs and took the Oath of that Office.

Hugh Parry Gent. and William Williams Gent. unanimously elected Burgesses . . . and then chosen Chief Burgesses . . .

f.~443.~ 19 May 1780: Owen Hughes nominated appointed and sworn Town Clerk of the said Burrough . . .

## OFFICERS OF THE BOROUGH OF BEAUMARIS, 1724-1779.

Bailiffs.	Lancellot Bulkeley and Ed Edwards	Cadwaladr Williams and Owen Ellis	Maurice Evans and John Green.	Lancellot Bulkeley and Owen Ellis,	•	John Bulkelev and William Llovd.	Maurice Evans and John Parry.	John Bulkeley and William Peters.	William Hughes and Owen Ellis.	Lancellot Bulkeley and Charles Maurice.		Lancellot Bulkeley and Charles Maurice.	John Bulkeley and William Peters.		Lan. Bulkeley and Hugh Jones.	John Bulkeley and William Peters.	-	Lancelot Bulkeley and Hugh Jones.	John Bulkeley and William Peters.	Lan. Bulkeley and Charles Maurice.	William Peters and William Edwards.	Lancelot Bulkeley and Tobias Thomas.	William Peters and William Edwards,	Lancellot Bulkeley and Tobias Thomas.	William Edwards & William Humphrey.	Lancellot Bulkeley and Tobias Thomas.	William Edwards & William Humphreys.	William Hughes and Owen Ellis.	William Edwards and Richard Gray.	Tobias Thomas and William Humphrey.	William Edwards and John Jones.
Recorder.			William Jones			:		::		: :					William Jones					William Jones					William Jones				William Jones		
				:	:	:	:	:	:	:		:	:		:	:		:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
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Mayor.	Humphrey Roberts	William Brynker	John Rowlands	Henry Whyte (dec.)	Humphrey Roberts	Lewis Atkinson	John Owen	John Holland	John Griffith	Humphrey Roberts		Robert Hampton	Lewis Atkinson		Humphrey Roberts	James Bulkeley	Lewis Atkinson	John Owen	Thomas Price	William Price	William Wynne	John Rowlands	John Griffith	Humphrey Roberts	John Williams	William Wynne	John Owen	John Griffith	Henry Williams	John Rowland	William Lewis
Year Elected.	1724	1725	1726	1727 €	سہ	1728	1729	1730	1731	1732	1733	1734	1735	1736	1737	1738		1739	1740	1741	1742	1743	(2)1744	1745	1746	1747	1748	1749	1750	1751	1752

2. From and including 1744, in each year the Mayor, Coroner, Serjeants-at mace and Water-bailiff were chosen in September and sworn in October, the remaining Officers being chosen and sworn in November.

	Bailiffs.	Tobias Thomas and William Humphreevs	Richard Gray and William Lawis	Hugh Jones and John Jones	William Edwards & William Humphraus	Tobias Thomas and William Lewis	Hugh Jones and John Jones.	Tobias Thomas and William Humnhreys		Richard Grav and Hugh Davies.	William Williams Grocer and William	Williams Carpenter.	Hugh Dorrice and William Humphreys.	High Layles and William Humphays	William Williams and Peter Colefax.	Hugh Jones and William Humphreys		Hugh Wynn and James Hughes.	Hugh Jones and John Roberts.	William Humphreys and James Hughes,	Hugh Jones and John Roberts.	Hugh Wynn and Richard Williams.	William Humphrey and James Hughes.	Hugh Jones and John Young.	Hugh Wynn and John Roberts.	/ Hugh Jones \& Richard Williams.	and John Young f	James Hughes and William Jones.	Hugh Wynn and John Roberts.	Richard Williams and John Young.	Hand, William and Take Belleville	nugh wynn and John Roberts.
	Recorder.						Hugh Griffith				Hugh Griffith						Town Clerk.	Owen Hughes Gent	***		•••	: :	***	:		***	:	:	:	:	33	
	Mayor.	Hugh Griffith	William Roberts	Humphrey Roberts	:	Henry Williams	John Rowland	Ellis Wynn	John Williams	Humphrey Roberts of Bryn-y-neyodd	Thomas Rowland of Caera	William Lewis		parrow	: :	John Williams		:	William Lewis	John Lewis	ar Hugh Williams Bart	John H. Jones of Henliys	kev. Mr. Kichard Williams Rector of Bewmares	John Lewis	William Lewis	No. Hon. Thomas James Lord Bulkeley	Origin Williams Baronet	Dani Dantan	Lauli Falloli	non. of figh Williams Bart		
rear	Elected.	1753	1754	1755	1756	1757	1758	1759 ∫	7	1760	1761	1762	1763	1764	1765	1766	_	1767	1760	1770	0//1	1771	2//2	1773	1111	6//1	1276	1777	1110	0//1	1779	

			••
Serjeants-at-mace.	Richard Morris and Lewis Davies. """ and John Green. and Hugh Jones. Thomas Lloyd and ""	Hugh Jones and Thomas Lloyd.	Hugh Jones and Thomas Lloyd.  " and William Hughes. " " " " "  John Lloyd and Lewis Williams. " " "  John Lloyd and Lewis Williams. " " "  John Lloyd and Lewis Williams.
Churchwardens.	Griffith Parry and Wm. Williams, Junior Edmund Vaughan and Thomas Williams John Thomas and Richard Thomas Thomas Williams and David Rowland Hugh Jones and Griffith Prichard George Summers and William David	Richard Gold and William Parry	Town Stewards.  David Rowland and John Thomas Hugh Jones and William Parry Richard Gray and William Williams.  Hugh Hughes and Peter Colefax John Roberts and William Lewis Peter Colefax and David Jones W. Williams Carpenter & W. Williams, Victualler " " David Jones Sadler and John Edmunds Carpenter " William Williams and John Prichard " Victualler & Wm. Williams Blacksmith John Roberts and William Lewis " " Victualler & Wm. Williams Blacksmith John Roberts and William Lewis
Coroner.	Owen Ellis Edward Edwards Owen Ellis Owen Ellis John Green William Lloyd William Peters William Peters	William Peters Hugh Jones	Charles Maurice William Evans Tobias Thomas William Edwards Tobias Thomas William Humphrey Tobias Thomas William Humphrey William Humphrey Owen Ellis William Humphrey William Humphrey William Humphrey John Jones William Lewis
Fear Elected.	1725 1725 1726 1727 1729 1730 1731 1731	1733—38 1739 1740 1741	1741 1743 1744 1744 1746 1746 1749 1751 1751 1753 1754 1755 1756 1756 1756 1757 1758

Seryeants-at-mace,	John Lloyd and Lewis Williams.	33	22	23	23	" and William Williams	66	99	25	33	33	2 2	66	56	66	33	:		
Town Stewards.	Peter Colefax and William Williams	William Jones and "	Peter Colefax and William Evans	William Williams and "	William Jones Carpenter & Wm. Williams Smith	John Roberts and William Robinson	William Evans and Robert Roberts	William Jones and Richard Williams	John Parry and Robert Dew		Owen Jones and Richard Jones	Richard Jones Skinner & William Jones Carpenter	William Jones and John Roberts	John Parry and "	William Williams Smith and Hugh Hughes Smith		Town Stewards and Overseers of the Poor.	Richard Jones and Thomas Williams	
Coroner.	William Williams	William Humphreys	William Williams	William Humphreys	Peter Colefax	William Humphreys	James Hughes	John Roberts	James Hughes		ıms	James Hughes	John Young	John Roberts	John Young	William Jones		John Roberts	Henry Hughes
_Year Elected.	1762	1763	1764	1765	1766	1767	1768	1769	1770	1771	1772	1773	1774	1775	1776	1777		1778	1779

Searchers and Sealers of Leather.	John Best and Richard Adger. John Best and Richard Adger.		William Morris and Thomas Crow. William Morris and Thomas Crow. John Williams and Henry Jones. Roger Bowers and William Morris. Roger Bowers and Richard Morris. Thomas Crow and Richard Morris. John Thomas and Nicholas, Jones.
Common Appraisers.	Hugh Jones and Richard Thomas Hugh Jones and Richard Thomas	Hugh Jones and Richard Thomas	Surveyor and Overlooker of the Market.  Lancelot Bulkeley  Lancelot Bulkeley   Cowen Hughes
Water-bailiff.	Lowis Davies  Hugh Jones	Hugh Jones	Hugh Jones
Year Elected.	1724 1725 1726 1728 1738 1738 1733 1733 1733 1735 1736	1738 1739 1740	1744444 17744444 17744444 1774444 177447 17750

Searchers and Sealers of Leather.	John Williams and William Henry.	John Williams and Emanuel Williams, Thomas Crow and William Humphrey.	Thomas Crow Shoemaker and Henry Jones Shoemaker.	Thomas Crow and Henry Jones.	Richard Morris Corvicer and Emanuel Williams, Richard Morris and Emanuel Williams,	William Jones and Henry Jones.	Nickolas Jones and John E. Evans.	Henry Jones and William Williams.	John Williams and Richard Morris.	Edward Jones and William Williams,	Emanuel Williams and John Evans Corvicer.			Emanuel Williams and John Evans.	33	William Morgan and John Williams.	Richard Morris and Nicholas Jones.	Robert Dew and Luke Jones.	F .	Kobert Dew.	:	Robert Dew.	
Surveyor rnd Overlooker of the Market.	:	::	:	:	: :	:	:	:	: :		: :		:	:	:	:		:			:	:	
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ooker o	:	::	Clerk of the Market.	Rev. Mr. John Hughes	: :	:	:	:	: :	Por M. Dichard Williams			:	:	:	:		:			:	:	
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Water-bailiff.	Tohn I loud		2	: :	3 3	,,	: :	,,	: :		,,	,,	,,		,	,,	,,	: :	: :			,	
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Year Elected.	1752 }	1753	1755	1756	1757 1758	1759	1760	10/1	1763	1765	1766	1767	1768	1769	1770	1771	1772	1773	4//1	01/1	1777	1778	1779

Scavenger.	Owen Williams. Owen Williams.	Owen Williams.	Owen Williams. " "	£ £	Robert Rowland, Owen Williams,
Burleighmen,	Hugh Prees and Owen Jones William Rowland and Owen Williams	August David and Owen Williams	Awst David and Owen Williams Hugh Jones & Wm. Parry Town Steward August David and Owen Williams	August David and Owen Williams	August David and Owen Williams
Sidemen.	Rowland Wynne and Daniel Jones James Thomson and Morris Morgan Rowland Edward and John Foulke James Hughes and Randle Jones Gohn Williams and Hugh Jones John William Hughes and Daniel Jones John Wynne and Robert Ellis	Daniel Jones and James Thompson	Daniel Jones and Thomas Williams David Jones and William Jones John Aubrey and Thomas Crow	Thomas Williams & William Jones William Williams Blacksmith and Richard Morris. Morris Morgan and Richard Morris	Wm. Parry Taylor & Morris Morgan Daniel Jones and Thomas Crow
Year Elected.	1724 1725 1725 1725 1725 1733 1733 1733 1733 1733 1733 1733	1739 1740 1741 1742 1743	1744 1745 1746 1747	1748	1751 1752 1753

	Scavenger.					(A)	owen williams.									Griffith Williams.			Griffith Williams	(& reeper of St. Mary's rields). John Owen	(& Keeper of St. Mary's Fields).	John Owen	Owen Williams.	
	Burleighmen.	Illia	" Labourer "	William Louris and Lohn Hughes	Them Lowis and Solin Hughes	Owen Williams and John Hughes	64	" and Owen Prichard		" and William Owen	William Lodwick and Henry Jones	David Williams and Owen Hughes	Griffith Williams and William Oven	OHER CHEET A THEORY	(same as in 1769)	John Roberts and Criffith Williams	" " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " "	Edward Leaxy and William Owen		William Owen and John Rowland			William Owen and John Rowland	
The second secon	Sidemen.	William Jones Corv. and Richard Morris Corv.	Wm. Jonathan Hatter and James Hughes Smith	Wm. Jonathan & John Thompson Henry Jones Corviser and Richard	Morris	Hugh Jones and William Williams Lamos Hughes and John Jones	Wm. Humphrev & Rowland Jones	Wm. Jonathan and Edward Jones	Hugh Jones and Thomas Hughes	James Hughes and William Crow	Thomas Hughes and Richard Morris	John Jones and Rowland Jones	Henry Jones and Wm. Jonathan	John Thompson and Richard Morris	William Crow and William Jonathan	William Williams and William Dew Wm. Crow & Wm. Jonathan Junr	Hugh Jones Sadler & John Roberts	Hugh Jones Taylor and Rice Jones	Luke Jones Shoemaker & Roaland Jones Weaver	Luke Jones Shoemaker & William	Jonathan.	Hugh Jones and John Thompson	Hugh Jones Taylor and John	Thompson
1.1	Elected.	1754	1755	1756		1758	1760	1761	1763	1764	1765	1766	1768	1769	1770	1771	1773	1774	0//1	1776	1	1111	1779	

Constables.  Note.—W=Watergate St., Ch. = Church St., Ca. = Castle St., Wx.=Wrexham St., L=Liberties, St.C. = St. Catherine's Ward.	Henry Jones. David Prichard, John Hughes, Thomas Francis.  John Evans, Lodwick Jones (Th.), John Rowland (N), Robert Ellis (Ca.).  Edward Hays (W), David Jones (Ch.), John Rowland (N), William Jones (Ca.), Edward Froulk (L).  Henry Jones, Hugh Jones.  Owen Roberts (W), Hugh Thomas (Ch.), Hugh Thomas (N), William Jones (Ca.), Edward Froulk (L).  Hugh Jones (W), Hugh Thomas Michael (Ch.), John Parry (Wx.), Roger Bowers (Ca.), Hugh Williams (L).  Edward Hays (Ca.), Edward Parry (Ch.), Thomas Owen (W), Rowland Jones (N), Hugh Jones (L).  Bavid Williams (Ch.), Hugh Jones (W), John Williams Corvicer (Ch.), Richard Hughes Cooper (W).  John Evan (Ca.), Henry Prichard (M), John Williams Corvicer (Ch.), Richard Hughes (N), Hugh Jones (L).  John Evan (Ca.), John Williams (Ch.), John Williams (Ch.), Thomas Owen (W), Robert Hughes (N), Royel Jones (L).  John Williams (Ch.), Thomas Owen (W), John Evan (Ca.), Thomas Owen (W), Richard Jones (L).  John Williams (Ch.), Robert Jones (Ca.), Thomas Owen (W), William Lowis (St.C.),  John Williams (Ch.), Robert Jones (Ca.), Thomas Owen (W), William Thomas (Wx.), Hugh Prichard (St.C.),  John Williams (Ch.), John Parry (N), Hugh Jones (W), William Thomas (Wx.), Hugh Prichard (St.C.),  John Williams (Ch.), John Parry (N), Hugh Jones (W), William Thomas (Wx.), Hugh Prichard (St.C.),  John Williams (Ch.), John Parry (N), Hugh Jones (W), William Thomas (Wx.), Hugh Prichard (St.C.),  John Williams (Ch.), John Parry (N), Hugh Jones (W), John Parry (W), John
Year Elected.	1726 1729 1729 1729 1730 1731 1732 1744 1744 1745 1740 1750 1750 1750 1750 1750 1750 1750 175

## THE ARTISAN AND THE SMALL FARMER IN MID-EIGHTEENTH CENTURY ANGLESEY.

BY G. NESTA EVANS, M.A., BANGOR.

