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The Editor welcomes the free expression in these pages of genuine opinions on any matters of interest relating to Wales—its modern developments as well as its ancient history—but disclaims responsibility alike for the opinions themselves, and for the manner in which they are expressed.

D Cymmrodor

VOL. XXXIX.

“CARED DOETH YR ENCILION.”

1928

Ewloe.

BY PROFESSOR J. E. LLOYD, M.A., D.LITT.

University College of North Wales, Bangor.

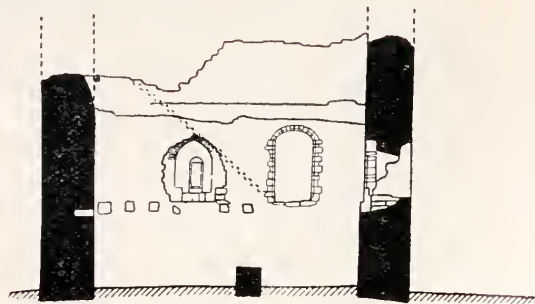
GEOGRAPHICALLY, Ewloe is an ancient township of the parish of Hawarden (Llwyd, *Parochialia* i, 94). The name is obviously English, dating from the pre-Norman days when most of modern Flintshire was in the occupation of the Mercians and the line of Offa's Dyke formed the border between Welsh and English. According to Beamont, it is the “Edelave” of Domesday, which has been wrongly left by the compilers in the hundred of “Wilaveston,” i.e., Wirral; if so, it was held by Earl Edwin before the Norman Conquest, when it was waste, but in 1086 yielded to Earl Hugh an annual render of two shillings. What befell it for the next sixty years or so is not recorded, but soon after 1146, as the result of the capture of Mold by the men of Gwynedd, it fell into the hands of Owen Gwynedd and thereafter its history is fairly well known, if we may attach credit to a full report on the subject which Payn Tibetot, justice of Chester, made to Edward I. in 1311.¹ From Owen Gwynedd, the manor of Ewloe passed (with the rest of his conquests in Tegeingl) to his son David. David was defeated and

¹ This report is described in the 27th Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Records (p. 101) as an “inquisition”, a term which implies the verdict of a jury, and is, therefore, somewhat misleading.

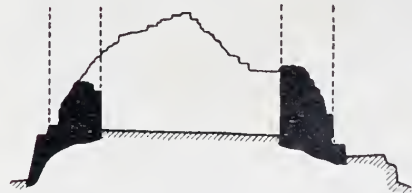
deprived of his inheritance by the famous Llywelyn ab Iorwerth, who was lord of Ewloe until his death in 1240. Next came Llywelyn's son, David II, who retained his father's hold upon this manor, until death cut short his career in 1246. All this time, Ewloe had been a border vill, the southern outpost of Welsh rule against the lords of Hawarden, hereditary stewards of the Earls of Chester. It now came into the possession of the crown, for Henry III took advantage of the death of David to seize the whole country as far as the Conway. In 1257 he made Roger de Montalt justice of Chester, and thereby, it is alleged, opened the door for an encroachment upon the royal rights; Roger annexed the manor of Ewloe to his lordship of Hawarden, to which it only belonged ecclesiastically, and not civilly, and turned the woodlands of the ancient frontier into a private park. He cannot have enjoyed his acquisition long,¹ for another Llywelyn, son of Gruffydd, appeared upon the scene, ejected Roger and threw down the park enclosure. It was then that, "in a corner of the wood", the Welsh Prince erected the castle of which a good deal was still standing in 1311 and of which substantial relics are to be seen to this day. Little did his new fortress avail him when he defied the might of Edward I in 1277; he was driven out of Tegeingl, which soon saw the towers of Flint rise as symbols of a domination never again to be shaken off.

Ewloe now became a bone of contention between the Montalts and the Crown. Soon after 1277, Joan, widow of Robert de Montalt, whose husband had died in 1275, claimed her dower third in the manor of Ewloe, and found the justice of that time, Guncelin de Badlesmere (1274-

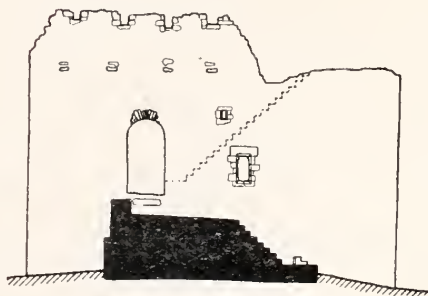
¹ There is something wrong in the order of events, as detailed by Tiberot, for, while Roger was made justice in 1257 (*Annales Cestrienses*, p. 74), Llywelyn had already won Tegeingl and Moldsdale in 1256 (*ibid.*, p. 72).



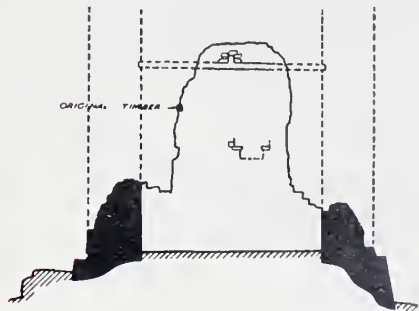
WELSH TOWER - N WALL - N FACE



W TOWER - LOOKING SOUTH



WELSH TOWER S WALL - S.FACE



W. TOWER - LOOKING NORTH



EWLOE CASTLE.

WELSH AND WEST TOWERS

FIG. A.

To face p. 2.

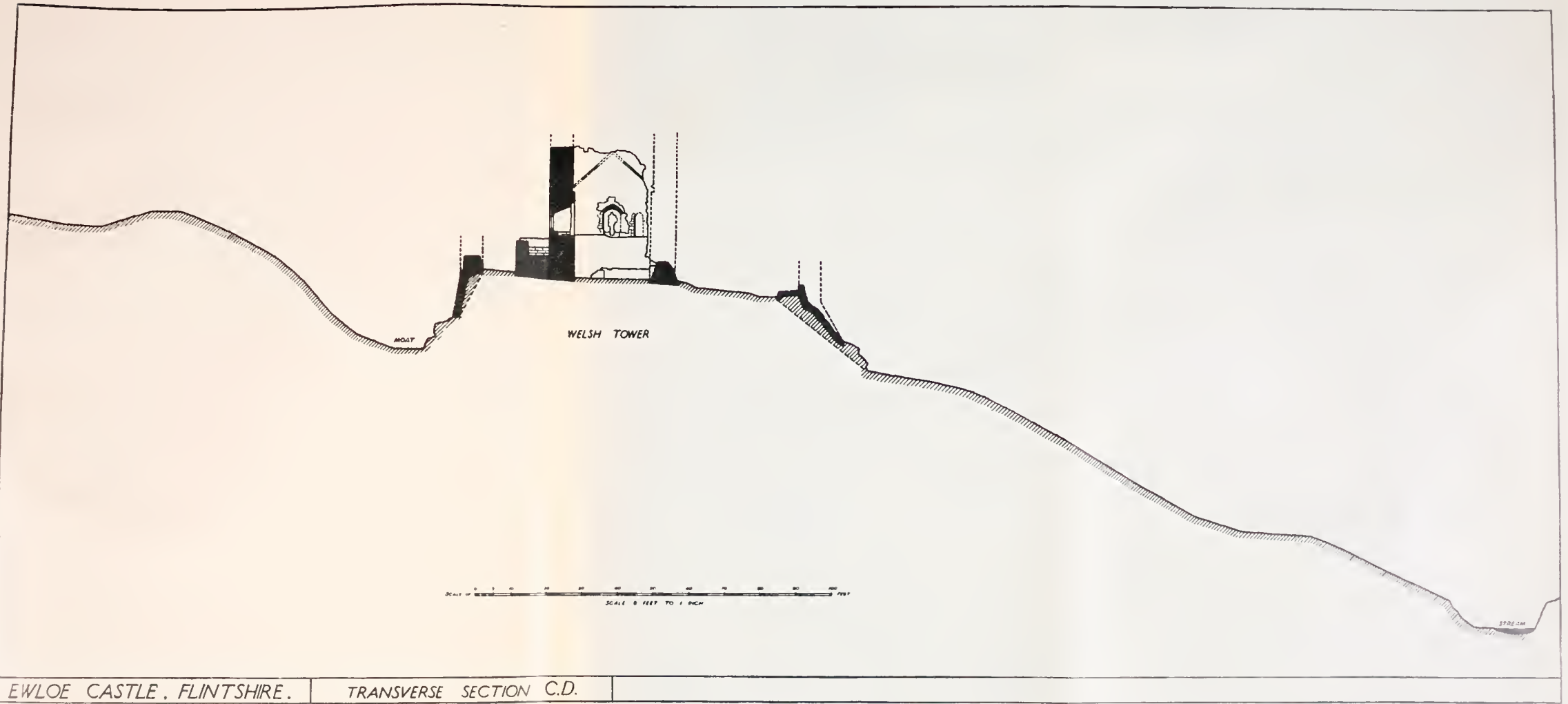


FIG. B.

To face p. 2.



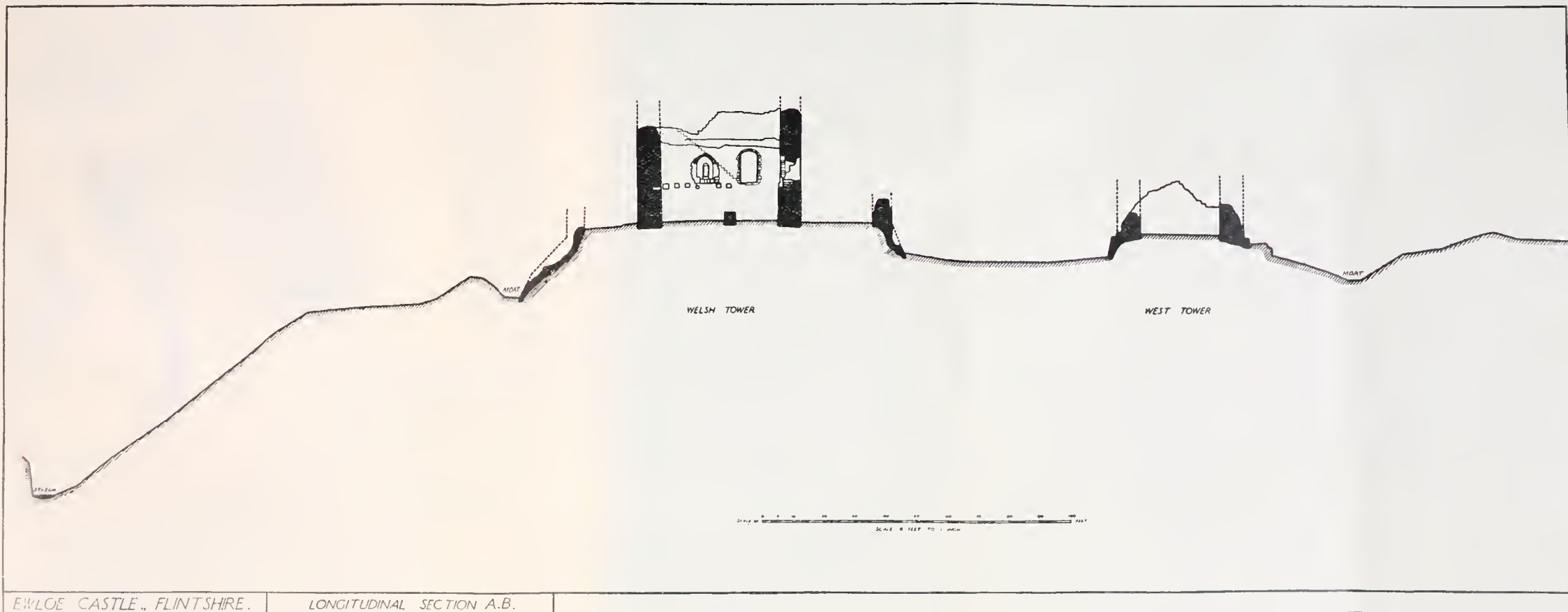
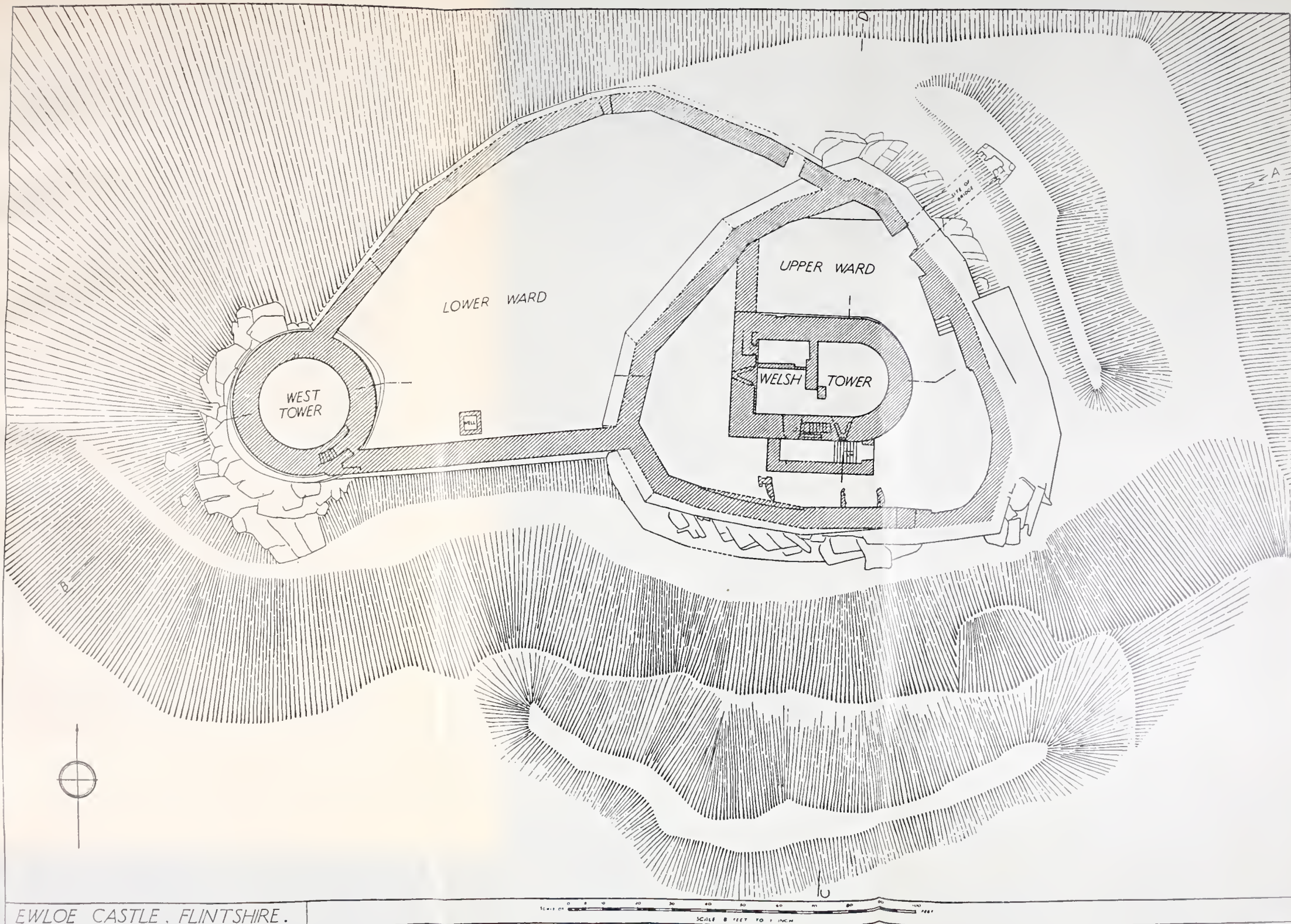


FIG. C.

To face p. 2.



EWLOE CASTLE, FLINTSHIRE.

SCALE 8 FEET TO 1 INCH

FIG. D.

1281), ready to acknowledge her right. His successor was not so complaisant; Reginald Grey in 1284 called upon her to resign the land she held in the Killins, Aston and Shotton, as parcel of the manor of Ewloe in the commot of Coleshill and indubitably the property of the Crown (*Flint Pleas*, ed. J. G. Edwards, p. 22). The king's right was successfully maintained, for throughout the fourteenth century Ewloe appears as a royal possession. In the Flintshire Ministers' Accounts printed in 1913 by Mr. Arthur Jones, the profits of the court, forest, mills and "sea coal" of Ewloe, with those of the appurtenant pasture called Buckley, are from 1301 to 1328 regular sources of royal revenue. Later in the century, as may be seen from the Chester Recognizance Rolls (*36th Report of Deputy Keeper*, 1875), it became customary to grant leases of the property; the descendants of Ithel ap Bleddyn, who had been established here by Ilywelyn ap Gruffydd, often appear as lessees, and in the reign of Richard II the manor was held for life by the Earl of Salisbury (*ibid*, p. 112). Evidence for the fifteenth century is supplied by Coleman deed No. 1153, in which a distinction is drawn between the vills of Aston and Shotton in the lordship of Hawarden and the vill of Ewloe in the county of Flint (*Catalogue*, p. 337). Finally, the Act of Parliament (33 Henry 8, c. 13, s. 3) by which the parish of Hawarden was in 1541 joined to the county of Flint states that "parcel of the parish of Hawarden is at this day and of old time hath been accepted, taken and used as part of the said county of Flint" (Bowen, *Statutes of Wales*, p. 98), a clear reference to the special position of Ewloe.

In later times, Ewloe became an appurtenance to the lordship of Mold and thus devolved upon the present lord of the manor, Mr. P. T. Davies-Cooke, of Gwysaney.

The Castle of Ewloe and the Welsh Castle Plan.

BY WILFRID J. HEMP, F.S.A.,
Inspector of Ancient Monuments for Wales.

HISTORY.

THE great wood of Ewloe was the scene of the successful ambush of Henry II in 1157, the young king's first experience of warfare against the Welsh. His attack was directed against Owain Gwynedd, who was himself encamped at Basingwerk, while his sons, Dafydd and Cynan, had taken up an advanced position in the wood. Their success was spectacular, but it did not seriously impede the English advance. Professor Lloyd is of the opinion that the actual scene of the ambush was laid at Coleshill near Flint and there is no hint that there was at this time a permanent fortified post in the wood; while the account in the Pipe Roll for 1212-1213, for pickaxes and munitions provided for the castle of "Eggelawe" by the burgesses of Shrewsbury by the King's orders, must almost certainly refer to some castle on the Shropshire border, and not (as assumed on p. 271 of "Early Norman Castles"¹) to Ewloe. Eggelawe has not been identified with certainty, but it is clear from entries in the Patent and Close Rolls that it was held with Oswestry.²

There are, however, some indications of an alteration

¹ By Ella S. Armitage. London, 1912.

² Rot. Litt. Pat. I, 1, 120; Rot. Litt. Claus. I, 132.

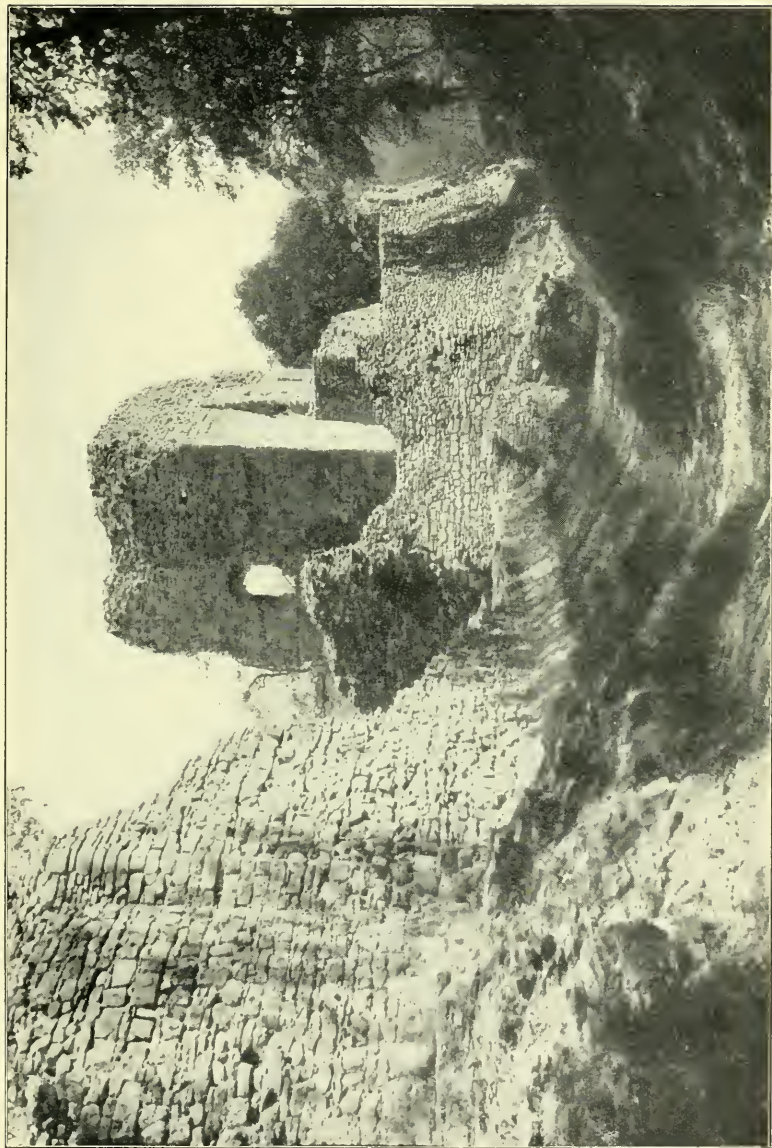


Fig. 1. The Castle of Ewloe : The south ditch looking east.

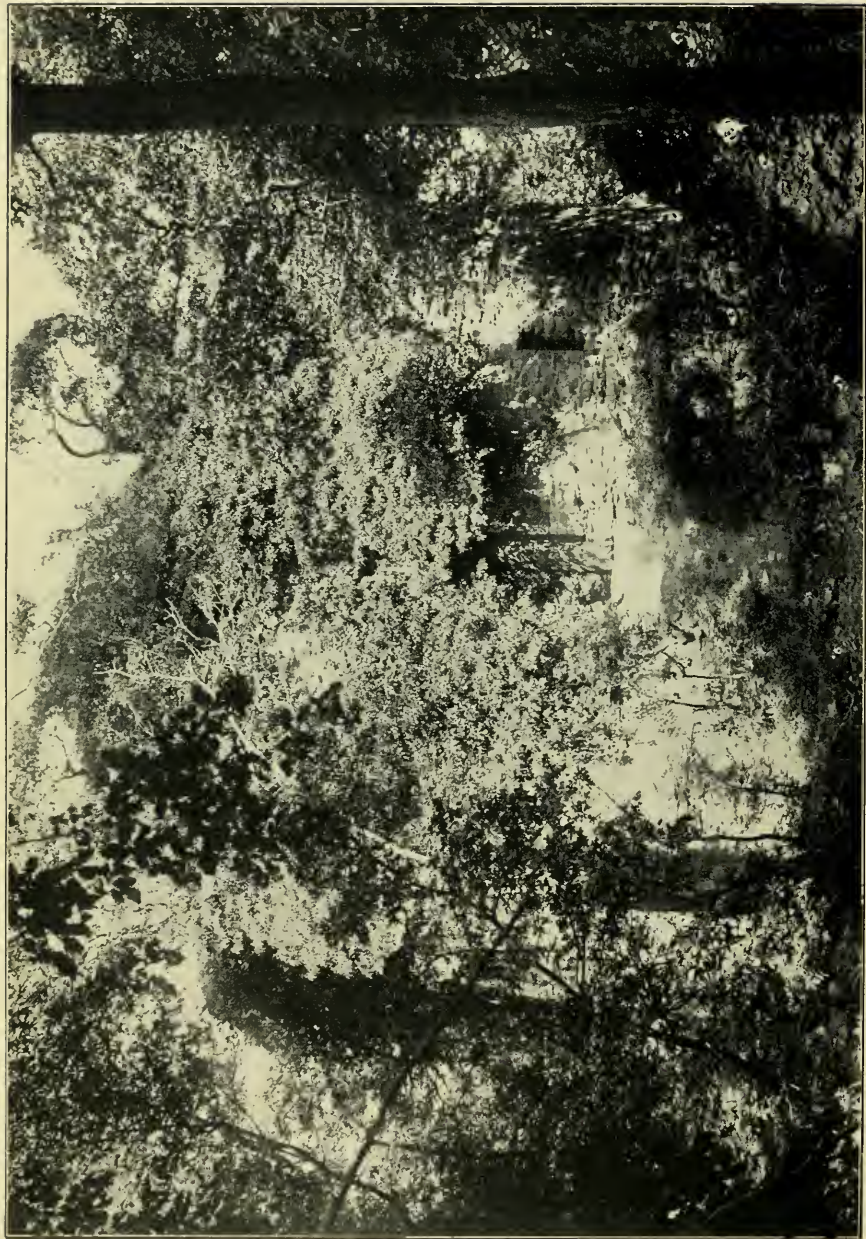


Fig. 2. The Welsh Tower from the south, September 1921.

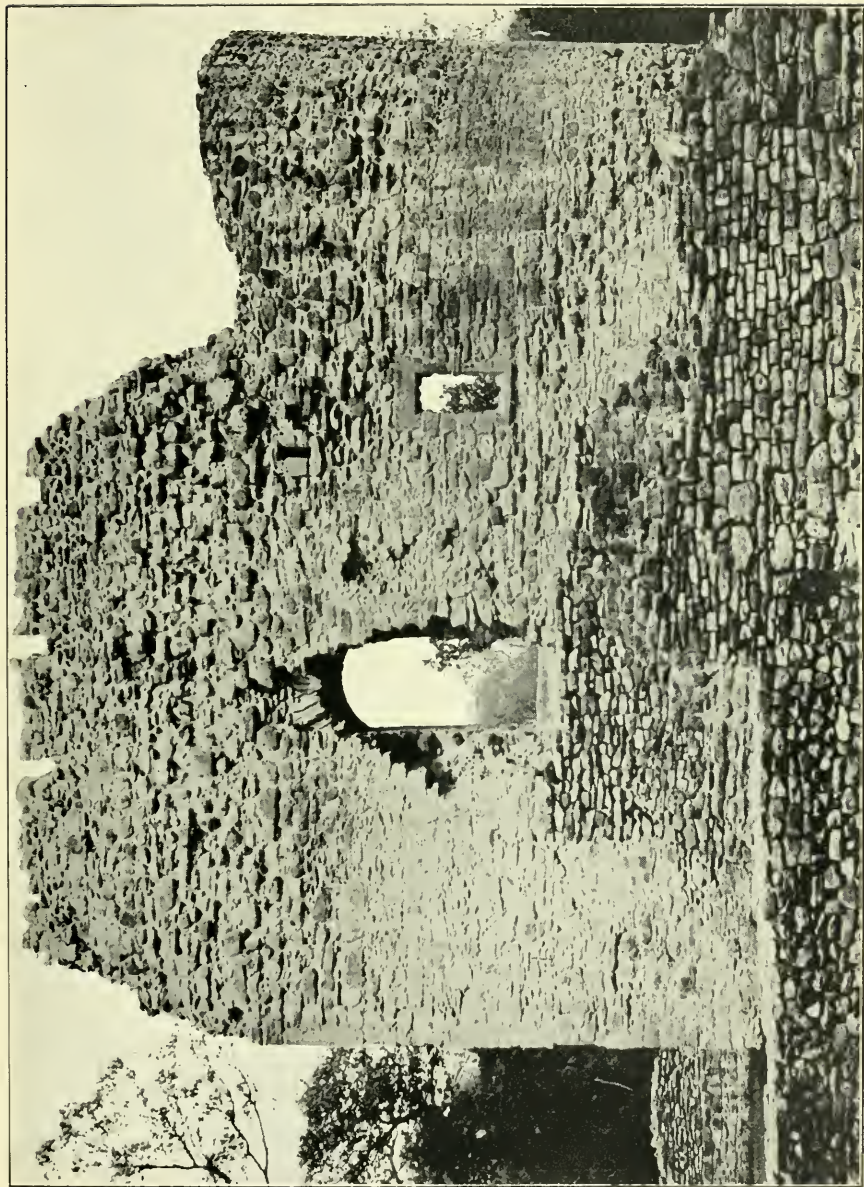


Fig. 3. The Welsh Tower from the south, June 1927.



Fig. 4. The south ditch looking east, site of early bridge.

To face p. 5.



Fig. 5. The east ditch looking north, site of later bridge.

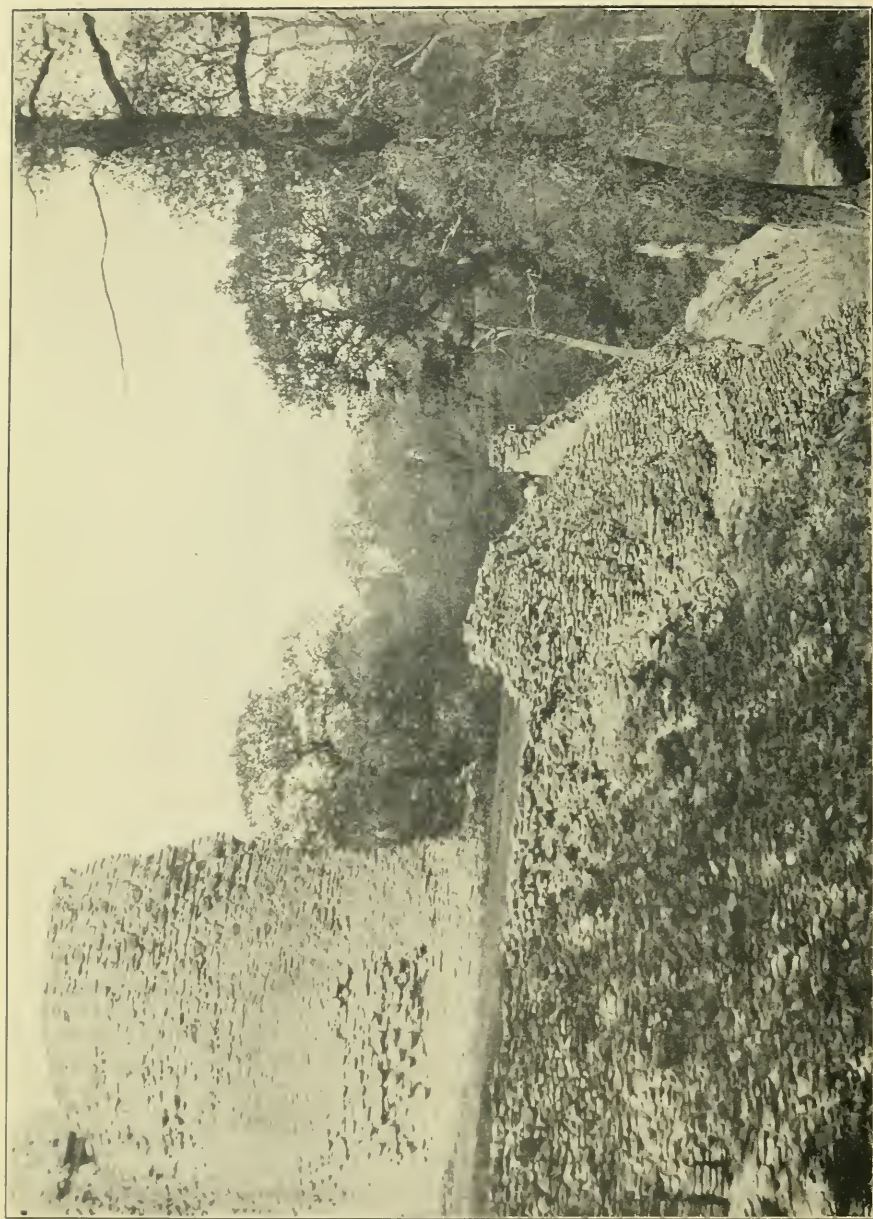


Fig. 6. The Welsh Tower and east ditch.

in the plan of the castle which suggest that the site was first occupied by a mount and bailey fortress.

Ewloe had a political and strategic importance, placed as it was on the eastern boundary of the cantref of Tegeingl—and of “the Principality of Wales”—and on the flank of the coastal route from Chester into Gwynedd.

The motte or mount and bailey type of castle was first introduced into Wales by the Normans. It consisted of a flat topped hillock, either artificially made of earth or fashioned out of a natural mound and in either case surrounded by a ditch. On the summit of the mount was built a tower of timber, and at its base was a courtyard or bailey, also ditched and surrounded by a timber stockade, which was sometimes placed upon a bank of earth when additional height was needed. Occasionally, especially in Wales, the bailey was omitted.

Such was the normal type to which it is likely that Ewloe once conformed, but as that castle now stands it is a structure of quite unusual design, and much interest in spite of its small size and the unimportant part it has played in history.

The great majority of the stone castles in Wales are essentially English in plan, that is to say they were designed by Englishmen for Englishmen, and were modelled on the general castle types prevalent in Western Europe, more particularly on the contemporary examples to be found in England and France. The earlier builders were either the king or one of his great vassals.

In course of time, the English types were adopted by the Welsh, with the result that strongholds such as Carreg Cennen, although owing their construction entirely to Welshmen, were built on a quite normal “English” plan.

In North Wales, however, are to be found several castles which are essentially different from the contemporary fortifications which were being set up in the same district by the English. In each case the builder was a Welshman, and the area covered was comparatively small; while the site chosen was usually a hill top. The most distinguishing feature (which differentiated these castles from their "English" neighbours) was the plan of the principal tower, which was "apsidal", i.e., a square or oblong having one side projecting as a half round. Usually this tower was placed at one end of the site, with the semi-circular end projecting towards the "field", while the other extremity of the castle was marked by a round tower; these two towers were usually connected by curtain walls, and, in some cases, a third tower stood free in the courtyard so enclosed.

The entrance was often by means of a timber bridge crossing a rock cut moat, its site being marked by projecting masses of rock left standing on one or both sides of the ditch, no doubt with the object of providing foundations for the struts supporting the bridge. It will thus be seen that the entrances were of a primitive type closely resembling those of the "motte" castles, in some of which can be traced the same feature of a rock-cut ditch, not completely excavated at the point where it was crossed by the bridge leading up to the tower crowning the earthen mound. Mechanical luxuries, such as the portcullises and elaborate drawbridges, typical of the Edwardian castles, were usually lacking.

In addition to Ewloe, some or all of the distinguishing features of the "Welsh" castle are to be found at Deganwy and Dolbadarn in Carnarvonshire, and at Castell y Bere and Carndochan in Merionethshire.

At Ewloe the round tower is placed quite normally at

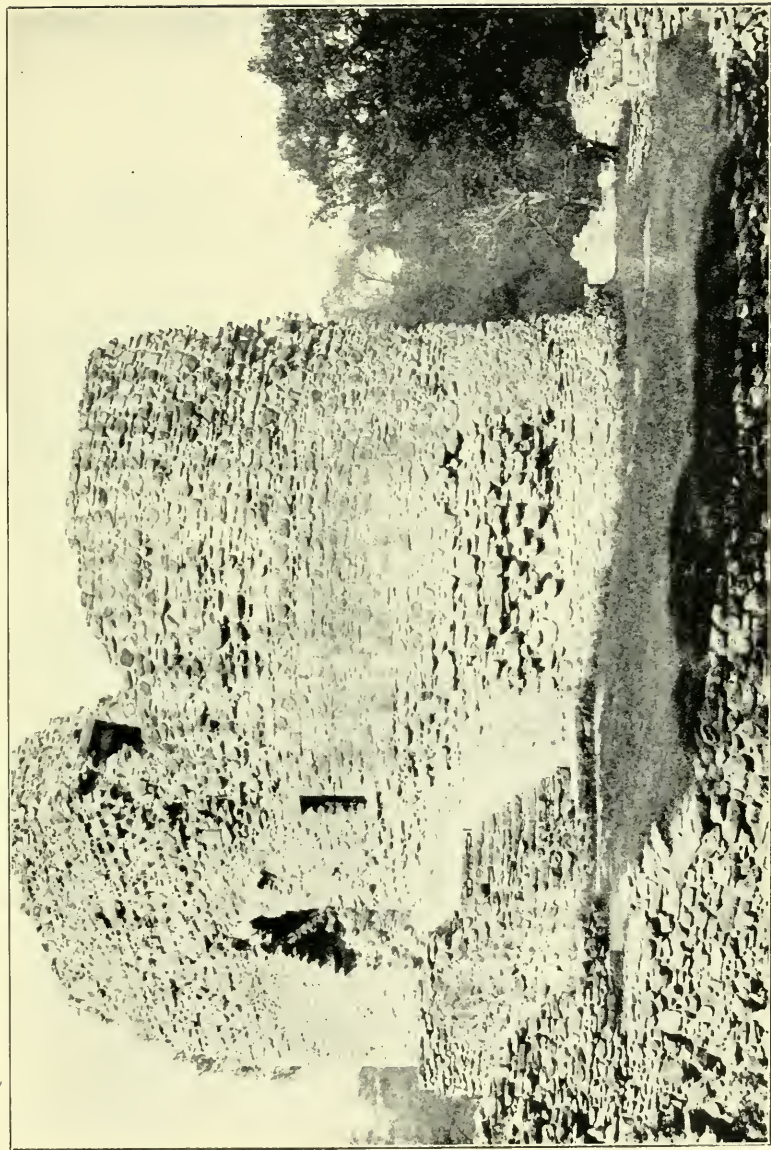


Fig. 7. The Welsh Tower from the south east.

To face p. 6.

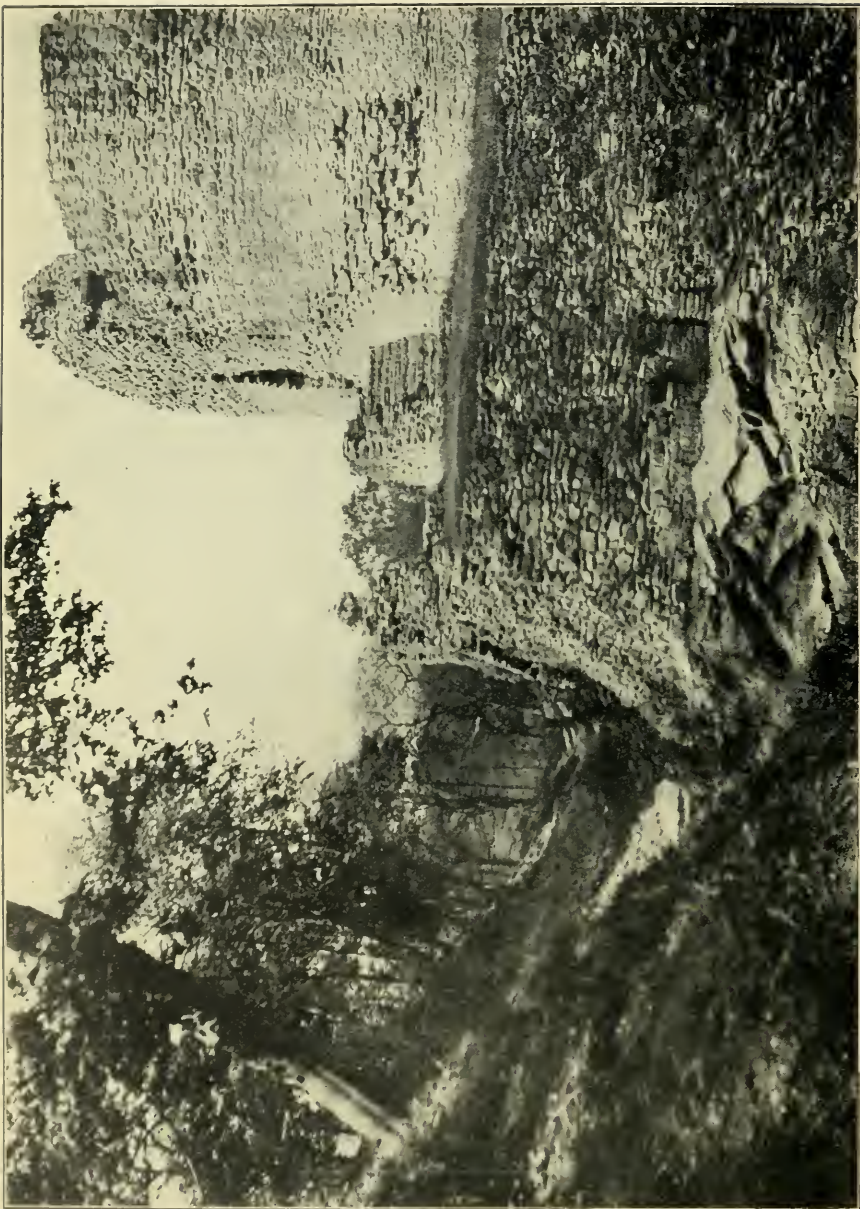


Fig. 8. The Welsh Tower and south ditch looking west.

the farther end of the site, on the circuit of the curtain walls of the lower bailey, while the apsidal tower, which is the principal one, stands within an upper bailey instead of astride the curtain. There is now no third tower, and the siting also of Ewloe is exceptional.

Architecturally and historically Castell y Bere is the most important member of the group. It was partly excavated in 1860 and the decorative architectural details then discovered¹ showed that it contained work of the best possible design and execution, such as would be found in the most important buildings of the period, i.e., the reign of Henry III. Nothing certain is known of its history before its capture by Edward I, who remodelled it, without, however, disguising its original plan.

The present writer has pointed out² that the site was one which strategically would have been little suited to Edward I's requirements, being a most difficult one for a conqueror to garrison and retain against a hostile people; standing as it does four miles from the sea, by way of which the English must needs have victualled it, and at the gate of inaccessible mountainous country which was the stronghold of Welsh patriotism.

What were drawbacks from the English standpoint would have been valuable assets to the Welsh; and a point of great importance was that the site would have been an ideal one for any native ruler who wished to have a secure stronghold from which he could travel easily and rapidly to North, South or Mid-Wales by land or water. The conclusion reached was that within the possible limits of date imposed by the architecture of the castle, there was only one man who ruled the whole of Wales

¹ Some of the carved stones are preserved at Peniarth and are illustrated at page 113 of the Merionethshire volume of the Ancient Monuments Commission.

² *The Welsh Castle Plan.* Western Mail, August 22nd, 1925.

and had the means and opportunity of employing the most highly skilled craftsmen. This was Llywelyn the Great, who was at the height of his power during the third decade of the thirteenth century and for a time maintained the closest relations with the English Court.

Professor Lloyd, in a personal letter to the writer, has recorded his opinion that this suggestion as to the probable origin of Castell y Bere is confirmed by a statement in the *Brut y Tywysogion*, which says that in 1221 Llywelyn nearly came to blows with his son Gruffydd, who had obtained Meirionydd; a peace was, however, patched up and as a result "Llywelyn deprived Gruffydd of the Cantref of Meirionydd and the Commote of Ardudwy and began to build in it (another MS. has "there") a castle for himself".

The Castle of Bere has been referred to at some length as not only does it provide a definite date (1221) for the building of an early castle of the Ewloe type, but also because, in view of its history, it is tempting to regard it as the prototype; although it is possible that its plan may have been due to a conscious or unconscious effort to reproduce the natural features of the ancient royal site of Deganwy, which contains two natural hillocks crowned by towers and linked by curtain walls, the intervening area forming the bailey. Bere is placed upon the summit ridge of a low isolated rocky hill and consists of two apsidal towers and one round one, as well as a rectangular tower and buildings placed against the curtain.

In the case of Ewloe, we are also fortunate in having documentary evidence as to the origin of the building, for a report, dated 1311¹ and enrolled in the Chester Plea Rolls, records that "Oweyn Goneith [Owain Gwynedd] sometime Prince of Wales was seised of the

¹ See appendix.