Note.—The following extract forms part of a group of essays on life in Anglesey in the middle of the eighteenth century which is being based on manuscripts in the Library of the University College of North Wales, Bangor, supplemented by *The Morris Letters*, ed. J. H. Davies, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1907). The manuscripts have been generously lent to the library for the use of students by Mrs. Warren Evans, late of Henblas, through the kind offices of Lady Vincent, and are provisionally numbered *Henblas* 11, and *Henblas* 18 and 19. *Henblas* 11 is an account book of the household at Henblas, Llangristiolus, between the years 1732 and 1773. Extracts from *Henblas* 18 and 19 (the *Diary* of William Bulkeley of Brynddu) were published in these *Transactions* (1931).

There are reasons, into which we cannot enter here, for the view that the scantiness of our knowledge about the middle classes of Anglesev in the early eighteenth century may be due to the comparative fewness of their numbers. But no such suggestion can be entertained to explain our ignorance about the lives of the poor. It is only too certain that the majority of the population of Anglesey in the early and mideighteenth century lived under conditions which economic historians of contemporary England have considered not only poor, but actually below the level of subsistence. It is not easy to compare conditions of life in England and in Anglesey at this period; we have sufficient information about wages to provide a fairly complete comparison of the money wages of the poor, but two considerations make this of limited value only. The first is that money wages, as will appear in the course of our examination, played only a part, and probably a small part, in the life of a poor man in Anglesey; the second is the difficulty of obtaining sufficient evidence on which to base a satisfactory comparison of prices, a difficulty which is still further increased by the fact that the ordinary fare of the poor man in Anglesey differed considerably from that of his English contemporary. The Anglesev peasant lived principally on porridge and a kind of cake or bread, both made of barley, ryc, or more rarely, oats. To these was added a certain amount of dairy produce, and an occasional dish

of goat's flesh or herrings when they could be procured. For the prices of the two last named articles of food I have seen no English figures; goat's flesh was eaten in mountainous districts only, and would not be common over the greater part of England. We know, however, that it was probably a cheaper form of meat than any procurable by an English peasant, for William Bulkeley bought it at half the price he paid for mutton. (1) Herrings, too, were very plentiful and cheap in their season, and Bulkeley bought them for salting at a shilling for a "long hundred."(2)

Such information as I have been able to collect about the prices of the other foods does provide some basis for comparison between Anglesey and England. This is seen in the prices of the English staple commodities; wheat, for instance, keeps steadily about ten shillings a quarter cheaper in Anglesey than in the English markets, (3) and beef was bought at much the same price in both, rising from 1½d, a pound in autumn when meat was plentiful to  $2\frac{1}{2}d$ , or 3d, in spring when fewer cattle were killed. (4) Dairy produce, too, commanded much the same price in Anglesev as in England, though the entries of prices are not numerous enough to make a very satisfactory comparison. In April, 1741, butter was being sold at Holyhead at 4\frac{1}{2}d. to 5d. a pound; (5) in the Yorkshire accounts butter is quoted at 4d. a pound in April, 1742, and from 4d. to 5d. throughout 1744—5.<sup>(6)</sup> The only references to the price of cheese show a close resemblance between Anglesev and England since it was sold in both places at about 13d. a pound. (7) Eggs were naturally cheaper in the country than in the town; in the country markets of both Anglesey and Yorkshire they could be bought at four or five a penny, but in London a penny was charged for three, two, or

In 1734 he paid 7d. for a quarter of goat (Aug. 30) and 1/- for a quarter of mutton (Sep. 13); in 1739 he paid 3s. for a whole carcase of goat (Aug. 24); in 1752 he paid 1/3 (Sep. 22); in 1756 1/4 (Sep. 24) for a quarter of mutton.
 The "long hundred" = 120. See e.g. Diary Sep. 8, 1756, Nov. 19, 1759.
 I have compared the price of wheat in Anglesey for 1587 and 1597 (as given in Mostyn MNS. 129, in Hist. MNS. Commission, Welsh I, 1898, p. 69), as well as for 1734, 1737, and 1740 from the Diary, with the figures given in Thorold Rogers' A History of Agriculture and Prices in England (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1887 and 1902), Vol. V. 268—9, and Vol. VII, Part I, 56—60.
 Iu winter 1½d. a lb. in Nov. 1732 (Henblus II) and 1 1/3d. a lb. in Oct. 1734 (Diary) compared with 1½d. a lb. in Yorkshire in Nov. 1735 (Rogers VII, 562), and in spring, 2½d. alb, in June 1734 (Henblus II), compared with 2½d. to 3d. in Yorkshire from April to July, 1736 (Rogers VII, 562).
 Morris Letters, I, 50.
 The only other entries of butter prices record that Bulkeley bought two pounds at 3½d. a pound on April I, 1757; in Vorkshire the prices were from 5½d. to 7d. a lb. in 1753—4, and in London in 1758, from 4d. rising to 9d. in time of drought (Rogers, VII, 309—10).
 Bulkeley sold 480 lbs. of cheese at Amlwch on Nov. 21, 1747, at 1½d. a lb.; the usual price in the Yorkshire records is 1s. 6d. to 1s. 8d. a stone; and the average for the entries given in 1743, 1746 and 1748 is from 1d. to 1½d. a lb. (Rogers, VII, 309).

<sup>309),</sup> 

even one. (8) The entries for the prices of potatoes in England are very scanty. (9) but the only records I have found show no great difference in price from that paid in Anglesey. Bulkeley considered 4½d. to 5d. a peek a reasonable price for potatoes, (10) with 7d. a peck as "an extraordinary price."(11) In Yorkshire two peeks were bought at 4d. a peek in March, 1734. (12) and half a peek at 6d. in December, 1745.(13) The most fluctuating commodities are unfortunately (though not surprisingly) the grain on which the Anglesey poor chiefly depended. Barley is sometimes much dearer, (14) sometimes much cheaper (15) in Anglesey than in England; rye, in contrast to wheat, keeps steadily some shillings a quarter dearer in Anglesey. (16)

The comparison of prices, and therefore of the actual value of money wages to a poor man in Anglesey and in England respectively is nothing like as adequate as one would wish, but it indicates at any rate that the economic conditions prevailing in the one district were not so different from those of the other as to make a comparison of money wages valueless; and in the present state of our knowledge about the Anglesey poor at this period it seems worth pursuing the subject a little further.

Thorold Rogers, writing of England in the later years of the seventeenth century, estimated the wages of an English artisan as £38 a year, and those of a labouring family as £15 15s. a year. He placed the level of subsistence at a sum which must exceed £15 15s, a year if it was to maintain a labouring family.(17) and therefore concluded that the English labourer's wage could not possibly support his family. (18) and was "necessarily supplemented by the poor rate," which cost England at the time of the Revolution one-third of her public revenue. (19) To regard, then, as poor any family in Anglesev which attempted to subsist on fifteen guineas a year (roughly a shilling a day) or less, is to place the standard of poverty, as distinct from pauperism, extremely low, and it will be seen that a large proportion of the population consisted of families of this kind.

 <sup>(8)</sup> In Holyhead eggs were "four and five a penny" in April, 1741 (Morris Letters, 1, 50); in Hexham (Yorks.) five a penny in 1754 (Rogers, VII, 310). In London 4/- for 120 was charged in Dec., 1703; strangely enough the price has risen to 4/8 in the following April. In 1710 8/- for 120 was charged (Rogers, VII, 310).
 (9) Reasons are given elsewhere for believing that more potatoes were caten in Anglesey than in England at this time.

<sup>(10)</sup> (11)

than in England at this time.

March 9, 1735.
Oct. 31, 1740.

Rogers, VII, 555.

Ibid., VII, 248.

24/- a quarter in Anglesey, and 14/- to 18/- a quarter in England in July, 1735.
10/- to 11/- in Anglesey and 16/- in England in May, 1737.

I have compared Bulkeley's figures between Nov. 1734, and June, 1740, with Rogers's figures for these dates given (VII, 57—62). (16)

Rogers, V, 90—91. Ibid., V, 832. Ibid., V, 301. (17)(18) (19)

We may consider first the artisans or workmen doing skilled work, men who in England had for the past century risen above the level of a shilling a day in wages. Thorold Rogers concludes that there was in England after the Civil War a general and permanent rise in wages,  $^{(20)}$  and that a carpenter's average weekly wage rose from  $6/2\frac{3}{4}$  in the first half of the seventeenth century to  $10/2\frac{3}{4}$  in the second half; many artisans such as masons, bricklayers, slaters, plumbers and joiners received additions which brought their wages up to a standard varying from  $9/8\frac{3}{4}$  to  $14/0\frac{1}{4}$  a week. The wages of a "Labourer to an artisan" rose at the same time from  $4/2\frac{3}{4}$  to  $6/7\frac{3}{4}$  a week. (21) Thorold Rogers adds that when the rise was once effected the higher rate of wages became permanent, and remained nearly unchanged until at least 1770. (22)

How does this compare with the facts recorded for Anglesey? There are in the *Henblas* MSS, three sources, dating from 1716 to 1760, upon which we can draw for information about wages in Anglesey in the eighteenth century; and these may profitably be compared with an account from the seventeenth century of the building in 1636 of a new house, Carreglyvd (Llanfaethlu), by Dr. William Griffiths, Chancellor of St. Asaph and Bangor. (23) These records show that a shilling a day, the labourer's wage in England in the eighteenth century, was the usual rate paid in Anglesey to artisans (or "Artificers" as they are called in the 1718 Rate of Wages). A shilling and sixpence or a shilling and twopence was occasionally paid, but references to these rates are rare compared with the great majority of entries at a shilling and under. "Labourers to artisans" appear very rarely in the records, but when they do appear they are paid at a rate of from fourpence to sixpence a day. It is not always stated whether these rates are "with meat" or "without meat," that is, whether the employer did or did not provide the workman's food in addition to his wage. But in most cases where meat is mentioned, the addition of food brings the artisan's money wage below a shilling a day.

<sup>(20)</sup> Rogers, V, 636-637.

<sup>(21)</sup> Ibid., V, 672-673.

<sup>(22)</sup> Rogers's figures are taken chiefly from South-East England, and are confirmed by recently discovered wage assessments (for 1723) in Kent; see Eliz. L. Waterman in Eng. Hist. Review, XLHH (1928), p. 398. In Nottinghamshire, in 1723, artisans were equally well paid, but agricultural labourers received rather less, being paid ninepence a day in summer and sixpence in winter without food: see Nottinghamshire in the Eighteenth Century, by J. D. Chambers (London, P. S. King, 1932), p. 282.

<sup>(23)</sup> Historical MSS, Commission: Miss Conway Griffith's Carreglwyd MSS, in Archaeologia Cambrensis. Fourth Series, Vol. 10 (1879), p. 305,

These were the rates paid in Anglesev in both the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries; there is no trace whatsoever before 1760 of the rise in wages which took place in England in the second half of the seventeenth century. Taking the seventeenth century document we find that, of the workmen who built Carreglyvd in 1636, the chief mason received eighteen pence a day, two other masons fourteen pence and one sixpence a day; the joiner and the carpenter received each a shilling a day. No mention is made of meat; we do not know whether these rates did or did not include food. For the beginning of the next century we have the Rates of Wages ordained by the Justices of the Peace for Anglesey in the year 1718.(24) In these rates, sawvers alone are to receive more than a shilling a day: their daily wage was eighteenpence. Other artisans such as "master rough masons," carpenters, joiners and mill-wrights are to have a shilling a day without meat or sixpence a day with meat. Thatchers are to have eighteenpence without food, fourpence with. All these rates are for summer; winter wages were lower still. The Rates of Wages, however, may be considered suspect, as both employers and workmen sometimes found it possible to evade the official schedules and to make their own bargains. We have in the Henblas Household Accounts entries of the actual sums paid to workmen at Henblas between the years 1735 and 1738. During these years Henry Morgan of Henblas always pays his workmen a shilling a day; meat is not mentioned. Thus in January, 1735, "Robert Prichard Joiner" is paid twelvepence a day for 105 days' work, and his apprentice is paid for 117 days at fivepence a day. In 1736 "Harry the Cooper" gets a shilling a day; in April, 1738, three workmen are employed, each getting a shilling a day, helped by one assistant at eightpence, two at sixpence and a boy at fourpence. William Bulkeley's Diary concludes the evidence, and carries it on till well past the middle of the century. Bulkeley's payments to artisans are, with one exception, never above and frequently under, a shilling a day. The exception is the payment of "18d, a day his own meat to Richard Jones the mill-wright, working at the mill for fifteen days in April, 1756. At the same time Bulkeley pays Richard Jones's servant "12s. for 12 days at his own meat." But when Richard Jones and his man worked at Brynddu they received a shilling or less "with meat." Most of the payments fall well below the shilling a day, but as the work described was usually done at Brynddu, it is probable that food was given in addition.

<sup>(24)</sup> Henblas MS., 18, pp. 65-9. For an account of these Rates of Wages see Cunningham, Growth of English Industry and Commerce (Ed. 1907), Vol. II, Part I, pp. 37-44.

The following are examples of numerous similar payments in each year by William Bulkeley. In January, 1736, "Owen Lewis the Cooper of Cemlyn" was paid sixpence a day for a fortnight's work; in January, 1737, "Hugh Jones of Henblas, alias y Drowel segur," received sixpence a day for plastering and setting grates; in August of the same year Hugh Williams the joiner and his son each received eightpence a day while their apprentice was paid fourpence. In 1743 "Thomas the Slater of Cefn Helig" was given five shillings for seven days' work at whitewashing the house and mending the stoves and ovens; in 1757 Owen Bwilliam Owen the joiner received eightpence a day and his apprentice twopence; and in 1753 Thomas ab Harri Roberts was paid ninepence a day for mending the "furniture of the horse-teams," and William Williams the joiner a shilling a day for thirty-eight days' work. It will be seen that there is no risc in wages between the thirties and the fifties of the century.(25)

Valuable as are these records of the daily rates of wages, it is very unlikely that the majority of artisans in Anglesev spent all, or indeed the greater proportion of their time working for a daily wage. Much of their work was piece-work; they made an article or completed a job and were paid a lump sum for it. Robert Prichard the joiner, who was paid a shilling a day for work at Henblas in 1735, receives at the same time £3 5s. for a mahogany desk, no doubt produced when he was not employed upon work by the day. Glaziers, tanners, saddlers and clockmakers were all paid for piece-work, as were, by the nature of their work, tailors and shoemakers. Weavers and fullers were either paid for piece-work or, more rarely, received a yearly settlement of accounts "for work done this year." impossible from the entries to make any estimate of the daily earnings of such piece-workers, but the lump sums paid are always very small. Apart from tailors' bills, the largest payment I have seen is that for the desk already mentioned; then comes the sum of £3 4s. 2d. paid to "Henry Dryhurst the Glazier" for putting in new windows at Brynddu in August, 1749. Bulkeley adds to the entry "an extravagant sum for so little work, as by the bill appears." What he doubtless regarded as

<sup>(25)</sup> I have noticed only one record of an increase in wages. The same joiner who was paid eightpence a day in 1737 gets a shilling a day in 1752. On neither occasion is meat mentioned, so meat may account for the difference; or possibly the fact that on the second occasion the joiner was working without the son and apprentice who helped him on the first, may (though they were of course paid separately) have contributed to raise his wage. Bulkeley wrote on Nov. 24, 1737, when hiring an extra fodderer, that wages lad risen considerably "since I first came here to live." But there is no proof of this statement, and Bulkeley makes certain similar generalisations which the facts prove to be untrue,

the more reasonable bill of £1 10s. to "Owen Williams the Glazier" was paid on September 25th, 1740; Richard Williams the Weaver gets 13s. 3d. in settlement of a year's account, and William Prichard the Weaver "7s. for weaving 24 yards of Tick" in November, 1755. Tiny sums are paid to itinerant workers, to Lawrence Lee the Tinker, "Parry ye Chimney Sweeper that lives in Dublin," and to an unnamed mole-catcher; but "James Jones a South Wales man" receives the munificent sum of £1 4s. 6d. for spring-cleaning all the beds of the house in May, 1756. These, the small local craftsmen and the more picturesque and adventurous itinerants, were the men who did what skilled work was necessary in the Anglesey houses of our period.

Some artisans, no doubt the less skilled, failed to make a living out of any one trade whether carried on as day-work or as piece-work, and were compelled to enlarge their resources by some combination of occupations. Thomas Jones of Llanfechell was by trade a fuller; he also sold tea, and made a little extra sum on Sundays as "Thomas Jones the Chanter." The cousin of the Morris brothers, Lewis ab William Morris, was by trade a carpenter, but also held a humble position under the Customs House officials. He was, says William Morris, "one of our extra tidesmen and coal meter, which brings him about £12 or £14 a year besides his trade as a joiner."(26) But the most usual refuge of the less successful artisan was a small patch of land. (27) On William Bulkeley's estate several farms were held by artisans. In March, 1753, he let the little farm of Tyddyn y Drym to "Roger Bwilliam Owen, Carpenter," who had previously held another small farm of him. If all his clients were as dilatory in payment as his landlord it was no wonder that the carpenter could not rely for a living on the proceeds of his trade, for Bulkeley writes:—

"Accounting this day with Roger Bwilliam Owen, I allowed him for Joiner's work in the last 6 years seaven pounds 6s. 10d." (January 19, 1750).

William Owen the tailor and his brother held the little farm of Clegyrog Ucha of William Bulkeley in July, 1741, and in May of the same year "Evan Wms. Weaver" took a small farm on the Brynddu estate at Bodlwyfan.

<sup>(26)</sup> Morris Letters, I, 61.

<sup>(27)</sup> Thorold Rogers wrote of England at the end of the sixteenth century, "It is conceivable... that working for money was a bye industry, and that in general the labour of the peasant was occupied about his holding" (op. cit. V, 615). It is a survival of this condition of things that is found in eighteenth century Anglesey.

It may be concluded that there were in Anglesev in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries a few comparatively skilled and substantial (though by English standards ill-paid) artisans, such as "Parrie ap John ap William" the chief mason at Carreglwyd, Robert Prichard the joiner working at Henblas, and Richard Jones the mill-wright who worked at Brynddu. Such men were called upon when the village workman proved Bulkeley wrote on March 8, 1758, "Pd. Owen inadequate. Thomas the Smith 7s. 8d. for work that the Bungler of this village could not do." The entry confirms the impression that the majority of artisans were unskilled, ill-paid, and in irregular employment, which is what might be expected in the rural conditions that prevailed over the greater part of Anglesey in the eighteenth century.

The transition is easy from the artisan spending part of his time on a piece of land to the small farmer, and since these records contain no references to wealthy farmers in Anglesey, the few farmers described take their places definitely among the poor, or even, as far as material resources are concerned, the very poor of the island. (28) Their farms were very small; the average yearly rental of seventeen farms on the Brynddu estate was £8 10s. a year, the lowest rent being forty-five shillings a year, and the highest twenty-four pounds. (29) William Bulkeley gives an account of the goods of a small farmer who had a farm of about fifteen pounds a year rental, twice the average rent on his estate. He writes that this farmer "had no other stock than one Horse of 30s, value, 2 poor cows and a yearling heifer, 2 pigs and 10 sheep, and a mighty ordinary mean furniture makeing in all . . not £30."(30) If this was a farm of fifteen pounds rent, it is difficult to imagine the equipment of a farm worth forty-five shillings.

Certain facts about the small farmers are recorded in the Diary. They were, in the eighteenth century, very much at the mercy of their landlords. During the whole of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the demand for farms far exceeded

<sup>(28)</sup> This is true of most small farmers in England during the seventeenth and eighteenth

<sup>(28)</sup> This is true of most small farmers in England during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Gregory King and Richard Baxter in the seventeeuth, Defoe at the beginning and Young at the end of the eighteenth century say that the small farmer is worse off than the artisan, and that the labourer is as well housed, clothed and fed, but does not work so hard: see England in Transition, by M. Dorothy George (London, Routledge, 1931), chapters 1 and V.
(29) Baxter wrote of England at the end of the seventeenth century that the greater number of farmers in all counties were small men; there were many more of from £5 to £30 than of £60 to £80 a year rent (M. D. George, op. cit. p. 5). It was the Agrarian Revolution and the Enclosure Acts of the eighteenth century that greatly increased the number of large and wealthy farms in England, but these movements did not affect Anglesey during our period,
(30) April 21, 1737.

the supply; (31) when Morys Prichard, the father of the Morris brothers, wished in 1761 to leave his farm of Pentre-eriannell the competition for it was keen, and a raised rent was willingly paid by the new tenant. (32) This allowed landlords to pick and choose their tenants. William Bulkeley wrote in 1734:-

"Thomas Roberts that lives in Cott took Tyddyn y Drym for 4 years at the rent of 45s. . . . I did not like him afterwards, so he had his Earnest back again" (June

10, 1734).

In both centuries landlords threatened to evict from their farms tenants who disagreed with their political or religious views. Morys Prichard was threatened with eviction for voting against the wishes of his landlord in 1741. (33) and the record of his sons' votes suggests that it was the pliability of tenants rather than their freedom of action that made this extreme step comparatively rare.

Yet in some ways the eighteenth century was a period of greater security for the small farmer than the nineteenth. In the eighteenth century farms were habitually let on lease; year to year tenancy did not become general until the nineteenth century. It is true that William Bulkeley occasionally let a farm in autocratic fashion, as when he "sets Pen y Bont and Weyn Farm to Hugh Owen of Llanddygwel quamdiu se bene gesscrit."(34) But this is an exception and most of Bulkeley's farms are let on leases of varying length, for two, four, seven, eleven or twenty-one years.

Greater security of tenure was, however, accompanied by the survival on small farms of a semi-servile tenure; the small farmer was still considered to be in some ways a servant of his landlord. This was expressed by the payment of rent in the three separate forms of money, food-gifts and labour services. The most usual form of rent was that asked of the (according to Bulkeley) unprepossessing Thomas Roberts who did not get Tyddyn y Drym. He covenanted to pay a money rent of forty-five shillings, food gifts in addition consisting of "2 Pullets at Shrovetide, 6 chickens before or early in May," and, as labour services, "2 days reaping as presents, he is to work by the Day when called upon as the other tenants";(35) the extra work was presumably paid for at the current rate of wages. The eight chickens and two days' reaping form the usual basis of

 <sup>(31)</sup> For evidence of this "land hunger," see Report of the Royal Commission on Land in Wales and Monmouthshire, 1896, pp. 312—328.
 (32) Morris Letters, 1I, 373—4.

*Ibid.*, 1, 55. March 18, 1737. June 10, 1734. (33) (34)(35)

payment in the leases, but further and more onerous clauses were not infrequently added. Thus a lease of 1737<sup>(36)</sup> contains the usual presents, and in addition the tenant is "to work 6 days in the Harvest for 3d. a day," a nominal wage. A lease of 1740<sup>(37)</sup> has the extraordinarily vague additional clause "and he is to work with me all ye time he can spare from his own farm." There is, however, nothing vague about Hugh Owen's agreement for Tyddyn y Weyn in May, 1736<sup>(38)</sup> "the usual presents and to have all his work."

The middle of the eighteenth century is a period of transition from the old semi-servile payments in kind to money rents, and in some leases modern arrangements for keeping the farm in good order, with elaborate details about planting, hedging, laying straw and the building and repair of barns, take the place of the old food and labour services. (39) But consideration for the landlord made it much more usual for the food payments only and not the labour services to be commuted for money. There are many instances in the Diary of the commutation of food-rents, e.g., "a good wether or 5s. in money," (40) "a fat Lamb or 2s. 6d. in lieu of it ";(41) three farms are set with an additional rental of "fifteen shillings yearly in lieu of all presents." (42) But the labour services of small tenants on such estates as Brynddu were too valuable to be entirely dispensed with. At busy seasons, and for especially heavy tasks, Bulkeley needed all the labour he could command; he provided for it as far as possible in his leases, and in such critical periods as harvest put as much pressure as he could exert upon his other tenants to work for him for wages. Thus the following entries of payments to tenants for labour on the e tate occur in the Diary during a single autumn:-

"Pd. Rowland Jones of Pant y Gist £1 7s. for labouring work these two last years; and pd. John the son of Maddanwy

Jones 7s. for his work this year" (Nov. 9, 1740).

"Pd. Richard Lloyd late of Tyddyn y Fronwen two pounds fourteen shillings and five pence for labouring work done these two last years" (Nov. 20, 1740).

(36)(37)

(39)

(40)

March 19, 1737.
April 7, 1740.
The additions to the food payments include from one farm "two hundred Rhoscolyn Oysters," and from another "120 handfulls of long thick rushes for Wortch-lights." (38)

Watch-lights."
e.g., April 28, 1737; Feb. 22, 1749.
Nov. 15, 1734.
Nov. 25, 1737.
Feb. 22, 1749. The Land Commission Report of 1896 says that survivals of foodrents to 1896 were comparatively few in North Wales, and it gives no examples from Auglesey. Labour services, however, in some form or other were kept upon most large estates until 1896, and examples are given from Anglesey (Report, 470—6). (41)(42)

"Pd. Wm. Jones of Drym £1 12s. 6d. for labouring work by the day upon my farms" (Nov. 27, 1740).

"Pd. Robert Prys late of Tyddyn y Weyn 30s. 11d. for labouring work upon my grounds" (Dec. 4, 1740).

These were all tenants of Brynddu as the names of their farms indicate. I cannot be certain whether they had already paid a money rent to Bulkeley, although, as he usually makes an entry of any such sums received, his silence is presumptive evidence that they had not, but that the amounts paid by him represented the difference between the value of their labour and the rents which they owed him. This is definitely stated in an entry concerning the smallest tenant of all:—

"Pd. John Ellis Griffith 2s. 6d. for labouring work this year over and above his rent for Gerddi Gwynion being

18s." (Dec. 9, 1752).

This is neither the old unfree system of labour-services nor yet the later system of free tenant farmers, who pay money rents and are clearly distinguishable from agricultural labourers earning a regular money wage. It is a transition stage, adapted to the slowly developing conditions of life in Anglesey. A money-rent was arranged, but was to both landlord and tenant a secondary consideration and could stand over, if necessary, from year to year. The tenant's main object was to secure a small piece of land, on the produce of which he principally relied for a living; the landlord's chief concern was an adequate supply of labour to run his estate.

Already in the mid-eighteenth century the landlord did not find tenants always willing to give their labour. There are occasions when the demand for workers was greater than the supply, especially harvest time when the tenant wished to be at work in his own fields. Thus Bulkeley wrote of the harvest of 1736:—

"a great pressing and courting of people for the Harvest, both before and after Service morning and evening, all the Corn in the Neighbourhood being ripe at the same time." (43)

Another entry suggests that when the landlord's personal authority was removed, it was not easy to get the work done. We read:—

"Since I went from home my day labourers neglected to come to my harvest, so that I am very backward in reaping" (Aug. 27, 1748).

<sup>(43)</sup> August 8, 1736.

Certain other demands made upon the tenant were sanctioned by custom and readily granted. Both tenants and neighbours were willing to help to earry the winter supply of coal to Brynddu from the port at Cemaes, probably with no payment other than a substantial supper. (44) The task of pointing and coping a garden wall, however, can hardly have been a duty assigned to tenants either by lease or by custom, yet Bulkeley writes:—

"I had 5 people these 5 days between Masons and people to serve them pointing the East and North quarterly aspects of my garden wall and coping those two sides. Pd. Richard Roberts of Cerrig Mân 3s. 6d. for his work, the others were my Servants and Tenants." (April 8, 1748).

The entry shows further how inextricably intermingled were the lives of small artisan and small tenant-farmer in Anglesey in this period, and how difficult it is to draw a clear line of distinction between them. An artisan worked on a piece of land in his spare time: a small tenant-farmer was expected to help in artisan work when called upon by his landlord to do so. Naturally artisans and farmers often formed part of the same family; one son worked the farm, others took up whatever craft they could acquire. William Morris in letters to his brothers in London writes the short and simple annals of two such families. The records are dull and colourless enough, but they represent the hopes and fears, the success and the failure, of hundreds of similar families all over the island, as they earried on the neverending struggle on the margin of existence. William Morris had two cousins, Margaret Salbri and Elizabeth Salbri. Elizabeth's children succeeded—"the girl is married and lives at Bodafon in Creuddyn, a farmer of the orderly sort; the son is a carpenter follows his trade." Margaret Salbri's children succumbed. She "had six or seven children when she died, the father a drunkard, the ehildren scattered here and there, some gone to the sea and some to the mountain. They lived quite respectably while she was alive, but afterwards all the property was swept away."(45) This was the gulf that always yawned beneath the feet of the artisan farmer in Anglesey; he might lose his little holding and find "all the property swept away." Little indeed was then left for him.