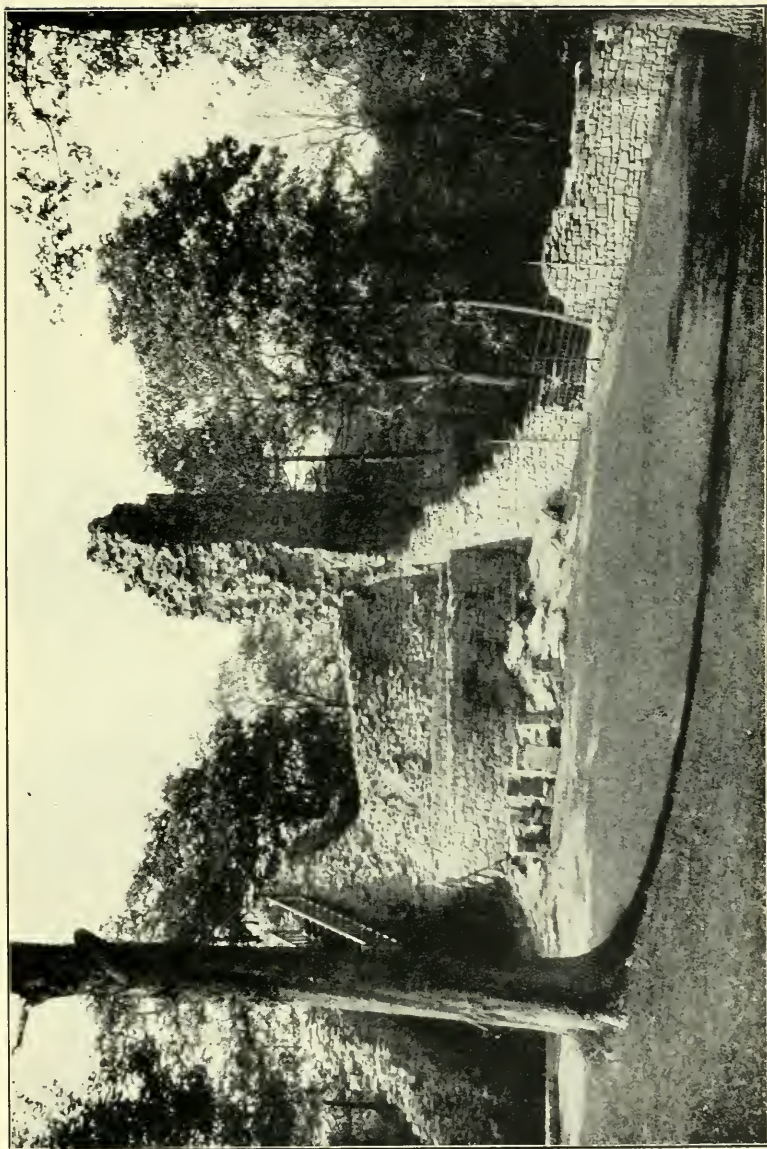


Fig. 9. The Lower Ward and West Tower.

To face p. 8.



Fig. 10. The Welsh Tower, interior of east end from the north.

To face p. 9.

manor of Ewloe in his demesne as of fee at whose death [in 1170] David, son of Oweyn, entered on the said manor as Prince of Wales and held the same until Thlewelyn the son of Jor[werth] overcame the said David and took from him the said principality together with the manor of Ewloe; that the said Thlewelyn died seised of the said principality and manor, after whose death David, son of the said Thlewelyn, entered upon the same manor and died seised thereof; after whose death King Henry III occupied the same and four cantreds in Wales, that is to say, those between the Dee and the Conway, and made Roger de Mohaut (Mold) his Justice of Chester who attached the same manor to his, the said Roger's neighbouring lands of Haurthyn (Hawarden) and Mouhaldedale (Moldsdale) to which it had never belonged, and made a park of the wood of Ewloe, and so held the said manor and park until Thlewelyn, son of Griff, son of Thlewelyn, Prince of Wales, recovered the said four cantreds from Henry III, and again attached them to the principality of Wales; that the said Thlewelyn ousted the said Roger from the said manor and attached the same to the principality as it was before, and built a castle in the corner of the wood, which was in great part standing at the time of the inquisition''.

The David ap Llywelyn, on whose death in 1246 Henry III occupied the manor of Ewloe, was the son of the builder of Castell y Bere and it was his (Llywelyn the Great's) grandson, the ill-fated Llywelyn y Llyw Olaf, the last native Prince of Wales, who built the castle in the wood. As it is possible to date the ousting of Roger of Mold to the first week in November in the year 1256, it is more than probable that 1257 saw the building of the greater part of the castle.

Llywelyn seems to have remained in peaceful posses-

sion of Ewloe, at any rate until the operations of the royal forces from Chester under the Earl of Warwick, which led to the capture of Mold early in 1277 and cleared much of the country west of Chester. Although there is no mention of Ewloe by name it must certainly have fallen into English hands before the king began his new castle at Flint in July, 1277.

It has been suggested¹ that it was occupied by Richard de Grey in June, 1282, not long before the final conquest by Edward I, but the fact that in 1311 the building is described as "in great part standing" points to it having suffered damage, and it is significant that it is not once mentioned in the published Flintshire Ministers' Accounts for the years 1301-1328,² which show that the lands and mills of Ewloe were then being administered by the Sheriff. Indeed, with the building of Flint and Rhuddlan, Ewloe ceased to have any military importance for the English king and probably was not considered worth the cost of its repair.

The scanty accounts of the building given by the topographers bear out this suggestion. Leland, the earliest of them, writing just before 1540, contents himself by describing it as "a ruinous castelet, or pile, at a place called Castel Yollo"; while a witness, "John Woods of Harding . . . yeoman aged xlviiij yeares or thereabouts" giving evidence before a Special Commission in 1610³ was more precise than accurate, saying that he "knoweth Ewlow Comon and Ewlow Wood but at this tyme . . . there is neither wood nor Tymber herein . . . [the] castle . . . nowe is altogether ruined and not anything standing but a small parcell of the south wall

¹ J. E. Morris, *Welsh Wars of Edward I*, p. 161.

² Flintshire Historical Society, No. 3, Prestatyn, 1913.

³ P.R.O. Special Commission, 5866.

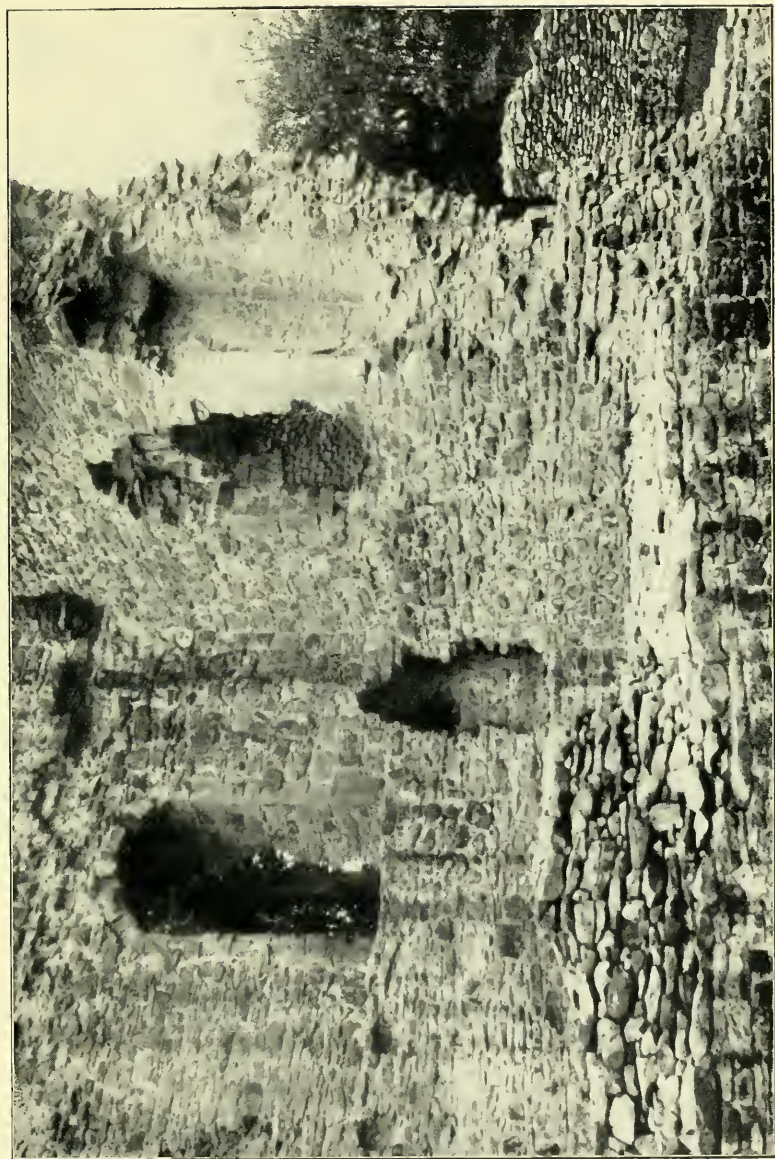


Fig. 11. The Welsh Tower, interior of west end from the north east.

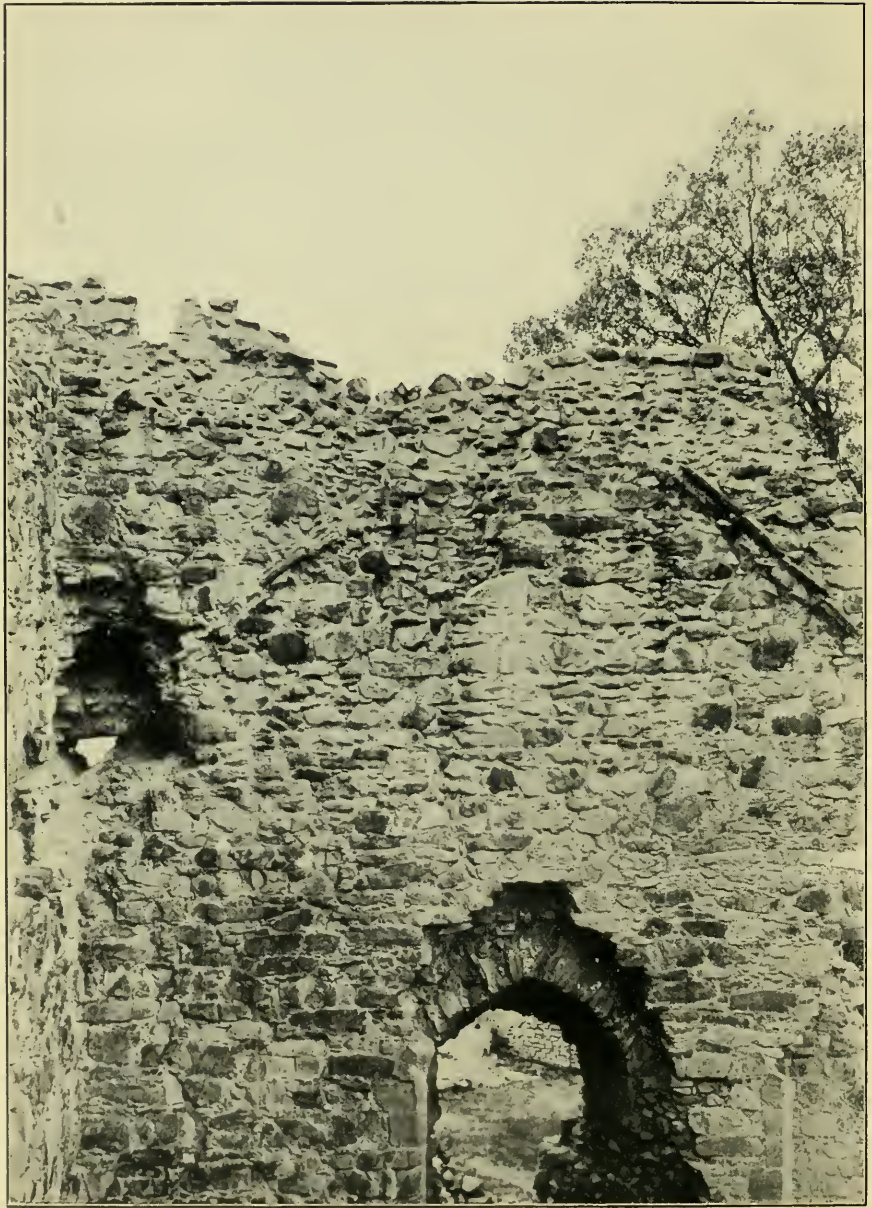


Fig. 12. The Welsh Tower, interior of west wall.

To face p. 11.

about three yards high and in length about eight yards". It is clear from this description that the castle in 1610 was substantially in the same condition as before the site was cleared in 1922. No evidence of mediæval rebuilding or repair was found in the course of the work recently carried out, with one small exception to be noted later.

DESCRIPTION.

The site chosen by the original builders is about a mile from the shore of the Dee, on the end of a tongue of land at the convergence of two deep ravines, one containing the Wepre brook and the other its principal tributary, the New Inn brook.

The general lay-out of the castle is shown by the plan and sections. Apart from the design of the principal tower, the most striking feature is the great ditch which isolates the site. Owing to the natural fall of the ground the counterscarp opposite the Welsh Tower is considerably higher than the scarp and it has been further raised by an artificial bank of earth placed along its crest. The result is that the site is almost completely overlooked, the highest part of the bank being less than 20 feet below the top of the Welsh tower. This bank is probably an addition made when the castle was remodelled by Llywelyn, and the mass of earth and rock which still narrows and shallows the ditch west of its south-east angle (figs. 4 and 8)—and formerly did so to a greater extent—probably marks the site of a timber bridge leading to the original mount. Here there is a "shelf" projecting from the steep outer bank, which is the only concrete evidence for the existence of an earlier castle. The shelf was deliberately left as a projection when the ditch was cut; its only function could have been to provide an

abutment for a bridge, and it was made inaccessible when the bank was placed along the outer edge of the ditch. The bailey, if one then existed, may have occupied the site of the present Lower Ward, although the area would have been unusually large and would, moreover, have been overlooked by the rock which now carries the West Tower. It is possible that the present Upper Ward provided all the accommodation required and carried both "motte" and bailey.

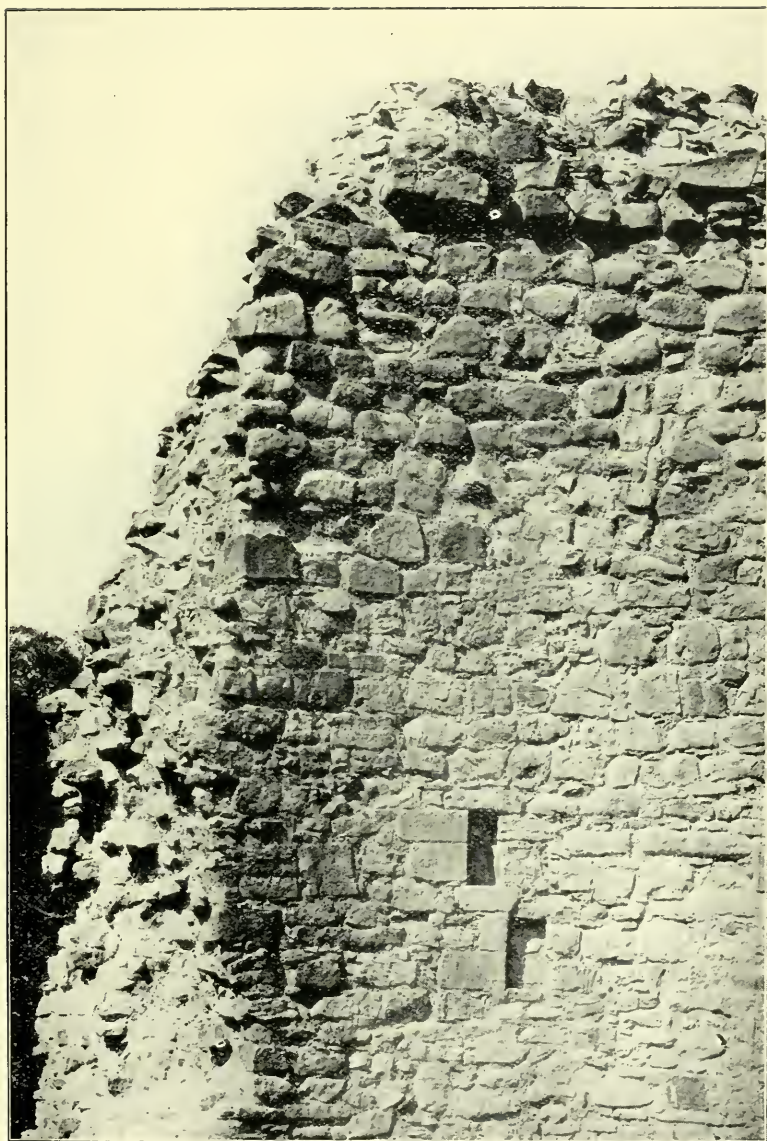
The approach to Llywelyn's castle was by another timber bridge, which crossed the eastern ditch and led steeply up into the inner ward at the point where there still remains part of the masonry foundation which carried its lower end (figs. 5 and 6). The rest has disappeared into the ditch, which, although now wider than when it was first dug, is still noticeably narrower than the main southern moat.

The present way into the castle is by a timber stair on the site of the old entrance into the Lower Ward.

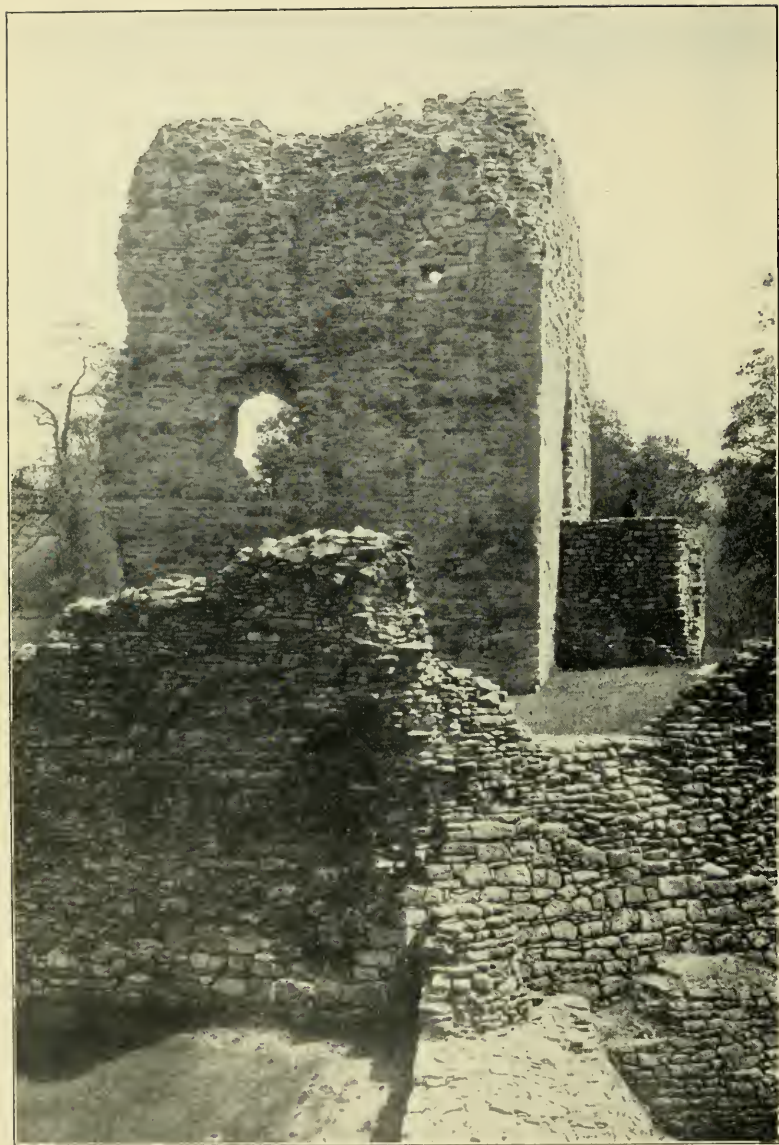
Close to this entrance is a steep ladder leading to the Upper Ward, placed there for convenience only and probably not on the site of an earlier stair. It is likely that the original stair, also of timber, which must have been the only direct communication between the two wards, was placed against the south curtain wall, but no evidence for its existence has been found.

THE UPPER WARD.

The present ladder leads directly into the Upper Ward over the ruins of the curtain wall. No part of this remains standing to its full height; it crowns the stone revetment which was built in straight stretches and protected the shaly rock from disintegration. To the left is the opening in the wall which marks the upper end of the



To face p. 12.
Fig. 13. The West Tower, interior of north side.



To face p. 13.
Fig. 14. The Welsh Tower from the West Tower.

bridge across the ditch (fig. 6). The southern side was found when excavated to be in the collapsed condition in which it has now been secured.

South of it the curtain wall has been thickened by the width of a stair which presumably led to some sort of a chamber over the gate.

Some building, probably a tower, formerly stood at the south-east corner and may have extended along the south side of the ward. The remains of the shafts of two garderobes can be traced in the revetment at the corner (fig. 8), and near the foot of the stairway leading to the principal tower is another opening in the curtain, the purpose of which is not clear, but it must have related to this building. Hereabouts is the best preserved section of the revetment. At the south-west corner of the ward is the junction of the south curtain wall of the Lower Ward and, just beyond, the wall of the Upper Ward stands to its greatest height (fig. 14). At the junction there must have been a way on to the curtain, which would have led along the top of it directly into the Round Tower at the far end, and, as already suggested, it is likely that in this angle was the stair leading to the Lower Ward.

THE WELSH TOWER.

The principal tower of apsidal plan, to which the name of the Welsh Tower is now given, stands free within the Upper Ward. The greater part of the southern half stands to its original height; the northern has disappeared to within a few feet of its foundations, but enough remains to show that it had a pronounced batter not found on the northern side. The tower contained a principal floor and a basement, the latter probably without windows. The doorway is in the centre of the straight stretch of the south side and is entered from a platform at

the head of an external stair. At the base of the stair are the jambs of an original doorway, but the stairs themselves have been relaid at some time and do not closely follow the old lines; presumably they were originally protected by a screen wall as this side of the castle would have been open to enemy fire. So much of the parapet wall of the tower as still remains carries a number of transverse grooves about one foot wide and two feet deep—four now remain above the entrance and one in the western section—whose only purpose could have been to hold beams (fig. 3). Presumably these beams must have supported some kind of protected fighting platform or gallery for defence against attackers on the far side of the ditch, who however would themselves have found useful cover behind the bank crowning the counterscarp. Below the four beam grooves on the south face, but not ranging with them, is a line of seatings for iron bars which probably acted as struts for the platform or gallery.

The doorway passage which has a segmental head, led directly from the outer door into the room behind, and there is no stone check for a door at the inner end. A stair on the right leads up in the thickness of the wall; this originally gave access to the wall top, but the upper part has gone; from the head of it can now be seen the outline of the single gabled roof on the square west end of the tower, and a triangular hole for the gutter passing through the wall (figs. 12 and 14). The main south wall is carried up above the highest point of the roof in order to protect it.

There is not enough evidence left to reconstruct the internal arrangements of the tower. Only two windows now remain, one in the south wall pointed within and square headed without (figs. 10 and 3), and the emplacement of another in the centre of the west wall. Beside



Fig. 15. The Welsh Tower, from the West Tower.

To face p. 14.



Fig. 16. The south ditch looking west.

To face p. 15.

this window is one jamb of a doorway and the start of a wall passage which conceivably led to the top of the wall (now entirely lost), which continued the line of the west wall of the tower and connected it with the curtain; the point of junction is marked in the masonry of the curtain. Although this connection with the wall walk is only conjectural, it is certain that a passage led from that already mentioned in the thickness of the north wall to a garderobe, the position of which is indicated by the end of its shaft in the north wall four yards from the north-west angle.

Presumably the residential floor was partitioned off so as to contain a living and one or more sleeping rooms, but the accommodation must have been extremely limited, and there is no clear evidence of the existence of a kitchen as there is no fireplace in the basement; of the chapel also there is no trace, but these rooms may possibly have been placed in the lost tower at the south-east corner of the ward.

If the basement was lighted the windows must have been in the lost north wall, unless there was an original opening in the western end of the south wall, where a large hole has been blocked up in recent years. There are two cross walls which show signs of alterations and their date and purpose are both problematical, although one may have been carried up to support a hearth. In any event entrance must have been from the floor above.

THE LOWER WARD.

Some of the missing accommodation for the lord may have been placed in timber buildings in the Upper Ward, but it is also possible that he was content to share with the rest of the garrison the hall, kitchen, buttery, pantry, etc., which must have been in the Lower Ward, also housed

in timber buildings; no trace of these now remains, unless the openings in the North Curtain may have related to them; there are two of these in addition to the entrance; one at the level of the court and close to the West Tower is so ruined that it has lost all distinctive features (fig. 9); one jamb only can be traced. The second is peculiar; it is two feet above the inside ground level, it is 28 inches wide and splays outwards. It has no check for a door and probably led to a garderobe, but all the details have been destroyed; it is also possible that it originally led out of some timber building placed against the wall.

One essential, the well, is now again in working order (fig. 17). It was found choked with rubbish but still containing many of the timbers which held up its four sides; these timbers have been replaced in their original positions. Another modern stair leads up to the West Tower; there must have been a stair in this position originally, in order to give access from the ward, but communication between the two towers could have been by the wall walk along the top of the South Curtain. Under the stair a considerable amount of the original plaster facing of the walls has been preserved.

It may be noted that the West Tower and the curtain are all of one build, while there is a straight joint where the latter has been built up against the revetment of the Upper Ward, a supplementary revetment covering the outer angle (fig. 14).

THE WEST TOWER.

The West Tower is built upon a boss of rock which has been revetted on the side overlooking the Lower Ward. Like its companion it seems to have consisted of a single floor and a basement, which last must have been entered by means of a trap-door. Nearly all the upper part has



To face p. 16.

Fig. 17. The West Tower and South Curtain



Fig. 18. The West Tower from the west.

To face p. 17.

disappeared, but the surviving fragment on the north side has preserved some interesting features; the chase for the roof timbers can be seen and also the only evidence in the castle of a rebuilding, or, perhaps, of a change of plan during the progress of the work. This is the profile of a window seat which has been embodied in the wall and is still visible; one side of it has been emphasised by a modern resetting of the added masonry (fig. 13). As there is no change in the general character of the stone-work, nor any evidence in the outer face of the wall of the former existence of a window, it is possible that it was built in as it now appears before the tower was actually completed.

Another interesting feature is the incorporation of a baulk of oak as a bonding timber in the thickness of the wall; the end, almost unaffected by decay, can be seen projecting in the broken wall face just above the level of the window seat.

From the head of the modern stair at the junction of the South Curtain steps led up on the left in the thickness of the wall to the roof; while a wall passage probably led round the eastern side to the North Curtain.

The base of the North Curtain is now more accessible than it used to be, owing to the tipping immediately outside it of great quantities of rubbish cleared out of the castle (fig. 18). The whole of both curtain walls and all the West Tower except the one high wall and the outer face, were covered by fallen stones and earth and the rest of the castle hidden by ivy (fig. 2) until it was transferred to the custody of The Commissioners of H.M. Works in 1922 by its owner, Mr. P. T. Davies-Cooke, of Gwysaney.

APPENDIX.

P.R.O. PLEA ROLLS, CHESTER 29/23, m. 48.

Dominus Rex mandauit breue suum Iusticiario Cestrie in hec verba, Edward par la grace de dieu Roi Dengleterre Seigneur Dirlande et Ducs Daquitaine, a nostre cher foial Monsieur Payn Tibotot Iustice de Cestre. et a soun lieu tenaunt salutz, Pur ceo qe nous voloins par ascunes re-souns estre certifiez de la cause de la prise du Manoir de Ewelowe en la mayn nostre cher pere que dieux assoille, e de tut le droit' qe a nous appartient en meisme le Manoir, e coment, e en queu manere, e combien le dit Manoir vaut per an en toutes issues, vous Mandoins, qe eue sur ceo bone informacioun et auisement, nous certifietz sanz delay distinctement et apertement par vos lettres des choses auantdites Don' souz notre priue seal' a Berewik' sur Twede le.xxiiij.iour de Ianeuoir' Lan du nostre regne quart.

Le queu bref fut respondu en ceste Manere Voilleez sire sauoir que ieo me su enfourme par Roules de mes predecessours e par auisement de gent de ma baillie, e ay troue, que vn Oweyn Goneith' askun temps prince de gales, fut seisi del Manoir de Ewelowe, e de ceo morust seisi en son demeine come de feo, apres qi mort, vn Dauid le fiutz Oweyn entra le dit Manoir come prince de Gales, come fiutz e heir le dit Oweyn e le tint par grant temps taunkes vn Thlewelyn le fiutz Ior' qe mist debat en la princete de Gales, et la conquist sur le auantdit David le fiutz Oweyn e, apres Le conquest issint fait, leauantdit Thlewelyn tint la princetete auantdite ensemblement oue le dit Manoir de Ewelowe tut son temps, e del dit Manoir morust seisi, come apendaunt a la dite princete en son demeine come de feo, apres qi mort Dauid le fiutz le dit Thlewelyn en mesme la Manere entra le dit Manoir e de ceo morust seisi, apres qi mort sire le Roy Henri vostre ael le auantdit Manoir e quatre Cantres en Gales, ceo est asauoir entre les Ewes de Dee et de Conewey occupa et fit vn Roger de Mohaut le viel Iustice de Cestre. le quel Roger en temps qil fut Iustice, pourprist e accreit le auant dit Manoir a ses autres terres veisines de Haurthyn e de Mouhaldesdale a les queles leuantdit Manoir vnkes ne fu appartenaut e du bois de Ewelowe fist vn park' e issint le tint le Manoir e le park' tanckes vn Thlewelyn le fiutz

Griff' le fiutz Thlewelyn prince de Gales vint e conquist les ditz quatre Cantres sur le dit vostre ael, e les apropria a la princete auant dite ainsi come auant furent, e le auant dit Rogert de Mohaut du Manoir auant dit engeta, e lenclosure du park' ousta, e en vne cornere de boys iafferma vn Chastel, qe vnkore est a grant partie, e apres ceo mesme le Manoir dona a vn Ithel ap Blethin e autres tenementes a tenir del dit prince, qe ore sont en vostre main ainsi come prince de Gales, e issint fut le dit Thlewelyn seisi come prince de Gales del dit Manoir, taunkes al conquest qe mon seigneur vostre piere qe dieux assoille fit sur le dit Thlewelyn prince de Gales, e apres le conquest, issint fait, le dit sire, vostre piere fit le dit Manoir seisir en sa main, ainsi come parcele des tenementes dount le prince fut seisi le iour del dit conquest, e par tel droit, sire, si fut le dit Manoir seisi en sa main, eausi sire par colour del droit qil auoit al dit Manoir, par reson del dit conquest qe le dit le Roy Henri vostre ael fit sur le prince de Gales des quatre Cantres auant dits, entre les Ewes de Dee e de Coneweys dedenz queles Ewes, le auant dit Manoir est, e issint e en ceste manere, fut le dit Manoir seisi en sa main, E sire pur bone euidence de vostre droit auoir, si dit hom en pais, qe apres La mort le dit Roger de Mohaut, iadis Iustice de Cestre, si vint vne dame qe fut la femme vn Robert le fiutz le dit Roger de Mohaut, en temps vn goselyn de Badelesmere a tel temps Iustice de Cestre, e demanda son tiers de ceu Manoir come del frank' tenement le dit Roberd iadis son baron, e coment qe ceo fut, recouera son dowere, e pus apres mon seigneur vostre piere ceo aparceiuant, qe la femme auoit recouere son dowere, vers luy, a sa desheritance, remena le dit Goselyn e fist Iustice de Cestre monsieur Reynald de Grey, e luy maunda par son bref, qil enqueueist quel droit la dite dame auoit de auoir dowere del dit Manoir, e le dit monsieur Reynald' de Grey, troua qe le dit Roberd' iadis son Baroun, nauoit riens en le dit Manoir, si noun pus la pourprise qe le dit Roger son piere en fit sur le Roy, tauntcome il fut Iustice de Cestre, par quey la dame fut ouste de son tiers par jugement, e la dite tierce partie, en la mayn vostre piere seisi, e tiel droit sire, appartient a vous, en le dit Manoir, e issint e en tele Manere, E vaut le dit Manoir par an en toutes issues LX. liures.

Manx Marginalia.

BY THE REV. F. G. ACKERLEY, M.A.,
Jesus College, Oxford; Honorary Canon of Bradford.

“There is one marked peculiarity which distinguishes the grammar of the Manx from that of other dialects of the Celtic language. The orthography or spelling of the Irish and the Scottish Gaelic is constructed on the principle of preserving the derivation of the words; and therefore the spelling often differs from the pronunciation. The Manx spelling, on the other hand, is based on phonography. The words are written as they are pronounced. The etymology of the words is often obscured and hidden by this system of spelling; but the spoken sound is preserved. Consequently, the Manx orthography will hand down to posterity the sounds of the spoken language better than the Irish and Scottish modes of spelling. The orthography of these dialects will preserve the etymology; while that of the Manx will hand down to future generations the phonography of a Celtic dialect.”

REV. W. MACKENZIE.

“On account of the spelling in Manx given a very imperfect representation of the sounds of the language, the pronunciation can only be acquired from a native speaker. Some of the words are spelled in a way that could at no time have really represented their pronunciation.”

EDMUND GOODWIN.

To one accustomed to the clarity and general consistency of the orthography of modern Welsh the study of any of the Goidelic languages presents exceptional difficulties. The etymological spelling of Irish and Scottish Gaelic is cumbrous and involves much practice in reading before the pronunciation can be appreciated with sufficient rapidity. The difficulty is, however, enhanced by the “phonographic” spelling of Manx. Not only is there a bewildering wealth of sounds, and fine shades of distinc-

tion between sounds according to their position in relation to one another, such as inhere in all the Goidelic languages : in Manx one has to contend with inconsistencies of spelling to which there is no complete guide.

Manx is still spoken by some of the older people in the Isle of Man, but is fast dying out. For the explanation of most of its features we must turn to Irish, though in some respects it leans towards Scottish Gaelic, and in others takes a line of its own. Historically the island was in close touch with Ireland until the tenth century, and no doubt the language shared the fortunes of Irish till the Norsemen in that century established their rule in the island and introduced a Teutonic element into the vocabulary. In the latter part of the thirteenth century Man was under Scottish rule. This connection affords an explanation of those features which Manx shares with Scottish Gaelic. Later, under the rule of the Stanley family, English loan-words were incorporated in the vocabulary. Many of these may be recognised by their being stressed on the final syllable, e.g., *pryssoón*, "prison". Since the sale of the island to the English Crown many more loan-words have been introduced from English, which is now driving the old Celtic speech into oblivion.

The earliest specimens of the language of the Isle of Man are four short Ogam inscriptions which are given by Sir John Rhys in *Outlines of Manx Phonology*. But for these and for a few family names in the old Manx Court Rolls we have no evidence of what Manx was like at any time before the seventeenth century. John Philips was Bishop of Sodor and Man from 1605 to 1633. This prelate prepared a Prayer Book in Manx written in an orthography which Rhys shows to have been derived from earlier documents long since lost. That the present ortho-

graphy had already succeeded this earlier method before Philips' time is evident from sundry lapses of the scribe who wrote the manuscript, and from a comment on the version by one of the clergy of the island. Of roughly the same date, but in the modern orthography, is the Traditional Ballad which contains some old forms. There are besides a number of Carols belonging to a slightly later period. Then we come to Bishop Wilson's Sermons translated into Manx, a guide to Holy Communion by the same writer, the Prayer Book, the Bible, and some fugitive pieces of poetry. Within recent years a few negligible translations have been done under the influence of the Celtic revival. This is practically all the literature.

Scanty though the surviving literature is, enough remains to justify a study of Manx by those who are investigating the history and development of the Celtic languages. If the little that survives of Cornish is found of value in the study of Brythonic, Manx can claim an even greater importance for the study of Goidelic. What help then have we to hand for our purpose? There are two dictionaries, that of Cregeen, published in 1835, of which a useful reprint appeared in 1910, and that of the Reverend John Kelly printed by the Manx Society in 1858 under the editorship of the Reverend William Gill. Of these Cregeen's is by far the best. Kelly was acquainted with both Irish and Scottish Gaelic and he includes words which are only doubtfully Manx. For the grammar we have "A Practical Grammar of the Antient Gaelic, or Language of the Isle of Man, usually called Manks", by the Reverend John Kelly, first published in 1803, and reprinted in 1859 by the Manx Society. This work is more pretentious than practical, and the preface to the reprint warns the reader to learn Manx from some living speaker of the language and from a perusal of

written Manx before attempting to attack Kelly's Grammar. Kelly was, after all, a pioneer; one must admire his energy and be grateful to him for his efforts while frankly admitting that the result of those efforts is disappointing. Of far greater value is the excellent little sketch of the language contained in "Lessoonyn ayns Chengey ny Mayrey Ellan Vannin" by Edmund Goodwin, published in 1901. Here everything that is essential is given except an exhaustive account of the sounds of the language and its orthography.

Unfortunately no satisfactory progress can be made in learning a language when we are not told how to pronounce the words. English writers of grammars are notoriously lacking in this respect: few indeed take the trouble to define the sounds of the language they treat of with any precision; practically none condescend to mention the rules of accentuation or stress. In the case of Manx, Goodwin cannot be blamed since the matter is of exceptional difficulty, and he refers his readers to Rhys' invaluable *Outlines of Manx Phonology*, in which the sounds of the language are described and discussed with the brilliance and wealth of learning that always characterised the writings of that great master.

Starting from the spoken sounds Rhys traces them back to the sounds of Middle and Old Irish or even further back into Goidelic and Primitive Celtic, on which pilgrimage he takes occasion to show us many pleasing prospects and introduce us to some strange and interesting things. He discusses just over nine hundred words and forms, but the book has no index. To supplement and illustrate his teaching I would here call attention to "A Manx Folksong" written down in phonetic symbols by the late Professor John Strachan and published with a translation in *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*, I. 54,

and to the phonetic pronunciations given in Moore, Morrison and Goodwin's *Vocabulary of the Anglo-Manx Dialect* (Oxford, 1924).

Thus there is abundance of material upon which to work in arriving at an accurate interpretation of Manx spelling into Manx sounds. It would be a most useful piece of work if someone would print Cregeen's vocabulary, omitting all the mutated forms with which he fills so many pages, but adding in phonetic symbols the pronunciation of every word.

The aim of the present paper is more modest. It is merely to supply what are little more than marginal notes to the *Outlines*. Sir John Rhys started from the actual spoken sounds and referred those sounds to their various and varied written symbols. Consequently when one meets with a Manx word it becomes necessary to re-read a considerable portion of the *Outlines of Manx Phonology* if one desires to ascertain its pronunciation. Now this is an admirable exercise, for much interesting knowledge can be assimilated by the way, but the time involved is likely to deter most people who have occasion to proceed from the written symbol to the spoken sound. An index to the Manx words discussed would have facilitated this process. Here, it is proposed to supply what may serve as an index to variant spellings.

Rhys enumerates the vowel sounds of Manx under diacritically marked letters which must be simplified here for typographical reasons. The following is a table of the vowel sounds:—

SHORT VOWELS.	LONG VOWELS.
a “the Welsh <i>a</i> of . . . North Cardiganshire; it is of the same complex- ion as the long <i>a</i> ”	ā “approximately the <i>ā</i> of the English word ‘father’.”

of the English word
'father'."

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>a² "the <i>a</i> which is heard in the standard pronunciation of the English words 'man', 'bad', 'cab'."</p> | <p>ā² "Welsh close <i>ā</i> of Merioneth in <i>tād</i> 'father' and <i>tān</i> 'fire', and so far as I can judge it is nearly the sound of the English <i>a</i> of 'man' prolonged."</p> |
| <p>e "e in the English words 'get' and 'men'."</p> | <p>ē "the same vowel lengthened."</p> |
| <p>e² "an <i>e</i> which nearly approaches <i>ĭ</i>."</p> | <p>ē² "I have heard a vowel closely resembling it in such French words as <i>dès</i> and <i>près</i>."</p> |
| <p>i like <i>i</i> "in the English words 'pit' and 'give'."</p> | <p>ī The same lengthened.</p> |
| <p>i² "of the same complexion as the <i>i</i> in French words like <i>ligne</i>, <i>fille</i>."</p> | <p>ī² The same lengthened.</p> |
| <p>o "like the <i>o</i> of the English word 'not'."</p> | <p>ō "ranges in point of complexion from that of the <i>o</i> in the English word 'not' to that of the <i>aw</i> in the English word 'draw': this latter sound however is the prevailing one."</p> |
| <p>o² "the first vowel in the diphthongized <i>o</i> of the English word 'go', the first <i>o</i> in 'zoology', and the <i>ow</i> of 'arrow' and 'window'."</p> | <p>ō² The same lengthened.</p> |

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>u closely resembling “the <i>u</i> of the English words ‘put’, ‘book’, and ‘poor’.”</p> | <p>ū The same vowel lengthened.</p> |
| <p>u² “of the same complexion as the <i>u</i> of such English words as ‘ooze’, ‘two’, and ‘into’.”</p> | <p>ū² The same lengthened.</p> |
| <p>y “the sound of <i>y</i> in the North Cardiganshire pronunciation of the words <i>yn</i> ‘in’, and <i>yr</i> ‘the’; to my hearing it is identical with that of <i>u</i> in the English words ‘but’ and ‘gun’.”</p> | <p>ȳ The same lengthened. “It is nearly identical with the <i>eu</i> in such French words as <i>jeune</i> and <i>peur</i>.”</p> |
| <p>y² German <i>ü</i> in ‘dünn’ and ‘üppig’.</p> | <p>ȳ² Considerably more rounded than y².</p> |
| <p>y³ ‘a rounded <i>ě</i> like the <i>ö</i> of the German words ‘brödchen’ and ‘hölle’.”</p> | <p>ȳ³ The same lengthened.</p> |
| <p>ə [inverted <i>e</i>] “approximates that of the obscure vowel . . . in the English word <i>poo-r</i>: it closely resembles that of the final <i>a</i> in the ordinary pronunciation of ‘Victoria’ and ‘sofa’.”</p> | |

With this summary of the vowel sounds as described by Rhys we are in a position to indicate the sounds intended by the signs actually employed in Manx spelling.

First it must be stated that final *e* is used as in English

to lengthen the vowel sound of a final syllable. Thus *marvaane* "mortality" has two syllables only, the vowel of the latter being \bar{a}^2 , neose "downwards" is pronounced $n\bar{u}s$, *drine* "thorns" is drain. Further, the presence of *n* or *m* in a syllable makes the vowel of that syllable nasal. This nasalization will not be marked here.

LONG VOWELS		SHORT VOWELS	
SPELLING	SOUND	SPELLING	SOUND
a	\bar{a}	a	a
aa	} \bar{a}^2		
ae			
ai			
ay			
aaï	\bar{e}^2		
aue	\bar{a}^2u		
e	\bar{e}, \bar{e}^2	e	e
ea	\bar{e}, \bar{e}^2		
ea (from ua)	y^2a, y^2y, \bar{y}^2		
eai	$j\bar{e}$	eai	je
eay (from ao)	\bar{y}		
eay (from aoi)	\bar{y}^3	eay (from aoi)	y^3
eayee	\bar{y}^3i		
ee	\bar{i}	ee	i, i^3
eea	} $\bar{i}y$		
eey			
eeu	\bar{i}^2u	eei	ji
ei	\bar{e}	eeu	i^2u
eie	$j\bar{e}i$	ei	yi, y^2i, ei
eiy	$\bar{y}i$		
		eiyee	y^3i
		eo	uy, u, y^2
		eoä	y
eoäie	} $\bar{y}i$	eoäie	iu
eoie		eoie	genitives

eu	\bar{y}^3	eu	y^3
ey (from ao)	\bar{y}	ey (final unstressed)	ə
eyi (from ao)	\bar{y}		
eyi (from aoi)	\bar{y}^3		
eyoo	$\bar{c}u$		
		i	i^2, i
ia	$j\bar{a}$	ia	$j\bar{a}$
iau	$j\bar{o}$		
io	$j\bar{o}^2$		
		iy	oi
		iow } iwe }	eu, ou
iw	$\bar{e}^2u, \bar{i}^2u, e^2ju$	ieau	i^2u
ie	ai	ie	yi
o	\bar{o}, \bar{o}^2	o	o
oa	\bar{o}^2		
oai	\bar{o}^2ai		
		oi, oie	yi
		oau, ou, ow	o^2u
oo	\bar{u}^2	oo	yu, u^2 (unstressed)
ooa	$\bar{u}y$		
ooi	\bar{u}^2i	ooi	u
		ooie	u^2i
u	\bar{u}	u	u
uai	\bar{y}^3		
		ui	ui^2
		y	y, yi

The consonants in Manx are much more consistently written. It will suffice to give a summary of the sounds they represent in a simpler form than was necessary for the vowels.

b is pronounced as in English. When vowel-flanked it becomes a voiced spirant.