In discussing the earnings of artisans and small tenantfarmers in Anglesey, it has been impossible to avoid occasional reference to the Labourer. It is not easy even in England, and

 <sup>(44)</sup> See e.g., July 19, 1754. There was a similar custom in South Wales.
 (45) Morris Letters, I, 254-5.

especially before the agricultural and industrial revolutions of the middle of the century, to draw a dividing line of income and material resources which would accurately divide the agricultural labourer from the small tenant farmer. (46) or the unskilled "labourer to an artisan" from the artisan or skilled workman. But in England such a class of labourers did exist in considerable numbers, and records of their daily or weekly wages, roughly about half that of an artisan, may be found in abundance in the account books of employers, both agricultural and industrial. (47) In Anglesey, however, it may seriously be doubted whether there was any considerable class of labourers. References to them, except in the more or less theoretical Rates of Wages, are exceptional. Even in the Rate of Wages for 1718 there is no provision for the "labourer to an artisan" and the only reference to such that I have seen is in the seventeenth century account of the building of Carreglwyd, where fifteen labourers were assisting the artisans, eleven at sixpence and four at fourpence a day. The term "labourer" does not occur in either the Henblas or Brynddu records; skilled workmen were helped not by labourers, but by an "assistant," "Prentis," "boy," or "son," who was presumably being trained in the trade of his master. Workmen who earn as little as sixpence or eightpence a day frequently appear, but as they are doing independent or skilled work, such as "setting grates," or "joinery," they must be considered as ill-paid skilled workmen rather than as labourers.

The Agricultural Labourer is even more elusive. Rates of Wages of 1718 provide for him at the rate of sixpence a day in summer (48) and fivepence a day in winter or two pence a day with meat; mowers are to have ninepence a day or fivepence with meat, and reapers sixpence or threepence with meat. But in actual practice we find that there are in these documents no accounts of agricultural labourers, regularly working for a daily or weekly wage. Who, then, did the farm labouring on such estates as Henblas or Brynddu?. The regular work was probably compassed by the outdoor servants. In the Henblas accounts we can trace under a head man at least half a dozen substantial men in regular employment, two ploughmen for the fields, two fodderers for the stock and two carters. There were also gardeners, grooms and boys. These were not "agricultural

<sup>(46)</sup> The Commission of 1896 wrote of Wales in the nineteenth century "The labouring class merges unperceptibly into the farming class" (Report, p. 598).
(47) Rogers, V (1583—1702), ch. XXIII.
(48) There is a mistake in the manuscript here; sixpence is given as the summer wage both with and without meat. The summer rate "with meat" would obviously be threepence.

labourers" in the usual sense, and did not share their conditions of life. The Rates of Wages place them among "servants in husbandrye by the year;" like the household servants they lived at their master's house, sleeping in the lofts or garrets and cating in the kitchen. Their wages (from two to five pounds a year) were not expected to maintain a family. In times of special activity these were, as we have already seen, helped by the small tenant farmers on the estates, who became for the time being, day labourers.

It may well be that regular labourers did exist in some districts and on large estates of Anglesey, whose records are not yet available. But if such there were, their condition of life must have been precisely that of the smallest artisans and tenant-farmers already described; there was no lower level above beggary.

Before concluding this analysis of the resources of the poor in Anglesey, one factor must not be omitted. This was the addition to the family earnings made possible by the work of women and children. It has been written of England that "Rural prosperity was based on the labour of women and children," (49) and Defoe in 1724 drew a sharp contrast between the poverty of counties consisting mainly of large estates, where there was little additional employment for women and children, and the comparative prosperity of more populous districts where women and children could find such pursuits as spinning and weaving to eke out the family income. (50) Anglesey fell somewhere between these two extremes; it was neither populous nor rich, but in these documents there are frequent references to the earnings of women; they were employed in spinning, knitting, sewing, quilting and similar household tasks. (51) Spinning was the most important of these occupations, and was paid for by the pound, usually at the rate of Is. 3d. a pound, though smaller sums are sometimes recorded. A typical entry is that of March 2, 1741:—

"Pd. Margaret verch Ddavydd Tomos 1s. 3d. for spinning a pound of hemp<sup>(52)</sup> for course cloth,"

and at the lower rate:—

"Pd. ye woman of Coydan 1s. for spinning a pound of Wool on her distaff" (Nov. 24, 1736).

<sup>(49)</sup> M. D. George, op. cit., p. 23.

<sup>(50)</sup> Ibid., p. 24.

<sup>(51)</sup> Weaving, with the exception of linen-weaving by the maids at Henblas, was always done by men.

<sup>(52)</sup> The hemp, we find from other entries, was bought in Liverpool.

Other entries which represent many similar payments are the following:—
"Pd. Eliz. Parry 2s. for 12 days she was here makeing

"Pd. Ann Parry the Dumb woman 2s. for knitting stockins at the rate of one penny a day" (Dec. 12, 1736). "Paid Ann Parry 4s. for 4 weeks she was here quilting." (53) (Oct. 16, 175).

"Pd. to a granddaughter of Hugh Lewis tri-thri (sic) 12s.

for dressing feathers for 12 beds" (Oct. 4, 1757).

Of outdoor work for women I have found no trace except one entry of payment for gardening work in the Henblas Accounts for May, 1737:—
"Pd. Grace for weeding 4 days 4d."

The 1718 Rates of Wages places a rate of wages for women (apart, of course, from the rates for household servants and dairymaids) after the wages of labourers, mowers and reapers, as follows:-

"women by ye day 5d., with meat 2d.

but this, both from its position on the list and from the absence of any other reference to such work, probably refers to occasional help in the harvest fields rather than to any regular occupation. The records suggest that outdoor work was not usually done by women in Anglesey at this period.

There are a few references to boys' labour, but they record very small payments only. An apprentice is paid fivepence a day at Henblas, fourpence and twopence at Brynddu, while "two lads that were hired by the day to harrow" at Brynddu get only 8s. 3d. between them at the end of two months' work.

These additional earnings, however small, and especially those of the women, have always been an important factor in the economic condition of the Welsh peasant. They represent a small surplus over and above the bare necessities of life, which may be used to improve, either materially or intellectually, the condition of the family. (54)

Allowing, however, for all additions, it may safely be concluded that skilled workmen and small tenant farmers in Anglesey were as poor in money and resources as it was possible

<sup>Quilting was comparatively well paid; cf. an entry in the Henblas accounts; "pd for quilting a bed quilt 2s. 6d." (Sep. 25, 1734), a fairly considerable sum when compared with other entries for household work.
It is said of a prominent Welshman of the nineteenth century that his education was made possible by the proceeds of his mother's knitting; and to-day (1931) a student in a Welsh college, the son of a labourer, depends for his college fees on the proceeds of a small shop kept by the mother.</sup> 

to be; there was no room, short of indigence, for a still poorer labouring class. But we must not proceed too hastily to the further conclusion that the Welsh farmers and workmen can be altogether described in terms of the English labouring classes, who, when carning a similar wage, became dependent on poor relief for the bare means of subsistence. Both in England and in Wales the farmer who owned his farm, however poor, held a position of greater dignity, and one that held out greater incentives to diligence and thrift, than was possible to a labourer working on another man's land. (55) The smallest craftsman, too, struggled hard before he would become dependent on charity. In a particularly evil hour he would resort to the device of brewing a little ale to sell. William Bulkeley writes:

"Paid Is. today for Ale to help a poor neighbour that's

father of a great many children" (June 6, 1736).

"Took a Walk after Supper to Pen Gorsedd Rŷs where Thomas Jones the Shoomaker, a poor man, had gott a little Ale to be sold, where most of the neighbours were met, we called for a Mug, drank some of it, for which I paid him 6d." (May 30, 1736).

Such efforts show the reluctance of the Anglesev poor to become dependent upon charity. And in considering men like "Hugh Jones of Henblas, alias y Drowel segur," who is paid for his plastering at exactly half the rate of wages required in 1702 by an English "Labourer to an artisan," considerations in addition to those of wages must be weighed, not least the status of Hugh Jones as an independent and (to however limited an extent) a skilled workman in a community where such were few and the general level of wealth and comfort low. considerations prevented both tenant farmer and workman from becoming, as they too frequently did in some parts of England, mere units in a crowd of unskilled labourers dependent on poor Anglesey peasant clung tenaciously to individuality, and acknowledged the means that enabled him to preserve it by appending to his family name an alias derived from his trade or its accompaniments, or from the name of the tiny farm which was the source of his independence.

<sup>(55)</sup> Gilbert White at the end of the eighteenth century expressed the difference in an example—" Little farmers use rushes much in the short days.... but the very poor—who are always the worst economists and therefore must continue very poor—buy a halfpenny candle every evening." Quoted by M. D. George, op. cit. p. 123.

# THE PARLIAMENTARY HISTORY OF BEAUMARIS, 1555—1832.

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In a previous number of these *Transactions*, an outline was attempted of the Parliamentary history of the county of Anglesey in the eighteenth century.<sup>(1)</sup> The details given in that paper show that the Parliamentary history of the borough of Beaumaris cannot really be separated from the general political history of the county, and that both constituencies illustrate that clash of opposing family interests which forms such a prominent feature of the unreformed system of Parliamentary representation. At the same time, Beaumaris deserves separate treatment, because it provides an excellent example of a certain type of Parliamentary constituency and of a definite phase of electoral history.

One of the most anomalous features of Parliamentary representation before the Reform Act of 1832 was the picturesque medley of franchises, or rights of election, which were found in the boroughs. In the "burgage boroughs," votes were attached to particular holdings or burgages; the "potwalloper" franchise gave the vote either to every resident or to every resident householder who was not a pauper, while in "scot and lot boroughs," the franchise was vested in those who paid "scot and lot"—usually poor rate and church rate. Next came the "freeman boroughs," where the right of election belonged to all those who had been admitted as "freemen" or burgesses. Finally, there were the "corporation boroughs," in which the privilege of voting was confined to a select body, which renewed itself by co-option, and which was completely uncontrolled by the general body of the inhabitants of the town. Now the main feature of the history of all these boroughs is the continuous attempt made by various interested parties to control the electoral body, and it is clear that the methods adopted, and the degree of success with which they were attended, depended very largely on the type of franchise. In Wales, the great majority of the Parliamentary boroughs were of the freeman type; (2) the importance of Beaumaris lies in the fact that it was an exception to this general rule. In fact, it is the only example of a Corporation borough to be found in the Principality.

<sup>(1)</sup> Trans. A. A.S. and F.C. (1930), pp. 60-78.

<sup>(2)</sup> Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies, 1929, pp. 352-360.

If in this respect Beaumaris differed from the general run of Welsh boroughs, in another respect it provides an example of a tendency which was general in Welsh Parliamentary life. The Acts of 1535 and 1543, whereby Wales had received Parliamentary representation, had set up a borough system which was peculiar to Wales. On condition of contributing to the member's wages, the "ancient boroughs" of each county were given the right of sharing with the county town in his return. practice of paying wages to members of Parliament was ceasing in the sixteenth century, but it lasted in Wales for a period sufficiently lengthy to determine the groupings for each county. (3) The result was that borough electorates in Wales were comparatively large, and control by a would-be patron consequently difficult. The difficulty could be overcome in one of two ways: since the Welsh boroughs were "freeman" in type, large numbers of non-resident dependents of the patron could be admitted to burgess-ship, or the opposite policy might be adopted of attempting, on various grounds, to exclude the "contributory" boroughs from a share in the election. Both methods were used in Wales, but the point we have to notice is that Beaumaris provides an example of the second expedient. With these generalisations in mind, we may now turn to survey chronologically the Parliamentary history of Beaumaris.

The success of Beaumaris in arrogating to itself the sole right of returning the Anglesey burgess member was due partly to the fact that Newborough was the only other borough in the county, and partly to the provisions of a remarkable charter which it obtained from the Crown in 1562. In view of later developments, it is ironical to find that in 1535 the balance was weighted in favour of Newborough. In 1507 Henry VII had authorised the transfer of all county courts to that place, (4) according to one authority the transference was the result of the machinations of one Mancus, the Spanish ambassador, (5) while Dr. E. A. Lewis suggests that their removal from English Beaumaris to Welsh Newborough was a manifestation of the increasing favour shown to Wales and Welshmen by the Tudor dynasty. At any rate the Courts were held at Newborough, and the member of Parliament returned by its burgesses, until 1549.<sup>(6)</sup> An Act of that year, however, transferred the Great Sessions to Beaumaris and the burgesses of Newborough were discharged from paying wages to any burgess "returned to serve for the

<sup>(3)</sup> Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies, 1929, pp. 352—360.
(4) E. A. Lewis, Mediaeval Boroughs of Snowdonia, p. 209.
(5) Commons Journals, XVI, pp. 323—4.
(6) W. R. Williams, Partiamentary History of Wales pp. 8—9.

Town of Beaumaris, and the village of Newborough or either of them."(7) It is said that the destruction caused by sand-drifts had so impoverished Newborough that the Corporation was incapable of supporting its pre-eminence in the shire. (8) and from 1553 onwards, Beaumaris alone returned the burgess member and defrayed his fees.

The supremacy of Beaumaris was confirmed by the grant by Elizabeth in 1562 of a remarkable charter which vested the government of the Corporation, and the return of the member of Parliament, in a select body of twenty-five which filled vacancies by co-option, endowed this close Corporation with extensive property and, in general, made Beaumaris a pattern of the "pocket" borough. (9) This charter was the only one of its type ever granted to a Welsh borough, and its value from the standpoint of electoral control was fully recognised. In 1620, when Sir John Wynn of Gwydir was attempting to establish his control over Caernaryon, his ideal was to obtain for the town "such a grant as the inhabitants of Beaumaris have." (10) With the evidence at our disposal, it is not easy to discover the hidden forces which must have been working in favour of the Beaumaris grant. The burgesses had promised to repair their sea walls in return for a renewal of their charter—a promise of some interest to the government in view of the importance of the harbour, (11) and the Corporation suggests indirectly in 1639 that its possession of unusual privileges was due to the strategie importance of the town, and the necessity of strengthening the hands of the borough authorities. (12) Nevertheless, the growing importance of the Bulkeley family within the borough, and the presence of four of its members amongst the original twenty-one common councillors appointed by the charter, (13) suggest a possible explanation. Since this family was to dominate the borough during the period under consideration, our plan will be to trace the growth of its influence in the borough, and to illustrate its working before the Reform Act of 1832.