- p as in English. Vowel-flanked it sounds like b.
ph, f is the English f.
v as in English.
t, th with broad vowel is ambidental; with a narrow vowel it is alveolar, or becomes tj. Between s and r it is ambidental. When final after l it is ambidental; and is silent after gh. Final -it is dj.
d with a broad vowel is ambidental. Vowel-flanked it is the voiced spirant dental. dt in the word *dtty* is ambidental d.
ch is tj except when it is a mutation of c or k.
j, dj vowel-flanked is dj or is reduced to zero.
j, id with narrow vowels is dj. Vowel-flanked it becomes the z of "azure".
s with broad vowels is ambidental. Flanked by broad vowels it is the voiced ambidental spirant.
sh as in English. Vowel-flanked it becomes z in "azure" or is reduced to zero.
k as in English is palatal with narrow, velar with broad vowels. Vowel-flanked it becomes palatal g ranging through the voiced palatal spirant to zero.
c is velar. Vowel-flanked it is the velar spirant or is reduced to zero.
ch is the Greek χ with broad vowels; with narrow vowels hj.
h as a mutation of k, and hi as mutation of the dental ch is hj.
qu is velar kw.
g with broad vowels is velar. Vowel-flanked it becomes spirant tending to zero.
gh initial with broad vowels is the velar spirant.
gh non-initial is the same as ch.

ng with broad vowels is the velar ng of English "longer"; with narrow vowels it is the palatal ng of English "king".

n with broad vowels is ambidental. With narrow vowels it is nj. Alveolar n occurs sporadically.

m is the English m.

l and r with broad vowels are ambidental; with narrow vowels are alveolar with *mouillierung*.

The lack of any systematic analysis of the vocabulary of Manx has been commented on more than once, and it is due to this that Manx words are seldom adduced to illustrate the fortunes of Irish or Scottish Gaelic sounds. To take but one instance, there are only twenty Manx words in the index to E. C. Quiggin's "Dialect of Donegal". Any effort, however limited, to supply the deficiency must be of value to Celtic philologists, and this paper will be concluded by an enquiry into the changes undergone by the vowels of Old Irish in their passage to modern Manx. To do the same for the consonants would occupy more space than *Y Cymmrodor* can be expected to provide. Irish words are cited in their old and middle Irish forms indifferently. Unstressed vowels are only occasionally touched upon.

IRISH a.

The Manx representation of Irish *a* from whatever source it arises is when originally stressed:—

i. regularly *a*. Ex.:—*abaich* ripe, E.I. *apaig*; *accan* moan, E.I. *accáine*, W. *achwyn*; *asney* rib, E.I. *asna*, W. *asen*; *ammyr* channel, E.I. *ammor*, trough; *arráne* (oxytone) song, M.I. *ambrán*, where the long vowel in the second syllable from the beginning has, as often, attracted the stress in the Manx word; *annym* soul, O.I. *anim*; *baccagh* lame, E.I. *bacach*, W. *bachog* crooked; *bannoo*

sucking pig, E.I. *banb*, W. *banw*; glass gray, E.I. *glass*; *claddagh* river-bank, I. *cladach* shore; *magher* field, M.I. *machaire*, *macha*, cf. W. *magwyr* enclosure, derived from Latin *maceria* of similar origin; *tappee* quick, E.I. *tupad* alertness.

ii. But *a* and *o* are apt to interchange, Ex.:—*sannish*, *sonnish* whisper, cf. E.I. *sanas*.

iii. Before *n* from *nd*, *nt*, *nn*, it becomes *oa*, *o*, Ex.:—*goan*, *goawn*, *gonney* rare O.I. *gand*; *cloan* children, O.I. *cland*, W. *plant*; *croan* mast, O.I. *crann* tree; *moandagh* stammering, cf. E.I. *mant* gum, O.I. *mend* dumb, Sc.G. *manntach* stammering.

iv. With *i*-affection *a* before *n* becomes in Manx *ei*, *ey*, Ex.:—*rheynn* (also *ronney*) division, O.I. *rann*; *clein* clan, surname, from *cloan* children.

v. With *i*-affection *a* is otherwise lengthened, with spellings *aa*, *ai* pronounced \bar{a}^2 . Ex.:—*aa*- 're-' from **ati*; *aadjin* furze, M.I. *aitten*; *aigney* mind, O.I. *aicned*; *aile*, *ainle* fire, O.I. *aingel* from **pangelo-s*; *ainle* angel, O.I. *angel* from Latin *angelus*; *baash* forehead, O.I. *baithes*. But *clash* furrow, E.I. *class* from **clad-s-ti*; *prash* brass, I. *prás*, *práis* are noteworthy.

vi. Unstressed *a* may be represented by *y* as in *myr* as, M.I. *mar*. More often *a* remains in the spelling though the sound is *y*.

vii. Exceptional is *glen* clean, O.I. *glan* from **glano-s*. Note that *ada* becomes *ei**y* by loss of *d* and contraction, Ex.:—*eiyster* halter, M.I. *adastar*.

IRISH á.

The Manx representation of Irish *á* is:—

i. Regularly *aa*, *ay*, *ai*, or *a* with a mute *e* following the consonant of a final syllable, pronounced \bar{a}^2 . Ex.:—*aase* grow, O.I. *úsaim*; *claware* dish, O.I. *clár* board; *graney*

ugly, O.I. *gránde*; *grayse*, O.I. *grás* from Latin *gratia*; *lane* full, O.I. *lán*; *maill* rent M.I. *mál* from Anglo-Saxon *mál*; *aar* slaughter, O.I. *ár*. Note that aspirated *m* becomes *u* in Manx, hence *laue* hand, O.I. *lám*; *craue* bone, O.I. *cnám*; *craiu* to corrode, E.I. *cnám*.

ii. With *i*-affection Irish *a* becomes *ai*, *ea*, *aai* pronounced \bar{e}^2 . Before intervocalic *d* there is a tendency to shorten to the sound *ei*. Ex.:—*gearey* to laugh, O.I. *gáire*; *laair* mare, O.I. *láir*; *graih* love (pron. *grei*), O.I. *grád*. But *lajer* strong, O.I. *láidir* has the vowel sound \bar{a}^2 , so also *caashey* cheese, O.I. *cáise*.

IRISH o.

The Manx representation of Irish *o* is:—

i. Regularly *o*. Ex.:—*fockle* word, O.I. *focul*; *honnick* saw, O.I. *conaca*; *lhon* blackbird, O.I. *lon*; *fo* under, O.I. *fo*, *tonn* wave, O.I. *tonn*.

ii. Before a nasal or a liquid it is lengthened to *oa*, Ex.:—*foall* deceit, O.I. *foile*; *joarree* alien, cf. M.I. *deorad*. So with different spelling but still sounded \bar{o}^2 we have *lhome* bare, O.I. *lomm*.

iii. With *i*-affection we get *ei*, *oi*, *oy* sounded *yi*. Ex.:—*foyll* kennel, O.I. *foil*; *bleigh* fragment, cf. O.I. *blog*; *boid*, *bvoid* membrum virile, cf. O.I. *bot*.

iv. *o* may interchange with *a*, Ex.:—*cadley* sleep, O.I. *cotlud*; *aghlis* arm-pit, M.I. *ochsal* from Latin *axilla*; *clag* bell, O.I. *clocc*.

v. Exceptional forms are *claigin* scalp, M.I. *cloicend*; *blennic* for *blonnic* lard, O.I. *blonac*.

IRISH ó.

The Manx representatives of Irish *ó* vary perplexingly in spelling and pronunciation. In the old Irish period *ó* frequently changed to *úa* except when final.

i. *aa, ai, ae* pronounced \bar{a}^2 . Ex.:—*braag* shoe, O.I. *bróc*; *aeg* young, O.I. *óc*; *paag* kiss, O.I. *póc* from Latin *pacem*; *feoghaig* periwinkle, M.I. *faechóg*.

ii. With *i*-affection *aai, oai*, Ex.:—*faaid, foaid* sod, O.I. *fót*.

Sometimes *ei* pronounced $\bar{c}i, \bar{y}^3i$, Ex.:—*queig* five, O.I. *cóic*; and *ie* pronounced *ai*, Ex.:—*hie* went, O.I. *dochóid*.

Add here *airh* gold (\bar{a}^2rj) from Latin *aureus* beside the obsolete *oar* gold, O.I. *ór* from *aurum*. *Oar* appears twice in a ballad printed by Train.

iii. When final *ó* becomes *oa*, Ex.:—*croa* sheep-fold, O.I. *cró*.

iv. Before *n* it becomes *oi, oy*, Ex.:—*stroin* nose, O.I. *srón*; *thoin, thoyu* anus, O.I. *tón*.

Note *raun* seal, O.I. *rón*.

v. Before *r* it becomes *ooa*, Ex.:—*liooar* enough, E.I. *lór*; *mooar* big, O.I. *mór*.

vi. Before *s* it becomes *oo*, Ex.:—*poose* marry, M.I. *pósaím* from Latin *sponsus*.

vii. After a palatal it becomes *ay, iau*, Ex.:—*kay* mist, O.I. *ceó*; *kay* cream, O.I. *ceó*; *kiaull*, noise, O.I. *ceól*.

IRISH u.

Irish *u* is represented in Manx by:—

i. *oo, u*, or with *i*-affection *ui, ooi*. Ex.:—*bussal* handkerchief, cf. M.I. *bus* mouth; *cluin* to hear, E.I. *cluínim*; *fluigh* wet, O.I. *fliuch*; *fuill* blood, O.I. *fuil*; *fuinney* bake, O.I. *fuínim*; *goo* wind, O.I. *guth*; *croo* creation, O.I. *cruth*; *loo* oath, O.I. *luige*; *mooir* sea, O.I. *muir*.

ii. Irish *cu-* initial with palatal affection is variously treated. Ex.:—*quallian* whelp, E.I. *culén*; *quail, quill* fly, E.I. *cuil*; *quiggal* distaff, M.I. *cuigel*; *quing* yoke, E.I. *cuing*; *queeylagh* band, O.I. *cúimrech*.

iii *Dreeym* (pronounced *dryim*) back, O.I. *druim*, and *cloie* play, O.I. *cluche*, are unusual spellings.

IRISH *ú*.

Irish *ú* is represented in Manx by:—

i. *oo*, or with *i*-affection *ooi*, *ui*. Ex.:—*gloon* knee, O.I. *glún*; *bruigh* belly, O.I. *brú*; *buirroogh* roaring, O.I. *búrain*; *coo* greyhound, O.I. *cú*; *cooag* cuckoo, O.I. *cúach*; *druight* dew, O.I. *drúcht*; *mooin* make water, E.I. *mún* urine; *oor* fresh, E.I. *úr*.

ii. Before *l* it becomes *ooy*. Ex.:—*cooyl* back, O.I. *cúl*.

iii. When final it becomes *o*. Ex.:—*cro* nut, O.I. *cnú*.

IRISH *e*.

The Manx representative of Irish *e* is:—

i. Regularly *ia*. Of this *ea* is a mere orthographical variant. After some consonants *a* alone is written, the *i* being sufficiently implied in the consonant. Ex.:—*cliaghtey* habit, cf. E.I. *clechtaim* I am wont; *gial* white, O.I. *gel*; *kialy* craft, E.I. *celg*; *chiamble* temple, O.I. *tempul*; *chiass* heat, O.I. *tess*; *fleah* feast, O.I. *fled*; *hannah* already, E.I. *chena*, O.I. *cene*; *jalloo* idol, O.I. *delb*; *jargan* flea, O.I. *dergnat*; *jarroo* true, O.I. *derb*.

ii. When initial regularly as *a*, the *i* re-appearing in the pronunciation, though not represented in the spelling, as a semi-vowel after the preceding article or other closely connected word. Ex.:—*aggle* fear, E.I. *ecla*; *agglish* church, O.I. *eclais* from Latin *ecclesia*; *arragh* springtime, O.I. *errech*.

iii. Before the old Irish *nn*, *nd* it becomes *e* or *io* (pronounced *jō*). Ex.:—*glen*, *glione* valley, O.I. *glenn*.

iv. Before *n*, *r*, *st*, *ng*, with palatal affection, it becomes *e*, *ei*. Ex.:—*geirr* suet, M.I. *geir*; *gen* birth,

O.I. *gein*; *jerrey* end, O.I. *dered*; *keisht* question, E.I. *ceist* from Latin *quaestio*; *chengey* tongue, O.I. *tenge*; *meinn* meal, O.I. *men*; *merg* to rust, O.I. *meirg*.

v. Before *l* broad it becomes *io*. Ex.:—*chiollagh* hearth, O.I. *tellach*.

vi. When final it becomes *ie* pronounced *jē*². Ex.:—*lieh* half, O.I. *leth*.

vii. Unusual are *guillag* leech, O.I. *gel*; *kied* leave, O.I. *cet*; *aarloo* ready, E.I. *erlam*; *lieckan* cheek, E.I. *lecco* gen. *leccan*; *yskil* shank, E.I. *escait*.

IRISH é.

Irish *é* is represented in Manx by:—

i. *aa*, *ea*, *ai*. Ex.:—*grease* industry, O.I. *gréss*; *juagh* smoke, O.I. *dé*, gen. *diat*, *deatach*; *lhaih* to read, O.I. *légim*; *baarl*, *bearl* the English language, O.I. *bélre*; *eaddagh* clothing, O.I. *étach*; *mair* finger, O.I. *mér*; *mea* greasy, O.I. *méth*.

ii. With *u*-affection it becomes *eea*. Before *r* with *u*-affection *aiy*. Ex.:—*keead* hundred, O.I. *cét*, Sc. G. *ceud*; *bzeal* mouth, O.I. *bél*, Sc. G. *beul*; *faiyr* grave, O.I. *fér*, Sc. G. *feur*.

iii. When final it is *ee*. Ex.:—*mee* I, O.I. *mé*.

iv. Before *m*, *n* it becomes *ei*. Ex.:—*lheim* leap, O.I. *léim*, Sc. G. *leum*; *breiun* filthy, O.I. *brén*, Sc. G. *breun*; *lheiney* shirt, O.I. *léne*, Sc. G. *léine*.

v. With palatal affection *eai*. Ex.:—*feaiill* vigil, O.I. *féil*. But compare *lheiney* under iv. above.

vi. Unusual are *kied* first, O.I. *cét*, Sc. G. *ceud*; *beisht* beast, O.I. *béist*; *cleragh* clerk, E.I. *clérech* from Latin *clēricus*.

IRISH i.

The Manx representative of Irish *i* is:—

i. Before a broad consonant *y* arising from * *iu*

which became * *ju* with shift of stress onto the glide vowel. Ex.:—*fynn* white, O.I. *fund*; *fyrryn* male, O.I. *firend*, where the unstressed *e* becoming neutral (*y*) gives *u*-affection to the *r*; *fys* knowledge, O.I. *fiss*; *gyllagh* shout, O.I. *ilach*; *byr* spit, O.I. *bir*; *chymney* testimony, O.I. *timne*; *chyndaa* turn, O.I. *tintuith*; *cryss* belt, O.I. *criss*; *ynrick* just, O.I. *inrice* from * *ind-rucci*.

ii. Before a palatal it remains *i*. Ex.:—*lhing* pool, O.I. *lind*, Sc. G. *linne*; *bingys* music, O.I. *bindius*; *binnid* rennet, O.I. *binit*; *brishey* break, O.I. *brissim*.

iii. Unusual are *guile* reed, O.I. *gilcach*, Sc. G. *giòle*; *guilley* lad, O.I. *gilla*; *lhiann*, *lune* ale, O.I. *lind*; *bluight* milch, O.I. *blicht*; *dress* briar, O.I. *driss*; *eeym* butter, O.I. *imb*. The word *lettyr* letter, is derived directly from English and not through O.I. *litir*.

IRISH í.

The Manx representative of Irish *í* is:—

i. Before broad consonants *eea*, *eey*, *ee*. Ex.:—*keeagh* pap, O.I. *cích*; *creen* ripe, O.I. *crín*; *eeck* pay, O.I. *ícaim*; *feer* true, O.I. *fír*; *feeyn* wine, O.I. *fín*; *meer* piece, O.I. *mír*; *meeyl* louse, E.I. *míl*.

ii. Before palatals *ee*. Ex.:—*keesh* tax, O.I. *cís*; *cheer* country, O.I. *tír*; *eeh* suet, O.I. *íth*.

iii. Unusual are *fírrinagh* true, cf. *feer* under i. *piob* pipe, E.I. *píp*.

IRISH áí (áe) and óí (óe).

These were early confused with one another in Irish. Modern Irish uses the convenient symbol *ao*, with palatal affection *aoi*. It is to be remarked that in Manx the representative of *aoi* tends to affect the preceding consonant.

Modern Irish *ao*, *aoi* is represented in Manx by the

sound \bar{y} when broad. This is sometimes shortened. When narrow the sound is \bar{y}^3 with a tendency towards \bar{e} . It is variously written.

i. *ea, eay*. Ex.:—*geay* wind, O.I. *gáith*. The genitive of *geay* is *geayee*, the vowel part of which has the sound \bar{y}^3 ; *Keayney* to weep, O.I. *cáinim*; *geaysht* long hair, O.I. *goiste*; *meayl* bald, O.I. *máel*; *skeayley* to scatter, E.I. *scáilim*; *eash* age, O.I. *ás*.

ii. *ei, eiy*. Ex.:—*gleih* glue, M.I. *gláed, glóed*; *seihll* world, O.I. *saigul*; *lheiý* calf, E.I. *loeg*.

iii. *ey, eyi*.:—*Keyrrey* sheep, O.I. *cáera*; *seyr* free, O.I. *sóir*; *seyir* carpenter, from **sa(p)iro-s*.

iv. *eo, eoa*. Ex.:—*feoghaig* periwinkle, M.I. *faechóg*; *freoagh* heather, O.I. *froech*.

There are besides a number of irregular spellings and pronunciations which cannot here be classified.

IRISH *úa*.

See above under Irish *ó*. Some of the examples there given may belong here, and *vice versa*.

Irish *úa* appears in Manx as:—

i. When broad *eay* with pronunciation varying between $\bar{u}y$, \bar{y}^3y , y^2y or *iy*. Ex.:—*geayllin* shoulder, O.I. *gualu*; *eayn* lamb, O.I. *uan*; *eayn* horror, O.I. *uamun*; *feayl* urine, O.I. *fúal*; *geayll* heard, O.I. *rochúala*; *theya* people, O.I. *túath*.

ii. When narrow *eay* pronounced \bar{y}^3 . Ex.:—*geaynee* green, O.I. *úane*.

iii. When narrow *eoie, eoaie, oai, oi* with pronunciation $\bar{y}i$. Ex.:—*Leoie* ashes, O.I. *búaiith*; *leoie* lend, O.I. *luaidhe*; *bwoaillee* cattle-fold, O.I. *buale*; *bwoid* beauty, O.I. *buaid*.

iv. When narrow *ei, eoi, eoie* with pronunciation varying between $yí$, y^2i , *ei*. Ex.:—*sleih* people, M.I. *slóg*,

slúag, gen. *slóig*, *sluáig*; *treih* miserable, M.I. *tróg*, *trúag*, gen. *truaig*.

v. *ea* with pronunciation varying between \bar{y}^2y , y^2a , y^2y , $y^2\bar{a}$. Ex.:—*leagh* reward, O.I. *luach*; *leah* soon, O.I. *líath*.

IRISH *ía*.

Irish *ía* is represented in Manx by *eea*, *ia*, and occasionally when final by *ee*.

Ex.:—*eear* west, O.I. *íar*; *eeast* fish, O.I. *íasc*; *feeagh* be worth, O.I. *fiach*; *leecah*, hoary, O.I. *líath*; *mian* appetite, O.I. *mían*.

The categories thus detailed are not exhaustive, but they offer a frame-work into which further observations may be fitted. Speculations as to the causes that have brought about sundry changes of sound between the older Irish and Manx are beyond the scope of a paper which professes to be no more than a mere collection of Marginalia.

Early Celtic Missionaries.

BY THE REV. G. HARTWELL JONES, D.D., D.LITT.

Chairman of the Council of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion.

THE Celtic family of races could point with legitimate pride to a fine record for missionary enterprise, and the achievements of one of the Celtic churches in foreign fields is second to none in the whole history of mankind. Its spiritual triumphs reflect all the more credit upon it, considering the conditions in which it laboured. The heroism of Livingstone, the Scotsman, and John Williams, the Welsh "Martyr of Erromanga", is matched by the daring of Celtic emissaries of the Faith who sallied forth from the British Isles during the sixth, seventh and eighth centuries of the Christian era.

The tornado of death and desolation that had swept over Europe was calculated to cow the boldest spirits. The fair fabric of the Roman Empire, which had been slowly built up in the course of ten centuries, was breaking up under the hammer-strokes dealt with distracting alternation or devastating simultaneity by barbarian hordes let loose from the "officina gentium" (to borrow Pliny the Elder's expression), the "Hive of the North", as another ancient author calls it. Down came black clouds of Vandals, Goths, Huns, Lombards and Franks on the fruitful regions of the South, overwhelming the older populations, finding the land an Eden and leaving it a desert. When the tide of invasion retreated, it was reserved for Celts, cast in a heroic mould, to rescue the crumbling civilisation, to piece together the shattered remnants that haughty Alaric or fierce Attila had left, to

introduce a new element into the cause of civilisation and infuse new blood into the body politic. The wild warrior was vanquished by the captive of his sword and bow.

The Celts, as will appear in the sequel, were well adapted for the task of evangelisation by clear-cut characteristics,—their passion for culture, their laudable love of learning, and their opportunities of acquiring culture at home—and by their geographical situation.

First and foremost was their flaming enthusiasm and ardent temper. Under the preaching and inspiration of a St. Patrick or a St. David the converts of to-day became the apostles of to-morrow. Fired by an apostolic passion, they threw themselves into the evangelistic movement with all the fervour of which the Celtic nature was capable. During the sixth century, the palmy period of missionary activity, the Celts, especially those in Ireland, were dominated by two thoughts: an eagerness for asceticism (a distinguishing badge of Celtic Churchmen) and a passion for prosyletism. Both these characteristics concurred to impress the imagination of barbarians and carry conviction to their minds. Self-imposed exile (or "peregrinatio") for a long period, or for the rest of their natural lives,¹ or according to their favourite formula "a supreme immolation of self", was in the eyes of Celtic Churchmen especially meritorious. The phrase "go into exile for the love of God" (or "of Christ") or "for the health of the soul" constantly recurs in the biographies of the Saints. But theirs was no selfish desire to work

¹ The School of Sinchell taught "ailithre cen tintud" ("pilgrimage without returning") c.f. Adaman i, 48, *Vita Comgalli*, § 41, 42, and *Pintani*, § 2.

They were not proof against home-sickness and often felt the force of the saying in Oided mac n- Uisnig, "Better one's native land than aught else, for there is no pleasure to anyone in prosperity, however great, unless he sees his native land".

out their own salvation. They readily responded to the call of the Gospel and humanity. It was in vain that patriots urged that charity began at home, and that a church canon or rule ascribed to the time of St. Patrick declared that "One should first teach one's own countrymen, following the example of the Lord and His Apostles who began at Jerusalem".

Next among the predisposing causes that prompted missionary endeavour was their inherent propensity to travel. This traditional trait of the Celtic character came into notice at an early period. "To voyage over seas", says Gildas, "and to pass over broad tracts of land was to them not so much a weariness as a delight". Again, "The habit of roaming", says another ancient writer, "has become a second nature with this people". Well, therefore, might the *Acta Sanctorum Ordinis Benedicti* dub these early Celts "*Britones peregrinabundi*" or "Tramping Britons".

Thirdly, their intellectual expansiveness and the desire of imparting knowledge to the inhabitants of regions where the voices of Roman culture had long been silenced, operated in the same direction. For it cannot be denied that the Celt preceded the "Anglo-Saxon", not only in his Christianity, but in his cultivation and custody of learning, both religious and secular, and also in his special zeal for the propagation of them; for at that early day Religion and Learning went hand in hand. Besides, they were repaying a debt of long standing. From the very dawn of the Christian era, Celts had drunk deep at the fount of knowledge in the famous school of Lerins (opposite the present Cannes), now called the Island of St. Honorat, and Auxerre,—if not at Marseilles and Bordeaux as well, which vied with the schools of the East and even those of Athens. And now, when the Roman

Empire was in the throes of dissolution, they burned to repay the obligation. This office they were well able to render; situated beyond the just limits of the Roman world, though partly included within its range,—so secluded and secure from the calamitous visitations that overwhelmed Continental Europe in their sea-encircled domain, that they have been thought to be the fabulous isles of the Hesperides where departed heroes dwelt in peace,—Britain and Ireland sheltered not only the literary treasures of the ancient intellect amid national cataclysms and grave social convulsions, but also the literary tradition, when chased away from the Continent by the savage destroyer. It was thus reserved for British and Irish monks to collect and lodge the scattered fragments of the old world's wisdom, to bridge over the abyss between the old civilisation and the new.

There remains another influential factor, their fondness for visiting holy places and foreign shrines. Celtic missions were in many cases a direct development of pilgrimages. Bede, in his life of the missionary St. Fursa, mentions that the holy man set out from Ireland, wishing "to lead the life of a pilgrim¹ for the Lord, wherever an opportunity offered". If a devotee had not started from home with the direct intention of instructing the heathen, the multiplied miseries, the moral corruption and spiritual destitution that met his eye in the course of his travels, impelled him to remain and minister to those who needed him, or to return on a bloodless crusade to found schools or churches, to fan into flame or keep burning the lamp of religion in the dark hour. To these Celtic pilgrims large portions of the Continent owed their first knowledge of the Glad Tidings.

To pass on to some of the prominent personalities in

¹ Peregrinam ducere vitam.

the mission field, and sketch the movements in which they bore so honourable a part : the Picts in what is now called Scotland, though apparently possessing a Celtic strain, hardly fall within the scope of our enquiry, as they were mere passive recipients, too unenlightened to initiate missionary enterprise. It is true that St. Ninian, a Briton of noble birth, educated and consecrated at Rome to serve as Bishop of Candida Casa (Whithorn) in Wigtonshire, and styled the Apostle of the Picts, preached with success among the Southern Picts in the Lowlands, and that his work was completed by Palladius, Serf, Terman, and others. But the converts that had sat at their feet afterwards fell away from the Faith. The Picts who lived north of the Grampians were still unconverted. It is to them more particularly that St. Columba addressed himself.

The area of Britons' missionary effort was circumscribed, and the cause is traceable to the strained relations existing between them and the Saxons. The latter would have provided abundant scope for evangelistic endeavour, but the prejudice of the British against them was insuperable. Their attitude was, indeed, excusable. It would have needed not a little of the milk of human kindness at that day to share the privileges of the Gospel with "Plant Alis"—the descendants of the traitress Alice Rhonwen—the race which had, as the British conceived, dealt so mercilessly with them. Mindful of the ill-treatment meted out to themselves, certain British bishops replied to an invitation to lend their aid in converting the Saxons, "if the Saxons go to heaven, heaven itself will be unendurable". Whatever truth there may have been in the charge, certain it is that Bede censures them for their refusal to join in the good work. But then Welshmen have from time immemorial been condemned for

crimes they never committed and faults of which they were guiltless.

However, if the Britons could not repress their natural resentment against the Saxons so far as to evangelise them, they found elsewhere an outlet for their zeal. Their kinsmen in Wessex, and the emigrants who took refuge in Armorica (now Brittany) before the face of the Saxons and the ravages of the Yellow Plague, possessed an indisputable claim on their compassion. It has been rather hastily assumed that the original emigrants to Armorica and the teachers that followed them at a later period preached to the heathen Gauls whom they dispossessed. To this motive biographers ascribe the mission of Pol Aurélien, Brioc, Lunaire, Malo, Samson and Magloire. Even at the end of the fifth century and the beginning of the sixth, if we are to believe the writer of *St. Melaine's Life*, the Veneti around Vannes were almost all heathen.¹ But these statements must be received with caution. There is evidence to show that the aborigines of Armorica were Christianised before his arrival and that episcopal sees had been established at Nantes, and probably at Rennes and Vannes as well. *St. Patern* (*Paternus*), bishop of Vannes about 465,² was not the Welsh Padarn, contemporary with Dewi and Dyfrig, but a Gallo-Roman, and the relations between him and Caradog Freichfras must be dismissed as fabulous.³

Assuming that Christianity was not flourishing in Armorica, among the primitive inhabitants who had been absorbed by the newcomers from Britain, and that, as is probable, pagans still survived there in the sixth century,

¹ *Vita Melanii*, 23. *Acta Sanct. Boll.*, t. I. Jan., p. 331.

² Mansi, *Concil.*, vii, 951-955.

³ F. Lot, *Caradoc et Saint Patern in Romania*, xxviii, 189.

especially in the West;¹ even so the main objects of these British missionaries' solicitude were the recent British settlers, many of whom were Christians only in name. Indeed, the British monks other than the Welsh do not appear to have felt, at least at that time, a consuming zeal for the conversion of heathen beyond the seas. It was from Wales, then, that the most celebrated founders of Christianity in Armorica hailed: for although the mass of emigrants probably came from Cornwall, documentary evidence leads one to suspect that the Church in Cornwall was lacking in organisation. "Everything there", says a modern French writer, "seems to have been borrowed from Wales". Cornwall owed much to the Church in Ireland² likewise; Fingar, Briac, Mandet, Vouga, who crossed to Armorica, visited Cornwall on their way thither. Taken altogether, the Irish and Cornish saints are credited in some quarters with a greater share in the ecclesiastical organisation of Armorica than rightly belongs to them.

The palm for universal philanthropy must be assigned, over the heads of every nationality, to the Irish race. At the beginning of the sixth century they were seized with an unconquerable desire to wander afar and preach the Gospel; in the course of the two following they were destined to influence profoundly the northern portions of Europe, and indirectly influence the South as well.

St. Columba found vent for his exuberant energies among the Northern Picts. His distinguished parentage, as the son of Fedhlimidh, himself a scion of the powerful tribe of the Cinel Conaill and Eithne and of royal descent, goes far to account for the influence that he wielded over

¹ G. Guenin, *Le paganisme en Bretagne au VI^e siècle*. An. Br. xvii, 1902, p. 216-234.

² W. Bright, *Chapters of Early Church History*, Oxford, 1878, p. 26.

the minds of his countrymen and his power of enlisting the enthusiastic devotion of youthful disciples. The precise motive that prompted him to engage in missionary enterprise is merged in some obscurity. Tradition tells that he braced himself for the effort in an access of remorse for having provoked a sanguinary encounter between a neighbouring tribe and his own. Acting on the advice of his *anamchara* or soul-friend, he undertook to win souls to compensate for the lives whose ruin he had occasioned. But neither Adamnan, the biographer of the saint, nor the Venerable Bede attributes his departure to this cause. Adamnan declares that he went into voluntary "exile on behalf of Christ", as the phrase ran.¹ Bede is still more definite; he ascribes it to Columba's desire to preach the word of God.² It is an old story and familiar, how he set out on his voyage in a wicker coracle accompanied by twelve disciples, how he landed at the headland of Oronsay and finally settled at Iona. It was to the Scots (viz. Irish), already settled in Pictland and Christians in name, and to the Northern Picts, the most difficult of access, that he turned his attention. The reputation of this "Island soldier", as Adamnan styles him, gathered around him a band of adherents. Ultimately, he was instrumental in planting other religious houses on the neighbouring islands, Ethica, Elena, Himba and Scia. These establishments, together with his old foundation in Ireland, which Columba continued to govern, formed a vast monastic confederacy, which the historical texts designate *muintir Columcille*, "familia Columbae". Under the shadow of these conventual establishments, in the solitude of the wilderness or the savage recesses of primæval forests, the Apostle and his subordinates

¹ Adamnan, *Vita Col.* praef.

² H.E. iii, 4, *praedicaturus verbum Dei.*

planned and executed the missions within and beyond the borders of Pictland.

Saxon England at a later period owed Columba and his settlement a debt of special gratitude. It was from this source that the evangelisation of the Saxon race derived its initial inspiration and impulse. Thence issued teachers, brimful of missionary zeal, and equipped with manuscripts of Holy Scripture copied in the *scriptoria* of Columban houses. Their charitable toil was rudely interrupted by the victory of the pagan prince Penda over Edwin in 633. Paulinus, the representative of the Roman mission at York, fled to Kent. Under Oswald (633-642) the door was again open for further missionary endeavour. He had spent his youth among the Scots—probably those of Dalriada—or at Iona,¹ and therefore had come under Christian influence. He had now an opportunity of fulfilling a long-cherished hope of restoring the Faith in his own estates. He applied to Iona for assistance, and St. Aidan was sent. This emissary established himself on the island of Lindisfarne, which became the seat of a bishopric and a school, and the base of operations in England. It is probably not too much to say that to St. Aidan rather than to St. Augustine of Canterbury belongs the title of Apostle of Saxon England. The Saxon Bede, in spite of his prejudice against the Irish method of keeping Easter, pronounces a glowing eulogy on the Irish bishop, priests and monks, not only at Lindisfarne but in Northumbria generally. Two other Scots, Finan and Colman, proceeded to work among the Middle Angles, and made rapid progress. But in justice to their predecessors in a dark and dreary age, who had made sporadic efforts to minister to the Celtic population of North

¹ J. M. Mackinlay, *Celtic relations of St. Oswald of Northumbria*, *Celtic Review*, v, 1909, pp. 304-5.

Britain, it must be admitted that the lamp of religion among the submerged Britons in Saxon territory, though burning low, had not been entirely extinguished amid the welter and turmoil of the Saxon inundation. Meanwhile, the middle and south of England became the object of Irishmen's solicitude. Dicuil founded Bosham in the present county of Sussex, and Mailduf, in 670, founded a school, which subsequently grew into the famous abbey of Malmesbury. Its chief ornament was St. Aldhelm, whom King Alfred, two centuries later, pronounced to be the best of the Anglo-Saxon poets.

But the scope afforded by the British Isles was not sufficient to quench the inextinguishable ardour of these emissaries of the Faith. They looked across the English Channel for fresh conquests and on the Continent they reaped their chief laurels. The pioneer of this fresh movement was St. Columbanus, who has been often confused with St. Columba. His great predecessor's example probably fired his imagination and, indeed, the minds of the whole of his contemporaries and the succeeding generation. Never did human personality count for so much or carry so much weight as during the sixth century, the golden age of the Irish Church. Never did religious teacher infuse a profounder veneration. Never was a more fruitful movement than the one inaugurated by St. Columbanus.

It may be worth while to sketch his life and career, particularly as it will be impossible to enter into much detail in regard to the rest of the missionaries that remain to be mentioned, and because St. Columban's mission became the pattern of the rest that were to follow during the next two centuries. A typical product of the cloister schools of Ireland, a picturesque figure and a fit representative of the Irish race, he had been brought up at the feet of

Sinell and Finnian at the celebrated monastery of Bangor, on Belfast Lough. Seized in the year 585 with an unquenchable desire to convert the heathen on the European Continent, he pursued his aim with cyclonic energy and unflinching resolution. St. Columbanus's dynamic personality and heroic cast of soul were well calculated to kindle a romantic enthusiasm, and young Scots (namely Irishmen) trooped to link their fate with his. Following the old Roman road through England and embarking doubtless at some point in Kent—probably Rutiabi portus, Richborough, near Sandwich—he landed in Gaul. Arrived on the Continent the pilgrim band may have followed a premeditated plan or have been guided by the inspiration and circumstances of the hour. The question of a medium of communication with the natives would present no difficulty, for they must have found Celtic and Latin in use.

St. Columbanus's first spiritual trophies were won in the Merovingian Kingdom, which had been slowly gangrened with corruption and groaned in the fangs of despotism. That country had, for a hundred years or more, fallen a prey to successive invaders and had been plunged into chaos and calamity. The bonds of society were consequently loosened, and as the century drew to a close, its moral condition kept growing worse. Historians have painted a gloomy picture of the catalogue of black crimes that stained its annals and the moral miasma with which the atmosphere was charged, and scant wonder; the ruling Fredegondes and Brunehaults set their subjects a disastrous example of treachery and profligacy.

To obtain the countenance of the ruling house—in obedience to a true missionary instinct which guided evangelists as diverse and as distant from each other as St. Paul in Greece and Asia, St. Augustine in Kent, and

Cyril and Methodius in Muscovy—Columban turned his steps towards the Court of Burgundy. Gontran, the least corrupt of the grandsons of Clovis, then sat on the throne. This prince received the newcomer kindly and, as a mark of favour, presented him with the old Roman castle of Annegray; here arose the first Irish monastery on the Continent. This was followed by Luxeuil and Fontanes—both erected on former heathen sites, as was usual in the missionary period of the Christian Church.¹ The house at Luxeuil soon arrested the attention and riveted the affections of the natives by the novelty of the Columban rule. Both houses became in due course centres of intellectual illumination, from which gospel light radiated through the province far and wide. But Columban's path was strewn with obstacles and beset by difficulties which he faced with resolute heart and devoted will. He soon came into collision with Brunehault, the grandmother of the young King. A second Athalia, bent on keeping the reins of power in her own hands, she called upon Columbanus to bless an unhallowed union. The Saint repelled her overtures and refused to lend countenance to her other schemes. Nor was her attitude the only bar to his progress. He became embroiled with the Latin Church, on refusing to surrender his native Irish usages in favour of Continental custom. He was no match for this league of sceptre and crozier; faced with the menace of execution or excommunication, or both fates, he was worsted in the encounter and bowed to the inevitable. It availed him nothing to have fortified himself against the persecution of the Court by the living rampart of a devoted population. The upshot of the affair was that he was conveyed to Nantes, and put on board a ship bound for Ireland.

¹ Witness Pope Gregory's shrewd advice in his famous letter to St. Augustine.

The rejoicing of his enemies, however, was short-lived. Amid the flutter of mutual congratulation in their camp, he reappeared on the scene. A storm had driven the vessel back on to the sands at the mouth of the Loire. The captain, with all a sailor's superstition, regarding Columban as another Jonah, placed him and his companions on shore and sailed away. Columban, on his part, hailed his unexpected return as a favourable omen; evidently Providence held other work for him to fulfil. Here the curtain falls on his activity in France. Brief as was his sojourn, he left a deep impression on the North. His ideas on the exemption of monasteries from ecclesiastical discipline and his sublime austerities, added to his personal ascendancy, exerted a far-reaching effect on the Church in France. But still greater was his indirect influence. His lead stimulated the next generation to like effort. A fresh wave of his fellow countrymen "overflowed" (as a German writer has said) "these provinces, especially in the neighbourhood of the Rhone, like a flood"; their philanthropic deeds are unchronicled and their resting places are known only to the dweller in the wilds or under the shadow of the primæval forests. No slender proof of Columban's influence lies in the survival to this day of a wealth of legends concerning him and his associates in Haute Saône. But there were yet more palpable tokens of his presence there. To realise the advance of Irish monarchism in Gaul, in the seventh century, one need only glance at the Saint's itinerary and notice the monasteries branching off from Luxeuil and Fontanes which mark his trail and stud the face of Northern Europe. La Brie, Faremontiers (627), Jouarre (630), Rebais (about 636) owed their origin to his disciples. Irish pilgrims to Rome were naturally drawn to these religious houses and called there in course of their

journey. Thus, for example, the Life of Aigilius mentions a party of pious wayfarers from the Emerald Isle, who rested at Rebais, to recruit after the toils of the journey.¹

Meanwhile, Clotaire II, King of the Franks, had taken him under his protection and detained him in his court. The Saint chafed under the restraint and fretted in forced inaction. The spirit of adventure beckoned him on. He now indulged the dream of reclaiming the Lombards from heresy and heathenism. Accordingly he turned his face towards North Italy. The usual route being infested by Brunehault's ubiquitous spies, he and his gallant comrades adopted a bolder course, no less than that of ascending the Rhine in their wicker coracles. It argues no little physical endurance as well as courage on their part, that they paddled against the current and even battled with the rapids in their frail craft, for example between Bingen and Maintz, which even modern steamers do not easily navigate.

Pursuing their journey undismayed, with no variation or vacillation of purpose, the party arrived at length at Lake Constanz; there they halted for a while to restore their exhausted energies. They subsisted on fish from the lake or game snared in the neighbouring forests; we are informed, by the way, that Columban was an adept at making nets and traps. The mission then sustained a temporary check. He roused the ire of the natives, not only by hacking down their idols, but—what was equally heinous—by destroying the “boilers” in which they brewed beer, a national sacrifice to the god Wodin. He availed himself of their unavoidable detention to establish a house at Reichenau, which afterwards became famous in ecclesiastical annals. Meanwhile, Gall, one of

¹ *Vita Agili*, xxiv, Mabillon, *Acta Sanct.* O.S.B., p. 321.

his companions in exile, fell sick of a fever, and had to be left behind. His misfortune, however, redounded to the benefit of the inhabitants. He built a hut, learnt the native dialect, and decided to remain in this spot so long as life lasted. From this nucleus sprang the Abbey of St. Gall, a source from which religion and culture flowed for fully three hundred years. The Saint's name is perpetuated in the name of the town St. Gall, and his foundation is to this day one of the richest repositories of Irish manuscripts.

Lake Constanz was not destined to set a period to Columban's wanderings. Taking with him the rest of his disciples, he descended the Alps into the plain of Lombardy, his true objective, probably by way of the St. Gothard Pass, which was fraught with terror to the popular imagination, with its frowning precipices, deep gorges, sweeping avalanches and dark forests peopled by the native fancy with eerie spirits and goblins damned. Arrived in Lombardy, he gained the ear of King Aigilul, and was granted possession of the old Church of St. Peter at Bobbio in a retired vale of the Apennine range, between Genoa and Milan. Here he established the famous Abbey of Bobbio, sharing the workmen's labours and shouldering beams of firewood like the meanest of his assistants. Bobbio became the citadel of orthodoxy against the Arian heretics, and attracted many missionaries of British as well as Irish blood; some names have come down to us. The chronicles of the monastery have preserved one incident of special interest. When Columban, on November 3rd, 613, placed his new foundation under the aegis of St. Peter, the signatories of the deed were Cunochus (Cynog), Gurgarus (Gwrgar), both Britons, and Domicialis, a Scot.¹ Here, on November

¹ *Monumenta Historiae Patriae*, Turin (1836), i, p. 3.

23rd, 615, the fitful fever of the saint's life came to a close in that peace which is at once the crown of Christian endeavour and the end of Christian conflict. As the modern town and canton of St. Gall enshrined the name of the most favoured of his disciples, so the town of San Colombano in Lombardy perpetuates the name of the leader of the intrepid band.

Our reason for dwelling on St. Columba and especially St. Columbanus at some length is that they were pioneers and types of Celtic missionaries for several generations. Both of these Saints brought with them from Ireland, maintained in their new domicile and transmitted the characteristic features and traditionary rules of Celtic Christendom, notably asceticism, which their successors and off-shoots faithfully reproduced.

The gallant company, captained by this master spirit St. Columban, formed, so to speak, the spearhead of the army of the Church Militant, advancing from the British Isles. Fame was not slow in spreading the news of Columban's evangelical prowess. Other unoccupied fields lay open to missionary effort and this territory Celts of like mettle were not slow in occupying, nor did they want for helpers from among the native population. Attracted, as we are informed, by the self-abnegation of the inmates of Luxeuil, many, like the Dadons, the Farons, the Elois, the Wandrilles, the Philiberts, quitted the court, as well as the cloister or the episcopal palace, and threw in their lot with the stranger. While some of these votaries came to gratify their curiosity and returned to the "world", others remained gazing and listening, till first one and then another threw off his bravery and took, instead, the girdle and the cowl.

To continue our metaphor, the vanguard of the missionary host were not long in appearing at the seat of

spiritual warfare. A Scot, Fursey by name, had gone into voluntary "exile" (according to the monastic motto) "for the Lord" into Britain. The fame of Columbanus and his colony at La Brie in the North of France determined him to cross the English Channel. Passing through "Saxony" (East Anglia) he was honourably entertained by King Siegbert at Burghcastle, and built a monastery there.¹ His companions Rodalgus, Algeis and Carbican had gone on in advance to Northern Gaul. Eventually Fursey followed them and he, too, wielded a powerful influence in Northern France, but his missionary career was cut short; he died at Macercias (now Frohen) in the Ponthieu. His remains were translated to Péronne. Compatriots crowded to visit his tomb and reared a monastery reserved for Irishmen—hence the name *Perona Scottorum*—and a succession of Scots like Foillan, Ultan, both brothers of Fursey, Cellan (706) and Maenan² ruled this celebrated establishment. The Irish hold on the religious foundation continued until the Normans destroyed it in 880.

The Greater and Lesser light of Christendom in that region during the Merovingian period, namely, St. Columban and St. Fursey, formed respectively centres of constellations of hermits, cenobites and evangelists, such as Chaidoc, Fricor, Riquier, Gobain, Amandus, Algeis, Livin, Deicolus, Corbican, Foillan, Fridolin, Manquille, Caidor and Gibrian. It is a far cry from Merovingian France to modern Paris, but a trace of an Irish saint survives in a French term for a cab. The signboard of an hostelry bore the name St. Fiacra, because in the stable yard stood his image with a lamp burning before it.

¹ Bede, H.E., iii, c. 19.

² The "Four Masters" (774) mention the death of Maenan, Abbot of the City of Fursey, in France. See A.Q.M. ed. O'Donovan i, p. 378-379.

The innkeeper was the first to start the popular carriage "fiacre", and the name has clung to this type of vehicle ever since.

No less solicitous were these exiles for the spiritual welfare of the tribes who lay further towards the North. Apprised in a dream that he was a chosen vessel set apart to preach the Gospel in the Low Countries (so runs the story), Etto (the French St. Zé) started from Ireland with seven companions and spent his life carrying the torch of enlightenment among the inhabitants. Testimony to their disinterested devotion is to be seen in the numerous establishments founded in Belgium. Rombault converted the townsmen of Malines to the Faith; Livin taught the inhabitants of Ghent and he paid the penalty of his enthusiasm with his life; in the Argonne Rodingus founded Beaulieu. The inhabitants of Friedland, in like manner, acknowledged Christ at the bidding of Irishmen. It may be safely assumed that these missions in the North and East derived their impulse from the great Columban foundations at Luxeuil, St. Gall and La Brie. Jonas of Bobbio declares that no less than 620 missionaries left Luxeuil itself to work in Bavaria.

Turn to Switzerland and the same tale is told. Rheinau, near Schaffhausen, owed its origin to Findan. It became a centre of illumination and a veritable hive of industry. Fridolin preached at Glarus and in recognition of his services to the Faith¹ he figures to this day on the cantonal arms and banner. The villages and countryside bordering on the Rhine relinquished their idols at the exhortation of two Scots who, witnessing the benighted condition of the inhabitants, established themselves at Goar, at the suggestion, it was freely stated, of no less a

¹ See *Mittheilungen der antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zurich*, vol. ix, part i, tab. 12, no. 16.

personage than the saint himself who appeared to them in a vision. Disibod planted the monastery which bore his name, Disibodenberg, between Treier and Mainz, at the junction of the rivers Nahe and the Glau. Kilian worked in Franconia and about 689, at Würzburg, with his helpers, Bishops Colman and Totman, crowned his missionary labours with martyrdom. Tuban and Alto planted religious houses at Honau on an island on the Rhine, near Strasburg, and Virgil, the Geometrician, formerly abbot of Aghaboe in Ireland, appropriated Salzburg in Austria as the sphere of his labours and erected the monastery of St. Peter's at Altomünster. His views on certain points of ecclesiastical discipline, which were far in advance of his time, and on the existence of the Antipodes, brought him into conflict with Boniface, the Anglo-Saxon Apostle of Germany. Eventually he became bishop of the See (767-784). His coadjutor Tuti, called elsewhere Dobdagree, became abbot of Chiemsee in Upper Bavaria. Muiredach Mac Robertaig, known on the Continent as Marianus Scotus, left a deep impression on a part of Germany. While he was on pilgrimage to Rome, in 1067, he was hospitably received at the nunnery of Obermünster. His experience of the moral and spiritual darkness among the natives of this region decided him to settle down there and teach them, making Ratisbon his headquarters. The news of his success roused such enthusiasm, half religious, half romantic, in his native Ireland that many flocked thence to his aid, particularly from Ulster and other parts of the North. The influence of his religious foundation may be gauged by the fact that, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, eight others sprang up in the same region. Thus a chain of mansions of charity by this time extended from the mouths of the Meuse to the Rhone and the Alps.

No hardship, no repulse, no peril could daunt the spirit or shake the determination of these noble-minded, self-effacing Celtic pioneers. Their fervour carried a few still further East. An Irish abbot of Ratisbon wrote, in 1193, to Wratislaus of Bohemia, requesting him to guarantee his messenger safe conduct through his dominions. An Irish monk, combining in his person a shrewd business instinct with his sacred functions, joined a company of traders setting out on an expedition to Kieff, in Russia. Returning laden with furs he devoted the proceeds of the sale of them to the erection of a monastery. Again, Frederick Barbarossa, on his way back from a crusade, in 1189, lighted upon a house ruled by an Irish abbot, at Skribentium, probably to be identified with Skripetz, about fifteen miles due East of Widin, and now included in Rumania.

Italy, as a whole, did not stand in much need of the aid of the vigorous and indomitable apostles from Britain. For besides St. Columban, who had settled at Bobbio and whose Celtic house was ministering to the inhabitants of the Apennine region, another luminary had risen in the ecclesiastical firmament and another force had come into being which was destined in due time to include Christendom within its range. St. Benedict had, in 515, lighted another torch at Monte Cassino near Naples, and it would indeed have been strange if Italy had not embraced the institution of one of her greatest sons. But there was still room for the exertions of other foreign teachers besides Columbanus and his sons in the Faith.

Apparently the standard of civilisation in Central and Northern Italy, whether owing to the dissolution of society or some other cause, was not on a much higher

level than that of the Merovingian Kingdom of France, which has been already described. Here then lay a task ready to the hand of Irishmen. No less a personage than Pope Gregory the Great, being ignorant of Greek, had availed himself of their help. Even two hundred years later, the talented and erudite Spanish heretic Claudius, Bishop of Turin, when called upon to expound his censures on image-worship before a synod of Italian bishops, felt justified in exulting over the ignorance of the devastated churches of the Continent and pronounced their lordships to be a "congregation of asses". Stung by the taunt, the "asses" invoked the aid of an Irishman, in the person of the monk Dungal, to confute the presumptuous railer. It is noteworthy and significant, that here on the soil of distant Lombardy, the two protagonists in the encounter of intellectual Titans hailed from the only two countries which sheltered Greek and Roman culture at the beginning of the seventh century, when it had sadly declined elsewhere in the West.

Legend has been busy with the name of Finnian, in the Italian form Santo Frediano, who left Ireland about the time that Columban was born and appears on the stage of the world's history, in 568, after the Lombard invaded Italy. Of him Platina wrote, "But for Frediano Italy would have been utterly ruined". For in the general panic all other ecclesiastics fled. Remaining at his post, Frediano fought the wild forces of anarchy, gained the confidence of the chieftains, and led their Lombard subjects back to the Faith.

Ursus, an Irish missionary of lesser fame, had preceded him (A.D. 500 ab. 550). Crossing Switzerland along the pass of St. Bernard, he reached the Vale of Aosta in

the neighbourhood of Turin, and there erected a church which still bears his name and survives to record his philanthropic endeavours.¹

The lion-hearted path finders described in these pages (illustrious and immortal galaxy!) by no means exhaust the list of single-minded souls who emigrated from the British Isles in the cause of Christ. In fact, an army of emissaries of the Faith plunged into the dark forests or soaking swamps of the Continent, experiencing all fortunes, encountering all adversaries, shaping themselves for all emergencies, but leaving no memorial for posterity save the effects of their influence in the reformed lives of their pagan converts; their deeds are unchronicled, their very names unrecorded. But contemporary documents enable us to picture their personal appearance. They generally travelled in companies, often twelve in number, under a chief from the homeland—partly perhaps after the example of Christ and His apostles, partly also from motives of prudence; for the days were evil, brigandage was rife, property insecure, life unsafe. They sometimes attached themselves to caravans of merchants. It was a matter of principle among monastic orders—and the Celts readily fell in with the traditional usage—that pilgrims prompted by purely ascetic motive, should generally travel on foot. An anonymous but authentic rule of Celtic origin forbade an abbot the use of a chariot or horse for this purpose. Able-bodied monks who declined to walk were liable to excommunication; but a monastic rule of Kil-Ros makes an exception in favour of an elderly (*seniculus*) abbot and allows him a nag to ride on. In like manner,

¹ For other Irish characters who figure in the religious annals of Italy, the reader is referred to an article by the writer in the *Transactions of the Cymmrodorion Society* entitled "Italian influence on Celtic culture". Session 1905-6, pp. 84-160.

the laws of Hywel Dda enjoined the necessity of walking on those who were engaged on certain momentous errands. But (thought they) why shrink from discomfort or hardship, when the earliest Apostles, their ancestors in the Faith, their prototypes and exemplars, an Andrew in Sarmatia, a Thomas in India, spent themselves in the same sacred cause, in the wilds and on the deep, in weariness, in tribulation, in famine, in nakedness, in persecution, in perils, in "deaths oft", and passed to glorious triumph through agonising trial?

The wanderers' equipment was in keeping with their methods of locomotion. Clad in the pilgrim's mantle, with their eyelids painted, with long staves, with leathern knapsacks or pouches containing books, relics and flasks slung over their shoulders, and carrying writing tablets which the natives often mistook for swords, they roamed restlessly, fleeing from the world. It is not surprising that many of them reached their destinations in a state of extreme exhaustion. Their forlorn condition in many cases necessitated their appealing to a prince, prelate or other powerful personage or throwing themselves on the charity of the public, for (said they) hunger, thirst, fatigue, the inclemency of the weather, brook no denial. Some vented their grief in Latin verse. One of them, numbed with cold at Soissons, addresses Charles the Bald in a couplet in which he envies the King a warm fire at the hearth. Another calls on the bishop of Liege to make good the theft of his clothes by one of My Lord's subjects. The unhappy victim was evidently born to misfortune, as the sparks fly upward; later, on a journey to Rome he was attacked by bandits and killed. The uncouth appearance of these wanderers—their sordid attire, their singularity, and their rigorous asceticism,—were not calculated to prepossess in their favour eyes bleared and dimmed by

prejudice and custom ; so some of the magnates of the countryside withheld from them the support that they sorely needed. On the other hand, Bishops, like Faron of Meaux, Didier of Cahors, Ansoald of Poitiers, Hartgaire and Franco of Liege, and the Bishops of Cambrai were eager to lend their aid to the meritorious mission, to restore to the Irish hospices for pilgrims (hospitalia Scottorum) and houses of which they had been despoiled. In like manner, kings vied with prelates in safeguarding the interests of Scots who, then as now, according to one old chronicler, were the most delightful (dulcissimi) of men.

Jocelin of Brakelond¹ is a voucher for the following episode, which serves to illustrate both the dangers of travel and the controversial bitterness of the Middle Ages, as well as the respect in which the Scottish name was held as late as the twelfth century. Abbot Samson was obliged to travel to Rome on business, at the time of the schism between Pope Octavian and Pope Alexander. " I passed ", says he, " through Italy at that time when all clerks (clergy) bearing letters of our Lord the Pope Alexander were taken prisoner. Some were imprisoned, some hanged, and some with nose and lips cut off were sent forward to the Pope, to his shame and confusion. I, however, pretended to be a Scot ; and putting on the garb of a Scotsman, and the gesture of one, I often brandished my staff, in the way they use that weapon called a gaveloc (javelin), at those who mocked me, using threatening language after the manner of the Scots. To those that met and questioned me, as to who I was, I answered nothing, but ' Ride, ride Rome, turne Cantwerberei '. This did I to conceal myself and my errand, and that I should get to Rome safer in the guise of a Scotsman.

¹ In S. G. Rokewode's edition, p. 35.

“ Having obtained letters from the Pope, even as I wished, on my return I passed by a certain castle, as my way led me from the city ; and behold the officers thereof came about me, laying hold upon me and saying—‘ This vagabond who makes himself out to be a Scotsman is either a spy or bears letters from the false Pope Alexander ’. And while they examined my ragged clothes, and my boots and my breeches, and even the old shoes which I carried over my shoulders after the fashion of the Scots, I thrust my hand into the little wallet which I carried, wherein was contained the letter of our lord the Pope, placed under a little cup I had for drinking. The Lord God and St. Edmund so permitting, I drew out both the letter and the cup together, so that extending my arm aloft, I held the letter underneath the cup ”. He proceeds to describe how he was robbed of all his money and was obliged to beg his way from door to door back to England.

It has been suggested that the reason for the favour with which the Scots were regarded was that the Scottish Kingdom naturally sided with Pope Octavian, while England supported Alexander’s claims. That is mere conjecture ;¹ Irish Scots might be meant. Either way, the Scots who enjoyed such high esteem were Celts, and the very name of Scotsman constituted a passport to respectability and established a claim on popular regard.

The influx of Irish missionaries into the European Continent reached its highwater mark between 500 and 700. For the next two centuries it kept at a high level, but afterwards began to ebb. Various causes co-operated in this result ; some lay in the inherent weakness of the system ; others are traceable to historic events external to it.

¹ Arnold, *Memorials of St. Edmund’s Abbey*, London, 1890, i, p. 252, ff.

I.—Missionary activity in the Irish Church did not cease utterly and at once; it continued up to the time of Marianus Scotus of Ratisbon, who has been already mentioned, in the eleventh century. But after the seventh century it ceased to be the one all-absorbing passion; other interests arose to distract attention. The controversy about Easter and the ever increasing pretensions advanced by Rome contributed to divert the mind from the claims of the heathen abroad. The inroads of the Danes were another disturbing factor and robbed Ireland of the internal tranquillity needed for missionary enterprise outside its borders. The boldest spirits, who used to seek the post of danger and the crown of martyrdom, abroad could gratify their wish nearer home. Then came the subjugation of Ireland in 1171, which put an end not only to the independence of the island, but also of the Church.

II.—The authorities of the Church at home had long deprecated the wholesale pilgrimage to Rome and missions on the Continent. An ecclesiastic at an early period¹ expressed the view that the unconverted Irish had a prior claim on the compassion and help of their countrymen. These arguments were reinforced at a later day by such expressions of opinion as the following: "A pilgrimage to Rome", says an ancient author, "demands strenuous effort, with but meagre advantage. If thou findest not the Heavenly King whom thou seekest, in thine own country, or carry Him not with thee, thou wilt never find Him there (at Rome). It is all folly, madness, delusion, frenzy, to go on pilgrimage to Rome, to court death and destruction and to draw down upon thee the wrath of the Lord". Forcible language, indeed, but not more so than some of Columban's utterances on the sub-

¹ See p. 41.

ject of the claims of Rome. Irish Christianity was not consciously in opposition to that of Rome, but at the same time it was quite independent of the Roman hierarchy and of Roman intolerance. At any rate, such dissuasions could not fail to damp the ardour of Irish Churchmen.

III.—The very success attending evangelistic effort on the Continent reacted unfavourably on these enterprises. It was one of the settled principles of the Irish missionaries to train natives for the work. In process of time the newer generation could dispense with the services of the Celtic instructors, who now became superfluous.

IV.—The Irishmen possessed all the qualifications for the making of spiritual knights errant,—enthusiasm, a passion for imparting knowledge, and religious zeal—and while the Frankish Church lay crippled by the general desolation, the Irish supplied the compelling incentive and the quickening power that the times needed; but they appear to have lacked gifts of organisation and practical ecclesiastical strategy. Individuals or groups of individuals worked at various points, but without superior guidance. For lack of cohesion, their energies tended to become dissipated; even their monasteries were in a great measure isolated, independent of diocesan authority and seldom forming confederacies.

V.—They suffered from a plague of itinerant bishops, Irish and Scottish priests, invested with a roving commission to preach and officiate under episcopal sanction. Some of the better sort of these ecclesiastical vagrants stooped to work in the mission field. Others aimlessly wandered about, and proved a source of embarrassment. No one knew whether they came with ecclesiastical authority or whether they were impostors. The fact is that Irish, Franks and English, bond and free, crept into the highest dignities, leading the laity astray, bringing the

mysteries of the Church into confusion and troubling the consciences of the Faithful with their heretical views. So glaring did the evil become that Pope Zacharias was obliged to denounce them, and Councils took measures to suppress them. Evidently many of these bishops, real or self-constituted, hailed from Ireland.

Such were some of the causes that explain the waning prestige of the Irish missions. Celtic teachers had done a noble work, but the Latin Church recovered, and in course of time the influence of the Irish Church died away.

The reasons for this decline from the first fervour varied in different countries. Here one cause operated, there another, elsewhere a third; but whatever the particular cause may have been, the Irish monks' soothing dirge, solemn chant and passing bell, were heard no more in forest or vale. So passed away the voice of the Celtic missionary from the Continent.

But if the high and heavenly temper of old gradually drooped, and the deep devotional impulse flagged, the intellectual agility, the irrepressible instinct for seeing the world, the love of disputation lived on. The Celtic intellect was now drawn into the swirl of theological science, philosophical speculation and scholastic controversy and contributed not a little to further the march of mind. A "herd of Irish philosophers", as an ancient writer calls them, flung themselves into the whirl of controversy and the war of anathemas in the schools and universities of Europe. The dialectical gladiators of Celtic blood did not always range themselves on the side of orthodoxy. Pelagius, the notorious heresiarch of the fourth century—whom we Welsh must relinquish in favour of Ireland—and Celestius, his lieutenant, "brought up on Scotch porridge" (to quote St. Jerome)—these had their counterparts in a John Scotus and a Thomas of Wales.

But whether on the side of error or truth, they displayed the same bright and happy genius, the same alertness of mind, ardour and fearlessness as had prompted the former heroes of the Cross to embark on a world-wide mission to save souls.

A North Cardiganshire Woollen Yarn Factory.

ITS HISTORY, MACHINERY, TRADE AND RURAL
ASSOCIATIONS, WITH A NOTE ON A FAMILY OF
MONTGOMERYSHIRE MILLWRIGHTS.

BY IORWERTH C. PEATE, M.A.,

Department of Archæology, National Museum of Wales.

THE history of the woollen industry in Wales has been dealt with by various authors. Drs. E. A. Lewis¹ and Caroline A. J. Skeel² have both contributed to the elucidation of its development in mediæval and early modern times, while Miss A. M. Jones³ has indicated its present extent in her survey of rural industries. This paper is an attempt to indicate the working of a woollen yarn factory which has fallen into disuse within recent years, and its place as a factor in a rural community in the nineteenth century. The study of the trade of a remarkable family of Welsh millwrights of the same period also throws much light on the woollen industry in Wales during the last century.

¹ E. A. Lewis, M.A., D.Litt., D.Sc.: "The Development of Industry and Commerce in Wales during the Middle Ages". *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, new series, vol. xvii, pp. 151-161.

² C. A. J. Skeel, M.A., D.Litt.: "The Welsh Woollen Industry in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries". *Arch. Camb.*, vol. lxxix. (1924), pp. 1-38.

³ A. M. Jones, M.Sc.: *Rural Industries of England and Wales, IV, Wales*, Oxford, 1927, pp. 17-43.

i. THE FACTORY AND ITS MACHINERY.

Llanrhystyd is a small village situated about nine miles south of Aberystwyth on the Aberaeron road. Roads from Llangwryfon and the Mynydd Bach district, Tregaron, Blaenpennal, and Bethania converge upon it, and it is therefore a natural meeting place for the inhabitants of a large area of Cardiganshire. The river Wyre flows through the village—with the village church, and the two inns on one bank, and the village smithy on the other at the bridge end. About two hundred yards below the bridge, between the main road and the river, and opposite the church is a lime-washed roughly-built stone building (see Figures 1 and 2). This was, up to the beginning of 1926, a factory for the manufacture of woollen yarn and was worked for a period of about fifty years by Mr. James Jones and his wife until ill health compelled Mr. Jones to abandon the work. The machinery has now been purchased for, and removed to the National Museum of Wales, the factory building being converted into a saw-mill. The factory machinery was driven by water-power, supplied by means of a large undershot wheel, driven by water from a leat which runs from a pond supplied from the River Wyre (see Figure 5). Inside, on the same axle upon which the large waterwheel was built, was another wheel, also of wood, and 7 feet 8 inches in diameter. This was fitted with large wooden teeth, projecting on the side of the wheel at right angles to it. Fitting into these, on both the right hand and the left, were two sets of similar teeth or cogs fitted at the ends of the horizontal axles of two wooden drums which carried the beltings which drove the factory machinery. The horizontal drum axles are of solid wood with steel projections turning in brass bearings at each end (see Figure 3).

The machinery consists of a small willy, a scribbler-

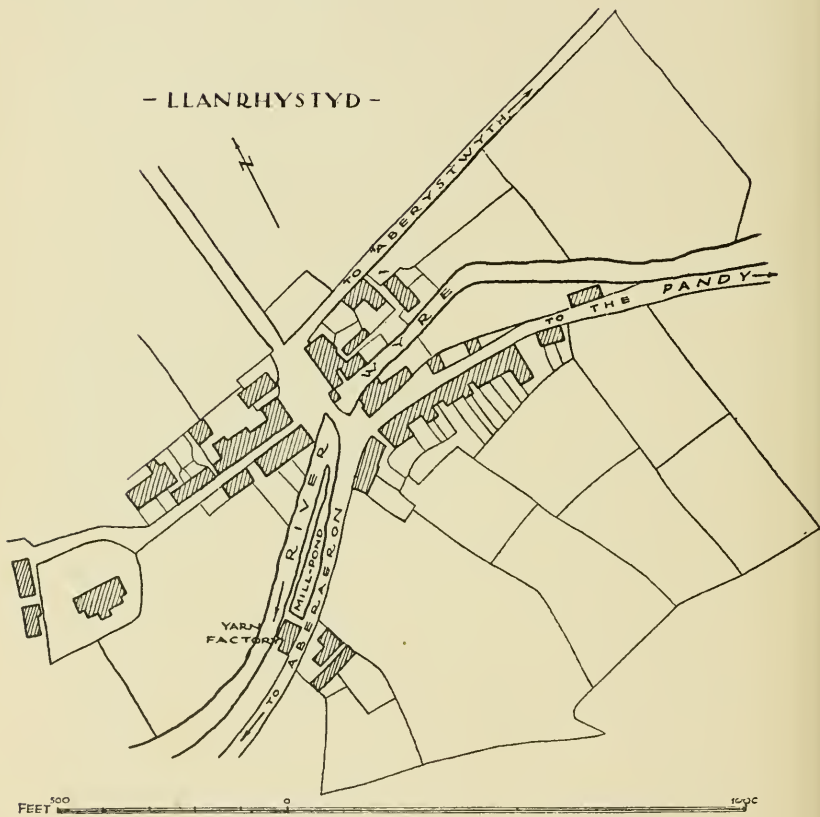


Fig. 1. Plan of village, showing the position of the factory.

carder, a condenser-carder, a spinning billy and a spinning jack (see Figure 4). The wool-mill, willy, tucker, "whilow", "devil" or [Welsh] *chwalwr* (scatterer) was the first machine employed on the raw wool to open and disentangle the close matting of the wool as it came from the hands of the farmer. It was also used for mixing different parcels of wool together. The willy used at Llanrhystyd consists of a cylindrical drum 16 inches broad and 12 inches in diameter, covered with teeth, or spikes, of iron. This was enclosed in a case and the wool was fed into the space between the casing and the spiked cylinder. The rotation of the cylinder by water-power caused the wool to be well worked. It may be noted that, compared with some of the willys used early in the nineteenth century, this particular wool-mill was of a primitive type. A description, published in 1819¹, refers to "a wool-mill used in Yorkshire [which] consists of a cylindrical drum . . . made to revolve near three hundred times *per* minute. Its circumference is furnished with teeth or spikes, and, immediately above it, five small rollers are placed, which are also furnished with similar teeth. The teeth of the rollers and those of the drum intersect each other when they all turn round, and the teeth of the five small rollers also intersect each other. The cylinders and rollers are inclosed in a box or case, which is closed on all sides, except a door in front, which turns down, the hinges being at the lower side. When the door is shut up it stands in a perpendicular plane, very near to the teeth of the drum; when the door is opened, or turned down into the horizontal position, the wool is laid upon it, about one pound weight at once, and the door being closed the wool is

¹ Abraham Rees, D.D., F.R.S., F.L.S. : *The Cyclopædia : or Universal Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, and Literature*, vol. xxxviii, sv. "Woollen Manufacture".

brought within reach of the teeth of the cylinder, which take the wool and carry it upwards, so as to work it between the teeth of the cylinder and those of the five rollers placed over it". The wool is worked in between the teeth of the cylinder of the Llanrhystyd willy by being taken in between two small steel rollers, one of which is fluted.

From the willy, the wool was taken to the scribbling machine (see Figure 7). This was the first stage of carding, the operation of disentangling the fibres which were before closely entangled, drawing them out separately, and so rendering the wool light and flaky. The scribbling machine is very similar to the carding machine, having a large cylinder which is covered with steel carding-brushing. This cylinder was turned by water-power, the wool being regularly and slowly supplied by feeding machinery until the cylinder was literally covered with wool. This wool was worked by several other small rollers or cylinders similarly covered with steel-brushing, and called workers or clearers. The repeated transfer of wool from roller to roller and to the main cylinder constituted the chief action of scribbling. After the wool had passed through various workers it was taken up by a slowly-rotating large cylinder (but smaller than the great cylinder) called the doffer, and stripped from this by a steel comb. The wool so stripped hung together in a continued web of thin texture. In this state the wool was said to be scribbled and was then ready for carding, a process similar to that of scribbling except that the wool was formed into small cylindrical rolls, "the first rudiments of a thread". The scribbling machine from Llanrhystyd is the work of Robert Davies, of Llan bryn Mair, Montgomeryshire, whose work and trade will be again referred to in this paper. The machine has a strong oak frame, and with

the exception of the cylinders and the necessary metal fittings is entirely of wood, all the belt pulleys being also of wood. The machine is fitted with scales for the weighing of the wool.

The condenser carding machine (see Figure 8) is of iron and is much more elaborate in construction than the scribbler-carding machine. It was a later device and served to reduce the thickness of the carded strands so that intermediate reduction to slubbing became unnecessary. Through the united operations of scribbling and condensing, there were produced cardings composed of fibres of wool laid very lightly together with the least possible entanglement, of regular and even size, the perfection of the spinning depending to a high degree upon the regularity and evenness of the fibres.

The two other machines in the Llanrhystyd factory are the jack and the billy for spinning the yarn (see Figure 6). The jack is a small machine, and in this case, as the owner informed me, consists of part of a billy which had been cut down. It was used for rough spinning and for the twisting of yarn, and consists of thirty spindles. The billy has seventy-seven spindles and is of the ordinary type, consisting of a movable carriage running upon grooved wheels along two rails. The wool from the carding machines was placed on the drums of the billy and spun into yarn on the spindles.

ii. TRADING METHODS AND THE PROCESS OF CLOTH MANUFACTURE.

The Rev. Walter Davies, M.A. (*Gwallter Mechain*), writing in 1815, refers to the "domestic woollen manufacture on the Cardiganshire plan expedited by carding machines, situate at convenient distances from each other" and wishes to see it "pervading every part of

Wales capable of adopting it".¹ Two years earlier he had written of North Wales: "Formerly the whole flannel was manufactured, in the most literal acceptation of the term, by the tedious operation of the hand, by farmers and cottagers in their own houses. Of late, the powerful agency of water has been brought to their assistance, and [in the county of Montgomery] about 40 carding and several spinning machines have been erected in different parts".² What was true in this respect of Montgomeryshire was true also of Cardiganshire, and in many districts the factory, the domestic weaver and the fuller were to be found plying a regular trade. While it is true that the rural area of Llan bryn Mair, Montgomeryshire, with its meagre, scattered population, produced at one period of the nineteenth century flannel to the value of £8,000 a year,³ it is no less certain that there was as steady a trade in North Cardiganshire, and while there is to-day no vestige of the industry left in Llan bryn Mair, it still remains of some importance in North Cardiganshire.

Reference has been made to the central character of Llanrhystyd (see Figure 9). It is situated at the meeting of the roads which lead from an extensive *hinterland*, the northern region of the Mynydd Bach, with its lonely concealed villages reached by mountain roads and lanes along which, in this century, the motor car has already found its way. The farming folk of this district supplied the wool for the factory. It is an interesting fact that these folk reared their own sheep, collected the fleeces and brought their

¹ Walter Davies, A.M.: *General View of the Agricultural and Domestic Economy of South Wales*. London 1815. Vol. 2, p. 444.

² Walter Davies, A.M.: *General View of the Agricultural and Domestic Economy of North Wales*. London 1813. p. 392.

³ *Montgomeryshire Collections of the Powysland Club*, vol. 37. "Decayed and Decaying Industries of Powysland." See also references in Caroline A. J. Skeel, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

own supply of wool to the factory. There were then two methods of procedure possible. The farmer could either take his wool to the factory and place an order for yarn, which he then took to a local weaver to weave into flannel or cloth, and finally to be taken to the Llanrhystyd *pandy* to be dyed, washed, scoured, fulled, dried and pressed; or on the other hand (and this seems to have been more usual) the owner of the fleeces took his wool to the yarn factory and there gave an order for the finished article. The occupier of the factory then became responsible for the production of the finished article. He produced the yarn and forwarded it with instructions for its use to one of the weavers who in turn sent it to the *pandy*. The farmer paid Mr. James Jones, who paid the weaver and the fuller. One of Mr. Jones's account books shows to what extent this system was prevalent: he was given orders not only for yarn, but for flannel blankets, *cartheni* (closely woven reversible heavy quilts), cloth, hose, petticoats, men's underwear, shawls, etc. He was also given orders for dyeing, and an iron cauldron, used by Mrs. James Jones for dyeing, is amongst the articles now in the collection at the National Museum of Wales. It will be seen therefore that the Llanrhystyd factory served a large number of farming folk (see Figure 9) in an extensive rural district, and the woollen industry gave full time employment to the yarn-spinner and his wife, while weavers and a fuller were able to obtain a comfortable livelihood through practising their craft, and farming in their spare time. In many ways the factory was the pivot of an ideal community where mutual aid was the ruling principle of life. It fell to the more modern protagonists of mass-production methods to shatter a part, though not the whole, of that rural polity.

Visitors from England or English Wales who seek to

buy flannel from rural factories such as the Llanrhystyd factory find it very difficult if not wholly impossible to obtain it, the reason being that flannel is only made to specified orders, from wool brought to the factory by the customer. Therefore it is not surprising to learn that in some instances, of which the writer has personal knowledge, the order is not even given to the factory-man. A villager desires to obtain blankets. *He gives the order to a farmer*, who supplies the wool to the spinning factory; the spinner sends it to the weaver, the weaver to the fuller, and the buyer pays the farmer!

iii. THE PANDY.

Llanrhystyd appears to have had a long established connection with the woollen trade. Cloth-men are mentioned as being there in 1344¹ and towards the end of the last century there were at least eleven weavers in the neighbourhood; *of these only one remains*, and most of his machinery has been dismantled. This weaver "gets the yarn, makes a pattern, warps by hand and fixes it on to the beam of his hand-loom. He weaves the whole length, and then sends it to the *pandy*—a distance of two miles".² Of the eleven weavers, Mr. Thomas Williams, the fuller, tells me that one lived at Llanilar, one at Llangwryfon, two at Fron-deg, one at Sbeit, one at Nebo, two at Pennant (of which one remains), and three at Llan Non. It is interesting to note that sailors coming

¹ *Court Rolls* (P.R.O.), Portf. 215-25 and references to them in E. A. Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

² A. M. Jones: *A Report to the Institute for Research in Agricultural Economics, University of Oxford, on the Rural Industries of Cardiganshire, Pembrokeshire and Carmarthenshire*, p. 10. The writer wishes to express his thanks to Mr. A. W. Ashby, M.A., of the Agricultural Economics Department, University College, Aberystwyth, for allowing him to see a draft of this Report.

home to Llan Non from time to time brought wool from France, called *gwlan Pomeronn*.¹

The Welsh *pandy* is an institution of considerable age. Fulling mills appear in Wales early in the reign of Edward II, at the time when fulling mills were being introduced into Lancashire.² They became numerous as is evidenced by the frequency of the element *pandy* in place names, and the tenter hooks upon which the cloth, having been fullled, had to be stretched to dry, have given names to many such places as *Pendeintir* in the rural districts. (The study of the woollen trade as a factor in the determination of Welsh place names is in itself a subject of considerable importance.) The Llanrhystyd *pandy* (see Figure 10) still remains, but the fuller, Mr. Thomas Williams, who is also a small farmer, has but an insignificant amount of fulling work annually. The trade is in the last stage of its decline. The mill is driven by water-power and the *ffustiau* (the two big wooden hammers used for the fulling, and described by Miss A. M. Jones—wrongly, I believe as “fists”³) are in perfect condition (see Figure 11). These hammers “are fixed to an upright post in such a way that they are alternately lifted by the wooden projections fixed to a wheel which is revolved by the water-wheel.”⁴ On falling they fitted into a hollow known as the stock, on which the cloth was placed to be pounded by the strokes of the hammer.”⁵

The Rev. Walter Davies⁶ refers to the different pro-

¹ The meaning and etymology of the word are doubtful.

² E. A. Lewis: *op. cit.*, p. 156. See also Birch: *History of Margam Abbey*, pp. 304, 305, for such mills at Miskin, Llanbleddian and other districts in Glamorgan before 1314. Dr. Lewis refers to fulling mills at Usk and Caerleon too in 1314.

³ A. M. Jones: *Rural Industries of England and Wales II.*, p. 24.

⁴ In the Llanrhystyd *pandy* the waterwheel axle is extended, and the projections fitted on to it. ⁵ A. M. Jones: *op. cit.*, p. 245.

⁶ Walter Davies: *op. cit. (North Wales)*, p. 393.

cesses of fulling. "They are bleached three times under the hammers of the fulling mill: the first time with urine, the second with fullers' earth (brought by sea from Hampshire and sold at Machynlleth for about 3s. per cwt. which is reckoned sufficient for about 23 pieces), and the third with soap".¹ I have heard of old factory men in West Montgomeryshire who used to collect urine from the village homesteads for use in bleaching and dyeing. Mrs. James Jones, the dyer in the Llanrhystyd factory, informed me that the flannel to be dyed was put in a cauldron which was filled with urine coloured with the requisite dye. In Llanrhystyd, urine was known as *llaesw*; and should the *llaesw* boil or water be used instead for the solution of the dye, its quality and fastness suffered, and dyeing, consequently, was considered a difficult process. Urine, indeed, seems to have been generally used in the *pandai* for cleaning, bleaching and dyeing, although its use for this purpose was forbidden in England as early as 1376.² The fullers' earth mentioned by Davies (*supra*) was also imported in considerable quantities, and there are doubtless several references to the import in the port-books.

Not only did the Llanrhystyd fuller thicken, felt, clean and bleach (or dye) the woollen fabric, but he also did the work of the rower or teazler, i.e., raising the nap, drawing up from the body of the cloth all the loose fibres with teazles or by means of a small teazling machine.

¹ He also refers to the use in weaving of "a glutinous kind of bluish clay instead of size". One is reminded of the old derogatory rhyme describing Mawddwy in Meirionydd:

"Tri pheth o Fawddwy a ddaw,
Dyn cas, *nod glas*, a glaw".

² L. F. Salzman, M.A., F.S.A.: *English Industries of the Middle Ages*, Cambridge, 1923, p. 224 note, and Riley: *Mems. of London*, p. 401.

When this was done the fabric was shorn by knives to give it a smooth surface : it was then ready for the buyer.

IV. THE LLAN BRYN MAIR MILLWRIGHTS.

John Davies (*Peiriannydd Gwynedd*) (1783-1855) was a native of Llan bryn Mair, Montgomeryshire, born at Hafod-y-foel, a farmstead in the upper region of the laen system. In 1820 he removed to Dôl-goch, a house which he built, half-a-mile, on the western side, from the summit of the Falerddig watershed, which divides Severn from Dyfi. There he established a millwright's business which soon became of national importance. But not only was he millwright : he was also rural carpenter, smith, clockmaker, undertaker, wheelwright, ironmonger, jack of all the metal trades. While one finds in his account-books¹ an order for scribbler carding machines at eighty pounds each, there are also to be seen orders for "repairing a teapot" at fourpence, "mending umbarello Hanah, 2d.," and "sodring can, 3d."! John Davies was also a proficient musician and bard, and was precentor at the local chapel for thirty years. A brother of his was the Rev. Evan Davies (*Eta Delta*) of New Market and Llannerch-y-medd, the famous Welsh temperance reformer. Clearly, as Mr. W. P. Crankshaw² has said of his son Robert Davies, this man was a "Welsh genius"!

In course of time, his son Robert Davies (died 1885) entered into partnership with him, carrying on the busi-

¹ For allowing me access to the old Dôl-goch account books I am much indebted to my friends, Messrs. R. G., D. C. and A. Ll. Davies, great-grandsons of John Davies, who in the practice of mechanical and electrical engineering and of the wheelwright's trade are worthily upholding and developing the hereditary tradition of their family at Dôl-goch.

² W. P. Crankshaw: *Report on a Survey of the Welsh Textile Industry made on behalf of the University of Wales*, p. 14. 1927.

ness after his father's death; Robert himself being succeeded by a second John Davies who died a few years ago, and whose sons are now developing the business along modern lines.

I have examined the Dôl-goch account-books which cover fifty-seven years of the nineteenth century, from 1836 to 1893, a period which shows the phenomenal development and sudden decline of the woollen industry in rural Wales. The Davieses supplied machinery for the woollen industry to manufacturers in all parts of the country, the whole of Wales (see Figure 12) being represented in the list.¹

The list is truly an astounding one; and while one finds that the Dôl-goch manufacturers continued to supply

¹ The Dôl-goch books show that the Davieses had customers at Melin mynach; Quakers Yard; Merthyr Tydfil; Carmarthen; Llanelly; Llanarthney; Talsarn (Cards.); Tal-y-bont (Cards.); Llanddowror; Cwmduad; Llandaf; Mynydd islwyn; Swansea; Govilon; Abergavenny; Mamheilad; Pont-y-pŵl; Llandyfân; Cwmllechwr; Llandeilo; Llanfynydd; Llandoverly; Llandefeilog; Llanddeusant; Newbridge (Glam.); Lampeter Velfrey; Solfach; Dolgelley; Newcastle Emlyn; Bridgend; Narberth; Trelech; Cefn coed cymer; Llangrwni; Llangadoc; Crickhowell; Myddfai; Capel Drindod; Abercarne (Newport, Mon.); Caerffili; Llanwrtyd; Cardigan; Neath; Brecon; Rhyd-y-bont; Llanbyther; Aber Bargoed; Capel Iwan; Llan bryn Mair; Abercegir; Machynlleth; Llanidloes; Llanfyrnach (Pemb.); Morryston; Dinas Mawddwy; Llansantffraid (Cards.); Glanfread; Llwngwrl; Bala; Llanfyllin; Holywell; Aberystwyth; Amlwch; Sennybridge; Aberarth; Pontnewynydd; Tremadog; Tregaron; Llanllugan; Llangranog; Aberdare; Llanderfel; Llanrwst; Llangeitho; Cellan; Ystrad Meurig; Blaen pennal; Newtown (Mont.); Gyffylliog; Pont-y-pridd Llanllyfni; Lampeter; Cerrig-y-druidion; Cwmgarw; Cwm belan (Mont.); Cowbridge; Pont-ar-fynach (Devil's Bridge); Garn Dolbenmaen; Llanllwnni; Blackwood; Cardiff; St. Clears; Pont rug; Llanrhaeadr (Mont.); Llandysul (Cards.); Llanpump-saint; Llanfair (? Caer Einion); Llanbedr (Mer.); Llanwrda; Tal-y-sarnau (Mer.); Llanddewi Brefi; Golden Grove; Ciliau Aeron; Llanrhystyd; Pontardulais; Conwy; Llanelu; Llanblodwel; Ystradgynlais; Aberaeron; Gwaun-cae-gurwen and Pont-ar-dawe.

“condensers”, “tuckers” and “fancys” in 1890, the trade had at that time declined considerably—the national millwright becoming more and more the local wheelwright and smith; several unpaid accounts are marked “bankrupt”, while one of the unpaid accounts has, written below it at a later date, “gone to Patagonia”. It was towards the middle of the century, notably during the partnership of John and Robert Davies, that the millwrights’ trade was at its height. In 1842, Robert Brees, Hugh Davies, John Edwards, John Evans, John Francis, John Lewis, William Lloyd, Isaac Peat, Richard Peat, Edward Rees and John Rowlands were “men eating with John Davies”. Some of these were, no doubt, employed for part-time labour, but even so the list is evidence of a flourishing trade. Smiths were employed by the Davieses and it appears that much if not all the necessary iron work was done at Dôl-goch. Several spinning jacks, usually of 50 spindles, were made for prices ranging from £11 to £15. A carding engine, “26 inches wide with eight workers” was supplied to Herbert Jones, Melin mynach, on April 13th, 1837, for £52. In 1836, William Jones, of Lampeter Velfrey, had his “engine” repaired for twenty-two pounds, ten shillings; in 1838, a spinning jack of 100 spindles was supplied to Thomas Davies, Capel Iwan, for £27; and in May, 1841, “two scribblers, 42 ins. wide, 8 workers” to Benjamin Jones, Llanidloes, for £160, with a new billy of 80 spindles and jack of 60 spindles for £50, in the following December. On July 20th, 1867, Robert Peat of Senny Bridge, Brecknockshire (a member of an old Llan bryn Mair family of weavers) was supplied with a “new condenser without quills, 5 drums and stands, 10 bobbins and tin dishes” for five pounds, ten shillings. The machine most generally sold by the Davieses, however, was the willy, or, as

it is entered in the account-books, the "whillow", an item that occurs regularly throughout the fifty-nine years.

It has already been stated that the scribbler carding machine in the Llanrhystyd collection of machinery was made at Dôl-goch. It came to Llanrhystyd from Tal-y-bont factory, where, Mr. James Jones informs me, it may have been obtained second-hand. Much machinery, including carding machines, was bought by Tal-y-bont manufacturers from the writer's grandfather, David Peate, whose brother Edward owned the Glyn-hwrdd factory, Llan bryn Mair, which ceased working in the last century. It is therefore possible that the Llanrhystyd scribbler may have been from that Llan bryn Mair factory. But, in the few Dôl-goch account-books available, I have found no reference to scribblers bought by Edward Peate. On January 27th, 1843, however, Thomas Morgans, of Tal-y-bont, bought from Messrs. J. & R. Davies of Dôl-goch a "New Scribbler, 42 ins. wide" for forty-five pounds, and it is possible that the machine in question is that referred to in this item. The only reference to Llanrhystyd in the Dôl-goch books is a reference to supplying "T. R. Price, Factory, Llanrhystyd" with "15 doz. bobbins, 8/-" on April 19th, 1888.