The elevation of Thomas Bulkeley to the Irish peerage in 1643 (as Viscount Bulkeley) may be regarded as marking the climax of the first phase of development. The first of the family to settle in the borough was William Bulkeley (who hailed from Cheshire) at the opening of the Tudor period. The uncertainty of the Bulkeley position in 1535 is illustrated in a dispute which

<sup>2</sup> and 3 Edward VI, c. 15. Owen Williamson, *Hanes Niwbwrch*, pp. 17 and 20—25. Municipal Corporations Commissioners Report (1835), App. 1V, pp. 2582—2590. (7) (8) (9)

Manacipae Corporations Commissioners Report (1833), Apr. 174 (20lendur of Winn Papers, No. 1043. Calendur State Papers, Domestic, 1547—80, pp. 194 and 195. Calendur of Wynn Papers, No. 1627. Municipal Corporations Commissioners Reports, ut supra, p. 2585, (10)(11)(12)

<sup>(13)</sup> 

took place in that year between Sir Richard Bulkeley (grandson of the William Bulkeley already mentioned) and the widow of Sir Rowland Vielleville, who had been Constable of the Castle since 1509.<sup>(14)</sup> Henry Norres, the new Constable, had ordered Bulkeley to take over the Castle and report on its condition. Lady Vielleville refused to surrender it, and Bulkeley was quite unable to dislodge her. (15) The antagonism between Bulkelev and Vielleville was in fact of long standing, and the Star Chamber had to deal with assaults and riots arising out of it as early as 1515.<sup>(16)</sup> Lady Vielleville stood her ground, claiming in a letter to Thomas Cromwell that she was not, as was alleged, disturbing Bulkeley in his claim to the possession of certain lands in the town, but merely enjoying the advantages obtained by her husband. (17) The details of the struggle are altogether obscure, and are of no intrinsic importance: they merely show up, as we have said, the weakness of the Bulkeley influence in the town at the very time when representative rights were being granted to the Principality.

It would seem that a definite turning point in the history of the family came in the time of the third Sir Richard (1533— 1621), the first mayor under the charter of 1562, the favourite of Elizabeth, and the opponent of the Earl of Leicester. (18) With estates in Cheshire, Carnaryonshire and Anglesey, his annual income was said to amount to £4,300 and an early account of him states that the gentry and commonalty of Anglesey were all at his service, with the exception of the Woods of Rhosmor, "who were always his enemies." (19) The increasing power of the family undoubtedly reacted on its position in the borough, and the building of Baron Hill in 1618 signalised the advance which had been made. Various incidents which took place during the late years of the sixteenth century suggest a very turbulent condition of affairs within the borough, and a somewhat unscrupulous use of his power by the courtier. In 1588 the muster master for Anglesey and Carnarvonshire accused Sir Richard before the Star Chamber of having attempted in a very high-handed manner to prevent him from carrying out his duties. He had been assaulted at his lodging house, which narrowly escaped destruction by gunpowder, and neither county nor borough authorities had been able to protect him. (20) About the same time, and before the same tribunal, Bulkeley and Owen

(14)

Breeze, Calendars of Gwynedd, p. 122. Letters and Papers, Henry VIII, Vol. VII, p. 328. I. ab O. Edwards, Catalogue of Star Chamber Proceedings relating to Wales, p. 2. Letters and Papers, Henry VIII, Vol. V, p. 166. (16)(17)

Williams, op. cit, p. 1.

Thos. Pennant, Tours in Wales (ed. Rhys), III, p. 390, Edwards, op. cit., p. 19. (18)(20)

Wood of Rhosmor (one time Mayor of the borough) accused each other of various misdemeanours, and especially illuminating for our purpose is Wood's complaint that he had been ousted from the Mayoralty by the Bulkeley faction which had then gained complete control of the Corporation. Bulkeley and his party were censured, but were granted a release "considering the great provokement of the said Owen Wood."(21) A few years later, a petition was sent to the Privy Council complaining that in a criminal action against one of Bulkeley's servants, the jury and witnesses were quite overawed by Sir Richard, and the liberties of the town were made an excuse to prevent an inquiry. The Sheriff Arthur Bulkeley, Sir Richard's brother, had connived at the injustice.(22)

On the death of the courtier in 1621, he was succeeded by his son, another Sir Richard who, about 1605, had married a certain Anne Wilford. About 1625(23) he died in strange His death was the signal for the renewal of circumstances. that turbulence which had commenced during the lifetime of the courtier. The widow immediately married Thomas Cheadle, a member of a Lancashire family which had originally supplied servants to the Bulkeleys but which, in the course of time, had so increased in wealth and importance as to challenge the family of Baron Hill in its own stronghold. Apart from the fact that he had received a pardon for piracy in 1625—" he being young and seduced by others "-nothing is known of Thomas Cheadle before his marriage. (24) He now sprang into unpleasant notoriety, for the belief became general that he and his bride had murdered Sir Richard by mixing poison with his tobacco. (25) His son, yet another Sir Richard, was determined to avenge his father's death, and in two extant letters, Lady Cheadle upbraided him for his persecution of herself and her second husband. (26) A tentative settlement of the dispute was mooted in 1631, and its terms show clearly that financial disagreements were quite as important a cause of dissension as Sir Richard's filial desire to avenge his father. (27) The plan obviously failed, for in 1633, a

(26)

<sup>(21)</sup> (22)

<sup>(23)</sup> (24)

Edwards, op. cit., p. 21.

Acts of the Privy Council, 1595—6, p. 503. The sheriff was his half-brother; see Griffith Genealogies, p. 42. For further allegations of tyranny against Bulkeley, see Acts of the Privy Council, 1616—17, p. 338.

The Pedigrees give the date of his death as 1645, which is obviously wrong. Dr. Bayley, Bishop of Bangor, was called in to view the body, and he died in 1631. Calendar State Papers, Domestic (Addenda), 1623—5, p. 497; Calendar of Wynn Papers, Nos. 1303 and 1335.

The account of Sir Richard the Courtier in the Dict. Nat. Bioa. confuses him with this Sir Richard. Curiously enough, the courtier's father, who died in 1572, was said to have been poisoned by his wife, Agnes Needham. Sec Calendar of Wynn Papers, No. 45A.

Ibid., Nos. 1554 and 1574, Ibid., Nos. 1550. (25)

comprehensive survey of the evidence for the prosecution was drawn up, (28) and in the following year the trial of the accused eouple took place. After "great trouble and hazard" the two were acquitted,(29) but the prosecuting counsel "questioned whether the verdict came clearly from them (the jury) without any indirect means." The judges certainly felt that Cheadle had at least been fortunate in the verdict, and bound him "to good behaviour, with this valediction to them both, to go away and sin no more lest a worst thing befall them."(30)

However it was obtained, the verdict certainly strengthened Cheadle's position in the borough, and his opportunities for annoying his stepson and his party were further increased by his appointment, about the same time, as Deputy Constable of the Castle under the Earl of Dorset. In 1639 a squabble occurred over the Captaincy of the town, which was claimed by Cheadle on the strength of his Deputy Constableship. The leadership of the Bulkeley faction had devolved by this date on Colonel Richard Bulkeley, a cousin of Cheadle's vengeful stepson (who died in 1640) and he, together with the other Deputy-Lieutenants of the County, had conferred the office on Henry Whyte of the Fryars. Their authority was contemptuously flouted by Cheadle, who intimidated the townspeople by a display of force. (31) Even the outbreak of the Civil War could not heal the breach. Castle had not been garrisoned since the time of Rowland Vielleville, but in 1642 Cheadle began to furnish it on behalf of the King. Loyalist though they were, the gentlemen of Anglesey refused to work with the upstart, and actually obtained permission from the king to fortify a new position—ostensibly to guard against pirates, but really "to awe Cheadle the suspicious Governor," as a contemporary account puts it. (32) The eclipse of the Bulkeley predominance was complete, and the inability of the family to ensure the loyalty of the borough officials during the Civil War<sup>(33)</sup> indicates the decline in their influence. Yet the surrender of the Constableship by the Earl of Dorset to Thomas first Viscount Bulkeley (father of the Colonel Bulkeley already mentioned) in 1643 marked the beginning of the end of Cheadle's supremaey. The last seene in the vicious drama was enacted in 1650. In that year, Cheadle fought a duel with Colonel Bulkeley on the Lavan Sands before the town, and although he

<sup>(28)</sup> (29)

<sup>(30)</sup> 

Calendar of Wynn Papers, No. 1573. R. Fenton, Tours in Wales, p. 284. Cal. State Papers, Domestic, 1634—5, p. 203.. Cal. of Wynn Papers, Nos. 1624—5; Fenton, op. cit., pp. 290—1, Fenton, op. cit., pp. 295—6. Cal. of Wynn Papers, Nos. 1771—2, (31) (32)

killed his opponent, he was himself hanged for his crime at Conway in 1653.(34)

Thus ended a feud which had lasted for a quarter of a century. Its final result was to confirm that Bulkeley predominance which the developments of the second half of the sixteenth century had foreshadowed. The second phase of the Parliamentary history of the borough opens with the Restoration of the Stuarts in 1660. That event enhanced the prestige and power of a family which had lovally supported the Crown throughout the dark days of the Civil War. Yet the overwhelming supremacy of the family in county and borough affairs was not allowed to go unchallenged. We have already seen in the previous paper that the beginning of the eighteenth century witnessed a reaction on the part of the Anglesey gentry against the monopoly which the Bulkeleys had enjoyed since 1660, and the general character of the attack then made on that monopoly has already been described. It now remains to trace in rather more detail the course taken by events in the borough; such a survey will illustrate not only the final triumph of the Bulkeleys, but also that general tendency towards the exclusion of contributory boroughs which we noted at the outset as a characteristic feature of Welsh electoral history.

The revival of the claims of Newborough to a share in the return of the borough member was certainly due to an increasing realisation on the part of the lesser Anglesey gentry of the potentialities of Newborough's lapsed rights as a check upon the power of Baron Hill. Possibly in order to infuse new life into the almost moribund corporation of Newborough, many of the squires built "town houses" in the borough. (35) The first test of strength occurred in 1689, when Owen Hughes (whose career has already been described), then Mayor of Newborough, stood as a candidate for the borough. To force the issue he sent for the burgesses of Newborough to come and vote for him at Beaumaris; when they arrived, they found that their champion had been neatly side-tracked. No opposition had been offered to him, and he had no option but to thank his supporters and to desire them "to go home again, for the election was agreed." (36) The crisis thus postponed recurred in 1708, when Henry Bertie, brother-in-law of the then Lord Bulkeley, defeated Sir Arthur Owen of Bodeon, another member of the anti-Baron Hill faction,

<sup>(34)</sup> B. Lowe, Heart of North Wales, I, p. 227; Griffith Genealogies, p. 42. For some interesting sidelights on the Bulkeley-Cheadle feud see T. Richards, Cymru a'r Uchel Gomisica, pp. 86—90.
(35) Willamson, op. cit., p. 27.
(36) See the evidence of John ap John Rowland in the 1708 case. XVI, p. 323.

and a large landowner in the Newborough district. (37) A petition was presented to the House of Commons by Owen Meyrick of Bodorgan, Mayor of Newborough, and other corporate officials, together with certain burgesses both of that town and Beaumaris, complaining that the Returning Officers at Beaumaris had rejected the votes of the petitioners on behalf of Owen, and claiming that the right of election belonged to the burgesses of both towns. (38)

The Report made on the case by the Committee of Privileges and Elections (39) showed that Newborough based its case on the provisions of the Act of 1549, whereby the Great Sessions had been removed to Beaumaris, and the inhabitants of Newborough discharged from liability to contribute to the member's wages. Counsel for petitioners urged that the latter was merely compensation for the former, and did not abrogate the right of the burgesses to vote. Apart from a vague statement made by a certain John ap John Rowland (who gave his evidence through an interpreter), that the burgesses had claimed to vote for the past 48 years, this was Newborough's whole case. Counsel for Bertie argued that the exemption from payment of wages automatically deprived Newborough of the franchise. Before producing his trump card—the charter of 1562—he made the somewhat startling claim that Newborough was not even a Corporation, inasmuch as its charter had been surrendered in The decision of the House was inevitably in favour of the close Corporation, and Bertie was declared duly elected.

Although the corporation of Beaumaris had in strict law an unimpeachable case, it is worth noticing that it bore even at this early date the hall-mark of the corrupt municipalityunwillingness to allow inspection of its records. Griffith Parry, the town clerk, had been ordered by the Committee of Privileges and Elections to allow the agents of the petitioners to search the borough archives for evidence in support of their claim. papers were apparently kept in a chest with three separate locks and in a cupboard in the Town Hall, and every possible expedient was used by the borough officials to avoid complying with the

<sup>(37)</sup> Henry Rowlands, Antiquitates Parochiales, 1710 (Archaeologia Cambrensis, 1847),

<sup>(37)</sup> Henry Rowlands, Antiquitates Parochades, 1710 (Archaeotogia Cambrensis, 1847).
p. 309.
(38) Commons Journals, XVI, p. 21. Newborough is not mentioned in any of the Parliamentary Writs and Returns (in the Public Record Office) after 1547, and only in 1555 do we hear of "the greater part of the burgesses of the county" sharing in the return of a member (Writs and Returns, c. 219/24). Browne Willis (Notitia Parliamentaria 1715-50) had seen a return for 6 Edward VI (1553) in which Newborough was mentioned, but it is now too mutilated to be legible (Writs and Returns, c. 219/20 or 21). After 1555 only Beaumaris is mentioned in the Returns.
(39) Commons Journals, XVI, pp. 323-4.

order. Parry was finally taken into the custody of the Serjeantat-arms for contempt. (40) So far as one can see, no useful purpose was served by such obstinacy; it was merely an example of the secretiveness which later became such a notorious feature of the unreformed municipal system at its worst.

Newborough returned to the attack in 1722, but the committee to which the petition of the defeated candidate was referred did not report on it.(41) The last attempt was made in 1727. There were three candidates in that year—Henry Bertie, William Bodvell and Watkin Williams Wynn of Wynnstay. The last named was successful, and the two unsuccessful candidates petitioned against his return. (42) Bodvell, who championed the claims of Newborough, mentions in his petition the two other candidates, and bases his objection to Wynn's return on the general grounds that the Returning Officer at Beaumaris had been guilty of illegal practices. Bertie's petition was of a very different nature. Hitherto he had been the representative of the close Corporation, and his rejection on this occasion was probably due to the fact that his brother-in-law, to whom he owed his seat, had died in 1722. His complaint mentions only Wynn and himself as candidates, and his objection to the successful candidate was the technical one that he had not been sworn a burgess of the borough. An interesting feature, as in 1708, is the dissatisfaction of the general body of Beaumaris burgesses with the exclusiveness of the close Corporation. Petitions were presented by burgesses representing Beaumaris and Newborough claiming that the franchise was vested in all inhabitant householders, not paying alms, and not, as in 1708, in the burgesses of the two boroughs. (43) For reasons connected with rules of procedure, the House ruled out the Newborough petition, and directed counsel to proceed only on the matter of the Beaumaris claims. In effect, therefore, the dispute of 1727—30, as dealt with by the House, was not between Beaumaris and the contributory borough, but between the close Corporation and the general body of Beaumaris burgesses. The charter of 1562 was as fatal to the claims of the latter as it had been to those of Newborough, and the decision was given in 1730 in favour of the exclusive rights of the Mayor, Bailiffs and Capital Burgesses (or Common Council) of Beaumaris. (44) In 1728 an Act had been passed which made it impossible for the future to question

Commons Journals, XVI, p. 277. Ibid., XX, pp. 25 and 335. Ibid., XXI, pp. 29 and 35. Ibid., XXI, pp. 48 and 421. Ibid., XXI, pp. 472—3. (40) (41) (42)

any franchise once it had been determined by the House; (45) the champions of a wider franchise, therefore, had to admit themselves defeated.