The Dôl-goch account-books throw much light on the economic and social conditions of the period. One finds that all the big accounts were paid by small instalments covering long periods; for instance, a carding-engine delivered on the 13th April, 1837, was paid for in the following way: £10 was paid in cash on delivery, £20 on September 9th, and the balance at different times up to July 31st, 1839. The cost of carriage was usually shared by the vendor and buyer: machines sent to Merthyr, Brecon, or Cardiff being paid for by the vendor to Llanidloes station;

and those sent to Cardiganshire and Carmarthenshire to Aberystwyth station.

A bill for eight shillings and seven pence due to J. and R. Davies in 1848 from a Dinas Mawddwy man is marked as "settled by meat", and there are several instances of small payments in kind.

The information concerning maid and men servants is not without interest. In the "account of Rachel Brees our servant", it is stated that she agreed to serve for one year from the Kalends of May 1841 (*Calan Mai*) to May 1842 for the sum of three pounds. On June 2nd, she was paid one shilling on account. On March 28th, 1841, her employer paid sixpence on behalf of Jane Roberts, "for the misionary", and this item occurs several times in the accounts of different servants, the sum of course being deducted from the year's wages. John Roberts, who began to work for the Davieses on the winter Kalends (*Calan Gaeaf*) 1840, seems to have become an old and trusty servant. But his hours of work, too, have been recorded meticulously. When he began work, John Davies paid for two chisels for him at sevenpence and tenpence, to be deducted from his wages. On December 25th, 1840, he "lost Cristmas day", a practice which seems to have been very general amongst the servants of the age, but which is always carefully recorded against them; on January 30th, he "lost half to cill his pig", and on April 3rd, 1841, he "lost one day to bury his father in law". In 1840, too, David Griffiths, smith, began to work at Dôl-goch for six shillings and sixpence a week. These statistics reveal much of the struggle for existence of the Welsh peasant and artisan during the hard years of the last century.

* * * * *

In view of the gradual disappearance in Wales of rural

industries such as those described, it is a matter for satisfaction that the National Museum of Wales is taking steps to secure, before it is too late, as complete a range of evidence relating to such industries as is possible. Thus, in the present instance, as stated, the whole of the plant of the Llanrhystyd Yarn Factory has already been acquired, together with the factory account books still available. I am permitted by the Director to state that ultimately, when extensions of the Museum permit, the plant will be reconstructed as nearly as possible in its original lay-out and that the policy of securing material relating to other local industries of Wales will be actively pursued, so that future generations may learn of factors, now vanished, which have contributed to the development of Welsh culture.

[Note.—The plan (Fig. 1) of Llanrhystyd village has been drawn by my colleague, Mr. W. F. Grimes, B.A.; the photographs have been supplied by the National Museum of Wales.]

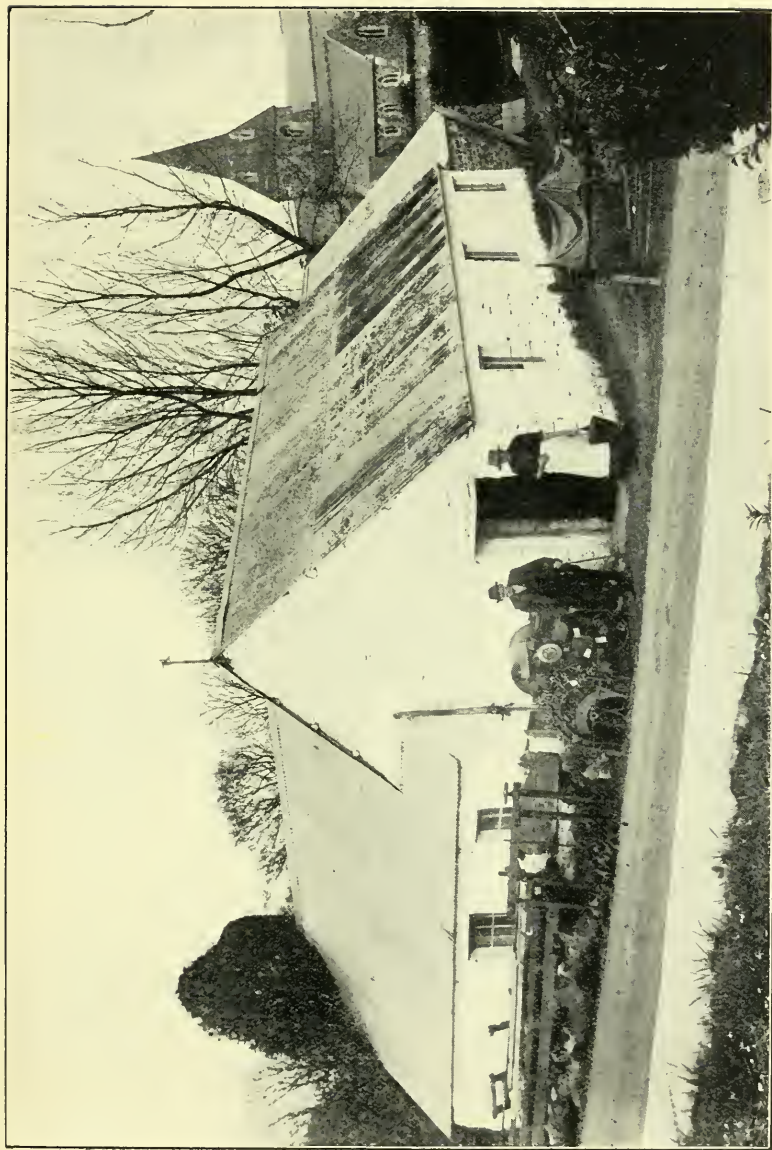


Fig. 2. The Llanrhystyd Yarn Factory. Exterior view, showing the machinery in course of removal, and also the two factory workers—Mr. and Mrs. James Jones.

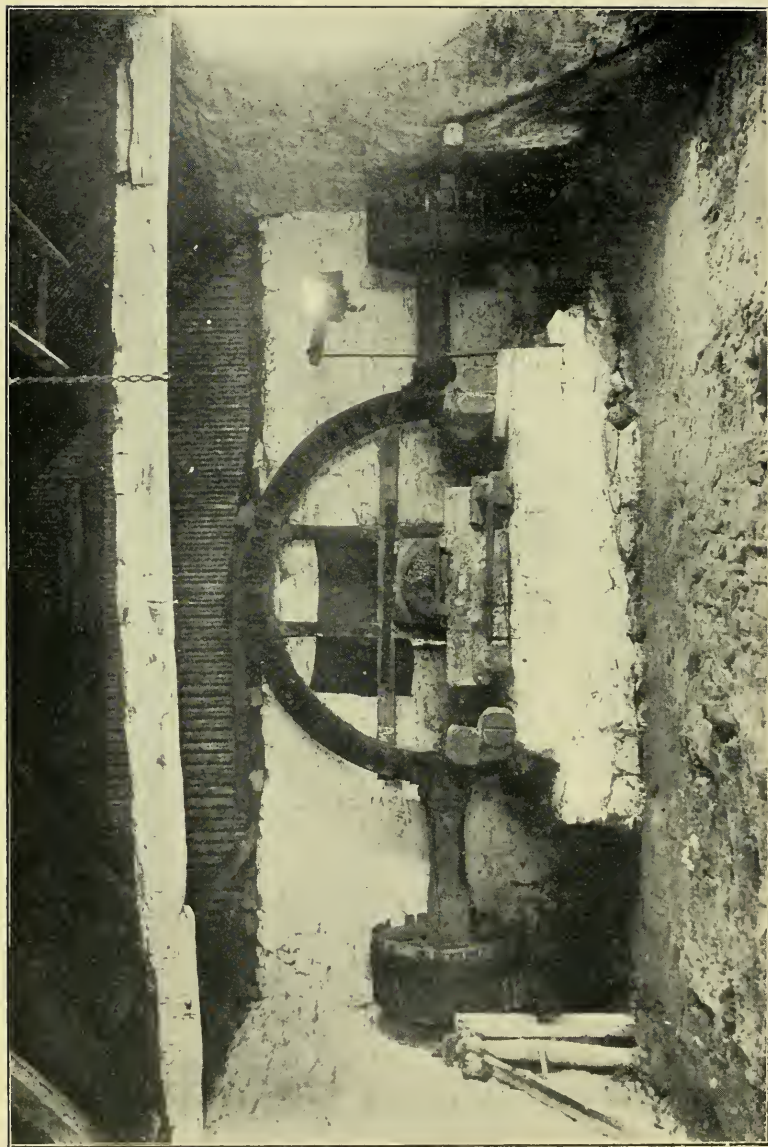


Fig. 3. The Llanrhystyd Yarn Factory. The belt drums, and large cogwheel built on the same axle that holds the waterwheel which supplies power for the factory. The lever on the right of the photograph is for raising the sluice-gate.

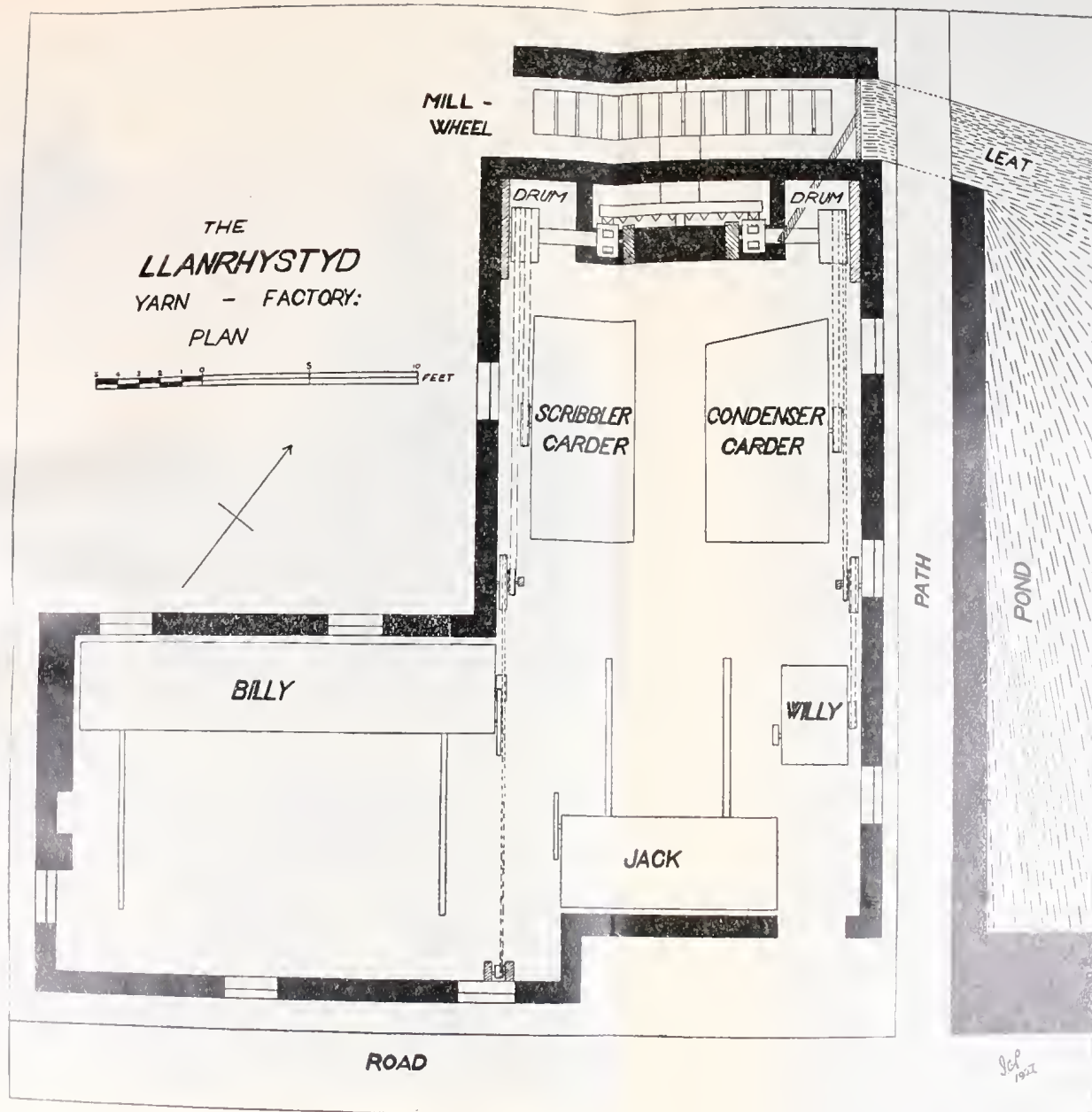


FIG. 4.





Fig. 5. The Llanrhystyd Yarn Factory. The undershot waterwheel and sluice-gate. Note the floodgate lever (which is manipulated from inside) projecting from the gable end of the building.

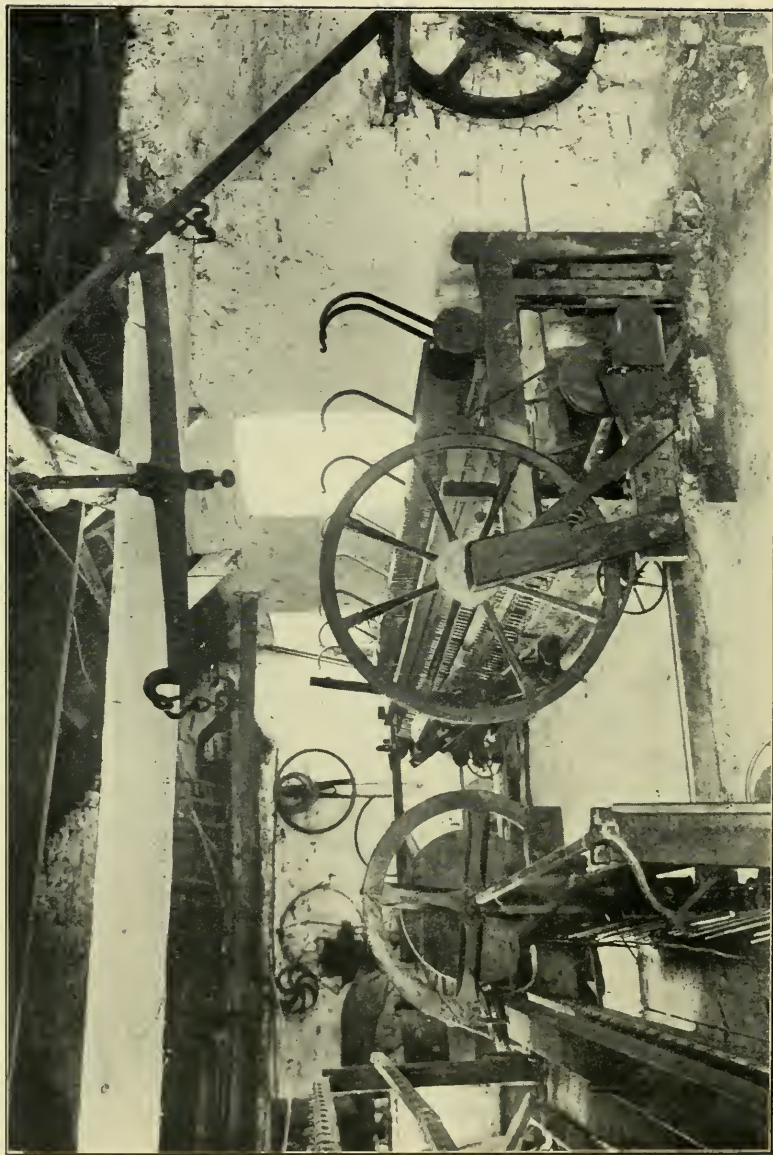


Fig. 6. The Llanrhystyd Yarn Factory. View of the interior, showing the spinning jack (left) and spinning billy (right).

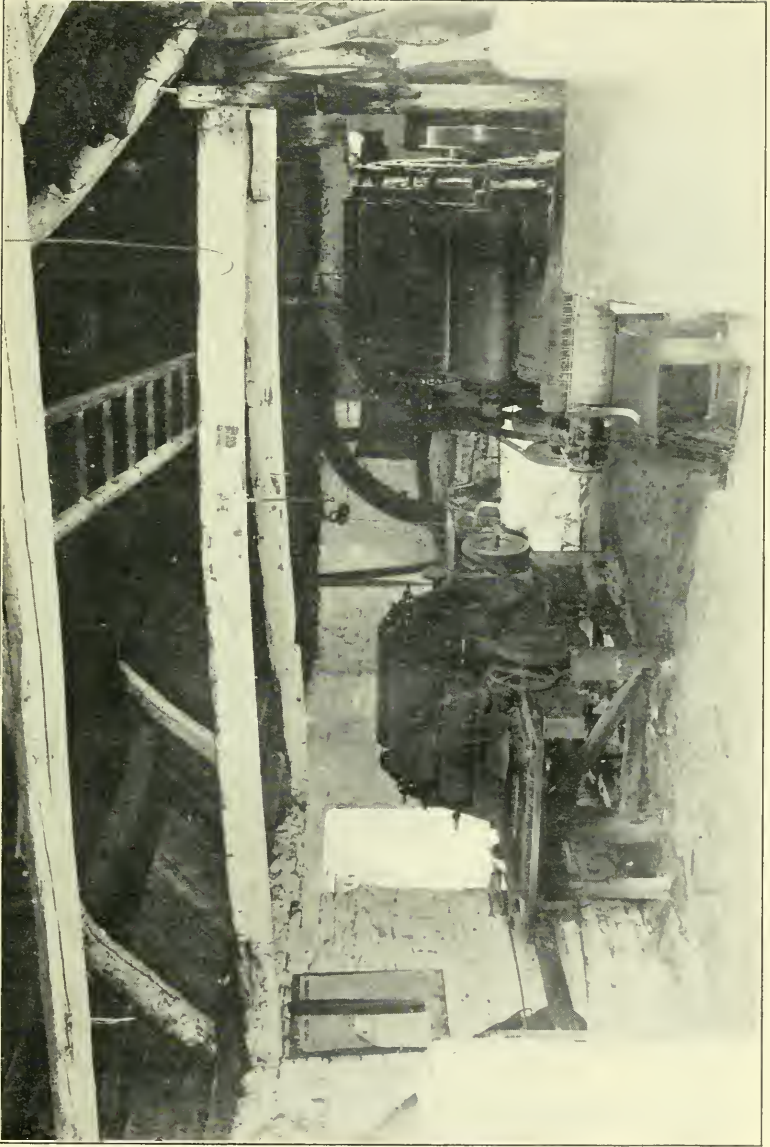


Fig. 7. Llanrhystyd Woollen Yarn Factory. Interior showing the scribbler-carding machine (left) and the condenser-carding machine (right) with the willy in the foreground (right).

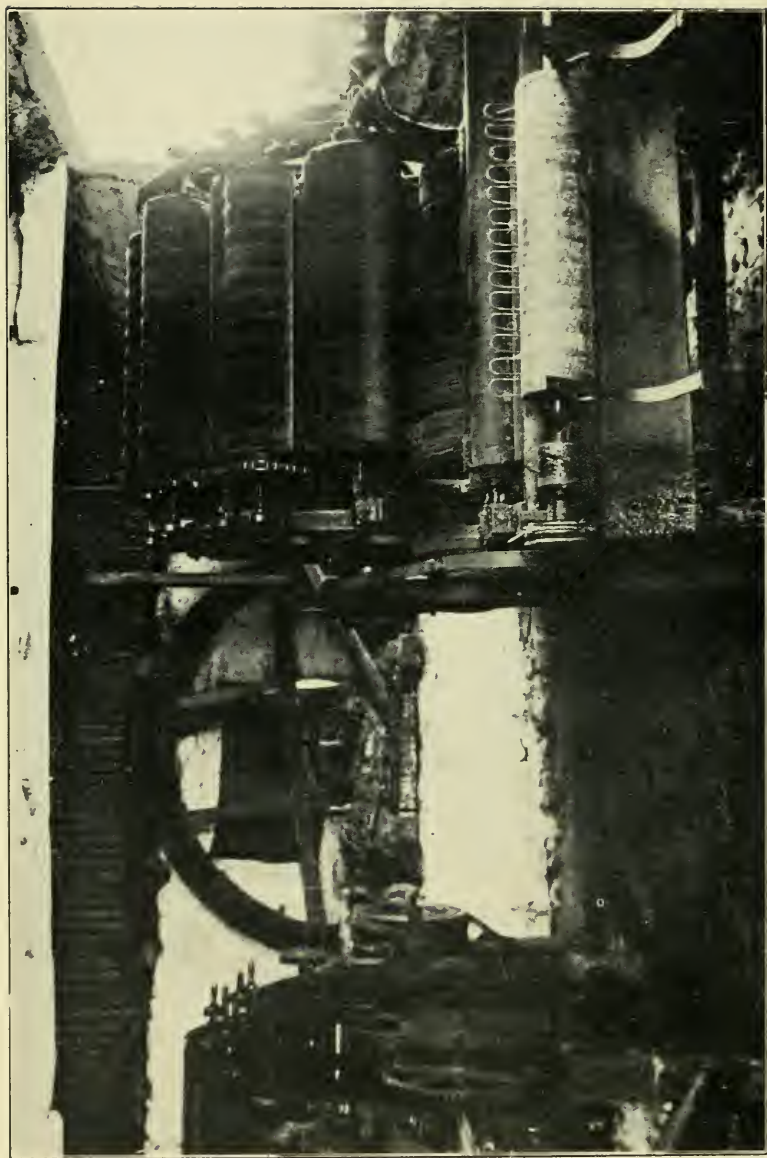


Fig. 8. Llanrhystyd Woollen Yarn Factory. Interior showing near view of condenser-carding machine (right).



FIG. 9.
SCALE: Half-inch to 1 mile $\frac{1}{126720}$

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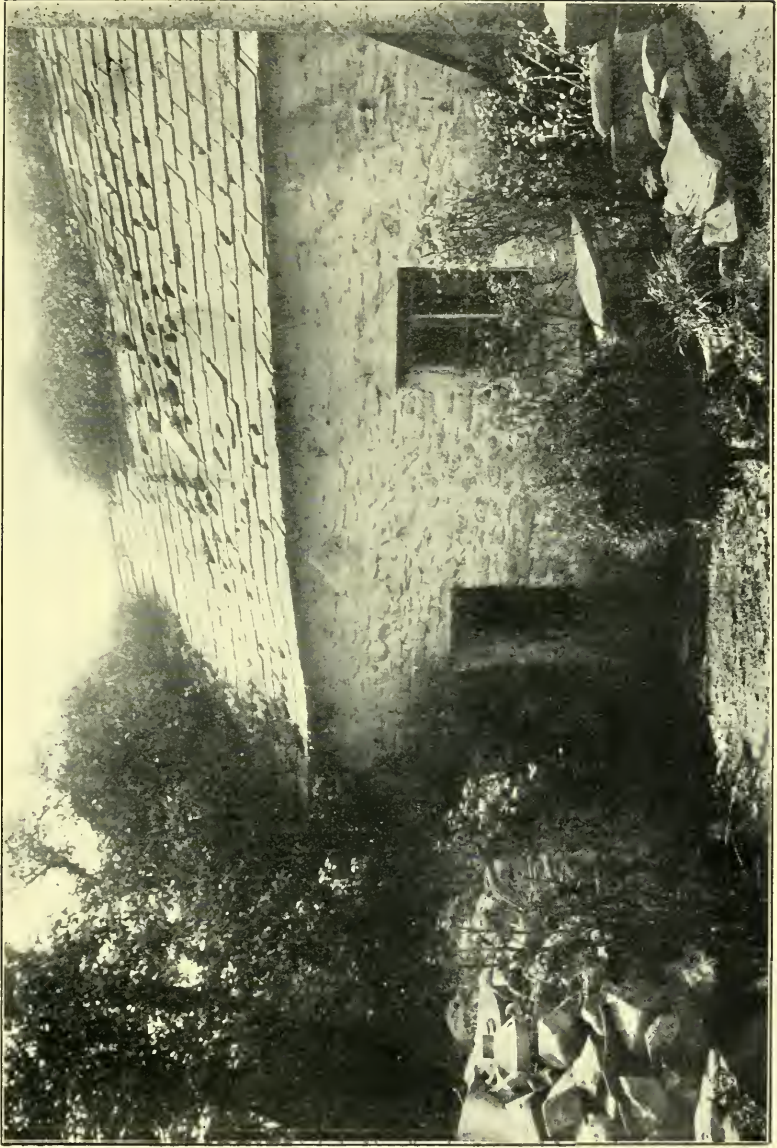


Fig. 10. The Llanrhystyd "Pandy". View of the exterior.

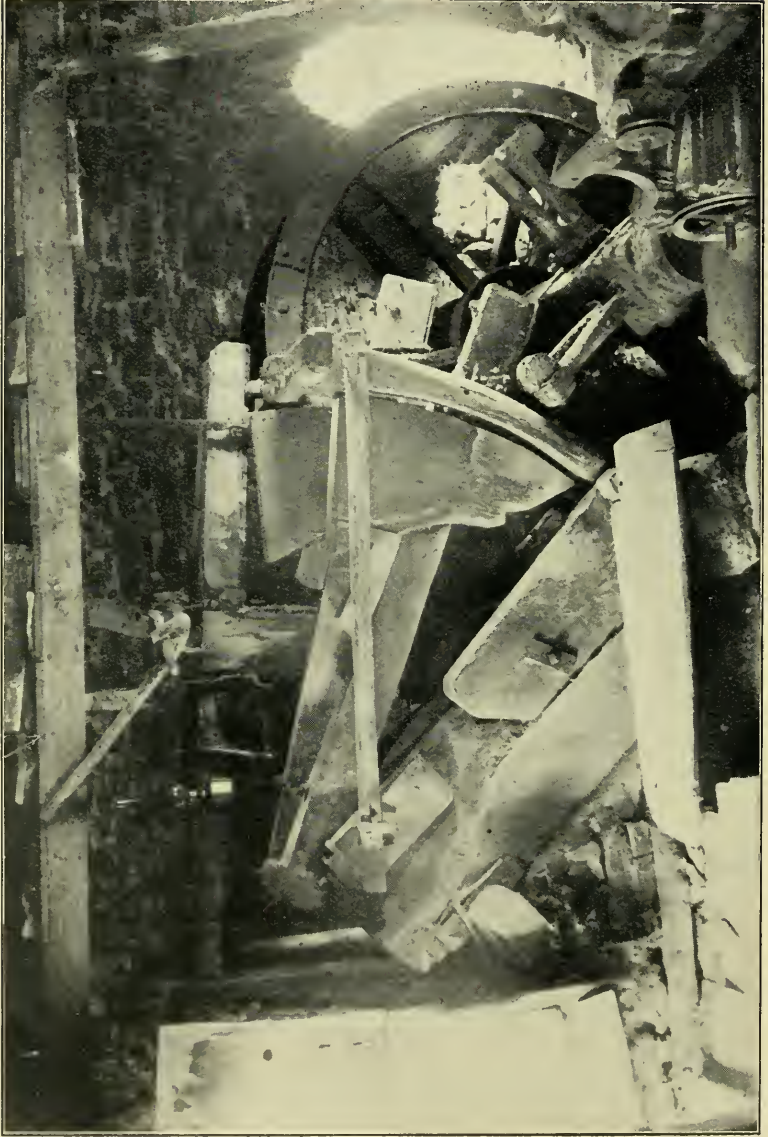


Fig. 11. The Llanrhystyd "Pandy". View of the interior, showing the two wooden hammers and the water-wheel.



[Faint, illegible text, likely bleed-through from the reverse side of the page.]

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

On page 70.

- 1.—Llanrhystyd: Plan of Village, showing the position of the factory.

Following page 84.

- 2.—The Llanrhystyd Yarn Factory: Exterior view.
- 3.—The Llanrhystyd Yarn Factory: Belt drums and cog-wheel.
- 4.—The Llanrhystyd Yarn Factory: Plan of the Factory.
- 5.—The Llanrhystyd Yarn Factory: Undershot water wheel and sluice gate.
- 6.—The Llanrhystyd Yarn Factory: View of the interior, showing spinning jack and spinning billy.
- 7.—The Llanrhystyd Yarn Factory: Interior, showing scribbler-carding and condenser-carding machines, and willy.
- 8.—The Llanrhystyd Yarn Factory: Interior, near view of condenser-carding machines.
- 9.—The Llanrhystyd Yarn Factory: Plan of Farms.
- 10.—The Llanrhystyd "Pandy": Exterior view.
- 11.—The Llanrhystyd "Pandy": Interior view.
- 12.—Map of Wales: Showing location of millwrights' customers.

Legal References, Terms and Conceptions in the "Mabinogion".

BY T. P. ELLIS, M.A., I.C.S. (retd.),

Author of "Welsh Tribal Law and Custom in the Middle Ages".

THE texts of the Mabinogion throw occasional light upon the laws and customs (in the legal sense) of ancient Wales; and the references contained in them are of some value, both for the corroborative evidence they afford of the system portrayed in the Codal survivals, and, occasionally, for the explanations of the law which the stories contain. Further, they may be of some assistance in deciding (with other evidence) the period or periods during which the laws and the stories took form.

The succeeding notes, though it is not claimed that they are complete or exhaustive, contain most of the important references there are to legal conceptions and terms to be found in the Mabinogion. They may be of some slight assistance to students of those stories.

The Red Book text is used for the purposes of reference, except where the White Book alone contains the matter referred to.

I. CYFREITHIAU Y LLYS.

As is well-known, the Codal survivals consist of two main divisions, the *Cyfreithiau y Llys* and the *Cyfreithiau y Wlad*.

There is no direct mention of the letter in the Mabinogion; but the former are expressly mentioned on two occasions in the story of *Kulhwch and Olwen*.

In that story they are mentioned by Glewlwyd Gafael-fawr (p. 104, line 8) and by Cai (p. 105, lines 2, 3), apparently as well-known rules governing the etiquette of the Court.

In Pwyll (p. 3, line 30) and in Owein and Lunet (p. 162, line 9) reference appears to be made to them also under the term "moes y llys"; though here it does not follow that the "moes" was reduced to the form of "cyfreithiau".

There are, in addition, many references to the manners, customs, and privileges of the court, which cannot, however, be attributed to any direct influence of the Cyfreithiau, or be used as an indication that the written Cyfreithiau are meant.

II. THE KING.

The first place naturally given in the Cyfreithiau y Llys of the Laws is to the king or kings.

The Laws indicate that there were three kings in Wales, and that subordinate to them, or quasi-subordinate to them, was a series of "arglwyddi".

The use of the words "brenhin" and "arglwydd" is of some use in locating the date of the various texts.

The oldest of the Mabinogion stories, that is in its present redaction, is supposed to be Kulhwch and Olwen.

Kulhwch and Olwen nowhere refers to the kings of the particular territories over which the kings of the laws are asserted to have reigned; but they indicate, as the laws indicate, that the term "brenhin" was capable of being applied to the ruler of an area smaller than England or of Wales.

We have, for example, reference to Kilydd (p. 101, line 3) and to Doget (p. 101, line 12) as "kings" over some part or other, but not the whole, of Britain, and

Goleuddydd is referred to (pp. 100, 101) as “brenhines”.

We have also an indication in *Kulhwch* that to be a “brenhin” the country ruled over must have special qualities, one of which was possibly that of size. On p. 103, line 15, we find mention of a “mab brenhin gwlat teithiawc”, and on p. 121, line 3, of a “urenhin teithiawc”, the word “teithi” in the legal sense implying qualities making for perfection.

We get, however, mention of many foreign kings; Iona (p. 107, line 11), Paris (p. 109, line 27), Gwyllenhin (p. 110, line 14, p. 124, line 28, p. 139, line 25), all “Kings” of France; Fflergant (p. 107, line 24), Hir Peissauc (p. 140, line 10), both of Brittany; Aedd, king of Ireland (p. 110, line 15, p. 122, line 19, p. 134, line 28, p. 135, line 26, and p. 136, line 26); and Dunart, king of the Gogledd (the North), (p. 109, line 3).

We have no mention of a “king” of England or Britain. The unity of the island is recognised when Arthur is termed “penteyrned yr ynys honn” (p. 105, line 10), and possibly in the references to Kelydon (p. 100, line 1), Anlawdd (p. 100, line 3), Casnar (p. 107, line 23), and Tared (p. 123, line 22) as “gwledig”.

Kulhwch and Olwen contains no reference to “arglwydd”, except when the word is used as a mode of address.

The indication may, therefore, be that *Kulhwch and Olwen* was redacted while the memory of insular unity, which never faded, was still strong, but before England was consolidated; and further that there was, at the time, no clear distinction drawn between a “brenhin” and an “arglwydd” in Wales.

In the Four Branches, we have a different state of things. We are introduced first to an ill-defined

differentiation between a "brenhin" and a "brenhin coronawc".

In Pwyll (p. 2, line 24) Arawn calls himself "brenhin coronawc" (also "brenhin") over Annwn; in Branwen, Brân is styled by the same title (p. 26, line 1) over "yr ynys honn"; as also is Caswallawn (also termed "brenhin" simply, p. 44, line 9) in the same capacity (p. 41, line 5).

We find the same term used in the Dream of Macsen in order to exalt the glory of Macsen Wledig, where (p. 82, line 10) he is said to have had "crowned kings" subject to him; and in Gereint (p. 244, line 6), where, in order to exalt Arthur, a similar subjection is referred to.

Among those styled "brenhin" simply, we have, in the story of Pwyll, Pwyll in his capacity of ruler of Annwn (p. 5, line 30), though the title is dropped later and he becomes simply "penn" Annwn, and in his own country of Dyfed he is only "arglwydd" or "penndeuc" (p. 1, line 1, p. 7, line 21, p. 8, line 12), and Hafgan, in regard to Annwn; in Branwen, Matholwch, King of Ireland, where, too, the government of Ireland is called a "brenhiniaeth" with which Gwern is invested; and in Math, Arawn alone as king of Annwn.

We have in the Four Branches no mention of a "brenhin" in Wales or any part of Wales. Pwyll is "arglwydd" over Dyfed (p. 1, line 1), Teirnyon over Gwent-is-coed (p. 20, line 7), Gronw Pebyr over Penllyn (p. 74, line 13), Math over Gwynedd (p. 59, line 1), and Pryderi over "cantrefi" in the south (p. 59, line 23). Their rule, where described, is not a "brenhiniaeth", but an "arglwyddiaeth" (p. 7, line 23, p. 74, line 4).

The term "gwledic" is used once only (Pwyll, p. 25, line 17).

So far as the evidence goes, we seem to have arrived in the Four Branches at a period when the unity of Britain has resolved itself into a "crowned kingship"; the holders of rule in Wales having ceased to be called "brenhin" and using the less exalted title of "arglwydd".

In the later stories Maccsen Wledig speaks of the "King of the Romans" (*brenhin romani*, p. 85 line 24, itself an imperial term; see note 1 at end); and in *Lludd*, *Lludd* is King of Britain (p. 99, line 17) and *Llevelis* and his predecessor kings of France.

In *Rhonabwy*, we have Arthur styled "brenhin" (p. 152, line 19), and also a king of Ireland; in *Owein and Lunet* Arthur is still at times a "brenhin" (p. 233, line 4), and *Gwenhwyfar* a "brenhines" (p. 215, line 6), while *Gereint* has a King of Ireland.

There are indeterminate kings in *Peredur*, called the King of Sufferings, the Lamé King, and the King of Easter; and in *Gereint* we have the unlocated "Little King".

"Gwledig" and "Amherawdyr" are both applied to Maccsen Wledig; in *Rhonabwy*, Arthur becomes "Amherawdyr," and the title "Gwledig" is used in reference to *Deorthach* and *Casnat*; in *Owein and Lunet*, *Peredur*, and *Gereint*, Arthur has become almost entirely an "amherawdyr".

All trace of kingship in Wales, or in small areas, has disappeared; and we have a consciousness arising of even a wider unity than Britain, that of the Empire.

The word "tywysog", "prince", is hardly used at all in the *Mabinogion*. In *Lludd* (p. 94, line 11) it appears as applicable to princes in France; in *Rhonabwy* it is applied to *Rhyfawn Pebyr* and *Edern ap Nudd* in their capacity as leaders of the troops of *Llychlyn* and *Denmark* (p. 151, lines 14, 21). The only other reference is in

Branwen, where on p. 35, line 4, it is equated with the "cynweisset" or administrators of p. 35, line 12, left by Brân in Edeyrnion. As in the Laws, it has not become a title implying princely authority in Wales.

In the Laws the term Edling (Eng. Atheling) is applied to the heir nominated. His privileges are described in the Laws; and the use of the term is a small piece of evidence as to date of redaction. He is mentioned once only, *ipso nomine*, in the Mabinogion, and that only in the W.B. text of Kulhwch and Olwen (col. 459, line 12). The R.B. text substitutes "teyrn", indicating a considerable lapse of time between the two rescensions.

The circle of "near relations", mentioned in the Laws, also find a place in Branwen (p. 34, line 5), under the appellation of "rei nessaf".

The whole household of the King is termed twice in the Mabinogion his "tylwyth" (p. 39, line 81, p. 268, line 22); but the word has no special legal signification, and it is used also to mean any household (p. 78, line 2, p. 229, line 4, p. 250, line 4).

The King's "llys" or residence, is of frequent occurrence in the Mabinogion. Its component parts are described in detail in the Laws and also in the various Surveys of the fourteenth century in connection with the liabilities of landholders to build it. In the Mabinogion, the principal structure, the "neuadd", of Arthur's court is referred to by name (Ehangwen, in Kulhwch and Olwen, p. 109, line 13). The various component parts are often mentioned as the scene of various events; and in Pwyll, p. 4, line 2, the three principal sections of it, the "hundyeu", "neuadeu" and "ystauelloed" are mentioned. In Manawydan (p. 46, lines 28, 30) we have mention of the "neuad, hundy, medgell, and kegin", the latter two of which also occur in Owein and Lunet (p.

163, line 3). These references are in entire accord with the Laws.

The Laws speak frequently of the acquisition of an estate or government by the term "goresgyn". It is the legal phrase for taking over a government, but it has also the meaning of "conquest".

In the Mabinogion, the word is used sometimes in the one sense, sometimes in the other; and this usage reflects the period of warfare that prevailed in Wales for many centuries, due not only to the indigenous system of succession, but to the inroads of the Norman-French.

The term is found in practically every one of the stories, Pwyll (p. 6, line 14), Branwen (p. 4, line 4), Math (p. 77, lines 20-1, p. 81, line 9), Kulhwch (p. 101, line 14, p. 104, line 21, p. 143, line 2), Macsen Wledig (p. 88, line 17, p. 89, line 25, p. 90, line 9, p. 91, lines 11, 24, 25, 29), Lludd (p. 96, line 26), Peredur (p. 207, line 9, p. 210, line 17), and Gereint (p. 266, line 11).

III. HOMAGE.

The use of the term "homage" is of some assistance in comparing the Mabinogion with the Laws.

Welsh law, as such, was ignorant of homage as a feudal incident. It knew of two things, however, closely connected with homage, (a) commendation to a lord for the purpose of military training, and (b) warranty.

Commendation appears to have been effected by a ceremony of tonsure, which is described in Kulhwch (p. 102, line 11, and p. 106, line 2 et seq). Such commendation was personal, involving protection on the one side and personal allegiance on the other, and not feudal in character; and in the story of Branwen (p. 32, lines 19, 20), it is assumed that subjects have the right to withdraw their allegiance when the protection is withheld.

The constant references in the stories to the taking of counsel show, as do the Laws, that the King was an administrator according to custom and not an arbitrary overlord.

In *Kulhwch and Olwen* there is no mention of "homage". Arthur's knights are his "milwyr", "warriors"; and of *Hueil* it is said (p. 107, line 21) "nit asswynwys eiryoet yn llaw arglwyd", i.e., he had never come under the personal sway of a superior.

The other stories have many references to "homage", sometimes (but by no means always) with the strict feudal implication that land was held of the King. This factor finds little place in the Laws, though the beginnings of the conception of "tenure" are occasionally found there.

The references in the *Mabinogion* can only be ascribed to Norman-French influence. The terms used are "gwr" = "homme", and "gwrogaeth" = "homage".

In *Pwyll* (p. 5, lines 27 et seq) *Pwyll* demands and gets homage in *Annwn*, and *Teirnyon* (p. 22, line 19) is said to have been formerly a "gwr" to *Pwyll*. In *Manawydan, Pryderi* (p. 45, line 27) announces his intention of going to *Caswallawn* to do homage to him, and on p. 46, lines 7, 8, we find him going to Oxford for that purpose.

In *Lludd the Third Oppression*, when overcome, undertakes to be a man to *Lludd* (p. 99, line 17). In *Owein and Lunet*, when *Owein* has married the Countess, the latter's men do homage, in the strict feudal sense, to *Owein* (p. 178, line 30) "a gwrhau a orugant gwyr y iarllaeth y *Owein*".

In *Peredur* (p. 199, line 24), *Peredur* declares he will consider himself under homage to Arthur; on p. 218, line 14, he speaks of himself as "gwr idaw", and he sends

the grey-haired man of Dyffryn Crwnn to do homage and receive his lands back on feudal tenure (p. 218, lines 3, 13, 18). Further Etlym does homage to Peredur (p. 226, line 27), and the latter demands that kings, earls, and barons should do homage to him (p. 227, lines 22, 24, 29, and p. 228, line 59).

In some of these cases it is difficult to say whether the homage is personal or feudal.

In Gereint homage is purely feudal. There on p. 244, line 6, nine kings are said to be "wyr" (gwyr) to Arthur; on p. 257, Gereint demands that homage should be done to Ynywl by his subjects, and on pp. 266-7, he himself receives the feudal homage of the men of Cornwall.

The stories show the gradual extension of the idea of homage from the total absence of it in Kulhwch and Olwen to the complete recognition of it in a feudal sense in Gereint.

The institution of "warranty" is independent of land and also of military service. It implies a relation of personal dependence of the warrantee, and the warrantor in return is responsible for protecting the warrantee, and also responsible to the outside world for the acts of the warrantee.

The Welsh word for "warranty" is "arddelw" (reflexive form, ymarddelw), and the form "arddelwr", "man of warranty" acquired in Welsh law two meanings:—

- (a) The person who warranted another and his conduct;
- (b) The person who was warranted, that is who was on the "arddelw" of another. In later Welsh law, the "arddelwr", under Norman-French influence, became the equivalent of the man "in advocaria".

We find the term used occasionally in the Mabinogion in its proper legal sense.

In Pwyll reference is made (p. 23, line 26) to Pryderi having been as a child under the "warranty" of Teirnyon, and in Welsh law there must always be someone responsible for, i.e. warranting, the acts of a child. The passage runs:—

“ Ac megys y buassei y mab ar y hardelw hwy teirnon
ae wreic ac y magyssynt ”.

In Peredur, we find Peredur being twitted by the knight for being in this relationship of dependence on Arthur:—“ iawn lle yd wyt yn ymardelw ac Arthur ” (p. 200, line 4).

(Cf also, p. 204, lines 17, 18, “ iawn lle yd ymgystlyny o Arthur ”).

In Gereint we get the other side of the relationship, where Gereint is spoken of as being the champion of Enid. This occurs in two passages:—

p. 253, line 10, “ a phony edy ditheu y mi ardelw or uorwyn racco ”; and

p. 262, line 18, “ pa le y mae y uorwyn a giglef y bot yth ardelw di ”.

The use of the word indicates the knowledge of existing law and legal terms possessed by the writers.

IV. THE KING'S OFFICERS.

The Cyfreithiau y Llys of the Laws give details of the 24 officials of the Court and of the officials by “ custom and usage ”.

Not all of these appear in the Mabinogion; but there are references to some of them. The evidence of the Mabinogion, so far as it goes, corroborates the existence of these officials in the Welsh economy, and, therefore, the genuine nature of the Welsh codal survivals.

To officers (swydawc or swydwyr) generally, reference is made in Pwyll (p. 3, line 10, p. 15, line 19); in Branwen (p. 28, line 17); in Kulhwch (p. 109, line 23); and in Gereint (p. 244, line 14).