At the very time, therefore, when the struggle for predominance in the county was really beginning, the Bulkeley hold on Beaumaris was in effect ratified by a decision of the House of Commons, and a comparison of the lists of members before and after 1640 reflects the general tendency which we have outlined in the preceding pages. In the early period, there is very little sign of Bulkeley influence. Indeed, from 1572 to 1640, and with the exceptions of the Parliaments of 1601 and 1621, the representation of the borough was entrusted to the recorders of Beaumaris: Rowland Kenrick (M.P. 1572), Thomas Bulkeley (1584, 1586, 1588 and 1593), William Jones (1597, 1604 and 1614), his son Charles Jones (1624, 1626, 1628 and 1640), and John Griffith (1640), filled that office in succession. (46) But from 1661 to the Reform Act, the supremacy of the Bulkeleys is so complete as to be almost devoid of incident. With the possible exception of Owen Hughes in 1698, there is not a single borough member whom we can show to have been unacceptable at Baron Hill, and where members were not of that family, we can usually point to the exact reason for their election. Thus in 1661, Sir Heneage Finch owed his return to the fact that he had married Bulkelev's sister, and his successor, Colonel John Robinson, had been Bulkeley's comrade-in-arms during the Civil War. (47) We have already seen that the Hon. Henry Bertie, who held the seat from 1705 to 1727, was a brotherin-law of the fourth Viscount, while John Owen, member in 1673, was placed in the seat as a reward for support given to Bulkeley's ally in the county election of 1747. (48) William Thelwall Price, who represented the borough from 1754 to 1768, was connected with the family by marriage, (49) and Sir George Warren, elected in 1780, was the father-in-law of the seventh Viscount. (50) Finally, Thomas Frankland Lewis, who sat for the borough from 1812 to 1826, although no relative, was a Bulkeley nominee. (51) With these may be classed those members

<sup>(45) 2</sup> Geo. II, e. 24.
(46) Williams. op. cit., pp. 9—10; Fenton, op. cit., p. 305.
(47) Williams, op. cit., pp. 10—11.
(48) Morris Letters, I, pp. 117—18.
(49) Griffith, op. cit., p. 248; Breeze, op. cit., p. 98, note 27.
(50) "Sir Hugh Williams, Bart., wishing to retire, his lordship recommended his fatherin-law, Sir George Warren, K.B., to represent the borough, who was unanimously elected on Saturday" (Chester Chronicle, 22 Sept., 1780).
(51) In his speech of thanks, Lewis spoke of "the worthy nobleman who had introduced him to their suffrages—one who never would deceive them—never did deceive them—nor never will deceive them" (North Wales Gazette, 15 Oct., 1812).

of the Penrhyn family who obtained a foothold in the borough during the second half of the eightcenth century. In 1761, the widow of the sixth Viscount (who had died in 1752) married Sir Hugh Williams. (52) The seventh Viscount, born posthumously, was at this time but eight years old, and during his minority, his stepfather appears to have exercised the family patronage. He represented the borough from 1768 to 1780 and from 1785 to 1794, and was Constable of the Castle from 1761 to 1794. It is just possible that when the heir attained his majority in 1774, some friction arose between the two men; it is at any rate certain that Lord Bulkeley was "amoved" from the office of Mayor in September, 1776, for neglecting to attend the meeting for the election of corporate officers and Sir Hugh Williams was appointed in his stead. (53) It is not likely that the Common Council would pass such a resolution on its own responsibility. If there was any ill-feeling, it did not last long. The election of Warren in 1780 proves, as we have seen, the reality of the Bulkeley influence. On the death of the seventh Viscount without heirs in 1822, he left his estate by will to Sir Hugh's grandson, Sir Richard Bulkeley Williams-Bulkeley. (54)

In conclusion, it may be well to summarise those features in the constitution and condition of the borough which made control so easy. There are no picturesque details of mass creations of burgesses; we hear nothing of wholesale bribery and corruption, and after the seventeenth century, there are no stories of rioting and violence to fix the attention. According to the charter, the right of election was vested in the twenty-one chief burgesses and councillors, together with the mayor and two bailiffs, making twenty-five electors in all. The chief burgesses were elected for life and renewed by co-option, and mayor and bailiffs were chosen from and by the council. Such a body was fatally easy to "manage." The only method by which a man could become an ordinary common burgess was through election by the close body. Common burgesses had no privileges, and the expense of election was considerable. We are, therefore, not surprised to find that there were only five such burgesses on the roll when the commissioners appointed to enquire into the condition of the municipal corporations visited Beaumaris in 1834. They were all what we to-day would eall "honorary freemen," and they included the royal Dukes of Gloucester and Sussex, Lord Mostyn, Captain Paget of Plas Newydd, and Thomas

<sup>(52)</sup> Griffith, Genealogies, p. 43.
(53) Williams, op. cit., pp. 6—7 and 12; Breeze, op. cit., p. 124; Municipal Corporations Commissioners Report (1835), App. IV, p. 2588.
(54) Griffith, Genealogies, p. 43.

Frankland Lewis. (55) In no year between 1801 and 1831 were there more than four admissions to burgess-ship, and these would probably be elections to the Common Council when vacancies occurred. (56) It is clear that the admission of burgesses had practically ceased by the nineteenth century, and it may not be fanciful to date the ceasing of the practice of electing them to the disputed election of 1727, when the burgesses petitioned against their exclusion from the franchise.

The economic decay which had set in during the modern period emphasised the dependence of the Corporation on its During the middle ages, Beaumaris was the most important of the North Wales ports, (57) and it maintained its prosperity for a considerable period. The increasing volume of trade drawn to the Mersey, however, was fatal to its prospects. (58) Although it possessed an excellent natural harbour, it boasted but one ship in 1701, (59) and Lewis Morris in 1748 described it as "a place of good trade formerly and might be so still if the inhabitants pursued it." (60) A writer in 1775 believed that the inhabitants had no turn for commerce and "now agriculture employs their chief attention,"(61) while Pennant about the same time found no trade there at all. (62) Although the developments in the Anglesey copper mines contributed something towards a revival, the greatest share of the trade went to Amlwch, (63; and the decline of that industry in the nineteenth century meant the total eclipse of Beaumaris as a port. Finally, the inability of the Corporation to make the best use of its property is quite in keeping with the general history of the unreformed boroughs. Under the charter of Elizabeth, lands to the specified extent of 1,556 acres were granted to the Corporation, besides much undefined property. When the Municipal Corporations Commissioners visited the town, only eighteen acres remained; "not a vestige is pointed out of anything done to the walls and sea defences, no trace of any pier, mole or even jetty, in a site not less favoured by nature than by Royal bounty"; and well might the Commissioners describe the action (or inaction) of the Corporation as "a breach of trust so flagrant that it is hard to find language by which it could be too severely stigmatised."

<sup>(55)</sup> (56)

Municipal Corporations Commissioners Reports (1835), App. IV, p. 2586.
Returns relating to Parliamentary Representation, 1832, No. 5, p. 63.
Lewis, op. cit., p. 206.
H. P. Wyndham, A Tour through Wales and Monmouthshire, p. 152; Municipal
Corporations Commissioners Reports (1835), App. IV, p. 2590. (58)

<sup>(59)</sup> (60)

<sup>(61)</sup> 

Corporations Commissioners Reports (1835), App. 1V, p. 25: Cambrian Register, I, p. 319. Plans of Harbours, p. 2. Rowlands, History of Anglesey. Tours (ed. Rhys), III, p. 29. Lewis, Topographical Dictionary of Wales under "Beaumaris."

With an annual income in 1834 of just over £550, the debtamounted to £4,200 and no accounts were published: "the possibility of any application to inspect them being made on the part of the common burgesses does not seem to have entered into the contemplation of the corporate officers. It was admitted that if made it would not be conceded." This lack of any conception of responsibilty is an obvious feature of the unreformed corporations, and the close bodies, with their complete freedom from supervision by the general body of burgesses, were peculiarly prone to this failing. By 1835 the boroughs of England and Wales were completely out of touch with the necessities of the time, and Beaumaris provides a perfect example of that atrophy of municipal life which inevitably followed upon over-emphasis of the political functions of the corporations.

<sup>(64)</sup> Municipal Corporations Commissioners Reports (1835), App. IV, pp. 2588-90.

### ANGLESEY-AN ANGLER'S PARADISE?

By "SILVER BADGER."

"— here is an inexhaustible fund of interest for any man with eyes to see or twopence-worth of imagination to understand with."—R. L. Stevenson.

There are in Anglesey ten rivers and thirty-three lakes, and in these waters may be found nine varieties of edible freshwater fish—one or more of them being in season throughout the year. Given these ideal conditions, it is surprising that more Anglesey people do not resort to the rod and line as a means of relaxation from the daily toils of life, as it is a pastime that affords peace of mind and peace of body.

I have often been asked what it is that I find interesting in fishing, and I always find this a most difficult question to answer. Everything is interesting about it,—from the study of the life history of fish, their habits, their food, the effect of the seasons and weather on their feeding times, the many tactics employed in attempting to capture the fish and the various reactions of fish to these tactics,—to the study of one's fellow anglers, be they otters, herons, kingfishers or human beings. Besides these, there is some attraction about angling that cannot be conveyed by the written word. It is something that remains for a lifetime, something that is worth while possessing. All anglers know this feeling, and each successive year the call of the rod returns. It is the call of the country and of nature and in answering that call one finds solitude without loneliness, and inward enjoyment and satisfaction.

Angling is a sport which can be recommended to all those—be they young or old, male or female—who are wanting a hobby or a new form of pastime, or to those who are wanting to get into closer touch with nature.

The beginner may—indeed, he probably will—find fishing dull and uninteresting at first, but like all things that are most worth while, so it is with fishing, and to them I would say "Carry on, and cultivate the habit of fishing, the reward will surely come in time." Newly converted disciples of the rod will require patience, possibly a great deal of it, but this comes with perseverance, and success can only be attained by those who deserve it, those that "carry on." Successful angling is not an inherited gift, but the reward of patient study and keen observation.

Having attempted to induce those interested in this article to take up fishing, I will now pass on to discuss the fishing that may be indulged in on the Island.

The most common fish, yet the least sought after by the angler, are eels. These may be found wherever there is water and they are common inhabitants of most farm ponds: they may even be found travelling across dry land. Contrary to common belief the fresh water eel, when properly cooked, is very good eating; and when large they afford a good struggle to the angler who does not mind a little trouble in retrieving his tackle if he wins the fight. The lake to be found beside the Cob at Malltraeth provides exc lient sport with large eels and the off-chance of a salmon or sea-trout after dusk in the summer evenings.

Fortunately, the least common fish on the Island are pike, which are only to be found at *Pen-y-parc* lake. Other coarse fish found in Anglesey are perch and roach, but they rarely attain a large size, although fish up to a pound or so are reported occasionally. Roach will rise freely to the fly in the summer evenings but, like perch, they offer better sport to the bottom fisherman. Their only blessing is that they can be caught freely in the summer months when trout fishing is at its worst. Where they are found with trout one can depend upon it that, owing to the cannibalistic tendencies of the coarse fish, trout fishing will deteriorate steadily as the years go by.

Last, but by no means least,—indeed they are, or ought to be, the most interesting fish to the angler and the epicure—are the trout and salmon. Six varieties of this family are to be found in the rivers and lakes of Anglesey: the brown trout, Loch Leven trout, American char or brook trout (fontanalis), sea trout, salmon parr or "samlets" and salmon. These afford most sport to the fly fisherman and the fly is the ideal method of catching them, but other methods have their uses and merits under certain conditions. Very little salmon fishing is done in Anglesey, but for those who want it the salmon are there—usually rather late in the year. The trout in the rivers do not as a rule attain a large size, but fish of half-a-pound are fairly common and trout up to three pounds sometimes fall to the lot of the fortunate river angler.

"Samlets" abound in nearly all the rivers, more so in the tidal ones, during the early months of the season and provide excellent sport. The would-be fisherman must be warned, and avoid coming to grips with the Sciont, Gwyrfai and Llyfni

Fishery Board—a body which has control over the rivers Braint and Cefni in Anglesey. "Samlets" are young salmon, and as such they should not be eaught when under twelve inches in length. However, so many crossbred fish are captured—fish that the expert would find it difficult to put into any category other than "Hybrids"—that it is common knowledge that the casual angler usually risks being prosecuted and seldom returns "samlets"; they are far better put in the frying-pan and are very good eating. All laws are made to be kept—I leave it to the reader to use his own discretion!

For the sake of completeness one must mention three sea-fish which are to be found in the rivers. Bass may sometimes be caught in the pools immediately above and below the road bridge at Malltraeth. They are best sought for during the spring tides when the tide is coming in and going out.

"Flat fish" may sometimes be caught with shrimps or worms in the tidal waters of certain rivers.

Grey Mullet—a very tasty fish—sometimes ascends the tidal portions of the *Cefni* and *Treban* rivers, but they are only caught by using a net. It is useless fishing for trout or samlets in tidal water if it is mixed with sea-water, as the fish will only feed in fresh water. Fishing is usually best just before the tide comes in.

Besides these fish it may, unfortunately, fall to the angler's lot to catch birds. I remember very vividly one occasion when I left two rods attached to hooks with worms on them, lying on the bank of a farmyard pond; returning somewhat later in the hope of finding eels attached to the lines, I was met by a duck waddling towards the farm yard dragging one of the rods behind it. The other rod also met with similar success as the ducks had been rather partial to my worms. I had the pleasure of watching the owner of the ducks enjoying them—with very mixed feelings—for dinner later in the week! Whilst fly-fishing my fly has been taken by swallows, bats, and a seagull. Other euriosities that have fallen to my lot have been a brilliant yellow-jaundiced eel and trout, trout which have recovered from otter bites on their backs, and an encephalic trout,—a rare congenital defect similar to one sometimes seen in human beings.

As already stated, two rivers in Anglesey come under the Seiont, Gwyrfai and Llyfn'i Fishery Board; they are the Braint and the Cefni. All other rivers in the Island provide free fishing, except the Lligwy and along certain stretches of the Treban and

the Alaw which are privately preserved. For the Braint and Cefni and the lake at Malltraeth a licence is required. These can be bought at Dwyran and Llangefni. and are issued for a day, week, month or season, and are available for trout, migratory (sea) trout and salmon.

The Braint running from Penmynydd to Dwyran has some very good trout in it and is a very pleasant river in which to fish.

The Cefni is also as good a river as any in Anglesey. Two ditches run along either side of the Cob along the tidal portion of this river and on these may be found some pools containing very good trout. There are two of those pools—one on either side of the Malltraeth Viaduct—facing up stream; one pool is immediately below the Viaduct on the right hand side and the other is opposite some small cottages about forty yards above the Viaduct on the left hand side. I have landed a trout of one and a half pounds from this pool—showing that it pays the angler not to disregard even the most unpromising stretch of water. One should always anticipate success, and not take another's word that such and such a place is devoid of fish—and vice versa!

The small river running into *Llyn Coron* at the station end contains small trout, but the *Ffraw*—running from the lake to the sea—provides better sport. A very strong wind is essential if this river is to be fished successfully; salmon and sea-trout may be found in it when in season.

Another small river runs from *Llyn Hendref* to Maelog and thence to the sea. It contains trout and sometimes perch or roach. Some good fish are sometimes found in the 200 yards' stretch between Maelog and the sea.

The river *Treban* at Rhosneigr is very much over-fished and is useless for fly fishing except when the samlets or sea-trout are running. For a mile or so below Bryngwran up-stream, however, it provides fairly good and interesting fishing.

The river Alaw at Llanfachraeth is excellent for samlets and is a good trout stream in its higher reaches. There is a very good little lake on it just below Llanfaethlu—when there is water in it.

The river running from *Llyn Geirian* to the sea contains trout, so do the *Lligwy* and the Pentraeth (*Afon Nodwydd*) rivers, and salmon run in them during the season.

Afon Goch, Amlweh, is devoid of fish.

Of the lakes in Anglesey eleven contain trout only, two have tront and perch, two have trout, perch and roach, four contain perch and roach, one contains perch alone, one pike alone, and the remaining twelve are said to be devoid of fish or unfishable.

Llyn Bodgylched near Beaumaris contains trout and the fishing is free.

Llyn Coron, Bodorgan, has several boats on it which may be hired. The trout here tend to move about the lake in large shoals, and the fishing is at its best in April. About June or July the lake "turns" and, after this, fly-fishing is of little account until near the end of the season. Fish up to three pounds may be caught here. Through the generosity of Sir George Meyrick, Bt., the fishing is free.

There is a large shallow lake alongside the Cob at Malltraeth containing large trout, sea-trout, salmon and large eels. Care must be taken when wading in this lake as it contains many pot-holes. It comes under the Seiont, Gwyrfai and Llyfni Fishery Board, so that a licence is required. The fish here are exceptionally difficult to capture, but when hooked they provide excellent sport—the best that can be obtained in any free water in Anglesey.

Llyn Rhos Ddu, near Newborough, contains some good trout but it is not an easy lake to fish. I believe that the fishing is now private but it used to be free.

Llyn Cadarn, consisting of six pools, contains trout and trout fontanelis or American char, up to three pounds in weight. It is situated about 1½ miles from the birth-place of Goronwy Owen—Llanfairmathafarneithaf. Permit to fish should be obtained from Llanddyfnan Hall Estate.

Llyn Geirian contains trout up to ten pounds in weight and large cels. The size limit is one pound, and it is re-stocked with about five hundred fish annually. The charge for fishing is 10/per day and boats may be obtained from H. Mountfield, Esq., Geirian Bungalow, Llanfechell.

Some Spanish pirates are said to have landed at Cemlyn Bay in the 16th century and to have lived in a house called Geirian, near the old monastery—Mynachdy. Some years later they moved inland to the lake which they named after their old house and whilst here they built Plas Mynydd, the ruins of which still remain. They are said to have left some treasure

hidden in a subterranean passage between Mynachdy and Cemlyn Bay; some hundred years ago a ship landed a Spaniard, a black man and a priest, in search of this treasure at Cemlyn Bay.

In *Llyn Llywenan*, trout up to six or eight pounds will rise to the fly, but the fishing is reserved for visitors to the Cliff Hotel at 10/- per day, including the use of boat, etc. The size limit is twelve inches.

Llyn Wyth Eidion is very difficult to reach as it necessitates a walk of about two miles over rough country. It is a very deep lake and said to be bottomless; legend has it that eight oxen drawing a plough were swallowed up where the lake now is, when the ground beneath them parted. The lake contains brown trout and Loch Leven trout; salmon sometimes enter it. Permit to fish should be obtained from Mr. Davies, The Kennels, Llangefni. It belongs to the Llanddyfnan Estate.

Frogwy Lake, Bodffordd, is one of the most productive lakes in the County, about a thousand trout being caught there each season. The average size is about a quarter of a pound or just under. The fishing is private.

The lake in the Malltraeth Marshes below Tai Hirion contains trout; there also the fishing is private.

The only other lake containing trout alone is on Treiorwerth Estate and is private.

Llyn Penrhyn, near Caergeiliog, and three small reservoirs on Holyhead mountain, contain trout and perch. but the fishing is private.

Maelog Lake, Rhosneigr, contains trout, perch and roach. This is one of the very few lakes known in which perch will rise freely to the fly. It used to be a good trout lake until the roach and perch were introduced some years ago. Boats may be hired and the fishing is free, except along the Maelog Hotel bank which is private.

Llyn Traffwll also contains brown and Loch Leven trout, perch and roach, but belongs to the Holyhead Water Works and the fishing is private. To those interested in legends I would recommend them to read W. D. Owen's Madam Wen—a Welsh novel dealing with this "Ardal y Llynnoedd."

There are two lakes on Bodafon Mountain and one near Ty Croes known as *Badrig*, *Bodwrog* or *Bodtwrog* lake containing perch and roach. The fishing is free in them,

Llyn Dinam and Llyn Hendref, both private, contain perch and roach. In the latter lake nearly all the roach are infected with tapeworms. It is also said to contain trout, but I have never caught or seen any there.

Llyn Mawr is a small lake near Gwalchmai and contains perch only: the fishing is private. Close to it is Llyn Bach, a smaller lake and devoid of fish.

Llyn Pen-y-parc, the Beaumaris Water Works, contains pike; the fishing is private.

Llyn Bwch, now dry, is associated with a legend stating that on moonlit nights a palace with fairies dancing around could be seen and music heard (Celtic Folk Lore).

The following lakes do not contain fish:—Llyn Bwch—three pools one mile south-east of Geirian; Llyn Coch and other ochre pits on Parys Mountain connected with the copper mines started by the Romans and later by Henry VIII; Llyn y Garreg Lwyd near Llanfaethlu; Llyn Hafodol near Rhosgoch; Llyn Gors Goch near Hafodol; Llyn Gwaith Glo near Llanfihangel Esceifiog; Llyn Llaethdy near Parys Mountain, the water is red; Llyn Llwydiarth; Llyn Llwyn Crwn—the source of Lligwy river; and Llyn Main—three pools near the south east corner of Maelog.

These, then, are the existing waters in Anglesey and the keen angler need never return with an empty basket if he goes to the right place at the right time. I have put forward a suggestion that Anglesey is an Angler's Paradise. I know of no other county which provides such a generous variety of fish, rivers and lakes, within such a small compass.

Here I should like to put forward some tentative suggestions. It is high time that some form of Controlling Board should be set up in Anglesey to direct, control and protect the rivers and lakes which are at present free to the public. True it is that the Braint and Cefni—for reasons which I fail to understand—are under the control of the Seiont, Gwyrfai and Llyfni Fisheries Board. For all the good this body has done to these two rivers during the last fifteen years it might as well have been non-existent. During this period I have only once met a water-bailiff and that was on the station platform at Llangefni. He hadn't even then got the credentials with him showing his authority!

I am given to understand that about one hundred licences are issued in Anglesey annually. This means an income of approxiamtely £37; for the last year or two the *Llangefni Angling* 

Association has received a grant of £10 a year, the other £27 remain in Caernaryonshire—for printing expenses, etc.! I believe that owing to these disheartening conditions the *Llangefni Association* has been, or is being, liquidated this year. Surely there is enough interest and enterprise in Anglesey to provide a more satisfactory state of affairs.

To improve matters on the *Braint* and *Cefni* let it be printed on each licence that it is the duty of the licensee to interrogate all the other fishermen, and to report all cases of poaching, or any disorders regarding the rivers, of which he knows.

However, why should the fishing in Anglesey be controlled by a body sitting in another county? Like driving a car with right hand steering, whilst sitting in the left hand seat, it cannot be done efficiently. Môn, Mam Cymru—not someone else's children!

Let Anglesey have its own Fishery Board, controlling all its fishing waters. This appears to be the only satisfactory solution if the quality of the fishing in Anglesey is to be preserved and improved; surely it ought to be.

I should like to end this article with a quotation from a letter written by Isaak Walton:—" For angling may be said to be so like the mathematics, that it can never be fully learned; at least not so fully, but that there will still be more new experiments left for the trial of other men that succeed us."

Note.—I should like to record my thanks to the author and publishers of that admirable book—*The Lakes of Wales* by Frank Ward, to which I have referred for details of some of the lakes in Anglesey.

### NEWBOROUGH WARREN; SOME NOTES ON ITS WILD LIFE.

BY WILLIAM ASPDEN, BANGOR.

Few parts of Anglesey are more interesting than the waste of wind-blown sand at the extreme southern corner of the Island. South and west of Newborough the dunes extend for miles—a home to many species of birds and a veritable paradise for the botanist.

The best approach is from Llangeinwen along a short sandy lane where the meadow saxifrage stars the earthen banks with neat flowers and yellow flags grow in the ditches. A mere lies on the right, haunted by moorhens, coots and dabchicks. Shoveller and mallard ducks are often present and perhaps, if one be lucky in one's day, a tufted duck or two. Half the mere is thick with pink flowering bogbean. The ground is earpeted with a short turf and patches of the tiny flowers of viola curtisii, tiny pansies, blue or mauve and yellow, varicoloured cheerful things, that triumph in a soil but little more than sand. Rose pink centaury and lilac eyebright are everywhere, with many another gem one could not hope to know without a wide knowledge of botany.

A ruined cottage half a mile away is a landmark and beyond, the still standing chimney of another, tells a tale without words of the encroaching sand. Near here, in a little pool scarcely two yards across or three inches deep, I have found the palmate newt,—our common newt in this district. It is a creature with a wide vertical range for I have also found it in pools near Llyn y Cŵn above the Devil's Kitchen, at a height of over 2300 feet.

The most common bird on this portion of the warren is the lark and one may often see half a dozen of them in the air at one time, each vieing with the rest in song. Wheatears and meadow pipits abound and often a sparrow hawk will use the ruined cottage as a stance, as though he aped his noble cousin the falcon.

Soon the short turf gives way to wide patches of dwarf creeping willow, and among the large catkins bees are always busy, fire-tailed fellows or big blundering bumble bees that go about "zooming" into rabbit burrows in the usual "lost-myway" fashion. Perhaps one may arrive when the black and scarlet cinnabar moths are abroad. They are weak flying creatures who seem to derive but little benefit from their gorgings when green and yellow caterpillars on the tall ragwort,

On these more stable dunes, held subject by the roots of creeping willow, life teems and every step gives something new to watch. A bright green tiger beetle running swiftly on its long sprawling legs, or a beautifully banded snail of any tint from yellow to red. Lapwings circle overhead and wail protests at one's invasion of their territory. They lead one surely to their precious eggs by the increasing agony of their cries. An immature herring gull flies over, also looking for plovers' eggs, but he has sinister designs. The way he turns his head from side to side as he flies shows that he is searching every foot of ground. The lapwings soon deal with him, however, and mob him for half a mile, but they cannot pluck up an equal courage to deal with the blundering biped on the ground, who wanders so near their treasures.

Across a damp and marshy tract where a snipe gets up with a flurry and startles one, and a pair of oyster-catchers whistle shrill eries as they follow him. One must pick one's way here Beautiful marsh plants grow in profusion in with some eare. the rich iron stained mud and the surrounding grass is a brighter green by contrast. Beyond here the dunes are soft gold with a grey green wash on the southern side where the marram grows. Here are long soft slopes of dry sand, unmarked except for rabbit tracks or the tinier regularly place dots where a running beetle has travelled. One hesitates to set one's foot on the beautiful clean surface and stays a moment to note the perfect curves swept by the tips of the marram grass as they swing to a breeze. The roots of marram, tough wirv and tangled as they are, scarce serve to hold the sand when winds blow strong and in a gale they are exposed and make strange ornaments against the skyline. Elizabethan laws were framed to protect the marram, and incidentally the country behind, from further invasion by the sands, but winds are no respecters of man-made laws, no matter how wise they may be.

Through the middle of the dune country runs a great backbone of dark rocks, purple, red and green in striking contrast to the clean sand. Here at times one may see the merlin—smallest yet most fierce of our British falcons. Little larger than a blackbird, it flies down birds almost as big as itself. The small blue male bird is shy but one may frequently see the female hunting meadow pipits.

And then the shore. Sometime, I fear, this shore will be discorered. Then who knows what may happen? A long curving shore stretching away for miles. Shingle, shells and sand smoothing out from the rampart of the dunes to the lazy

waves that roll themselves on to it with scarcely a murmur. It is not always so, as witness the stark timbers of more than one wreck and the flotsam and jetsam of strange mixture cast up among the shells and pebbles. Oyster-catchers nest here, a few pairs only and they "pic pic" anxiously whether there be eream coloured spotted eggs or brindled young hidden artfully among the shingle. Ringed plovers call plaintively and one marks a movement forty yards away. Watching, one waits for further movement and soon the little bird makes another run of ten or a dozen yards and instantly disappears. Amongst the stones it is impossible to pick out the bird until it moves. One notes the point at which it disappeared and then makes straight for it. Then it is, as a rule, a simple matter to find the track made in the sand and follow it up to the nest. The eggs are not easy to see amongst shingle, creamy colour with brown purple spots they match their surroundings exactly. Four as a rule, they lie in a shallow hollow lined with broken cockle shells. This lining is not art, however, but is due to the shufflings of the bird in the sand, an action which brings the larger pieces of sand and shell to the surface and they have all the appearance of being carefully arranged.

The great ridge of crags, which runs through the dunes, continues out to sea and forms Llanddwyn Island, or rather promontory, for the place seldom is an island now except on occasional high tides backed by a gale.