The page of the chamber (gwas ystauell) is mentioned in Pwyll (p. 3, line 10); in Maccen Wledig (p. 82, line 15, p. 85, lines 23-4); in Owein and Lunet (p. 187, line 25); in Peredur (p. 197, line 5); and in Gereint (p. 256, lines 16, 26).

References to "gwas", servant generally, are frequent. The groom (gwas y uarch) appears in Pwyll (p. 10, line 28, p. 21, lines 26, 29, p. 22, line 6); in Branwen (p. 28, line 18); in Owein and Lunet (p. 180, line 3); in Peredur (p. 207, line 19); and in Gereint (p. 251, line 12); while under the name "gwastrodyon" (ostlers, a term used in the Surveys) they are mentioned in Pwyll (p. 22, line 6).

The footholder appears in the person of Goewin in Math (p. 59, line 7, and p. 65, lines 12, 13).

The steward (distein llys) occurs in Peredur (p. 208, line 23) and in Gereint (p. 244, line 13, p. 246, line 11, p. 261, line 18, p. 284, lines 6, 7, 8), and as "ystiwart" on p. 265, line 19. The office throughout the Arthurian stories was filled by Cai, and though he is not specifically so called therein, the duties he performed are those of the "distein" of the laws.

The doctor (medyg) or his art is found in Math (p. 79, line 14), in Peredur (p. 212, line 16, p. 219, line 19), and in Gereint (p. 261, line 13, p. 286, line 25, and p. 291, lines 3 et seq).

The porter (porthawr) appears in Math (p. 71, line 29, p. 72, line 1); in Kulhwch (p. 103, lines 6, 7, p. 118, line 13, p. 126, lines 12, 18, 21, 30, and p. 127, line 14); in Owein and Lunet (p. 162, lines 6, 8); in Peredur (p. 216,

lines 14, 15, p. 234, line 27); and in Gereint (p. 244, lines 19, 20, and p. 259, line 16).

The chief huntsman (penkynydd) is mentioned in *Kulhwch* (p. 110, line 7, and p. 124, line 11); and in *Gereint* (p. 245, line 28, and p. 246, line 28).

The "maer", an administrative officer, is referred to in *Kulhwch* (p. 110, line 17, p. 122, line 19, and p. 135, line 27).

The Court priest (offeiriad) appears in the character of *Kethrwm* (*Kulhwch*, p. 112, line 10). In *Kulhwch* (p. 112, line 20) we also find *Bedwini* the bishop (who is also mentioned in *Rhonabwy*, p. 148, line 24, and p. 159, line 18) performing one of the functions of the Court priest.

Councillors are frequently mentioned, but they are unknown as officials in the genuine laws; though the laws do indicate that counsel should be and was taken by the King as administrator in matters of difficulty. The list in *Rhonabwy* (p. 159, line 18) shows that all men of standing were regarded as councillors. The specific mention of *Caradawg Freichfras* as "penn cyghorwr" implies the existence of an office otherwise unknown in law.

The Queen's servants (*llaw vorynyon* and *gweisson* generally) appear in *Kulhwch* (p. 111, lines 22, 23); in *Owein and Lunet* (p. 162, line 5, p. 183, line 29, p. 184, line 7, and p. 187, line 19); in *Peredur* (p. 210, line 10, and p. 215, line 6); and in *Gereint* (p. 247, lines 2, 3, 8, p. 261, line 19, and p. 278, lines 11, 13).

An officer entirely extraneous to Welsh law, the forester, is found as "fforestwr" in *Gereint* (p. 245, line 17); and as "wtwart" (woodward, a phrase used in the Record of *Carnarvon*) in *Owein and Lunet* (R.B., p. 166, line 15). The W.B. text uses the term "coedwr", an attempt to translate "woodward" into vernacular Welsh.

The references to the bards and the judge of the Court are given elsewhere.

The names of the officers help in locating the respective ages of the stories. They further corroborate the provisions of the laws, and furnish evidence of the close adherence to fact, which is one of the charms of the local colouring of the Mabinogion.

V. THE BARDS.

Reference to the bards are not frequent in the Mabinogion. In Branwen (p. 35, line 19) we have the difficult passage wherein Brân carries what there was of "gerd arwest" on his back across the channel. This is in accord with the provisions of the Laws that the Chief Bard accompanied the military levy to battle.

In Math (p. 61, line 2) Gwydion and Gilfaethwy design to go to the south in the guise of bards (beird), in order to secure Pryderi's swine, and on arrival at Pryderi's court, Gwydion says that the custom of his troop of bards is for the "Pencerdd", or chief bard, to recite a story first on arrival at the house of a great man (p. 61, line 5 et seq). In the character of a reciter (cyfarwyd) he attracts the attention of Pryderi. Later on, Gwydion (who is often referred to as a good reciter) and Lleu (p. 71, line 30) obtain access to Aranrod by representing that they are bards from Glamorgan.

In Kulhwch reference is made to Taliesin, the chief of the bards (penn beird) (p. 107, line 23); and in Rhonabwy (p. 160) we find Cadyriaeth claiming the tribute from Greece as a reward for the bards, and the story closes (p. 161, line 5) with a statement that neither bard nor reciter (na bard na chyuarwyd) can tell the tale without a book.

We have also references in Pwyll (p. 16, line 9, and

p. 17, lines 7, 8) to gifts to the bards on the occasion of Pwyll's marriage. These appear to be the only references to bards in the stories, and they add little to the scanty information accorded by the Laws.

VI. LAW OF HUNTING.

Hunting was one of the main occupations of the free men in ancient Wales. The Laws contain many provisions concerning rights in the sport; and from them and the Mabinogion it would be possible to construct a very full picture of all aspects of the sport.

On the general conduct of the chase the Mabinogion are full of allusions, but many of them appear to be of Norman-French origin. Nevertheless there is one interesting passage which is Welsh in origin, and which confirms the legal provisions as to the King's preferential position in respect to hunting. In a hunt in which the King was a participator it was, in law, his privilege to unleash his dogs first. We find Arthur doing so in Gereint (p. 258, line 7); and it is this privilege which forms the "motif" of the encounter between Pwyll and Arawn in the story of Pwyll.

When Pwyll went hunting he found a stag being pursued by other hounds (pp. 1, 2). This was a breach of his right, and so he promptly unleashed his own dogs in right of his kingship. Thereupon Arawn arrived upon the scene, and charged Pwyll with discourtesy:—

"Ny weleis ansyberwyt vwy ar wr no gyrru yr erchwys a ladsysei y karw ymeith, a llithyaw dy erchwys dy hun arnaw".

Pwyll repudiated the discourtesy; but at once admitted he was in the wrong, when Arawn announced that he, too, was a King.

VII. MILITARY ORGANIZATION.

The military organization of early Wales has not, as yet, been fully worked out. The Laws throw partial light on that organization, and the fourteenth century Surveys add a little more to our knowledge.

Some evidence is also to be found in the Mabinogion corroborative of the provisions of the Laws; but, in dealing with the Mabinogion, it is necessary to be cautious, because of the danger of assuming that such part of military organization as is really of Norman-French origin was a part of the older Welsh system.

Here only such matters as are relevant to the latter are referred to.

The militia of Wales consisted of two main bodies of troops—(a) the general levy, and (b) the *teulu*, bodyguard or household troops.

The first consisted in calling to arms all free men, capable of bearing arms, to repel invasion or to conduct a foreign foray. It was an emergency levy only.

The expedition of Maccen Wledig and of the sons of Eudaf, and the military array of Arthur's troops en route to Mount Badon in Rhonabwy are not early Welsh in character.

The one thing in Rhonabwy which recalls the Codes is the passage (p. 149, lines 20-1) regarding Rhyfawn Pebr's troops:—"kanys ym pob reit y deuant yn y vlaen ac yn y ol". This passage is reminiscent of the Privileges of Arvon (Anc. Laws, vol. I, p. 106, para 2) and of the Privileges of Powys (ib. vol. II, p. 756, versicle 12).

The character of the Welsh levy is apparent in Branwen. When Brân determined on invading Ireland, he made a levy:—"Dechreu or lle hwnnw anuon kenadeu y dygyforyaw yr ynys honn y gyt" (p. 34, lines 28, 29); and with that levy he crossed the sea. The levy was made

on each "gwlad" or "patria", 144 or 150 in number, exactly as it was made down to the fourteenth century.

A similar levy was made by Matholwch to oppose Brân :—"Ac yna dygyuor holl wyr ymlad Iwerdon a wnaethpwynt y gynt ar holl uorbennyd" (p. 36, lines 12-14).

The same character appears in Math. In Math, when Gwydion arrived at Caer Dathyl, he discovered that, in order to repel Pryderi's avenging invasion, "yd oedit yn dygyuori y wlat" (p. 63, line 6), and exactly as in the Laws and in Giraldus the hosts were summoned by the sound of the battle-horn :—"Ar hynny llyma y clywynt yr utkyrn ar dygyuor yn y wlat" (p. 62, lines 12, 13) (Cf. with this Math, p. 72, line 10).

In Kulhwch and Olwen we find Arthur summoning (cwyssyaw) the warriors of the Isle of Britain (p. 131, line 25), and those of Cornwall and Devon (p. 140, lines 12, 13), and further assembling (cynnullwys) the soldiers of Britain, France, Brittany, Normandy, and the Summer Country (p. 136, lines 18 et seq) to invade Ireland.

The references in the Four Branches are purely Welsh in character ; the same can hardly be said of the references in Kulhwch.

We have no further mention of the general levy in the Mabinogion, but there is much fuller information regarding the "teulu".

It was Professor J. E. Lloyd who first seems to have identified the "teulu" of Welsh literature with the body-guard or household troops rather than with the "household". The references in the Mabinogion to the "teulu" more than support his identification.

To commence with, we have a few references to the "penteulu", an officer of considerable importance in the Laws, which show him to have been a commander of troops and not a household official.

In Rhonabwy (p. 144, lines 12, 13) Iorwerth was offered by his brother the "penteuluaeth"; and the nature of the office is indicated by the fact that he was to be on an equality thereby with Madoc in regard to "meirch ac arueu ac enryded".

In Owein and Lunet (p. 192, lines 18, 19), on the completion of his adventures, it is said of Owein, the most accomplished warrior in the story, "a trigywys yn llys Arthur o hynny allann yn penn teulu".

In Peredur (p. 208, line 11) the first of the Earl's two leading knights to fight with Peredur is called the Earl's "penteulu"; while in Gereint (p. 244, lines 15-7) we are informed that Arthur had nine "penteulu", chief of whom was Gwalchmai, who was chief because of his "arderchoerwyd clot milwryaeth ac urdas boned".

The word "teulu" is frequently used in conjunction with the word "niuer" or host, so furnishing additional proof that the "teulu" was a military body.

Instances of this are to be found in Pwyll (p. 4, line 9, p. 6, lines 16, 17, p. 12, line 11, p. 13, line 21, p. 14, line 16, p. 19, line 17) and in Peredur (p. 201, line 3), while in Gereint we find the word coupled with "marchogion", or cavalry (p. 258, line 23).

Here, it might be noted, the term "marchaug", originally designating a mounted tribal leader in battle, is often used in the stories in two other senses, viz., in its primary meaning of a "rider" (even mounted robbers carry that appellation in Peredur) and as a "knight of chivalry".

The size of the "teulu" is twice described. In Pwyll (p. 13, line 25, p. 14, line 25, and p. 15, line 22), the teulu consisted of 99 "marchauc", Pwyll himself being

the hundredth; and in Peredur (p. 223, lines 6, 8, and p. 227, lines 4, 6, 22), the "teulu" of the Countess of Exploits consisted of 300 men.

The primary duty of the "teulu" was to be always in attendance on the King or his representative on tour. Instances of this are found in Math, where the "teulu" accompanied Gilfaethwy when on tour for Math (p. 65, lines 7, 8); in Macsen Wledig, when Macsen went forth to hunt (p. 85, lines 12, 16, 18); in Peredur, where the "teulu" is in constant attendance on Arthur (p. 197, lines 4, 12, 25, p. 198, line 5, p. 205, line 1, p. 211, lines 20, 21, p. 219, lines 7, 9, 25, p. 220, lines 22, 23, p. 232, line 25, p. 233, line 21, p. 237, line 11, p. 243, line 1); and in Gereint (p. 267, line 20) and Owein and Lunet (p. 186, line 9) likewise.

That the "teulu" consisted of warriors is clear enough not only from the above references, but from other references also.

In Math (p. 64, lines 8, 10), while Pryderi was retreating, he was harrassed by Math's troops, and he sent a message asking Math to restrain his "teulu"; "y pedyt ny ellit eu reoli o ymsaethu. Gyrru kennadeu o pryderi y erchi gwahard y deulu".

Further on (p. 80, lines 18, 23) we have the famous passage where Gronw Pebr called on his "teulu" to take his place, and they refused:—

"Vyg gwyrda kywir am teulu . . . a oes o honawch chwi a gymero yr ergit drossof it"; and because they refused "y gelwir wynteu yr hynny hyt hediw trydyd annweir deulu".

In Kulhwch we have references to the "teulu" of Cleis mab Merin having been slain in battle by Arthur

(p. 104, line 19), and to Arthur's own "teulu" fighting with the Twrch (p. 137, line 3).

What was the composition of the teulu? Apparently it comprised three classes of individuals:—

- (1) The "gweission ieuainc" or "gweission bychain", young boys at the beginning of their military training;
- (2) The "macwyaid" or youths, whose training was completed or nearly completed;
- (3) A stiffening of young men over the age of 21, who remained on in the "teulu" as professional soldiers after their training had been fully completed.

The Laws say practically nothing about the "gweission bychain" or the "macwyaid"; but we have reference in the Survey of Denbigh to a "pastus" provided for them and the "penn mackew"; and it is of interest to find that the "penn macwy" is mentioned in Gereint (p. 245, line 29, p. 246, line 29), where Eliuri is said to occupy that post.

There is no doubt that in the Mabinogion the words "gwas ieuainc" and "macwy" are used frequently to denote simply a young boy, a young man, and, in the later stories, an esquire.

In Pwyll, for example, Gwawl, who was certainly not in any "teulu", is called a "macwy" (p. 13, line 4); in Maccen Wledig the sons of Eudaf are also so called (p. 84, line 5, p. 87, line 20); in Owein and Lunet, Owein's two attendant esquires have the same name (p. 186, line 1); in Peredur, Peredur is so designated at least a score of times, and owing to his silence he earns the title of the Dumb Macwy, while the youths slain by the dragon are also "macwy" (p. 224, line 11, p. 226, line 1), as also is the youth found sitting on the barrow (cruc) with his dogs

(p. 225, line 11); and in Gereint not only is Gereint frequently so termed, but the word is applied to a forester (p. 245, line 130), and on p. 292, lines 6, 13, a youth who was not a warrior is called both "gwas ieuanc" and "macwy".

Similarly, in Rhonabwy, Adaon mab Taliesin (p. 150, line 16), who was an accomplished soldier, is called a "gwas ieuanc", where, obviously, the term has no technical signification. So also in Rhonabwy is the case with Rhyfawn Pebr, the leader of a host (p. 148, lines 4, 5), and Cadyriaeth (p. 160, line 26). In the W.B. fragment of Peredur (col. 628, line 25, cf. R.B. 216, lines 9, 10, 25) we find the two sons of the "gwr llwyd" described as "gweission ievening" with no necessary technical application. Peredur himself is also a "gwas ieuanc" (p. 221, line 22); and there are similar uses of the term in regard to Gwydion and Lleu (p. 71, line 28, p. 72, line 13, p. 73, line 28); in Maccsen Wledig (p. 91, line 28); in Kulhwch and Olwen (p. 127, line 21); and in Gereint (p. 247, line 29):

But notwithstanding these uses of the words, it is clear from the Mabinogion that the "gweission bychain" and "macwyaid" were organized sections of the "teulu".

The principal evidence is from Rhonabwy. In that story, all the armed messengers who came to Arthur and Owain to tell them of the fight with the Ravens are called "macwyaid" or "gwas ieuanc"; and their messages are only intelligible if we look upon the "gweission ieuainc" and "macwyaid" as organized retainers, as they obviously were in the Survey of Denbigh.

On p. 153, lines 28, 30, the message delivered is in these words:—"Arglwyd, ae oth gennyat ti y mae gweisson bychain yr Amherawdyr ae mackweyt yn kipris . . . dy vrein".

On p. 154, lines 20, 21, the message runs :—" Ae oth anuod di y mae mackwyeit yr Amherawdyr yn brathu dy vrein "

On p. 156, line 30, p. 157, line 1, the message reads :—" Ac y dywawt vot brein Owein yn llad y weisson bychein ae vackwyeit "

On p. 157, lines 26-9, it runs :—" Arglwyd, heb ef, neur derw llad dy uackwyeit ath weisson bychein a meibon gwyrda ynys Prydein. Hyt na byd hawd kynnal yr ynys honn byth o hediw allan "; and the essential identification of these two groups with part of the " teulu " is made clear by the last message of all (p. 158, lines 23-4) : " Dywedut daruot yr brein lad y deulu a meibon gwyrda yr ynys hon "

This evidence of the Dream of Rhonabwy does not stand alone. In Pwyll (p. 4, line 4), we find both classes at court, part of their duties being to take off the shoes of distinguished visitors : " Ef a doeth mackwyeit a gweisson ieuenc y diarchenu "

We do not, however, get the two classes mentioned in conjunction elsewhere ; but in Pwyll (p. 9, line 26) it is indicated that the " macwyaid " were a considerable body, in Peredur (p. 211, lines 24, 28) we find no less than 24 of Arthur's macwyaid assaulting Peredur one after the other, and we also find Peredur's uncle with " mackwyeit yn amyl yn y gylch "

In Gereint (p. 285, line 30, p. 286, line 3) we find a considerable body of them pitching tents ; and in the same story (p. 246, lines 18 et seq) we get the names of four of them doing duty as guards round Arthur's bed, and each one of the four became in other Welsh stories a formidable warrior. They are Cadyriaeth, the son of Gandwy, Amhren, the son of Bedwyr, Amhar, the son of Arthur, and Goreu, the son of Custennin.

This evidence helps in the reconstruction of the composition and duties of the "teulu".

The only other point of interest regarding the military organization is a passage in Rhonabwy, showing the correspondence between the Laws and these stories.

The Laws provided that there were three blows which could be inflicted without causing "sarhad" or insult to the person struck. One of these was a blow, with the flat of the sword, by a captain to one of his host "by way of counsel".

In Rhonabwy (p. 150, lines 8, 9) we find an echo of this rule. On the road to Mt Badon, Adaon struck Elphin with his sheathed sword for dashing into the Severn and splashing Arthur, whereon Elphin angrily demanded:—"Paham y treweist ti vy march i. Ae yr amarch y mi ae yr kyghor arnaf"; and Adaon's explanation that it was "by way of counsel" was accepted by Elphin, and a contretemps was averted. It is a small incident; but it helps to illustrate the corroboration of the Laws to be found in the Mabinogion.

VIII. TERRITORIAL UNITS.

The Laws show that the territorial organization of Wales consisted, in a descending scale, of three units, the cantrefi, the cymydau, and the trefi, the term "maenawr" being applied to certain unfree or serf "trefi".

All these units, the basis of administration, are mentioned in the Mabinogion.

The "cantref" is found in the Four Branches and Kulhwch only on p. 1, line 2, p. 13, lines 29, 30, p. 25, lines 9, 11, 12, 13, p. 44, lines 16, 18, 19, 20, p. 57, lines 7, 13, 30, p. 59, lines 2, 3, 4, 5, p. 62, line 28, p. 63, lines 9, 12, p. 73, lines 10, 27, 28, 29, 30, p. 76, line 29, p. 110, line 28, and p. 123, line 1.

The "cymwd" is mentioned on p. 31, lines 17, 19, p. 62, line 26, p. 144, lines 18, 20.

It is worthy of note that the terms occur only in those stories which have been least affected by foreign influences.

The word "tref", or settlement, is used frequently; but only on one occasion, in *Kulhwch and Olwen* (p. 109, line 25), does it seem to have the special sense given to it in the Codes. It is applied frequently, as in *Mod.W.* to towns like London, Hereford, etc.

The term "maenawr" is strictly confined to unfree settlements on p. 63, lines 26, 27, and p. 78, line 1.

The late Arthurian stories do not use the words at all in the strict legal sense.

IX. TERMS DESCRIBING CLASSES OF THE POPULATION.

The word "cenedl", one of whose meanings is a clan or body of relatives, is used in the Codes in several senses, always with the implication of some bond of relationship.

We get exactly the same variations in its use in the *Mabinogion*. In *Branwen* (p. 29, line 10) we have the word used in one of its confined legal meanings, that of a body of relatives entitled to give a woman in marriage. In *Owein and Lunet* (p. 183, line 7) it is used to describe *Owein's* relatives as a whole. In *Kulhwch and Olwen* (p. 107, line 14) it is used with reference to a group of relations on the paternal side, the agnatic uncles, "kenedyl y Arthur o bleit y dat". In describing similar relations on the maternal side, it is noteworthy that the word "cenedl" is not used. There maternal uncles are thrice spoken of, once as "brawt y Arthur o barth y uam" (p. 107, line 30), and twice as "ewythred Arthur . . . vrodyr y uam" (p. 109, line 11, p. 140, line 11). This

should be compared with Peredur (p. 203, lines 4, 5) "ath ewythyr wyf ynneu vrawt dy uam".

Kulhwch and Olwen, however, uses the word "cenedlaeth" as equal (a), to a species of animals (p. 129, line 18), and (b), to a group or nation of men (p. 130, line 7). In Math (p. 73, lines 11, 12) it indicates all human kind. In Lludd and Llevelis it is employed to describe the Corranneit (p. 94, line 17, p. 95, line 13, p. 96, lines 15, 22, p. 97, line 24), where the sense implies a tribe or nation; on p. 94, line 3, it is used in the restricted sense of a family; on p. 93, line 15, and p. 96, line 25, to describe a stranger race; and finally (on p. 96, lines 17, 23, and p. 97, line 24) to include all the inhabitants of Britain as a connected group.

The word "bonheddig", which, in the laws, means a man of pure Welsh descent, that is possessed of the qualification for being a "gwr rhyd", a free man, is never used in its limited legal sense in the Mabinogion. It or its derivatives are used to describe a man of good lineage, or what was regarded as the mark of good lineage, good manners. (Pwyll, p. 4, line 18; Kulhwch and Olwen, p. 100, line 13; Maccsen Wledig, p. 88, line 14; Rhonabwy, p. 155, line 6; Owein and Lunet, p. 175, line 25; Peredur, p. 216, line 9, and p. 221, line 23; and Gereint, p. 244, line 17).

The word "mab aillt", the North Welsh phrase for an unfree serf, occurs once only (Math, p. 77, line 30), where it is used in its strict legal sense. The South Welsh equivalent "taeog" (Manawydan, p. 47, line 27, p. 48, line 16, p. 49, line 11, p. 52, line 20), and the Norman French equivalent "vilein" (p. 280, line 4) are used loosely, as epithets applied in anger to artizans and to an inn-keeper.

The word "gwrda", which means "good-man" or

“man of goods”, had the technical meaning of a notable of the country side associated in the administration. The special form “gwrda y wlat” (where “wlat”= “patria”) occurs both in the Laws and in the Mabinogion (p. 32, line 21, p. 34, line 30), and its cognate form “gwyrda y gyuoeth” is of frequent occurrence.

In the loose sense of gentleman or nobleman it is used in literally hundreds of cases; but it is often used in its more restricted legal sense (e.g., p. 5, lines 5, 27, p. 7, line 22, p. 17, line 29, p. 24, line 23, p. 24, line 28, p. 26, line 7, p. 32, line 17, p. 95, line 7, p. 266, line 3, and p. 268, line 4).

X. “CYLCH” AND “GWESTFA”.

The Welsh Laws have provisions regarding “cylchau” or tours through the countryside by the King for the purpose of administration, hunting, etc., or of the officers of the King for the purpose of collecting the “gwestfa” (food-tribute), and the billeting of horses, dogs, etc.

There are a few references in the Mabinogion to these “cylchau”, but it will be noticed that they are all in the earlier stories.

In Pwyll (p. 23, lines 18, 19), Pwyll is referred to as returning “o gylchaw Dyuet”. In Manawydan (p. 46, lines 1, 2) Pryderi and Manawydan, then joint rulers of Dyfed, are mentioned as commencing the “kylchaw dyuet” for hunting. In Math (p. 59, lines 12-14) Math is said to have been incapable of performing “gylchu y wlat”, for which reason Gilfaethwy and the “teulu” with him performed the “cylch”, and on p. 65, lines 7, 9, and 26, Gilfaethwy is said to have continued the cylch. In Kullhwch and Olwen (p. 110, lines 17 et seq) the hunger of Hir Erwm and Hir Etrwm, servants of Arthur, is humorously referred to when they went for the

"gwestfa"; and in the same story (p. 109, lines 24, 27) we get another humorous reference to the rapacity of Gwallgoyc.

The references, though few, are in full accord with the administrative arrangements portrayed in the laws.

XI. CRIMINAL LAW.

The references to criminal law (excluding "sarhad" and "dial") in the Mabinogion are few, but they are of considerable value as showing a knowledge of the law.

The most important reference relates to the law of theft, and is found in the story of Manawydan.

It will be recollected that Manawydan seized one of the mice which he caught stealing his crops; and it is worth quoting in detail the passages relevant to the law of theft, which occur in connection with the seizure. They are to be found on pp. 54 et seq:—

"Beth yssyd yna, arglwyd", heb y kicua . . .
"Lleidy'r" heb ynteu, "a geueis yn lletratta arnaf . . .
ac y grogaf inheu avory . . . bei as kaffwn oll, mi ae
crogwn . . . Pei as caffwm i oll wynt onys crogrwn. Ac
a geueis mi ae crogaf . . ."

"A pha ryw weith yd wyd yndaw, arglwyd" . . .
"Crog'i lleidy'r a geueis yn lletratta arnaf . . . yn llet-
ratta arnaf y keueis i ef, a chyfreith lleidy'r a wna'f inheu
ac ef, y grogi" . . . "Punt . . . mi ae rodaf itti a
gellwng y pryf hwnnw ymeith" . . . "Na ellyngaf . . .
ac nys gwerthaf . . ."

"A pha ryw, arglwyd, yd wyt yn y wneuthur".
"Crog'i lleidy'r a geueis yn lletratta arnaf . . . dihenyd
lleidy'r a wna'f ynneu arnaf ef" . . . "Mi ae prynaf
ellwng ef" . . . "Nae werthu nae ellwng nas gwnaf i"
. . . "Mi a rodaf itt teirpant a gollwng ef ymeith" . . .

“ Na vynnaf . . . un gwerth yrdaw namyn yr hwnn a dyly y grogi . . . ”

“ Pa ryw weith yd wyt ti yndau ” . . . “ Crogi lleidyr a geueis yn lletratta arnaf ” . . . “ Mi ae prynaf y gennyt. Mi a rodaf seith punt itt yrdaw ” . . . “ Na ellyngaf ” . . . “ Kan nys gollyngy yr hynny mi a rodaf it pedeur punt ar hugeint o aryant parawt a gellwng ef . . . kany mynny hynny gwna yr gwerth a vynnych ”.

It will be observed that there is a constant repetition of the phrase, “ lleidyr a geueis yn lletratta arnaf ”, “ a thief I seized in the act of thieving from me.” Manawydan is here insisting on the fact that the offence committed was “ theft present ” and not “ theft absent ”; and that, therefore, the only punishment was that prescribed by law, the “ cyfreith lleidyr ”, hanging.

So far Manawydan is correct; but in demanding the thief’s release on payment the would-be redemptors are also right, for this reason, that the law prescribed that inasmuch as grains of wheat were unidentifiable (and a suit for “ theft present ” required the production of identifiable stolen property), no person found in possession of stolen wheat could be subjected to the “ cyfreith lleidyr ”. He became subject to the punishment for “ theft absent ”, and not “ theft present ”, to which alone the “ cyfreith lleidyr ” applied.

This punishment consisted in becoming what was called a “ saleable thief,” that is to say the thief must go into banishment or servitude unless redeemed therefrom by the payment of a fixed sum, apportioned according to the gravity of the offence. The rates of redemption were variously fixed in the law at £1, £3, £7 and £24, exactly the figures quoted by the characters in Manawydan.

The story, of course, was not written to illustrate or expound the law; but it is of interest as showing how inti-

mate with the details of the law the writer of the tale was.

Another interesting passage, adhering equally closely to the law, is to be found in Branwen (p. 30, lines 10-4).

After Efnissyen had mutilated Matholwch's horses, Brân sent a message to Matholwch in these words:—
"Menegwch idaw ef a geiff march iach am bop un or a lygrwyt. Ac y gyt a hynny ef a geiff yn wynabwarth idaw llatheu aryant a uo kyfref a chyhyt ac ef ehun, a chlawr eur kyflet ae wyneb".

There are two matters of interest in this; first, that Brân offers what the law provided should be paid (a) compensation for damage done, and (b) reparation (wynabwarth, or wynebwerth as it is more commonly called) for the insult (sarhad) received; secondly, that Brân offers, as reparation for the insult, that which the law prescribed should be paid to a king. Here again we get a close adherence to the provisions of law, showing the intimate acquaintance of the writers therewith.

To the question of "sarhad" we shall return shortly.

In Math we have yet a third illustration of this close adherence to the law.

Llew Llaw Gyffes, when he demands right from Gronw Pebr, begins by saying, "madws oed y mi kaffel iawn gan y gwr y keueis out gantaw", to which Math replies, "Ny eill ef ymgynnal ath iawn di gantaw" (p. 79, lines 16-8), laying down the fundamental rule of Welsh law that all wrongs must be remedied.

When Llew approaches Gronw, the latter sends a message to the former (p. 80, lines 10, 12) in these terms: "Sef kennadwri a anuones, gouyn a wnaeth y lew llaw gyffes a vynnei ae tir ae dayar ae eur ae aryant am y sarhaet".

This offer Llew refuses, with the sequence that Gronw

submits, without resistance, to the same risk of death from a javelin as Lleu had experienced.

The incident is remarkable from a legal point of view, and is strictly correct.

All Welsh law, just as is the case with Irish law, analyzed what had been done, breaking the act or acts up into its constituent parts, determining that there might be separate penalties for a number of wrongs committed in the course of one transaction.

Gronw had, in law, caused three wrongs :—

- (1) He had attempted to murder Lleu,
- (2) He had usurped his land, and
- (3) He had committed "sarhad" by his adultery with Blodeuwedd.

Gronw's offer to Lleu covered only two of these wrongs; "tir ae dayar" (a phrase we shall meet with again) in return for the usurpation of land, and "eur ae aryant" (the correct reparation) for the adultery; but Lleu demanded, quite rightly in law, reparation for the first wrong first; and this was fixed at, and accepted by Gronw, as he was bound to accept, on the general principle of "like for like".

It is a characteristic incident of how the early tales reproduce the proper local colouring of the law.

The correctness of this local colouring is illustrated in a marked manner by the way the stories handle two important features of Welsh law, "sarhad" or insult, and "dial" or vengeance.

In Welsh law, as we have noticed in the case of Efnissyen in the story of Branwen, most wrongs carried two penalties :—

- (a) Payment for injury done;

- (b) Payment for the insult to honour caused by the injury.

Where no assessable injury was done, then only insult to honour had to be compensated. Thus, if a man's arm were struck off, the "legal worth" of the arm had to be paid for, and the price of the insult to honour had also to be paid. If there were no legally recognized "injury," e.g., by a simple blow, then the insult to honour, the "sarhad" only, had to be compensated for.

The references to "sarhad" as an insult to honour to be remedied are of constant recurrence in the stories. In fact, if the Welsh point of view of personal honour is not understood, it is difficult to appreciate much of the Mabinogion. For instances of "sarhad" see p. 32, lines 16, 17, and p. 34, line 7. The right to reparation (*iawn*) is in frequent evidence, as also the "warth" or "wynebwerth" which is the pecuniary assessment of the injury or insult (e.g., p. 31, line 2, p. 210, line 2).

The occasions upon which the "sarhad" and the "iawn" for it are mentioned are so numerous that it would be impossible to quote fully; but mention may be made of *Peredur*, whose story turns partly on the "sarhaet y corr ar gorres" (e.g., p. 214, line 12), and on the avenging of the insult to the Lady of the *Ilanerch*, which, when procured, is referred to as "wynebwerth idi" (p. 210, line 2).

Similarly, in *Gereint*, we have frequent reference to the "sarhad" committed by Ederne's dwarf, the "motif" of the first part of the story, not merely by a blow to *Gwenhwyfar's* maid, but by the insult to *Gwenhwyfar*, whose "protection" (*nawd*) was equally offended by the blow (see, e.g., p. 255, lines 13, 15, 27).

The legal correctness of this episode is carried further in the story, when on p. 261, lines 1, 2, Gwenhwyfar regards a breach of her "nawd" as equally a breach of the King's "nawd", "wrth uot yn gymeint gewilyd itti, arglwyd, kyhyrdu kewilyd a miui ac a thy hun".

Connected with the law of "sarhad" we find in *Branwen* a reference to a feature, peculiar to Celtic law, viz., the possibility in certain circumstances of "augmentation" of the standard rate of compensation. *Brân* (p. 31, lines 6-10) offers "augmentation" to Matholwch in the following words:—

"As os yr bychenet gennyt ti dy iawn to a gey y chwanegu it wrth dy vynu dy hun. Mi a delediwaf dy iawn heuyt it . . .".

The law of compensation was a substitute for the older law of vengeance, "dial".

In archaic societies, the first remedy for a wrong was revenge; and it was only as society acquired more settled habits, that the right to compensation was substituted for it. In Wales, the remedy of "dial" was still exercisable, at the time the Laws were redacted, particularly in the case of murder, when the compensation was not paid; and the conception of the right to "dial" continued to exist for many centuries.

In the *Mabinogion* this word "dial", and the conception of right (iawn) lying behind it, is constantly to be met with, and it is of interest to note the circumstances in which it is mentioned.

In *Pwyll* (p. 16, line 11) "dial" as a remedy for a grievance (in this case the blows to Gwawl) is referred to, and it is there obviated by an agreement to forego, which is the correct legal procedure; on p. 18, line 22, the women responsible for the loss of the child, *Pryderi*, at once turn to anticipate the "dial" that will be taken on them, and

on p. 2, line 20, Arawn threatens Pwyll with vengeance—be it noted for the discourtesy or insult—and the vengeance was bought off on terms agreed upon, the amount being fixed, as it was fixed in law, for insult "wrth ual y bo dy enryded".

In Branwen (p. 34, line 7) revenge is taken on Branwen for the "sarhad" committed by Efnissyen; and the subsequent action of Brân is dictated because Matholwch had, after receiving compensation for the insult offered him, proceeded to exact vengeance as well. In fact, the whole story of Branwen is based, from a legal point of view, on the law of "sarhad", compensation, and "dial".

In Manawydan "dial" is referred to as being taken because of the treatment accorded to Gwawl (p. 57, line 13, p. 58, line 13); and the sympathy of the audience, listening to the story, would be at once on the side of the ultimately triumphant Manawydan, because Gwawl had already contracted not to seek "dial", and the casting of a spell on Dyfed, in breach of this agreement, was a serious breach of honourable conduct.

In Kulhwch and Olwen (p. 110, lines 4, 5) Arthur is said to have slain Gwydauc and his brothers in revenge for Cai, and this brings us into the atmosphere of the most primitive stage in the law of remedies.

In Owein and Lunet (p. 178, line 18) Gwalchmai threatens to seek "dial" if Owein has been killed.

In Peredur (p. 196, line 27) the knight of the Llanerch seeks "dial" for suspected inconstancy. It is sought, too, for the "sarhad" of the blow to Gwenhwyfar (p. 197, lines 10, 13, 17), and for the blow to the dwarf and dwarfess (p. 199, line 26, p. 200, line 13, p. 204, line 27, p. 214, line 10), the dwarf and dwarfess, by their invocation of Peredur, having come under his "nawd" or protection.

In the same story Gwalchmai speaks of "dial" for the overthrow of Cai (p. 213, line 8); Peredur, because of his vow (and according to Welsh law a vow could not be infringed, and, if infringed, must be repeated and honoured), refuses to take it for Cai's assault on him (p. 219, line 13); and the wrong-doings of the Witches occur as matters Peredur is destined to take "dial" for (p. 243, line 1).

In Gereint we get a peculiar, but essentially medieval, conception of the person on whom revenge can honourably be taken.

Revenge, in medieval thought, was only possible upon an equal, and a dwarf was below the revenge of Gwalchmai. Hence (p. 249, line 17) it would, as the story says, be no "dial" to seek it from the insulting dwarf. (See note 2 at end.)

In the same story, "dial" is to be sought from the person responsible for the dwarf for the insult to Gwenhwyfar's maid (p. 253, lines 1, 3, p. 259, line 15), and for the insult of the blow to Gereint himself (p. 255, lines 13, 14, 18).

All these instances portray, not merely the legal provisions of the Laws, but the conceptions of honour and the like which lay behind them.

Two limitations on the sphere of "dial" mentioned in the Mabinogion deserve notice. In the one Brân expresses his inability to avenge Matholwch's injury upon Efnissyen thus:—

"Ac y mae brawt un uam a mi a wnaeth hynny. Ac nat hawd gennyf ynheu nae lad ef nae diuetha" (p. 30, lines 16, 17). Brân is here using terms of "dial" applicable only in the case of murder, viz., "slaying" and "harrying"; but in addition to that, he makes it clear that he cannot avenge on a kinsman the wrong done to a

stranger, but takes over the liability of his kinsman to compensate.

In the other, when Gwalchmai, in Peredur, visits the court of the Earl (p. 235, lines 23, 24), whose father he is accused of slaying, the Earl says to him:—

“Cam oed itt dyuot y an llys or gwypu^t lad an tat o honat, kyn na allom ni y dial duw ae dial arnat”. The Earl was prevented by the law of hospitality from taking revenge upon his guest.

A few additional minor references to criminal law remain to be noted.

In *Kulhwch and Olwen* we find the word “canhastyr” employed in the names “Canhastyr Canllaw” and “Cilydd Kanhastyr”. “Canhastyr” in the laws is used to designate the “hundredth” receiver of certain stolen goods, who could be proceeded against for wrongful possession. The names appear to mean “the support of the hundredth receiver” and “the fellow of the hundredth receiver” of stolen goods.

In *Math* (p. 65, line 14) Goewin speaks of the “cyrch” that came upon her, “Kyrch, arglwyd, a doeth am vym penn a hynny yn dirgel . . .”, and in *Branwen* (p. 29, line 21) Matholwch uses the same word to describe Efnissyen’s attack on his horses.

In Welsh law, the “cyrch” was a public attack, similar to the English “hloth”; and its two characteristics were that it must be committed by a gang, and it must be openly or publicly committed.

Though Goewin and Matholwch are exaggerating the numbers in the attacks of which they complain (for, strictly speaking, there must be nine persons in a “cyrch”), they are using, knowingly, a legal term, with a definite meaning attached to it, and describing offences much more serious than that of secret single-handed assaults.

XII. THE CIVIL LAW OF BARGAINING.

The references to the law of bargaining in the Mabinogion are not many; but such as there are show that the redactors were well-acquainted with the ordinary legal provisions.

In Manawydan (p. 51, lines 21, 22) we find Manawydan, when alone with Kiefa, citing God as his surety:—

“ Mi a rodaf Duw yn vach itt ’’, which was the appropriate ceremony in the contract of “ briduw ’’, i.e., a contract entered into without “ amodwyr ’’, sureties, or witnesses being present.

In Math (p. 61, line 17) we have the word “ amod ’’ (legally a contract entered into without sureties, but in the presence of special witnesses, “ amodwyr ’’, charged with the duty of proving the contract). In Pwyll (p. 16, line 24) the term is loosely used to cover an agreement with sureties; in Owein and Lunet (p. 190, line 22) it is also used somewhat loosely by the two youths who desired to slay Lunet, in their remark that they had not contracted to fight with the lion; as also in Peredur (p. 218, line 2), where it is employed to describe the undertaking of the “ gwr llwyd ’’ of Dyffryn Crwnn to go to Arthur.

In the passage from Math referred to above, which recites the negotiations between Gwydion and Pryderi regarding the swine, we have an illustration of the growth of the conception that there is a distinction between “ sale ’’ and “ exchange ’’.

Pryderi says he has contracted not to “ give ’’ or “ sell ’’ the swine; and Gwydion points out how he can get round his promise by effecting an exchange:—

“ Llyma rydit itti am y geir a dywedeist nas rodut ac nas gwerthut. Titheu a elly gytnewityaid yr a uo gwel ’’ (p. 62, lines 7, 9, cf. p. 61, lines 21, 23).

The distinction between “ exchange ’’ and “ sale ’’ is

hardly realised in the Laws; and of course only arises when barter ceases to be the ordinary mode of conducting business.

Valuation in cattle or kind, the basis of business by barter, is mentioned in Pwyll (p. 2, line 21) where Arawn threatens Pwyll with injury "worth a hundred stags", and also in Kulhwch (p. 103, line 1), where the apples on Kulhwch's mantle are described as worth a hundred cows, and his footwear as worth 300 cows.

The distinction between a loan (*benffyc*) and pledge (*gwystyl*) is noted in Gereint (p. 249, line 23, and p. 250, line 9).

The stories are also correct in their respective uses of the two words for "loan", viz., "*echwyn*" and "*benffyc*".

The latter was invariably used in legal Welsh to describe the loan of goods which had to be returned themselves; the former was used to describe the loan of goods, which could not be returned themselves, but for which the equivalent of a like nature had to be returned. Hence we find in Owein and Lunet (p. 185, line 19) the word "*benffyg*" used to describe the loan of a horse and arms, and in Gereint (p. 249, line 23, p. 250, line 9) with regard to the loan of arms.

In Peredur "*echwyn*" is correctly used to describe a loan of money (p. 229, lines 24, 25, 27, 30, p. 230, lines 11, 15).

The use of two other words in their correct legal signification may be noticed, viz., "*beich*" (p. 52, line 22, and p. 145, line 27) and "*cesseilwrn*" (p. 145, line 28). The former meant a bundle which could be borne upon the back, the latter a bundle carried under the arm.

XIII. THE LAW OF MARRIAGE.

We may turn now to references in the Mabinogion regarding matters of what may be called "the law of persons". The most important of these is the "law of marriage".

The Mabinogion stories, naturally enough, give a considerable amount of information regarding marriage.

In the first place, it is quite clear that cohabitation (with intention to continue as man and wife) sufficed to create a valid marriage. The common term used to designate that a couple were married is "cysgu genthi" or "cysgu gyt".

In Pwyll the phrase is used by Gwawl to indicate the forthcoming marriage between Rhiannon and Pwyll (p. 13, lines 5, 6); by Rhiannon in connection with her pretended promise to marry Gwawl (p. 13, line 23, p. 14, line 19); and by the narrator to describe the actual marriage of Rhiannon and Pwyll (p. 17, lines 3, 5).

In Branwen, the same phrase is used in connection with the marriage of Branwen and Matholwch (p. 28, lines 2, 14, 15, 24, 25, p. 29, line 25, and p. 43, line 7). In Manawydan it is used to describe the marriage of Manawydan and Rhiannon (p. 45, line 25); in Math to describe the marriage of Lleu and Blodeuwedd (p. 73, line 25); in Maccen Wledig to describe the marriage of Maccen and Elen (p. 88, line 29); in Kullhwch and Olwen by Yspaddaden in reference to Kullhwch's demand for Olwen (p. 122, lines 6, 7), and at the end of the story to describe the marriage with Olwen (p. 143, line 3).

In Kullhwch the term is also used (p. 134, line 6) when it is asserted that Gwynn bore off Creidylad from Gwythyr before the marriage of the two latter was completed.

In Gereint and Enid, it is used to describe the marriage of the hero and heroine (p. 263, lines 2, 4, 5), and

in Peredur to describe that of Etlym and the Countess (p. 227, lines 16, 17).

The term is not used in Owein and Lunet.

During the period when the Mabinogion stories were being redacted, the Church, in Wales and elsewhere, was insisting on ecclesiastical benediction for marriage, and it was drawing a sharp distinction between a "gwreic" and a "gwreic priaud". This distinction, reflected in the Laws, begins to appear in the Arthurian stories.

In *Kulhwch and Olwen* (p. 115, lines 14 et seq) we appear to have a play on the word "priaud" in a very difficult passage. When Custennin is met by *Kulhwch*, there is a long conversation between them, not very easy to render into English, but it seems that Custennin is using the word "priaud" (*propria*) as equivalent to "wife", whereas his listeners take it in its original sense "property", with the result that the conversation seems to be at cross purposes. The passage runs thus:—

"Ac a dywedassant wrthaw, 'Berth yd wyt heussawr'. 'Ny bo berthach byth y boch chwi no minneu. Myn duw . . . nyt oes anaf ym llygru namyn vym priaut'. . . . 'Neu ditheu pwy wyt'. . . . 'Custennin yn gelwir uab dyfnedic, ac am vym priaut ym rylygrwys vym brawt Yspaddaden penn kawr'".

The R.B. scribe seems to have lost the key to the story, and in the W.B. text (col. 473, lines 11-15) we get the earlier account, which clears the point of the conversation up. That text uses for the last part of the passage these words:—

"Custennin amhynwyedic wyf i, ac am uym priaut ym ryamdiuwynwys uym priaut Yspaddaden penkawr".

In *Peredur* (p. 204, lines 4, 21, 23) "priaud" is used to designate the marriage between the lady whose husband had been killed and that husband, and to describe

the marriage enforced by Peredur between her and her husband's slayer. Further in the story (p. 226, line 12), Peredur, after he had slain the Addanc, is offered one of the three sisters " yn briawt ", and still later (p. 239, line 22) the King, whom Peredur had championed, offers him his daughter also " yn briawt ".

In Owein and Lunet we have the only mention there is in the Mabinogion of an ecclesiastically blessed marriage, that between Owein and the Lady of the Fountain (p. 178, lines 28, 30), which is described thus:—

" Ac yna y duc hitheu escyb ac archescyb oe llys y wneuthur y phriodas hi ac Owein ".

It is to be noted that here it is brought out clearly that an ecclesiastically blessed marriage is " priodas ", and that there is no mention of cohabitation. Later, too, in the story (p. 188, line 22), we find Lunet speaking of the Countess as " yn priawt ".

But it must not be supposed that the mere act of cohabitation is all that was customary in Welsh law. The Laws draw a distinction between cohabitation, with an intention to continue as man and wife, and a mere casual connection. They give, however, little information as to how that intention was expressed, and on this point the Mabinogion stories furnish valuable evidence.

The Laws also draw a clear distinction between marriage with consent or by gift of kin (*rod o cenedl*) and marriage without such consent. They refer incidentally to fees paid to bards present at a marriage, but make no mention of the negotiations leading up to a marriage, nor of the actual rites, which served to establish an intention to continue cohabitation. On all these points also the Mabinogion give important evidence.

The first point to note is that the indications in the Laws that the woman must be a free consenting party to

her marriage and could not be disposed of against her will, that is that there was no selling of a woman in marriage as among Teutonic tribes, is amply corroborated by the Mabinogion.

In Pwyll (p. 11, lines 26 et seq) we find that the reason why Rhiannon sought Pwyll at all was in order to defy an attempt to marry her against her will. She expresses herself thus :—" Rhiannon uerch heueyd hen wyf i. Am rodi y wr om hanvod yd ydys, ac ny mynneis inheu un gwr, a hynny oth garyat ti, ac nys mynnaf ettwa onyt am gwrthyt " ; and on p. 13, line 11, she speaks of Gwawl as " y gwr y mynnassit vy rodi i idaw om hanvod ".

The upshot of the story is that Rhiannon's insistence on her own right to dispose of herself prevails, and she eventually marries the man of her choice and not him whom her relatives would have supplied her with.

In Branwen we get no evidence of Branwen's having been asked to consent to her marriage with Matholwch. So far as the evidence goes, we seem to have, in her case, a simple gift of her in marriage, without her being consulted. But this stands alone, save for the expression in Lludd, where Llevelis asks the French nobles and princes to give (rodi) the heiress of the realm to him.

In Manawydan, though Pryderi is ready to give Rhiannon in marriage, her willingness is clearly expressed : " A minheu a vydaf wrth hynny yn llawen " (p. 45, lines 21, 22).

In Maccen Wledig we have a striking illustration of the woman's right. Neither the messengers nor Maccen himself ask anyone for Elen but Elen herself, notwithstanding the presence of both her father and her two brothers.

In Kulhwch and Olwen (excluding the cases of marriage by capture, to which we shall return), when Kulh-

wch asks for Olwen, he asks her, in the first instance (p. 118, lines 2-4), "Dyuot a wnelhych gennyf rac eirychu pechawt itti ac y minneu. Llawer dyd yth rygereis"; and it is only because Olwen has already promised her father not to marry without his consent, because his life depended on the matter, that Kulhwch finds himself compelled to seek Yspaddaden. "Ny allaf i dim o hynny", says Olwen, "Cret a erchis uyn tat im nat elwyd heb y gyghor". This is clear evidence of the woman's right, inherent in herself, to give herself in marriage.

In connection with Creidylad we have an instance of a woman bestowing herself without even consulting her relatives:—"Kyn no hynny ychydic yd aeth Creidylat uerch lud law ereint gan wythyr mab greidawl" (p. 134, lines 4, 5).

In Owein and Lunet though the Countess asks permission of her council to marry in order to defend her lands, it is she who moves in the question of marriage at all; she speaks of giving herself, and eventually the council agrees that she may marry where she wills (p. 178, lines 24, 25).

In Peredur, when Peredur was willing to give the Countess to Etlym (p. 227, line 14) (a minneu ath rodaf di idaw ef), it is she who first expressed a wish for such marriage, and exactly as in the case of Rhiannon in Manawydan, she replied "A minneu a gymeraf y gwr mwyaf a garaf" (p. 227, lines 15, 16). So also (p. 207, lines 4, 5) the lady whom Peredur helps says she would not have the Earl's son, who sought her, of her own free will, and she adds, "Nym rodi ynneu vynn tat om hanuod idaw ef nac y iarll or byt".

In Gereint the consent of Enid appears to be assumed without expression.

A further fact emerges from these instances. As noted,

the laws draw a distinction between a marriage with consent of kin (*rod o cenedl*) and a marriage without such consent. Now the *Mabinogion* invariably uses the word "rodi" where there is a bestowal with such consent; they never use it when such consent is dispensed with.

We have some interesting facts about who was entitled to "give" a woman in marriage, when her assent had been obtained. The Laws merely imply that the right was that of the nearest male relatives.

In *Pwyll* we are not told who wished to give *Rhiannon* against her will (the word "rodi" is used, *vide supra*, and also p. 12, line 3, p. 13, line 11). The presumption, however, is that her father, *Hefeidd Hên*, desired to.

In *Branwen*, *Matholwch* came to seek (*erchi*) *Branwen* from her full brother *Brân* (p. 27, line 20), and *Brân* takes counsel and decides to give (*rodi*) her to *Matholwch* (p. 27, line 29). To this gift *Efnissyen* objects, "Ac uelly y gwnaethant wy . . . y rodi heb vyg kennyat i" (p. 28, lines 26, 27); that is to say he, as a half-brother on the mother's side, claims to have a right of consultation; but the very fact that he was not consulted seems to imply that a maternal relative had no such right.

This, however, in view of the instance in *Kulhwch*, must be regarded as a debateable point. It is probable that originally maternal relatives had such a right, but, with the growth of an agnatic conception of relationship, such right was disputed. This marriage of *Branwen* is referred to later by *Matholwch* as a gift (*rod*), "rod" by "cenedl", and cohabitation (*cysgu genthi*) (p. 29, lines 9, 10, p. 23, line 6).

In *Manawydan* we get the peculiar instance of a gift by *Pryderi* of his mother *Rhiannon* (p. 44, line 17), "mi a rodaf itti honno", and (p. 45, line 20), "Arglwydes", heb y *Bryderi*, "mi ath roesswm yn wreic y uanawydan".

In Math, the marriage of Blodeuwedd is effected by Math, who created her as a wife for Lleu, an instance which throws no light on the question what relatives were entitled to bestow.

The evidence of the Four Branches appear to confine the right, as the Laws confine it, to the nearest male relatives.

When we come to *Kulhwch*, however, we get into complications. *Olwen*, owing to her promise to her father, advised *Kulhwch* to seek her from her father, making no mention of anyone else (p. 118, line 7), and *Kulhwch* proceeds to make the demand, threatening *Yspaddaden* thus, "Ac onys rody, dy anghau a geffy amdanei" (p. 119, line 7). This is repeated lower on (p. 120, line 9). But he adds that he is willing to give certain wedding-dues to her "dwy gares", her two kinswomen, or two groups of kinswomen, that is the maternal and paternal kinswomen, implying the right of such kinswomen to be consulted. *Yspaddaden* replies with a very definite, and oft-quoted, statement as to who is entitled to be consulted:—

"Hi ae phedeir gorhenuam ae phedwar gorhendat yssyd vyw ettwa, reit yw im ymgyghor ac wynt" (p. 119, lines 8-10); that is to say *Olwen* herself, her four great-grandmothers and four great-grandfathers must all be consulted, and *Kulhwch* acquiesces in this as a matter of course.

In this instance we appear to have an earlier state of things than what the Laws and the Four Branches contemplate.

In the late Arthurian stories of *Peredur* and *Gereint* we have introduced, as bestowers, persons not recognised as such in the Welsh laws. We have, apparently, in these cases, evidence of the growth of a new set of ideas, the feudal conception of the right of the overlord.

Peredur himself assumes the right to give, both in connection with the lady whose slain husband he has avenged (p. 204, line 21), and in the case of the Countess married to Etlym, "A minneu ath rodaf di idaw ef" (p. 227, line 14).

Side by side with these, on p. 239, line 22, we have the King offering to give (rodi) his own daughter, "Mi a rodaf itt vym merch yn briawt".

In Gereint, we find Gereint insisting on Arthur, not the father Ynywl, giving Enid:—

"Ac Arthur a Gwenhwyfar a vynaf eu bot yn rodyeit ar y uorwyn" (p. 258, lines 2, 3), and in the actual marriage Arthur makes the gift of Enid, "Ac Arthur a uu rodyat ar y uorwyn y ereint" (p. 262, line 24).

In Owein and Lunet (p. 189, lines 9, 15) the word "rodi" is also used in connection with the compulsion upon the Earl to give his daughter to the dragon.

We seem, therefore, to have three stages in the right of bestowal, only the middle one being recognised by the Welsh Codes:—

- (1) The right of all relatives, paternal and maternal, within four degrees of relationship;
- (2) The right of the nearest male relatives only;
- (3) The right of the feudal overlord.

Passing to the next point, we find evidence that the promise in marriage preceded the marriage itself by a considerable period. This is not invariable, but it is frequent.

In Rhiannon's case in Pwyll, she, in her pretended promise to marry Gwawl, fixed a period a year later for the actual marriage:—

"Mi a wnaft oet ac ef vlwydyn y heno" (p. 13, line 22), followed by her statement to Gwawl (p. 14, line 17) that she would marry him on the expiry of a year. The

same period had already been fixed by her for her marriage with Pwyll (p. 12, line 6).

In Branwen, we find the actual promise to bestow Branwen made at Harlech; but the marriage itself takes place at Aberffraw, whither the parties, after an interval, proceed (p. 28, lines 1, 2), the appointment (oet) being made for the latter place.

In Manawydan, Rhiannon's marriage follows immediately upon the bestowal. This may possibly be because she was a widow. Similarly is the case with Macsen Wledig, where, however, there is no pretence of asking for the consent of kin.

In Kulhwch it is clear from the tasks set by Yspadaden that a period was expected to elapse between any promise to give and the actual completion of the marriage. The same appears to follow from the case of Creidylad, who, though she went away with Gwythyr, remained "intacta" (p. 134, line 6) up to the time she was stolen by Gwynn.

In Owain and Lunet the marriage took place immediately—here again in the case of a widow,—and such also was the case with the lady rescued and bestowed by Peredur (p. 204), and with the Countess married to Etlym, both again cases of widows.

In Gereint a considerable period elapses, sufficient for Enid to travel from Cardiff to Caerleon, where she was married at court.

For the observance of this interval there is an obvious reason. Time had to be allowed for the preparation of some customary ceremonial.

What that was is adequately indicated in the Mabinogion. It consisted of a feast, begun before consummation, and continued after it, the feast serving the double purpose of giving publicity to the union and of furnishing

proof of the intention that the cohabitation was to continue, and so ripen into marriage.

This feast is referred to in Pwyll (p. 12, line 7), "Mi a baraf bot gwled darparedic yn barawt erbyn dy dyuot"; (p. 14, lines 17, 18) "Blwydyn y heno y byd gwled darparedic yn y llys hon y titheu"; and (p. 14, line 22) "Gwawl mab Clut a doeth parth ar wled a oed darparedic idaw". Further references to the "gwled" in Pwyll occur on p. 13, lines 19-21, p. 14, lines 15, 16, and p. 17, line 10.

In Branwen, we are told that the contracting parties proceeded to Aberffraw to "dechreu y wled" (p. 28, line 6), which was continued after the consummation (p. 30, line 29, p. 33, lines 17, 18).

In Manawydan the feast at Rhiannon's marriage is also mentioned (p. 45, line 25), and the feast continued for some period after consummation (p. 45, line 30, p. 46, line 1).

In Math the only circumstance noted in regard to Blodeuwedd's marriage to Lleu is the cohabitation and feast, "gwedy y kyseu y gyt hwy ar y wled" (p. 73, line 25). In Maesen Wledig no feast is mentioned.

In Kulhwch mention is made of the "gwest" (p. 100, line 3) at the marriage of Kilydd and Goleuddydd, and for the marriage of Olwen several of the tasks set by Yspaddaden refer to the procuring of materials for the wedding feast, e.g., Yspaddaden required wheat "i gwneuthur bwyt a llyn tymeredic yth neithawr di ti am merch i" (p. 120, lines 22-24), flax for the white veil of the maiden, "hyt pan uo ef a uo pennlliein gwynn am penn uym merch i ar dy neithawr di" (p. 121, lines 22-4), this being the only specific reference to a bridal costume in the Mabinogion, honey to make "bragod" for the "wled" (p. 121, lines 26-8), Gwyddno's "mwys" for him to eat

out of, "mi a vynnaf vwytta o honno y nos y kysco vym merch gennyt" (p. 122, lines 6, 7), Gwlgawt's horn to drink out of, Teirtu's harp to play, and Diwrnach's cauldron to boil meat in.

In Owein and Lunet, where the ecclesiastical ceremony is referred to, we have no mention of a feast. Publicity and expression of intention being otherwise provided for, they are no longer necessary.

So too in Peredur, where marriage has become a "priodas", no mention is made of a feast at any marriage; but in Gereint, where the marriage is by "rod" of Arthur, we are told "ar dyd hwnnw ar nos honno a treulassant drwy dogynder o gerdeu ac amylder o anregyon wirodeu a lluosydd o waryeu" (p. 262, lines 29 et seq).

We have thus clear evidence that the feast was an essential part, essential for publicity and proof of intention, in the case of a customary marriage.

The marriage itself consummated and the feast concluded, we have some evidence, supporting the indications in the Laws, of gifts to the bards and also to petitioners.

In Pwyll (p. 17, lines 10-14), we are told that Pwyll agreed to satisfy the "kerdoryon"; and it is said, "Ef a gyuodes Pwyll y vynynd a pheri doddi gostec y erchi y holl eirheit a cherdoryon dangos a menegi udunt y llonydit pawb o honunt wrth y uod ae vypmpwy. A hynny a wnaethpwyt". Gifts to petitioners are further mentioned on p. 13, lines 1, 2, p. 15, lines 5, 6, and p. 16, line 9.

The only other mention, however, of these gifts is in Gereint (p. 263, line 6), "A thrannoeth y llonydawd Arthur yr eirheit dros Ereint o didlawt rodyon".

The next step in the marriage appears to have been the demand for "agweddi" and "amobyrr".

The nature of these dues is fully explained in Welsh Tribal Law and Custom, vol. I, p. 403 et seq, and p. 396

et seq; and slight references occur to them in two of the stories.

In *Macsen Wledig* we have a reference corroborating the Laws as to "agweddi", where on p. 88, line 30, p. 89, line 5, on the morning succeeding consummation we are informed, "yd erchis y uorwyn y hagwedi am y chaffel yn uorwyn. Ac ynteu a erchis idi nodi y hagwedi". Elen proceeded to demand as "agweddi" the Isle of Britain for her father and three cities for herself.

The only other direct reference is in *Kulhwch* (p. 119, lines 5-7), where *Kulhwch* addressing *Yspaddaden* said: "Dyro in dy uerch dros y hengwedi ae hamwabyr y titheu ae dwy gares".

In *Gereint* (p. 262, lines 25 et seq) there is a reference which may apply to the agreement regarding "agweddi". It runs, "Ac rwym a wneyit yna rwng deudyn a wnaethpwyt y rwng *Gereint* ar uorwyn". "Rwym", the bond, may, however, here have a general, and not a particular, meaning, and the passage may simply apply to a marriage-tie in the loose way that phrase is employed to-day.

Subsequent to the conclusion of the marriage-feast, it appears the bride departed for her husband's home, with some kind of retinue in attendance.

The instance in *Pwyll* suggests that this was not always the case; and that (as is, in fact, the case in certain communities to-day) the bride remained at her father's house for some time after the marriage. The conversation between *Pwyll* and *Hefeidd Hên* is worth quoting, as it seems to indicate a transition from a possibly older custom to a newer one:—

"Arglwyd", heb y *Pwyll*, "mi a gychwynnaf parth a dyuet . . . avory" . . . "Ië", heb *Eueyd*, . . . "a gwnaoet a chyfnot y del *Rhiannon* yth ol". Heb *Pwyll*, "Y gyt y kerdwn odyma". (p. 17, lines 16-20).

In *Branwen*, *Matholwch* and *Branwen* depart together (p. 33, lines 18, 19), and in *Gereint* (p. 266) the departure is also joint. There are indications also that on arrival at the bridegroom's home there was a general reception by the bride, another feast, and a distribution of gifts by the bride.

In *Pwyll*, the feast on arrival is mentioned (p. 17, line 23), and it is followed by a detailed account of the presents given by the bride :—

“*Dygyour y wlat ar kyuoeth a doeth attunt or gwyr goreu ar gwaged goreu. O hynny nit etewis riannon neb heb rodi rod ennwauc idaw ae o gae ae o vodrwy, ae o vaen gwerthfawr*”.

There is a very similar account in *Branwen* (p. 33, lines 22 et seq) :—“*Ny doei wr mawr na gwreicda . . . y ymwelet a Brannwen ny rodei hi ae cae ae modrwy ae teyrndlws cadwedid idaw a uei arbennic y welet yn mynet ymeith*”.

There are some points in the Welsh law of marriage, as portrayed in the Codes, e.g., the division of property between husband and wife, which are not mentioned in the *Mabinogion*; but there is one point of interest on which the Laws are silent, namely, the actual age of marriage in practice. The Laws state that a boy was “marriageable” at the age of 14, a girl at the age of 12; but this does not mean that marriages were contracted at that age. The *Mabinogion* show that in every instance marriage was between adult persons; and, in addition, we get express mention by *Kulhwch* of the fact that, though a young man, he had not reached the age for marriage (p. 102, line 1). In view of what follows in *Kulhwch*, this cannot possibly mean that he was under 14.

Marriage by capture, it has been asserted, was common among the early Celts as among other peoples. There is

little trace of it in the Mabinogion; there is none at all in the Laws.

The only indications of it in the Mabinogion occur in *Kulhwch*, where King *Doged* is slain by *Kilydd*, who walks off with his widow (p. 101, line 13), the marriage there being referred to by the woman as "*llathrwd*", a term applied in the Laws to any marriage without consent of kin; and where, in the interlude of *Gwythyr* and *Gwynn*, the latter makes war on the former, and carries *Creidylad* away as spoils of war. The action of *Arthur* in regard to this exploit of *Gwynn's* shows that it was against the conscience of the time.

As regards divorce or separation (*ysgar*), we have direct and indirect references in the Mabinogion.

In *Branwen* there is an indirect one, viz., the removal of *Branwen* from her husband *Matholwch* by her kinsmen on account of the husband's cruelty. This is in full accord with the provisions of the law.

The Laws provide for a definite right of separation, both by husband and wife, in certain circumstances, and the subsequent re-marriage of the parties.

In *Kulhwch* (p. 143, lines 3, 4), and in *Owein* and *Lunet* (p. 191, lines 5, 6), reference is made to the possibility of this separation, when it is said that the marriage-bond subsisted between the husband and wife to the end.

In *Pwyll*, we get a very interesting discussion as to a matter constituting a valid reason for "*ysgar*"; a reason which is not mentioned in the Laws. This is the childlessness of *Rhiannon*.

Seeing her without children the "*gwyrd*" of his dominions visited *Pwyll*, and said (p. 18, lines 4-6) "*ac ynnouyn ni yw na byd itt ettued or wreic yssyd gyt a thi. Ac wrth hynny kymer wreic arall y bo ettued itt o honei*".

Pwyll recognised fully the reasonableness of the demand, for, in reply (p. 18, lines 10, 11). he asked for the delay of a year, after which, if there were no child, he would abide by the counsel of his "gwyrdá".

The need for divorce on this ground was avoided by the birth of Pryderi; but when Rhiannon was suspected of having slain her child, the "gwyrdá" again pressed for divorce, and Pwyll, while admitting childlessness was a valid reason, refused to consider any other ground (p. 19, lines 19-25):—

"Gwyrdá a doethant y gyf' y wneuthur kennadeu att Bwyll, y erchi idaw ysgar ae wreic am gyflafan mor anwedus a wnathoed. Sef atdeb a rodes Pwyll, 'Nyd oes achaws gantunt hwy y erchi y mi yscar am gwreic namyn am na bydei blant idi. Plant a wn i y uot idi hi. Ac nyt yscaraf a hi".

Though the Laws are silent on the point of childlessness being a good ground for divorce, the record of Pwyll probably represents actual custom, for it is a necessary corollary of what the Laws permit of, viz., divorce by the wife on the ground of the husband's impotency.

One further casual reference to the status of husband and wife occurs in *Kulhwch and Olwen* (p. 100, line 19).

It is there said "a rec douyd ynt yr gwraged weithon", i.e., "women to-day are the dispensers of gifts (lit. lords of gifts)". The passage recalls the legal provisions whereby married women had very considerable rights of disposal over the family larder, and were responsible for and entitled to give gifts in the exercise of hospitality.

XIV. SUCCESSION THROUGH AND OF WOMEN.

There are many names in the *Mabinogion* where an individual is shown as the son, not of his father, but of his mother. The conspicuous instances are those of the

children of Don, and Mabon, the son of Modron. The instances, however, which occur appear to be referable to the different cycles of gods. Among the gods, the maternal parentage (e.g., that of Llew Llaw Gyffes) is often more prominent than the paternal one.

The Welsh laws give preference to sons and collaterals before daughters in succession, daughters coming in only for a marriage portion, and they show no trace of any matriarchal structure of society.

The tracing of the parentage of some characters to the mother in the Mabinogion is sometimes referred to as evidence of a matriarchal stage of society, but there is no other evidence that such existed in Wales in historic times.

The instance of the succession of Gwern, the son of Matholwch, to the kingship of Ireland has been regarded as a further illustration, or rather as an illustration of the succession of a sister's son, which is cognate to matriarchal succession. It would appear that that assumption involves a straining of the facts.

The case seems to be a perfectly simple one, and explicable on a much later conception.

The facts are that when Bendigeid Frân invaded Ireland, Matholwch offered to resign his kingship to his *own* son, who was the nephew of Bran, the son of Brân's sister. The words used are, "y mae Matholwch yn rodi brenhinyaeth iwerdon y wern *uab Matholwch* dy nei ditheu uab dy chwaer, ac yn y estynnu yth wyd di" (p. 37, lines 3, 6).

Brân rejected the proposal because, as he puts it, he could take the kingdom for himself, if he wanted to.

On the intercession of Branwen, the arrangement eventually arrived at was that Matholwch should surrender his kingdom to Brân and do homage for it (p. 37, lines

23, 24); and further on in the story it is said that the boy was invested (*estynnwyt*) with the kingship (p. 38, line 28).

It is difficult to see how this can be regarded as the succession of a sister's son. There is no succession whatsoever to Brân. It is clear that Matholwch was ready to abdicate in favour of his own son. Subsequently he delivered his kingdom to Brân, and Brân, as overlord, invested (*estynnu*, a word used legally for formal investiture) Gwern with the kingship as a sub-king. It seems to be much more of a feudal conception, following upon conquest, the subordination of Ireland to the Isle of the Mighty, than a case of succession of a sister's son.

There is nothing else in the stories indicating any matriarchal structure.

In the late stories we get an instance of a daughter succeeding her father in an earldom (*Peredur*, p. 207, lines 2, 6); but that instance is obviously a Norman feudal conception. With it may be compared the succession of the daughter to the King of France in *Lludd* (p. 93, line 19).

XV. FOSTERAGE.

Fosterage, which is known to have been an important Celtic institution, and for which there are many provisions in the Irish laws, plays a small part in the Welsh laws. The one circumstance which stands out prominently in regard to the institution in the Welsh laws is that it was not customary for a person to be placed in fosterage with anyone but an inferior.

The references to fosterage in the *Mabinogion* are more extensive than they are in the Laws, and they bring out, save in one inexplicable instance, that characteristic of Welsh fosterage, and, in addition, they illustrate that the object of fosterage was one of mutual support.

The inexplicable instance is that in Rhonabwy, where (p. 147, line 22) Arthur is asserted to have been foster-father to his nephew Medrawd. Possibly this relationship is added in order to make Medrawd's treachery all the more heinous.

In Pwyll (p. 17, line 30) we find Pwyll referred to as the foster-brother of the "gwyr y wlat", who presume to advise him to divorce his wife; Pryderi (p. 23, line 1) as the foster-son of Teirnyon and his wife, whom he will help; and on p. 24, line 24, we have the sentence:—"Ni ae rodwn ar uaeth att Bendaran Dyuet o hynn allan. A bydwch gedyndeithon chwitheu a that matheu idaw", thus forming a bond of alliance by means of the fosterage.

In all instances the foster-parents are inferior in status to the foster son.

In Branwen (p. 33, line 30 et seq) Gwern, the King's son, is placed in fosterage "yr unlle goreu y wyr yn Iwerdon", i.e., with the best men, but men with a subsidiary status to that of King.

We have also references in the same story (p. 34, line 4) to Matholwch's foster-brothers.

In Rhonabwy, Iorwerth's foster-brothers are mentioned (p. 144, lines 8 et seq) as advising Iorwerth and seeking his advantage.

In Math, Gronw Pebr calls on his foster-brothers (p. 80, line 19) to sacrifice themselves for him.

In Peredur (p. 204, line 4) there is a reference to Peredur's foster-sister; and on p. 207, line 11, to the foster-brothers of the besieged lady, whom they are occupied in defending.

In Gereint (p. 266, line 4), there is a brief mention of Gereint's foster-father meeting him on the Severn.

The references establish the wide-spread existence of

the institution in Wales ; but in every instance save one the implication is that the fosterer is of lower social status than the fostered ; though we have no instance, such as we get in the Laws, of a free man being put out to fosterage with an unfree one.

XVI. RULES OF PRECEDENCE.

The Laws give many rules as to precedence at table. The honoured guest sat by the side of the King, and the major officials each had his appropriate place. The provisions of the Laws leave it undetermined as to where other officials sat, but indicate that there was some order of precedence.

The Mabinogion naturally pay much attention to precedence, and are in accord with the Laws, both as to the guest and the uncertainty of what the order of precedence was among minor officials.

They have, however, some rules not observable in the Laws, and also give a place to women at the table, which is in opposition to the provisions of the Laws. From this, we are entitled to assume that the Laws on this point are older than the MSS. of the Mabinogion.

The references to precedence are of value both for social and legal studies, and are given in full :—

(1) Pwyll, p. 4, line 14. Pwyll in the character of King of Annwn has the Queen on one side, and a supposed Earl on the other :—“ Ac eisted a wnaethant ual hynn. Y urenhines or neill parth idaw ef, ar iarll debygei ef or parth arall ”.

(2) Pwyll, p. 12, line 20. Pwyll, on arrival at Hefeidd Hên's court, is placed between the King and his daughter, the others according to rank :—“ Sef ual yd eistedyssant heueyd hen ar neill law Pwyll a riannon or parth arall idaw. Y am hynny paub ual y enryded ”.

(3) Pwyll, p. 17, line 1. The same precedence is observed a year later. "Ac ual yd eistedyssant vlwydyn or nos honno, yd eistedwys pawb y nos honno".

(4) Pwyll, p. 23, line 21. The honoured guest sits between the King and Queen. "Sef ual yd eistedyssant, Teirnon y rwng Pwyll a Riannon a deu gedymdeith Teirnon uch law Pwyll ar mab y ryng-tunt".

(5) Branwen, p. 28, lines 6-9. At Branwen's marriage feast, the King in the centre, his brother on one side, the bridegroom and bride together on the other side. "Sef ual y eistedyssant. Brenhin ynys y kedryn. A Manawydan uab Llyr or neill parth. A Matholwch or parth arall. A Brannwen uerch Iyr gyt ac ynteu". (See also p. 30, line 29.)

(6) Peredur, p. 201, line 7. Peredur sat next his host. "Ar y neill law yr gwr bioed y llys yd oed Peredur yn eisted".

(7) Peredur, p. 202, lines 16-7. The same arrangement (see also line 14). "Dodi Peredur a wnaethpwyt y eisted ar neill law y gwr mwyn y vwyta". W.B. text 130, lines 33-4, adds *re* the retinue, "Ac eisted tra uu amkan ganthunt ac yfet".

(8) Peredur, p. 216, lines 23, 24. The host with his wife on one side, his guest and his daughter on the other. "Ar gwr lluyt a aeth y benn y bwrđ yn uchaf. Ar wreic ohen yn new af idaw. A Pheredur ar uorwyn a dodey y gyt".

(9) Peredur, p. 223, lines 8-11. The exceptional case of the Countess of Exploits, whose retainers sat next to the Countess in preference to the guest. "Y trychann wr teulu a eisted yn nessaf yr arglwydes. Ac nyt yr amharch yr gwesteion namyn yr dywedut kampeu y theulu". Continued p. 227, lines 5, 6. "A gwedy y bwrw o peredur y thry channwr teulu yr llawr ac eisted ar y neill law".

(10) Peredur, p. 231, line 6, p. 235, line 4, 5, p. 237, line 18. Three instances where only the hostess and guest sat down.

(11) Peredur, p. 239, lines 20, 21. Peredur sits between the King and his daughter. "Peredur a dodet ar neill law y brenhin, ar uorwyn y parth arall y peredur".

(12) Gereint, p. 251, line 30 et seq. Gereint sits between the host and hostess. "Gereint a eistedawd y rwng y gwr gwynlluyt ae wreic".

(13) Gereint, p. 257, lines 2-6. A peculiar, but full arrangement. "Sef ual yd eistedassant. Or neill tu y ereint yd eistedawd y iarll ieuanc, ac odynd ynywl iarll, or tu arall y ereint yd oed y uorwyn ae mam. A gwedy hynny pawb ual y racvlaenei y enryded".

(14) Gereint, p. 277, lines 26, 27. A general description. "Mynet y eisted a orugant pawb ual y racvlaenei y enryded idaw".

(15) Gereint, p. 292, lines 16-20. The principal guest on one side of host, and the wife of the guest on the other. Host's wife next to guest; other guest next to wife of principal guest. "Sef ual yd eistedassant, Gereint or neilltu yr iarll ac enit or tu arall. Yn nessaf y enit y brenhin bychan. Odynd y iarll yn nessaf y ereint. Pawb gwedy hynny ual y gwedei udunt".

(16) Owein and Lunet, p. 165, lines 7-9. The guest between the host and ladies of the court:—"A mynet y eisted yr bwrdd a oruc y gwr gynneu, a minneu yn nessaf idaw ar gwaged oll is vy llaw inneu".

(17) Owein and Lunet, p. 188, lines 25-7. The guest between his host and daughter:—"Ac eisted a oruc yr iarll ar y neill law y Owein. Ac un verch oed idaw ar y tu arall y Owein".

XVII. COURTS AND PROCEDURE.

In stories like the Mabinogion we cannot expect many references to courts and their procedure. They are more concerned with fighting than with orderly methods of settling disputes.

Nevertheless, there are some references thereto, in full accord with the Laws, some of which, notably in Pwyll, can only be explained on the assumption that the writer was a lawyer or that the legal terms used were the common property of an ordinary Welsh audience of the time.

The word "llys" is applied in old Welsh to both a law-court and to the King's residence. It is interchangeable frequently in its meaning, just as "curia regis" was; so it is impossible to regard references to a "llys" as applicable to a simple law-court. The reference in Brân, p. 26, "Bendigeit vran . . . yd oed . . . yn llys idaw . . . a gwyrda val y gwedei yg kylch brenhin", may, for example, apply equally to the sitting of a law court in the open air, with the King presiding and his gwyrda around him, and to the entourage of the King at court.

But leaving aside references to the "llys", we have a striking reference in the story of Branwen to the King sitting in a court of justice disposing of disputes at Caer Seint, when Branwen's starling came and found him there. "Sef lle y kauas uendigeit uran yg kaer seint yn aruon yn dadleu idaw dydgweith" (p. 34, line 22).

In Gereint (p. 261, lines 4-11) we have reference to a decision arrived at that Edern ap Nudd was to appear in the King's court to do right (a distinctly legal phrase) to Gwenhwyfar "as it might be adjudged by the court"; and exactly as is provided by the Laws. Edern, as a defendant, was placed on security, the list of sureties being given, and ending with the characteristic Welsh legal phrase, "and enough therefor".

The passage runs :—“ Ac os byw vyd gwneit iawn mal y barno goreugwyr y llys, a chymer ueiecheu ar hynny “ Ac yna yd aeth Arthur yn oruodawe drostaw, a Chradawe vab Llyr . . . a digawn y am hynny ”.

The use of the term “ gorfodog ” in this passage shows that the writer understood the precise legal significance of the term. Earlier in the story (p. 255, lines 29 et seq) we have the same reference to “ judgment in court ”. “ Ac na disgynnych or pan elych odynd hwt rac bron Gwenthwyvar y wneuthur iawn idi ual y barnher yn llys Arthur ”.

In *Kulhwch* (p. 123, line 10) we have reference to Rhinon Rin the judge (barnawt), and in *Gereint* to a list ending with Gwynnlogell entitled the “ gwyr ynat llys Arthur ” (p. 265, line 16). We get more interesting references to procedure in side passages.

The ordinary way of securing the appearance of an accused person in court was to summon him in the first instance; and if he contumaciously refused to appear, then an order of “ food forbiddance ” was issued, which generally resulted in bringing the accused in.

This procedure is described minutely and accurately in *Math*, where Gilfaethwy and Gwydion absconded, and were only brought in by an order of food-forbiddance. On appearance they submitted to the “ ewyllys ” of *Math*, which is the ordinary Welsh rendering of the legal term of coming into “ misericordia ”. (Cf also p. 260, line 3, p. 262, line 7, where Etlym places himself in Gwenthwyvar’s “ misericordia ”.)

The passage occurs on p. 65, line 25 et seq, and runs thus :—“ Ac yn hynny ny doethant wy yg kyuyll y llys . . . yny aeth gwahard udunt ar y bwyt ae llyn. Yn gyntaf ny doethant hwy yn y gyuyll ef. Yna y doethant wy attaw ef . . . Arglwyd yth ewyllys yd ydym ”.

In addition to the reference to suretyship already given, we have another in Gereint, and it illustrates two additional points in Welsh law.

Under the law security to appear was always taken; but it was permissible for the complainant to withdraw, and so dispense with sureties, except in the case of theft, which could never be compounded between parties.

In Gereint, Edern ap Nudd is let go (p. 265, lines 24 et seq) because Gwenhwyfar withdraws her complaint, which was one in respect solely of "sarhad" or insult.

"Ef ar allei y wenhwyfar y ganhadu y gyt a mi ar ueicheu . . . Os kanhatta, kanhadet heb ueicheu, kanys digawn o gymweu . . . yssyd ar y gwr yn lle sarhaet . . ."

The procedure in the case of security to keep the peace is given fully in Pwyll (p. 16, line 10 et seq). Referring to Gwawl, we have Rhiannon saying:—

"A chymer gedernit y ganthaw na bo amovyn na dial vyth am danaw"; whereupon Pwyll made a formal demand and the sureties are forthcoming:—

"Keis veicheu drossot". "Ni a vydwn drostaw", heb eueyd, "yn y vo ryd y wyr y vynet drostaw". Ac ar hynny y gollynwyt ef or got ac y rydhawyt y oreugwyr. "Gouyn weithon y wawl veicheu", heb eueyd, "ni a atwaenwn y neb a dylyer y kymryt y gantaw". Riuaw y meicheu a wnaeth eueyd. "Llunnya dy hun", heb y Gwawl, "dy amot". "Digawn yw gennyfi", heb y Pwyll, "ual y llunyawd Riannon". "Y meicheu a aeth ar yr amot hwnnw".

There are two circumstances in this passage which show that the writer knew his law. When a person had given security for another, he could always limit it in scope and could always resile from it, if new sureties were forthcoming (and no one could be a surety unless he were

free); and we find that being done here. Further the word "amot" is used somewhat in the sense of contract.

Two terms of procedure occur in close conjunction in one passage in Pwyll (p. 5, line 10 et seq)—"hawlwr", a plaintiff, and "dir a dayar", the technical phrase employed in a suit for "land and soil". The conjunction of the words "dir a dayar" occurs also on p. 15, line 14, in the same story.

The passage on p. 5, which has a further importance, runs:—"Y rwng y deu vrenhin y mae yr oet hwnn y ryngtunt. A hynny rwng eu deu gorf ell deu. A phob un o honunt yssyd hawlwr ar y gilydd a hynny am dir a dayar".

We have the same conjunction of phrases in Manawyddan (p. 44, lines 10, 11), "ni buost ti hawlwr tir a dayar eiryoet".

The passage in Pwyll has this further import, that it refers to "trial by combat", which the Laws state, though dubiously, was at one time in vogue in Wales.

"Wager of battle" we find also mentioned in Math (p. 64), where Pryderi claims it, using the legal phrase "gouyn vy iawn" in doing so. "Nyt archaf inheu y neb gouyn vy iawn namyn my hun".

Another interesting reference to old legal procedure is found in Gereint.

Boundary disputes were common in Wales; and it was customary for the gwyrdas to report in such cases, and then for the boundary to be demarked by the person having "braint" or privilege to demark.

In Gereint (p. 264, line 4 et seq) we find messengers from Erbin coming to complain that his neighbours were encroaching on his boundaries (camderwynnu), and to point out that it would be well if Gereint came home, "y wybot y derayneu". On Arthur's advice, Gereint agreed to go home thus:—"Ië", heb y Gereint, "yr a del nac

o les nac o afles y mi, arglwyd, o hynny dy uynnv di a wnaf". The words "nac o les nac o afles", "whether loss or gain" are again a definite legal phrase, which it was compulsory to use in many suits. The phrase is also found in *Owein and Lunet*, "afles noth les" (p. 166, line 3).

On arrival home we find Gereint going off with his "gwyrdä", having the boundaries pointed out to him, and then he himself, apparently because he had superior "braint", fixed the boundaries accordingly (p. 268, line 3 et seq):—

"Ac yna y kerdawd gereint eithauoed y gyuoeth a chyvarwydyt hyspys gyt ac ef o oreugwyr y gyuoeth, ar amcan pellaf a dangosset idaw a getwis ynteu gantaw".

These references to courts and court procedure are not many; but, as they correspond with the Laws, we may assume that the latter are not a fanciful picture of what should be, but a real picture of what was.

An interesting illustration of the influence of legal ideas is the fixing of periods. The laws constantly provide a period of limitation of "a year and a day". This phrase occurs on several occasions in the *Mabinogion*. Instances of it in respect to the fixing of marriage have already been given, *supra*.

Other instances are where Arawn (p. 3, line 16) fixed it for his encounter with Hafgan; where Pwyll (p. 18, line 10) asked for it before divorcing his wife. Similarly Math fixes the same time for the return of Gwydion and Gilfaethwy in their transformations (p. 66, lines 12, 13, p. 67, line 13); Gwalchmai fixes it for his encounter with his accuser (p. 235, line 28), and Peredur even quotes the period in order to date his departure from Arthur's court (p. 236, line 14).

XVIII. CONCLUSION.

The only value of these notes is that they establish a correspondence between the Mabinogion and the Laws. Divergences may assist in fixing periods of redaction. They form a small piece of evidence for consideration with other pieces of evidence, linguistic and the like.

If of little value for that purpose, then they may help to make a little clearer the reality of the local colouring which the Welsh writers employed. To the writer one of the marks of the superiority of the Mabinogion over all other Romantic literature is the reality of the setting, particularly of the older tales.

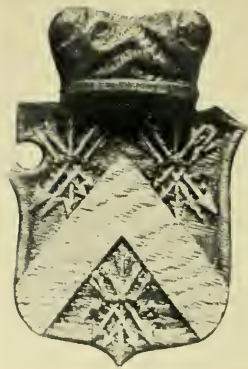
NOTES.

(1) "*Brenhin romani*".—Bryce (Holy Roman Empire, Note C.) discusses the origin and use of the title. It appears to have been first used by the Emperor Henry II (1014-1024): but it was not applied to anyone except the Emperor himself until Conrad, son of Henry IV (1056-1106), was invested with the title, circa 1085. Thereafter, it was frequently applied to the heir expectant of the ruling Emperor. Mäcsen Wledig was, therefore, clearly written some considerable time after 1085.

(2) The contrast between the Welsh handling of this episode and Chrétien de Troyes' handling is noteworthy. In the Welsh, Gereint refrains from "dial" because of the chivalric conception that an inferior cannot be touched; in Chretien, Erec refrains from fear.



1.



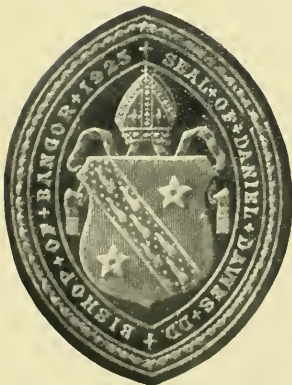
2.



3.



4.



5.



6.

1. Supposed oldest extant example of the arms of the See of Bangor, which are carved on the northern face of shaft of Fifteenth Century Font in Bangor Cathedral. 2.—The arms of Bishop Nicholas Robinson as carved on stall in the Memorial Chapel of Winchester College. 3.—Bishop Robinson's arms, from a window in the drawing room of Knebworth House, by kind permission of the Earl of Lytton. 4.—Seal of Bishop Watkin H. Williams, showing quarterings of Wynn and Dolben families. 5.—Seal of Bishop Daniel Davies. 6.—The Seal of the City of Bangor. *To face p. 149.*

Nicholas Robinson (1550?-1585)

BY THE VENERABLE ALBERT JEN EVANS,
*Archdeacon of Bangor, and Rector of Llanfaethlu cum Llanfwrog,
Anglesey.*

WHEN the Pan-Anglican gathering was held in London during the summer of 1908, a number of those present paid a visit to Knebworth House, Hertfordshire, the home of the Earl of Lytton. Among the visitors was a clergyman from Bangor Diocese. Much to his surprise he found in the house a window with coloured glass in which were incorporated the arms of the See of Bangor. On his return to Wales he made enquiries as to the connection between Bangor and Knebworth. This paper is an attempt to give some explanation of the presence, so far afield, of the arms of Bangor. (It was befitting and correct for the City Council of Bangor on its incorporation some years ago to adopt these arms on its official seal).