A magic place is Llanddwyn, cut off from all the world and dreaming in tradition. It easts a spell over all who visit it, no matter what may be the time of year.

One goes when squills dot the close green turf with blue, or later when the thrift cushions are smothered in rose pink flowers. One may see, in due season, a whole acre of ground red with the wide open flowers of the blood red cranes-bill. Rock roses flourish, as do the tiny burnet roses, and down on the beaches the beautiful striped convolvulus creeps among the marram grass. Butterflies swarm. Little blues and small coppers, peacocks, admirals, tortoise shells and painted ladies, not to mention half a dozen others. Perhaps, however, it is the birds of Llanddwyn that one goes most to see. Here was made the last stand of the roseate tern in Britain. years ago this species was thought to be extinct in this country, until a few pairs were discovered nesting at Llanddwyn. The Royal Society for Protection of Birds immediately took steps and succeeded in having the place declared a bird sanctuary and a watcher installed. From that time on, the small colony grew each year and shortly afterwards a daughter colony sprang up

on the Skerries. In recent years two or three other colonies have been found on the other side of the Irish Sea and these may well be considered as daughter colonies from Llanddwyn, We may well be proud of Llanddwyn for this alone, as one of the most beautiful of our British birds has been saved for posterity by the work done there. It is one of the delights of the place to watch these fairylike birds in flight. In addition to the comparatively few roseates there are a great many common and arctic terns. Several hundred pairs of herring gulls nest on the outer stacks and as they commence nesting before the terns arrive in force, they usually select the best sites and some years are very trying for the watcher, as the terns can be easily approached by visitors. The increase of the herring gull in Anglesey is assuming somewhat alarming proportions. A few weeks ago, whilst on a visit to Puffin Island, I examined a large number of pellets of indigestible matter cast up by the gulls. By far the greater proportion consisted of the husks of grain and as they were fresh it was evident that the birds had been feeding on freshly seeded fields. When a herring gull feeds, it takes in a great deal of food and there is no doubt that the farmer will have legitimate grounds for complaint if steps are not taken in the near future to deal with the increase. Fortunately, the lesser black backed gull arrives rather late. after sowing is over, and the black headed gull repairs to its breeding stations early and the seed stealing seems almost entirely confined to the one species.

A large colony of cormorants frequent a stack near by, to the disgust of the watcher. Despite several attempts it seems to be impossible to discourage them. A pair of ravens are often seen and once I found the eggs of a night jar. This bird is common on the warren and one may hear several at a time, making their strange call just about dusk.

Ringed plovers are in every little cove and diving birds of several species are almost always close inshore.

The spell of Llanddwyn takes hold and one almost tires of picking out this and that species, that flower and yonder flickering butterfly, that bird hovering on scimitar wings. What matter orders, genera, species! Those graceful things were graceful before man put a label on them. The sea and sky are blue, the turf near emerald, rocks red and purple dappled with orange lichens or clumps of sea pinks. Long waves slip landwards or make lace of froth among the fangs of rock. The whole is one, a living whole in which each item plays a part and has its place. No wonder this was once a place of pilgrimage. It still is for those who know.

The return journey is best made along the donkey track straight to Newborough, but a long tramp may be taken round and up the estuary of the Cefni to Yard Malltraeth. The smooth soft sand gives way to firmer rippled sands which makes rather wet going. A strange optical illusion makes one faney that the level stretch ahead is dry, but it never is. The ripple marks each hold a little water and at a distance of some 25 yards the ridges are high enough to blend into one and hide the water they retain from sight. After three miles or so, one comes to the definite conclusion that it is hopeless to think of finding drier walking and then, behold, dry sands do arise.

Shellduck, the most beautiful of our ducks, are very common here and redshank nest in the rushes just behind the lower dunes. As one nears Yard Malltraeth, whimbrel feed along the river and the ever present ringed plover is much in evidence. Winter is the time, however, to visit this estuary. Innumerable birds, eurlew, redshank, greenshank, oystercatcher, dunlin, knot, turnstone, godwit and many other species are here in hundreds, sometimes thousands. Mallard, wigeon, shoveller, golden eyed, tufted, pintail, scoter and shell duck, not to speak of geese of more than one species, and swans. Herons stand at intervals along the water's edge like sentinels among the swarming hosts. Should anything occur to put the birds up, then one sees a sight never to be forgotten. A whole sky full of wings and a noise like nothing else.

On the other side of the dunes there is a small colony of lesser terns on the point near Aber Menai, and the estuary of the Braint is good hunting ground. I once walked up to within 20 yards of a group of a dozen geese sleeping by the river's edge. To my surprise they then got up and flew away. I had taken them for domestic geese at a distance and on their part, the sentry must have been asleep on duty. A very very rare thing indeed among wild geese. I have seen the merganser several times and, twice, a goosander hereabouts. Once, a red necked grebe in winter time. Oiled birds are, fortunately, not very numerous but one sad day brought in three great northern divers in a pitiable condition.

Perhaps enough has now been said of this district to show how fruitful a field it is to the searcher, whether the purpose be to make additions to one's lists of discoveries or for the sheer joy of being in delightful surroundings. Whichever or whatever may be the aim, Newborough Warren offers both hands full of interest and of beauty.

#### MISCELLANEA.

## ADMISSIONS OF ANGLESEY NATIVES TO GRAY'S INN, 1521—1889.

In the Register of Admissions to Gray's Inn, 1521—1889, compiled by Joseph Foster, appear many names of men admitted from Anglesey.

From the days of Henry VI, knights, barons, and the greatest nobility often placed their children in these Inns of Court "not so much to make the laws their study, much less to live by their profession, having large patrimonies of their own, but to form their manners." Ferne, in his book entitled Glory of Generosity (London, 1586), said that "Nobleness of blood, joyned with virtue, compteth the person as most meet to the enterprizing of any publick service; and for that cause it was, not for nought, that our antient Governors in this land, did with a special foresight and Wisdom, provide, that none should be admitted into the Houses of Court, being Seminaries, sending forth men apt to the Government of Justice, except he were a gentleman of blood." Sir William Dugdale digged into these records over two centuries ago, and formed his Origines Juridiciales out of them. The Houses of Courts, according to Ben Jonson, were the "Noblest nurseries of humanity and liberty in the Kingdom," and Gray's Inn was at this period "by far the most important and most numerously frequented."

This Register is of special interest to those who endeavour to make a special study of the Elizabethan period, and contains the following names, in chronological order, of gentlemen born in Anglesey:—

1458. Sir OWEN TUDOR.

1537. RICHARD MEYRICK.

1592—3, Feb. 6. RICHARD WILLAIMS, of Rhôdigio, co. Anglesey.

1601—2, Feb. 20. DAVID FLOYD [Lloyd] of Llwydyard [Llwydiarth], Anglesey.

1613—14, March 19. WILLIAM GRIFFITHS, son of Robert G[riffiths] of Caernuther, co. Anglesey, Esq.

1624, June 10. WILLIAM WILLIAMS, son and heir of Richard W[illiams], of Llysdulas, co. Anglesey, Esq.

1626, Oct. 23. RICHARD BULKELEY [son and heir of Richard B., Knight] of Beaumaris, Anglesey, Esq.

1627, Nov. 29. RICHARD BUCKLEY, Esq., son and heir of Richard B., deceased, who was son and heir of Richard B., late of Cheadle, co. Chester, Knight, deceased.

[The last item was included, because of his connection with Anglesey].

1631, May 9. RICHARD OWEN, son and heir of Richard O., of Penmynydd, co. Anglesey, Esq.

1635, Aug. 14. John Williams, second son of Richard W., of Lyghillas [Llysdulas], co. Anglesey, Esq.

1639, May 14. WILLIAM BOLD (alias Wine) [Wynne] of Trevilim Meyricke, co. Anglesey, gent.

1641—2, Feb. 18. Griffin [Griffith] Owen son of Edward O., of Greigwen, co. Anglesey, gent.

1648-9, March 10. ROWLAND PRICE, of Bodgwyn, co. Anglesey.

1650, May 8. John Lloyd, second son of Pierce L. of Lligny [Lligwy], co. Anglesey, Esq.

1650, Nov. 12. WILLIAM WILLIAMS, son of Hugh W. of Llantrissaint, co. Anglesey, S.T.D.

1654, April 12. Thomas Bulkley, son of Thomas B. of Barronhill, co. Anglesey, Esq.

1654, April 12. Henry Bulkley, son of Thomas B. of Barronhill, co. Anglesey, Esq.

1654, June 27. John Gryffith, son and heir of William G. of Llanwaythley [Llanfaethlu], co. Anglesey, Doctor of Civil Law.

1655, July 4. John Owen, of Brodellio [ ], со. Anglesey, gent.

1655, Nov. 28. Hugh Williams, son and heir of John W. of Llwayn [Llwyn], co. Anglesey, gent.

1676, June 13. OWEN MORGAN, of Porthllongdu, co. Anglesey, gent.

1677, Oct. 27. OWEN BOLD, of Treyrddols [Tre'r Ddol], co. Anglesey, Esq.

1685, July 21. WILLIAM GRIFFITH, son and heir of John G., of Carregheyd [Carreg Lwyd], co. Anglesey.

1685—6, Jan. 29. Robert White, of Friers, co. Anglesey, gent., son and heir of Richard W[hite], late of the same, Esq.

1690, July 2. DAVID LLOYD, son and heir of David L. of Llwydiarth, co. Anglesey, Esq.

1693—4, Feb. 16. RICHARD MEYRICK, eldest son and heir of William M. of Bodorgan, co. Anglesea, Esq.

1700, April 23. Hugh Hughes, gent., son and heir of Roger H., of Placerock [Plas Coch], co. Anglesey, Esq.

1720, June 18. John Williams, son of John W., of Ty Fry, co. Anglesea, Esq.

1720, Nov. 11. John Owen, son of Robert O. of Penrhos, co. Anglesey, Esq.

1721, Nov. 18. Henry Morgan of Henblas, eo. Anglesey, gent.

[I have failed to discover any name from Anglesey from 1722 to 1889; and from this time onward the gentlemen of Wales emigrated to London to hold high offices in that city].

R.O. (Croesor).

## AN ANGLESEY CHARACTER.

In 1795 there died in Anglesea one William Evans, aged 74 years, who was for upwards of 40 of them the chief clerk in the prothonotary's office for the counties of Anglesea, Carnarvon and Merioneth, and well-known to all the counsel and practitioners for the eccentricity of his character. "Among other peculiarities, he was a sort of Epicure in Wigs and Walking-sticks; and for many years past had been so laborious in enlarging both his wiggery and stickery, that he has left a competent number for the heads and hands of all the antient gentlemen of taste in the Principality.

In the early part of his life he felt a tender passion for three amiable fair-ones, and, as an abundant proof of the warmth of his attachment even till death he has, amongst other curious bequests, left to each of these virgin pullets, both wisdom and support,—namely a wig and a walking-stick." Gent. Mag., 1795, I, p. 356).—G.E.E.

## A LLANGEFNI HAPPENING, A.D. 1800.

In the year 1800, "Llangefni in Anglesea" had a sensation and thrill on its own. "On the 12th May,"—I quote from *Gent. Mag.* (1800, p. 589),—"Mr. H. Cecfan was married to Miss Lucy Pencoch, the rich heiress of the late John Hughes Esa of Bawgwddau (sic) hall, a lady of much beauty, but entirely deaf and dumb. The circumstance drew together an amazing concourse of people to witness the ceremony, which on the bride's part was literally performed by proxy. On the evening of the marriage, however, the bride in coming downstairs, making a false step, was precipitated from the top to the bottom with so much violence against a chair, that her head was nearly severed from her body, and she immediately expired. The remains of this unfortunate lady were brought to Llangefni, in great funeral pomp, for interment. The accident will it is expected, form room for much litigation, as well as amusement to the gentlemen of the long robe. The Bawgwddu and Bedwig estates have belonged to the Pencoch and Hughes families (according to North Wales tradition), from within a century of the flood; and the lady's heirs are so anxious to keep them so that they dispute Mr. Ceefan's rights to possession of them." Can any member say what happened next?—G.E.E.

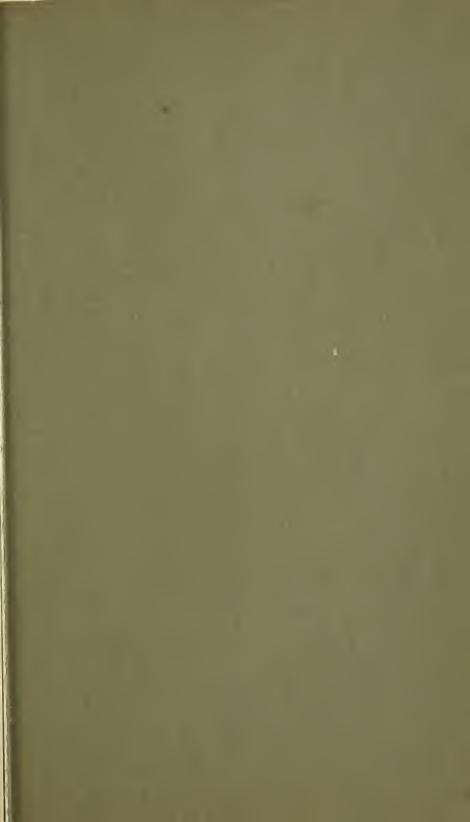


DOORWAY OF LLANBABO CHURCH, 1802.
(AFTER SKINNER.)







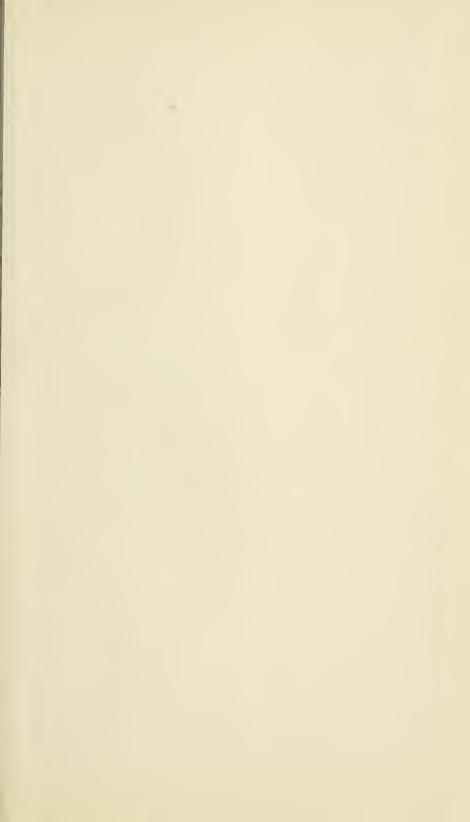


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