Though small in area and sparsely populated, till of late years, Wales has produced many men at various times whose careers may truly be described as romantic, for though their opportunities were apparently few and meagre, and at this distance of time, their difficulties seem insurmountable, yet they succeeded in leaving behind them a record and history which brought credit not only to themselves but to the land of their birth. Such was Nicholas Robinson, and with this added interest that his family was alien to Wales. He belonged to one of the garrison families which, for political purposes during the thirteenth century, were brought to the town of Conway, Caernarvonshire, which, in accordance with truly

Edwardian policy, was not to be tainted with the Welsh tongue. No wonder the inhabitants of this town were termed "the gentlemen of Conway," as the doric of Arllechwedd was not allowed to be heard in its streets. Another, Lewis Bayly, Bishop of Bangor (1616-31),¹ and the author of the "Practice of Piety", which has been published oftener than any other English book, not excepting Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress", who belonged to Carmarthen, could claim an origin and career very similar to that of Robinson.

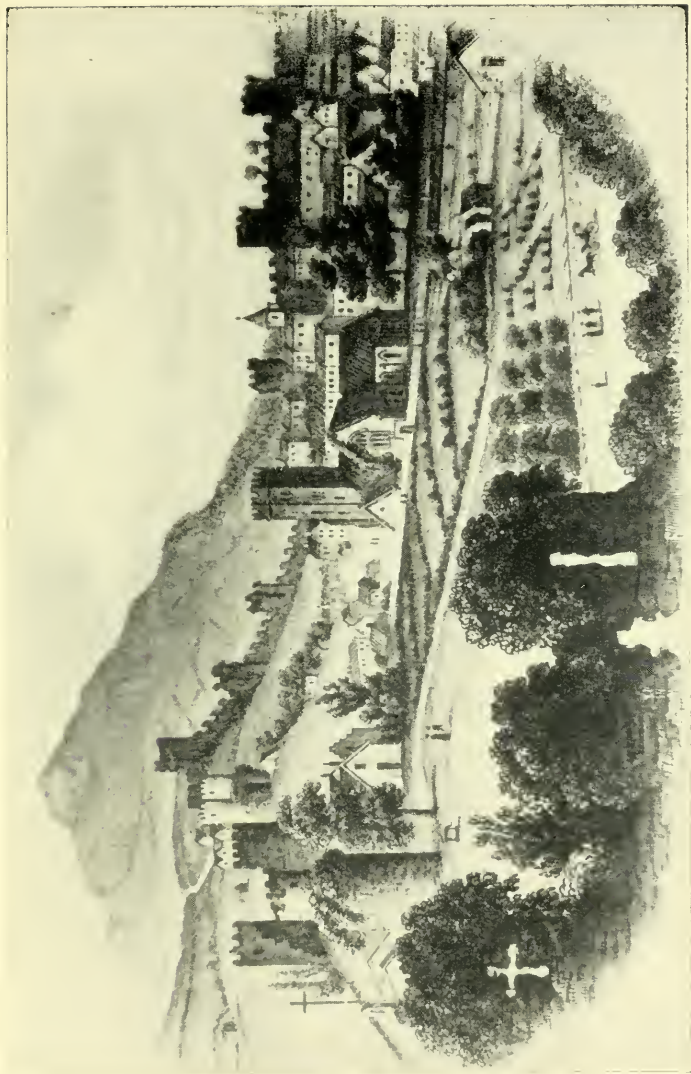
THE FAMILY OF NICHOLAS ROBINSON.

It is said that the family of Robin Norris originated from Speke, near Liverpool. The history of Conway during the fourteenth and fifteenth century bristles with such names as Byrkedall, Brereton, Holland, Norris, Robins, Aldersley, Burches and Hookes, with their variants.² What never has been satisfactorily unfolded were the inducements held out which caused in the thirteenth and fourteenth century the migration of such families to a place like Conway. Though the town was fortified and had its castle, it could not altogether have been for military purposes, for many members of these families apparently were factors and merchants, as the town had a large and prosperous foreign trade in Tudor times.³ Nicholas Robinson was the second son of John Robins, who was

¹ In order to simplify the reading as far as possible, unless it happens to be a quotation, we have adopted throughout the present system of reckoning time, viz., that the year begins January the First, and not on March the Twenty-fifth.

² See *The Registers of Conway, 1541-1793* (1900, Alice Hadley), *Court Book of Conway* (W. H. Jones), also *The History and Antiquities of the town of Aberconwy* (1835, Robert Williams), p. 85.

³ See *The Medieval Boroughs of Snowdonia* (1912, E. A. Lewis), pp. 210-11.



To face p. 150.
The Town of Conway (from an old print), showing church, Plas Mawr and town walls.

the grandson of Robin Norris of Speke. We find another Robins family given by Lewys Dwnn¹ as domiciled at Caernarvon, who it appears came from Fletleton Hall, Lancashire, and still another in Anglesey. From an inspection of the Diocesan Registers of Bangor² it will be found that the Robinsons and the Robins held an honourable place among the incumbents of this Diocese during the sixteenth and seventeenth century. There was a John Robins inducted to Llangadwaladr in 1525, and a George Robinson who was appointed to Derwen in 1558, and died in 1585. There was also a Humphrey Robinson who was instituted to and resigned the living of Llanengan, Llein, in 1570. Probably all these were of the same family but there is no data by which the relationship may be shown. They seem all to be in the diocese of Bangor and several of them held, as was the general custom of the times, a pluralities of livings. An examination of the Diocesan Registers will also disclose the fact that the number of English names in the fifteenth century is extremely numerous, though at the same time it may be remarked that the names Wright, Eastwood, Gravel, Harding, Headley, Jerman, Longdon, Lunt, Marsden, Raymond and Renownden, and many similar, who are on the staff of the Church in Wales to-day, do not by any means denote ignorance of Welsh by the bearers of these names.

From various pedigrees of North Wales it will be found that the Robinsons were connected with some of the leading families of the district. On a tombstone to be seen in the south transept of Conway church the arms of

¹ See *Heraldic Visitations of Wales*, Lewys Dwnn (1846, Sir Samuel Meyrick), vol. ii, p. 113.

² See *The Diocese of Bangor in the Sixteenth Century* (1923, Arthur Ivor Pryce).

Robinson are found quartered with those of Sutton, Travers and Norris. Owen Wynn of Gwydir¹ addresses Hugh Robinson in 1649 in a letter as Coissen (sic) and concludes "Your lovinge coosen" (sic), but how connected it is difficult to show, unless we might trace the relationship through Margaret the daughter of Thomas Salesbury² (who was implicated in the Babington conspiracy of 1586), and Margaret his wife, the daughter of Maurice Wynn of Gwydir, who had married William Norris of Speake. Two years earlier (1647) we find Hugh Robinson³ used by Owen Wynn as an intermediary between himself and Archbishop John Williams. Unfortunately the name of Nicholas Robinson is not to be found in the "Registers of Conway", though several members of his family are mentioned in the lists, and we notice the names of his two brothers Hugh and Roger as well as his sister Jane, but there is hardly sufficient evidence to identify them with him. Altogether it was one of the foremost families in Conway, and had by marriage become connected with all the prominent people of the neighbourhood. A contemporary of Nicholas Robinson (Sir John Wynn of Gwydir) tells us in his "Memoirs", which are attached to his "History of the Gwydir Family",⁴ that he "was of honest parents and wealthy, whose father I knew Bailiff of the town [Conway] being chief officer, having by their charter authority to keep courts, with sergeants and under-officers".

The mother of Nicholas Robinson was Ellen the daughter of William Brickdall or Byrkedall, who had married Margaret Conway of Bodrhyddan, Flintshire.

¹ See *Calendar of Wynn Papers*, 1926, item 2869.

² See *Lewys Dwnn*, vol. ii, p. 290.

³ See *Calendar of Wynn Papers*, items 1831 and 1941.

⁴ See *The History of the Gwydir Family, with Memoirs* (1827 Ed.), p. 105.

There is no record of the date of Nicholas Robinson's birth to be found, but we venture to suggest that it was about 1530.

EARLY DAYS.

Where Nicholas Robinson received his early training is impossible to say. It may well have been at the hands of the clergy of Conway, or even at Maenan Abbey. The date of the founding of the Abbey at Conway¹ is given by Dugdale in his "Monasticon" as January 7th, 1198, but some historians give it a little earlier, for Giraldus Cambrensis mentions in his "Itinerarium Cambriae"² in 1188 that he had found members of a religious community near the mouth of the river Conway. The original charter is endorsed, "Datum apud Aberconwy anno ab incarnatione Domini millesimo centesimo nonagesimo octavo septimo Idus Januarii et principatus mei anno decimo", and was granted by Llewellyn ap Iorwerth (1194-1240), commonly known as Llewellyn the Great. In 1283, Edward I, after the conquest of Wales, removed the establishment to Maenan, about ten miles higher up the river. King Edward confirmed to the members their former charter, and made additions to their estates, and stipulated among other things that they should have the patronage of the conventual church of Conway which he made parochial, on condition that they appointed two Englishmen as chaplains, the third to be a Welshman.³

¹ See *The Heart of Northern Wales*, vol. i, p. 266.

² See Chapter x.

³ "Ita tamen quod eidem ecclesie deservire faciunt per duos capellanos anglicos et idoneus, et honestos, quorum unus sit perpetuus vicarius in eadem, et per ipsos abbatem et conventum in singulis vocationibus ipsius vicarie loci diocesano presentetur, et per unum tertium capellanum Walensem honestum, propter idiomatis diversitatem, Quare, &c apud Karnarvon, xvi die Iulii". The Charter of Edward I (from Dugdale's *Monasticon*). also see *The History and Antiquities of the Town of Abercwy* (Robert Williams, 1835), p. 172.

One of the Englishmen was to be perpetual Vicar, to be named by the members of the chapter of the Abbey on every vacancy. Thus Conway was well staffed, and undoubtedly afforded some measure of help in the training of the youth of the town. In those early days there do not appear to be any schools within reach of Conway founded for the education of young men. The schools came later in the reign of Edward VI, and even then, we have no record of such in North Wales. In the time of Queen Elizabeth it became customary for all prominent men to give a title for ordination to young men, and in this way they provided a chaplain, as well as a tutor, for their families. From a perusal of records of contemporaries of Robinson we find that many young men were beholden to the religious houses for their early education, as in the case of Matthew Parker, and such might well have been in that of Robinson and others from the neighbourhood of Conway. Richard Davies, afterwards Bishop of St. Asaph and subsequently of St. David's, who was a native of the adjoining parish of Gyffin, the Wynns of Gwydir of the parish of Trefriw, Brickdall of Conway, and others, went up to Oxford or Cambridge, and we must suppose that they had had some preliminary training which would enable them to take advantage of such education.

AT CAMBRIDGE.

From the records of Cambridge¹ we find that Nicholas Robinson entered at Queens' College as Sizar in Michaelmas 1545, but the register does not give his age. Owing to the lack of public schools, as we understand the term to-day, many students entered Cambridge in those days at a much younger age than now.² Hugh Latimer and

¹ See Venn's *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, 1924.

² See Cooper's *Athenæ Cantabrigienses*.

Thomas Cranmer entered at 14, Nicholas Bacon at 16, William Cecil (afterwards Lord Burghley) at 15. John Whitgift and Matthew Parker at 17, and it is said that Reginald Pole was at Oxford at 12. On the other hand, Archdeacon Edmund Prys was 21, and Bishop William Morgan was 20 when they entered Cambridge in 1565. Probably, then as now, much would depend on early training and the measure of facilities which had been obtained earlier in life. As Robinson was ordained priest in 1557, for which the canonical age was 24, and as, when all the circumstances are considered, there appears to be some special reason why this should have been done in three successive days, we gather that he was born about 1530, and if so entered Cambridge when he was fifteen.

It was during an epoch making period that Robinson entered Queens'. By the suppression of the monasteries, funds had been obtained for the endowment of the various colleges. Queens' had been founded by Queen Margaret of Anjou in emulation to her husband in establishing King's, and its charter was granted in 1448. In 1475, thanks to the interest of Elizabeth Woodville, the consort of Edward IV, the college was taken under her protection and a code was given, and the college henceforth was known as Queens', to distinguish it from that founded by Queen Philippe at Oxford. "By the original statutes, the new foundation was designed for the support of a president and twelve fellows,—all of whom were to take priest's orders. A fellow, at the time of his election, might be of no higher status than that of a questionist in arts; or, if already studying theology, might be chosen from scholars on the foundation. On taking his master of arts degree, he was required either to devote himself to teaching, or further to prosecute his studies in the natural

or metaphysical philosophy of Aristotle".¹ It is to be feared that in several cases of biographical sketches of Welshmen their writers have been forgetful of the many changes, and various amendments, in the statutes of the Cambridge colleges during different periods. Sir William Cecil, Matthew Parker and John Whitgift often busied themselves in arranging and re-arranging for the betterment and improvement of conditions at Cambridge. Sir Thomas Smith and Sir John Clarke, "the King's scholars", had already done much for the finances of the colleges, and no less for the advancement of the learning of Greek.

There were several from Wales up together at Cambridge at this time,—William Glynne of Heneglwys (Anglesey) became President of Queens' in 1533, and had been Lady Margaret Professor; Thomas Davies (afterwards Bishop of St. Asaph) was at the same College in 1540; Thomas Yale (afterwards Chancellor of Bangor) was Fellow in 1544; Humphrey Toye (the Welsh printer and benefactor) was Sizar in 1551, and three years later, William Hughes (Bishop of St. Asaph, 1573-1600) was also Sizar. The same year as Nicholas Robinson came to Queens', Gabriel Goodman (afterwards Dean of Westminster) went to Christ Church College. The following, though they belonged to a younger generation, were also at Cambridge in Robinson's time: Hugh Bellot, William Morgan, Edmund Prys, Richard Vaughan, and the Middletons. A generation after Robinson, St. John's College rather than Queens' appears to be the magnet for Welshmen. This was due probably to the fact that during Queen Elizabeth's time St. John's had become the premier college and that the Wynn influence told in its favour.

¹ See *A History of the University of Cambridge* (1888, J. Bass Mullinger), p. 57.

Nicholas Robinson proceeded B.A. in 1547-8, and the following year was elected Fellow of his College. A manuscript found at Corpus Christi College states:—“ Nic. Robinson et Jo. Josselin—impositi erant per visitatores Regis Edwardi sexti ”. At that time a student at Cambridge had, after he had attained the status of B.A., to study for a further period of five years before he obtained his degree as Master of Arts. And if he looked forward to a still higher degree it was obligatory upon him that he should spend another period of eight or perhaps ten years in attending lectures as well as in giving proof by lecturing that he was possessed of the requisite learning. This explanation will explain the gaps which often appear in the early record of the careers of several students at Cambridge after graduating. Since the days of Robinson, statutes have been obtained which lessen considerably the time spent at the University. As Bishop Humphreys¹ remarks, Nicholas Robinson proceeded regularly in Divinity. He attained his Master of Arts in 1551, and in 1560 took his B.D. degree. Lewys Dwnn maintains in his pedigree that he was also LL.D. of both Universities. As there is no record of this to be found, and as he had continued regularly in Divinity, this could hardly be the case. As the University of Oxford, in honour of the occasion of a visit by Queen Elizabeth, conferred several honorary degrees,² we have examined the list, and though we are aware that Nicholas Robinson was present at the time in a special capacity, yet we have failed to find his name amongst them. Moreover, the study of law at Cambridge at this time had fallen into disfavour, for we find, that from the year 1544 to 1551, only one graduate proceeded to the degree of LL.D., and only eight to that of

¹ From Philip Bliss's edition of *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. ii, pp. 797-9. ² See *Elizabethian Oxford* (1887, Charles Plummer), p. 120.

bachelor of laws. It may be remarked that during the early days of Robinson at Cambridge, the number of graduates had fallen to the lowest ebb. This was partly due to the expulsion of all students attached to any religious order and who during this state of transition in religion and education sought their training elsewhere. According to the statistics of the *Grace Book*, in the academic year 1558-9, only 28 proceeded to the degree of B.A. Between 1520 and 1560 the numbers for any given year of graduates were under fifty, but after that period it arose steadily till in 1582 there were close on 220, and in 1880 there were 636. Thomas Cranmer was so concerned at the low standard of learning, especially that of the theological school, as well as at the fewness of students, that he considered it expedient to invite learned foreigners to Cambridge in the attempt at raising the status of education generally at the University, as well as in attracting more members. Martin Bucer, Paul Fagius, Peter Martyr and others came in response to his invitation.

We find that in spite of studies, Robinson found some diversion in writing plays which were acted at Queens' College in 1550, 1552, and 1553, and which are still extant in the archives of that College. In 1551, 2, 3, he was bursar of Queens' and one of the proctors of the University in 1552. He followed the usual course of studies and practice in Divinity and attained his B.D. in 1560,¹ and was elected as Vice-President of Queens' the following year. He was D.D. in 1566.

¹ "Conceditur 5^{to} Aprilis 1560 M^{re} Nicho. Robynson, ut studium 5 annorum in theologia, post Gradum Bac. in eadem facultate susceptum sufficiat ei ad incipiendum in eadem facultate: sicut ejus admissio stat pro completis gradu et forma doctoratus in eadem facultate, quoniam propter negotia, diem comitiorum expectare non potest" *Reg. Acad. Cam.*

ORDAINED.

On the 12th of March, 1557, Nicholas Robinson was ordained acolyte and subdeacon by Bishop William Glynn at Bangor.¹ Glynn had been fellow of Queens' College since 1529, and in 1544 was elected Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity, which he held till 1549, when he was inhibited. For a time he served in London and afterwards in his native parish (Heneglwys) in Anglesey. On the accession of Mary he was elected President of Queens'. He does not appear to have had much scruple with respect to conforming with the varying changes in religious beliefs more than many others of his time. Many who were ordained under Henry VIII were unmolested by Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth. Glynn must have held a noted position as he was deputed with others to dispute in 1554 with Cranmer, Ridley and Latimer, on which occasion he was incorporated D.D. at Oxford. We imagine that in some way Lewys Dwnn has confused Glynn's record with Robinson's, and his assertion to which notice has already been drawn was due to this conferring of a degree on Glynn at Oxford. In 1555 Glynn was on an embassy at Rome, and on his return the same year, he was consecrated at St. Paul's, London, as Bishop of Bangor. Robinson was ordained by him in March, 1557, and that by unusual steps. He was ordained on the title of his fellowship at Queens'. This was quite canonical as the title provided the prospective subsistence required before ordination, but for a distant diocese like Bangor it was unusual, however regular for home dioceses. Again, we find that one day he is ordained sub-deacon, the following day, deacon, and the very next day to this, priest. Thus in three successive days Robinson was apparently raised three steps in the ministry. Nowhere in the Bangor dio-

¹ See *The Diocese of Bangor in the Sixteenth Century*, p. 50.

cesan registers do we find a similar case to this, and we are forced to the conclusion that there were some strong reasons why this should be done. We would suggest that it was in order to allow Robinson to comply with some statute at Cambridge. We find from certain references to Nicholas Robinson that he suffered from some disability or other during the time of Queen Mary. At his consecration as Bishop of Bangor in 1566, Strype, in "The Correspondence of Matthew Parker",¹ remarks, "and in Queen Mary's reign had suffered much from the Papists in the aforesaid University where he seemed then to reside". This has been questioned by Cooper in "Athenæ Cantabrigienses".² This unseemly hurry with his ordination with the complete sanction of the Bishop, though quite regular was most unusual. Robinson must have been on very intimate terms with Glynn (who was President of Queens' in 1553) and there must have been sympathy, and cogent reasons, on the part of the Bishop to allow himself to be a party to the transaction. Both were of Queens', and both were natives of North Wales, and in the confused state of conditions both in Church and State much must be overlooked. Further, this hurried ordination had had to obtain a special faculty from Cardinal Pole dated at Greenwich, February 23rd preceding,—"7 Kal Mart anno secundo pontificatos Pauli 4^{ti}".³ This faculty complicates the situation, but we must remember that Cardinal Pole was elected as Chancellor of Cambridge in 1555, and that in 1556 he subjected both the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford to a visitation, which had for its express object the more complete establishment of the Roman Catholic religion, and for the promulgation of new statutes. To the credit of Pole it should be stated that in

¹ *Matthew Parker* (1821 Ed.), vol. i, p. 464.

² Vol. i, p. 503.

³ See *Athenæ Oxonienses* (Bliss), vol. ii, p. 797.

spite of the efforts of courtiers, to his death in 1558, he seemingly never countenanced the spirit of vindictiveness and reaction which was shown in the time of Queen Mary. Still, Robinson, as we will endeavour to explain farther on, appeared to have been under a cloud of suspicion to the end of his life, and at the close of his episcopate (1585) was disturbed by suggestions of disloyalty, not as we would expect to papistry, but to the "reformed" religion, and had the painful necessity to vindicate himself both to Lord Walsingham and to the Earl of Leicester.

Before we leave his ordination, we must notice that some writers assert that he became Dean of Bangor in 1557.¹ This could not be, as on the 27th of October, 1557, Robert Evans, S.T.P., was instituted Dean by reason of the death of Rhys Powell, the holder of the office.

ROBINSON AS A PUBLIC PREACHER.

In 1559, Archbishop Parker shortly after his appointment as Primate, licensed Nicholas Robinson as a Preacher in the Province of Canterbury,² and about the same time he appointed him as one of his chaplains. With respect to these chaplains Strype remarks,³ "Of some of them I know little more but that they were his relatives, as Harleston, Bungey, and Norgate, but divers others of them were afterwards preferred to great dignities and trusts in the Church". Strype gives a list, and places Robinson first on the roll. Parker in many ways was intimately connected with Cambridge, and from the accession of Elizabeth to his elevation to the Archbishopric in August,

¹ See *History of Aberconwy*, p. 91.

² "Nich Robinson licentia prædicandi infra provinciam Cant. concessa per Mattheum Can. ar'epum mag'ro Nicho' Robinson universitatis Cantibrigæ in artium magistro: dat xx Dec. 1559, et nostre consecr primo" (Kennet, *Parker's Register*, p. 217).

³ See *Mat. Parker* (Ed. 1823), vol. ii, p. 457.

1559, he spent much of his time at that University. It may be suggested that Parker came into direct contact with Robinson when in March, 1559, he came with Dr. Pory, the Vice-Chancellor, and Edward Leeds to determine a question in dispute between Mr. Peacock, the President of Queens', and the fellows of that college. In addition to this, Archbishop Parker was a well-known preacher¹ of his times, and is stated to have been a very worthy successor to Hugh Latimer in this respect. We have a view of Nicholas Robinson as a preacher by Sir John Wynn, a contemporary, who in his "Memoirs"² remarks,—“He [Nicholas Robinson] was an excellent scholar, and would have preached well, especially when he did it without premeditation, for then he exceeded himself; but upon meditation (in my conceit) not so well, for I have heard him at both; at St. Paul's in London, in time of Parliament, once, and in the country often; whereof I can attribute no occasion, but that he was extreme choleric, and fearful withal, which, in my judgement, put him out of his natural bias: withal he was a very wise man”.

From another direction, less eminent may be, but still it is a testimony to his powers, for John Phylip in his ode on the death of Robinson begins:—

“Troes duw awr drom trist ywr dreth
torri brigyn tw r bregeth
Maer eglwys lwys i lussen
ar ffydd wedi torri i ffen”.³

¹ The word *Preacher* connoted something more in the days of Robinson than in our time. The fact that a man was fully ordained did not include permission to preach. A reference to the service for the ordination of deacons in the Prayer Book will afford some information on this subject.

² See p. 105 (1827 Ed.).

³ See Llanstephan MS. 30, p. 300, *Marwnad arglwydd Nicolas esgob Bangor*. Sion Phylip ai cant.

Fortunately one of his sermons has been left which enables us to place him among the men of his times. It was delivered at St. Paul's Cross, London, in 1564, and Bishop Grindal (London) has placed it on record that it was "a very good sermon".¹ This effort is so remarkable that an extract² may not be unacceptable:—

"It is a pitiful case to see abroad in country and town (and we may see it daily, if we shut not our eyes) godly preaching heard without remorse or repentance; lawful prayers frequented without any devotion, feelings kept with affliction, holy days kept without any godliness, almsgiving without compassion, Lent openly holden without any discipline. And what fruit of life may be looked for, upon so simple a seed sowing? He will not come to church, but that the law compelleth him; he will never be partaker of the most reverend mysteries if he might otherwise avoid shame; he heareth the chapters, to jeer at them afterwards; he cometh to the sermon for fashion-sake only. He makes himself Minister to get a piece of living. He sings stoutly for the stipend only. Chrysostom eloquently lamenting the corrupt manners of his days, universally throughout all estates, high and low, rich and poor, man and wife, master and servant, judgeth all at length to spring of this root, that things in the Church were done *ὡς κατὰ συνηθείων*, as it were for fashion's sake only, as church prayer, God's word, sacraments, service, etc. And, alas! among us for fashion sake, men of worship have chaplains, peradventure to say service. For fashion sake simple men are presented to cures, and have the name of parsons. For fashion sake some hear the scripture, to laugh at the folly thereof. For fashion sake merchantmen have Bibles, which they never peruse. For fashion sake some women buy scripture books that they may be thought to be well disposed. Yea, for fashion sake many good laws are lightly put in execution, and so forth. And many carry death on their fingers³ when he is never nigh their hearts. He abhorreth superstition, because he would live as he list; he is a Protestant, because of his lands; I warrant you, he hateth the Pope, because he is married; he must needs be a favourer of religion, because of his promotions. From all these fashions, what ill-fashions in manner and life must spring,

¹ See Strype's *Grindal*, p. 212.

² See *Matthew Parker*, vol. i, p. 465.

³ A reference to a ring with a death's head.

we may easily conjecture—I fear me (and pray God from my heart it be not so) many deal now with God's sincere religion publicly professed (for the which the Lord's name be blessed) as Dionysius the younger in his time did with philosophy; who indeed, though he maintained many philosophers at his house right well, and sometimes reasoned of the Divinity, and conferred with them, yet in his heart, as he said, he neither regarded nor esteemed them a law; saving, that by that means he might be thought of many, a philosopher or a favourer of wisdom. Many think it enough to be thought Protestants. Here, I forget the example of Saul, 'Honora me coram populo'".

In a rota of preachers at the court of Queen Elizabeth we find him mentioned for Lent (*conscionatores, coram Regia Majestate in Quadragesima, ann. 1563*). Nicholas Robinson preached on the 27th of March, and a fortnight earlier on the same list we find the name of Gabriel Goodman (he was appointed Dean of Westminster in 1561).

At Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, will be found, in manuscript,¹ a sermon by him on the character of Cain.

PUBLIC WORK.

The year 1559 was a notable mile-stone in Nicholas Robinson's life journey. It was the beginning of a public career which contained much that was praiseworthy, and was fruitful in many happy and beneficial directions. After such a long and close connection with Cambridge it was not to be wondered that he kept in close touch to the end of his days with many movements at that University. We find that as late as 1577, when he became Dean of Queens' College, that the authorities were not unmindful of his services.

In a letter² from Robert Beaumont, Master of Trinity to Sir William Cecil, dated September 24th, 1561, we find that a Robinson is put forward as a possible head for

¹ MS. 104, art. 10 (28 pages), p. 321. "Conscionem in Gen. iv. In process of time it came to pass that Kain, Pr. Let the heavy and fearful curse, etc".

² *Cul. of State Papers*, vol. 19, no. 54.

Pembroke College, and in December of the same year, the Bishop of London mentions him¹ for the provostship of Eton, and points out that he was unmarried and a chaplain "to my lord of Canterbury", and had made a very good sermon yesterday at St. Paul's Cross, but Robinson was not successful in either quest.

Nicholas Robinson, in December, 1561, was collated to the living of Shepperton² on the Thames, on the nomination of Queen Elizabeth, and held it till 1574; and shortly afterwards to that of Witney (Oxfordshire), which he held to his death.

We find that he secured the sinecure Rectory of Northop, Flintshire, in 1562, as well as the appointment to the Archdeaconry of Merioneth in the same year. He exchanged Merioneth for Anglesey in 1574.

As we find that Nicholas Robinson resigned his fellowship at Queens' in 1563, we may accept that year as that in which he married Jane, the daughter of Randle Breerton of Maelor. The mother was Mary, the daughter of Sir William Griffith of Penrhyn, Knt., Chamberlain of North Wales.

In February, 1563, he signed the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion as Archdeacon of Merioneth.³

THE COMMISSION ON THE "APPAREL" OF THE CLERGY.⁴

This sat in 1564, and consisted of seven members,—the Archbishop of Canterbury (Parker), the Bishops of London (Edmund Grindal), Winchester (Robert Horne), and Ely (Robert Coxe), Nicholas Robinson (who is described as "a learned Doctor in Divinity in Cambridge,

¹ Strype's *Matthew Parker*, i, p. 209.

² See *Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Parochiale Londinense* (1708, London Ben. Motte), p. 726.

³ See *An Essay on the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion* (Thomas Bennett), 1715.

⁴ See *Matthew Parker*, vol. i, p. 344.

the Archbishop's chaplain, and after Bishop of Bangor"), Bickley (another of the Archbishop's chaplains), and one Hill.

The proposition appears to be :—" *Propositio Episcoporum. Ministri in Ecclesia Anglicana, in quâ Dei beneficio pura Christi doctrina, et fidei Evangelicæ prædictio jam viget, quæque manifestum detestationem Antichristianismi publicè profitetur, sine impietate uti possunt vestium discrimine, public auctoritate jam præscripto, tum in administratione sacra, tum in usu externo, modo omnis cultus et necessitatis opinio amoveatur*". As a result of this Commission two memoranda¹ written by Nicholas Robinson are found among the Parker papers at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, entitled, "*Tractatum de vestium usu in sacris. Cum abhinc biennium postquam eruditissimi præsulis Robinsoni lucubratio de hac quaestione in publicum prodiisset*".

It will be remembered that Matthew Parker had been both student at and fellow of Corpus Christi College, and left by will all his papers to his old college, and as Nicholas Robinson had been chaplain for a number of years to Parker, it will explain the presence of these papers at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

ROBINSON AS JOURNALIST.

When Queen Elizabeth paid a state visit to Cambridge in August, 1564, it fell to the lot of Robinson to write the official account of the proceedings on that memorable occasion. He called it "*Commentarii Hexameri Rerum Cantabrigiæ actarum, cum Serenissima Regna Angliæ, &c. Elizabetha in Academiam Cantabrigiæ advenerat. Anno Domini 1564*".²

¹ See *Duas Epistolas M. Parkers*, MS. C.C.C.C., Miscel. i, 499.

² See John Nichol's *Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth*, vol. iii, pp. 27-134.

to y^e furtheraunce of his sincere
from my house at Bangor
your graces most assured
and obedient in Christe.
Nicolas Bangor

To face p. 166.

Autograph of Bishop Nicholas Robinson found in Manuscript
114 B, p. 499, at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

Then again, when the Queen made a similar progression to Oxford, two years later,¹ we find that Nicholas Robinson was appointed as chronicler of the events of this visit also. The account is incorporated also in "Elizabethan Oxford",² and was copied from the Harleian MSS. and is entitled "Of the Actes done at Oxford when the Queen's Majesty was there, so collected and noted by Nicholas Robinson, at Oxford, now being Bishop of Bangor". It takes up pages 171-191, and was written in Latin. It appears that the Queen's Latin oration as given by Robinson differs from that in Wood's "Hist. and Antiq. Oxford", I, 289, but Robinson acknowledges that he could not hear her Majesty well as he writes,— "Quae ex submissa ejus voce arripere potui". Possibly many at Oxford looked with jealous eye on this interloper of a diarist from Cambridge, and probably few facilities would be afforded him, as the Oxford Latinity was considered quite as good as that of Cambridge. Though Oxford to celebrate the occasion conferred many honorary degrees on their distinguished visitors, yet we fail to find the name of the journalist among them. We find that Agnes Strickland,³ in "The Life of Queen Elizabeth", made very good use of these two accounts though she does not mention the journalist by name.

APPOINTED AS BISHOP OF BANGOR, 1566.

Bishop Meyrick of Bangor died September 27th, 1565. We then find that all the authorities who were interested began to look abroad for a successor. The times were critical, and the government of the day was anxious that

¹ See *Ibid.*, and MS. Harleian 7033, fo. 131.

² *Elizabethan Oxford*. Reprints of rare tracts edited by Charles Plummer (1887), p. 173.

³ See *The Life of Queen Elizabeth* (Everyman's Library, no. 100, Ed. 1924, pp. 194-199 and 223-227).

the new Bishop should be in accord with the movement in favour of the "reformed" religion. Spain had not as yet launched her final attempt to subdue England, and the air was full of various rumours. It was even said that the Spaniards meant to make a landing in Anglesey. There was no lack of well-qualified candidates with regard to scholarship, as well as to powers of organisation, and all had keen and enthusiastic supporters. Sir William Cecil, as well as the Earl of Pembroke (at the time President of the Court of the Marches of Wales) was alert as to the need of a strong bishop at Bangor. There were two outstanding candidates, one was the noted Dr. Ellis Price, and the other was Thomas Huett, the Precentor of St. David's, who at the time was assisting William Salesbury with the translation of the New Testament into Welsh, which appeared in 1567. Price was a Denbighshire man, and a D.C.L. of Cambridge (1534). He had, since early in life, taken a prominent part in public work in Wales. Pennant¹ calls him a creature of the Earl of Leicester, devoted to all his bad designs, adding, "He was the greatest of our knaves in the period in which he lived; the most dreaded oppressor in his neighbourhood, and a true sycophant; for a common address of his letters to his patron was, "O Lord, in thee do I put my trust". Of Huett little is known but that he graduated from Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, in 1562, and was for a time master of Holy Trinity College, Pontefract, when he became Precentor of St. David's Cathedral at a very early age, in 1562. In all probability both had a strong following. The Earl of Pembroke favoured Ellis, whom he knew, as he was a member of the Court of the Marches. Price was Member of Parliament for Merioneth in 1555, and also in the reign of Elizabeth. On the other hand,

¹ See *Tours in Wales*, vol. iii, p. 140.

Archbishop Parker lent his aid to the candidature of Huett, who, like himself, was of Corpus Christi College, and very possibly Richard Davies, Bishop of St. David's, also approved of him.

On the 7th of February, 1566, Archbishop Parker wrote to Sir William Cecil¹ :—

“Marry as for Bangor, if the Queen's Majesty had sought a great way to supply that room, there was not a fitter man than this Mr. Huett, whom I know myself and dare upon my own credit to commend, rather than Dr. Ellis, having been aforetime Sheriff of the Shire, neither being priest or having any priestly disposition. I had rather for my part dissent from my Lord of Pembroke's request than to commend a doubtful man to the Queen's highness, on whom as yet persuaded I would be loth to lay my hands on”.

However, the Archbishop changed his mind² after he had conferred “with some wise men of the same country who, in respect of good to be done there in that diocese, wished no Welshman in Bangor, they banded so much together in kindred, that a Bishop could not do as he would, for his alliance sake. And he learned that the country was much afraid either of Price or Huett, who were very stout men, that is, who would not be opposed but vigorously pursue their purposes, and in that regard were not to be commended. Et praeterea quoad mores episcopales nihil. It was then that Sir William Cecil suggested the name of Nicholas Robinson, as a person well known and beloved in Wales, and a Welshman, and one that was much desired by the people. After Bangor had been vacant for twelve months Robinson was consecrated at Lambeth on Sunday, the 20th of October, 1566, when he was about thirty-six years of age. He took the oath acknowledging the Queen's supremacy in all matters tem-

¹ Strype's *Parker's Correspondence* (1853 Ed.).

² *Ibid.*, dated Feb. 26th, 1566, p. 261, Lansdowne MSS., viii, art. 80.

poral and spiritual the following month.¹ At the time of his appointment as Bishop, he is described² as a prudent man, and well furnished as well with human learning as divine, eloquent in the Latin and his native tongue,³ and an excellent preacher.

AT BANGOR AS BISHOP (1566-1585).

From various letters written by Nicholas Robinson we gather that he resided at Bangor during the whole of his episcopate, and took part in all diocesan functions as appertained to his office as a bishop. "The Calendar of State Papers" directs us to a number of his letters which were never published. There are three references to his activities in the "Calendar of Wynn Papers" which contains no fewer than thirty-eight items which refer to him or members of his family. He seems to have taken an interest in the domestic affairs of Anglesey and Caernarvonshire, and was involved as most of his contemporaries were at this period in leasing, purchasing, and adding "field to field". The dissolution of the monastic establishments at the time had opened flood-gates of which the rapacity of courtiers and public men took full advantage. The holders of office in the religious houses were granted pensions though their institutions as such were closed down. In marked contrast to this, the clergy of Wales after the late disendowment pooled their compensation monies, and though cut adrift, have possibly by so doing strengthened their material position and made history which in time to come will greatly redound to their credit. Probably the great maelstrom of affairs during the time of Queen Elizabeth, in politics and religion, enticed unscrupulous

¹ *Calendar of State Papers*, vol. 41, no. 3.

² Strype's *Matthew Parker* (Ed. 1821), vol. iii, p. 291.

³ "quam Latina patriaque lingua facundum"

pulous men in power to commit acts of vandalism and plunder, and so assisted in the formation of a public conscience and of a moral standard which became so general that it was assumed to be inevitable. The successors of these men who brought about this chaotic and immoral condition of affairs, paid dearly in lives and property when the country fully realised the true situation. Though each generation must be held responsible for its misdeeds yet the circumstances of the times do palliate to some extent the depth of the sins committed.

In his metropolitan visitation Matthew Parker refers to Nicholas Robinson as "the excellent new Bishop Robinson".¹

We find Robinson in December, 1566,² signing a letter with several other Bishops addressed to Queen Elizabeth asking her to grant the Bill for Uniformity of Religion.

The Bishop writing³ from Bangor to Cecil in October, 1567, states that the three shires of Caernarvon, Anglesey and Merioneth were in good order and tranquillity, but mentions that the Welsh were very ignorant, and that the use of images, altars, pilgrimages and vigils were very prevalent among them.

Nasmith⁴ includes a letter dated from Bangor, June, 1567, from Robinson, in which he asks the Archbishop to confirm a lease he had been granted of the parsonage of Witney (Oxfordshire).

He also has another⁵ from Bangor, dated in October of the same year, in which he informs the Archbishop that he had sent him a copy of part of Eadmer's history,

¹ *History of the Church of England*, Canon R. W. Dixon, vol. vi, p. 196. ² *Correspondence of Matthew Parker* (1823), p. 292.

³ *Calendar of State Papers*, vol. 44, no. 27.

⁴ *Catalogus Librorum Manuscriptorum*, by James Nasmith (1777), cxiv, 177, p. 499.

⁵ *Ibid.*, cxiv, 179, p. 503; also *Matthew Parker*, vol. i, p. 509.

and hoped shortly to have the remaining part transcribed for him, and informs his grace that there were no faithful monuments of antiquity to be found in Wales. But there were certain fabulous histories, and they lately written, as the rude laws of one Howell Dda or Ddu (sic), and the life of a troublesome prince or two, which were subdued since the Conquest. He had been promised the sight of some Welsh histories, but as yet saw nothing, nor could he hear of any doings of the old Britons. He closes his letter by asking the Archbishop to recommend the son of Mr. Fletcher, his principal registrar, to All Souls' College, Oxford.

We may criticise much that was done in these times, but we should keep in mind that these men were diligent in their work, and made careful enquiry in many directions to secure accuracy in and confirmation for their reforms.

Soon after his consecration, Robinson took part in a discussion¹ which was afterwards published as a book by John Day, and also by Leon, Lichfield, in 1675, which was supposed to be faithfully and exactly published from the old manuscript books. It was a Saxon homily on the Paschal Lamb written in the Saxon tongue, before the Conquest, and also two epistles of Elfric. Day called it "A testimony of antiquity, showing the ancient Faith in the Church of England, touching the sacrament of the Body and Blood of the Lord, here publicly preached and also received, in the Saxons' time about seven hundred years ago". This was signed by fourteen bishops and among them Richard Davies, Bishop of St. David's, and Robinson of Bangor. We have also in one of the State Papers² a letter from Richard Menevia to Archbishop

¹ See *Matthew Parker*, vol. i, pp. 474, 477 (1821 Ed.).

² See *Catalogus Librorum Manuscriptorum*, cxiv, 127, 128.

Matthew Parker with respect to the exact time that Sulgenus, thrice Bishop of St. David's, flourished:—
“*Memorabilia quædam de historia Walliæ, tempore Wilhelmi Conquestoris et Willelmi Rufi ubi mentio sit Sulgeni episcopi Menevensis et Rickmark cognominati sapientis filii ejus*”.

ROBINSON AS AN ANTIQUARIAN.

One solid contribution to the History of Wales was a translation by Robinson of the history of Gruffydd ap Cynan, from the Welsh into Latin, undertaken at the request of Maurice Wynn of Gwydir. The latter died before 1581 and so Robinson must have completed his work before that date. Sir John Wynn (1553-1626) in his “*History of the Gwydir Family*”¹ refers to this translation,—“*His troublesome life and famous actes, are compiled by a most auncient friar or monk of Wales: this was found by the posterity of the said Gruffydd ap Cynan, in the house of Gwedir, in North Wales, and at the request of Morice Wynne, Esq. (who had the same written in a most ancient booke and was lineally descended from him) was translated into Latine by Nicholas Robinson, Bishop of Bangor*”. Professor Arthur Jones has written so fully and interestingly on the manuscript that more need not be written.² He maintains, and that with every appearance of certainty, that the manuscript used by Robinson was that known as Peniarth 17 and now housed in the National Library, Aberystwyth. He mentions Robinson's translation, and writes of him, that his ability as a Welsh scholar enabled him to surmount most of the

¹ *The History of the Gwydir family* (1827 Ed.), p. 17.

² *The History of Gruffydd ap Cynan, The Welsh Text with translation, introduction, and notes by Arthur Jones, M.A.* (Manchester, at the University Press, 1910), p. 6, also 9-13.

difficulties of the text, especially the interpretation of Irish place-names, and in a few instances it tempted him to make small expansions of the information in the text which have made his translation easily distinguishable. The annotator informs us that all the Latin versions preserved to us with the exception of one are absolutely identical, and the one is only in a restricted sense independent.

The Rev. Robert Williams wrote in 1866,¹ "The life of Gruffydd ap Cynan is a most important historical memoir, and is the only document that supplies so fully the political history of North Wales from the year 1080 to his death in 1137. This translation, apparently in the bishop's handwriting, is now preserved in the Peniarth Library, and has been transcribed by me with Mr. Wynn's kind permission. It is now published for the first time. The Welsh text has been printed in the second volume of the *Myvyrian Archaiology* (1801), of which a neat reprint is now passing through Mr. Gee's press at Denbigh".

ROBINSON AND THE WELSH BIBLE.

This was published in 1588. It had been translated and produced by William Morgan, afterwards Bishop, successively of Llandaff and St. Asaph. The translator in his preface writes "The names of those who more especially have endeavoured to promote this work,—The Reverend Fathers, the Bishops of St. Asaph and Bangor, who have both of them lent me the books for which I asked, and have condescended to examine, weigh and approve of this work".² It is maintained by some³ that

¹ See *Arch. Cam.*, Third Series, vol. xii, note on p. 131.

² See *A Memorandum on the legality of the Welsh Bible* (1925), p. 136, where will be seen an English translation of the Latin Dedication.

³ See *Nicholas Robinson*, in *National Dictionary of Biography*.

this has reference to Nicholas Robinson, and by others to Hugh Bellot. The Welsh Bible was published after July, 1588. Robinson died in February, 1585. Hugh Bellot was consecrated Bishop of Bangor as successor to Robinson, January, 1586. Morgan informs us that he had spent a whole year in London preparing the Bible for the press. Bellot was a Denbighshire man from Moreton,¹ and as far as can be ascertained was quite ignorant of the Welsh language, but had taken a prominent part as a translator of the English Bible. Probably the reference by William Morgan is to Hugh Bellot, and was inserted chiefly to obtain an imprimatur for his version.

BISHOP AT BANGOR.

In May, 1570, Robinson sent Sir William Cecil particulars² of disorderly services performed at Beaumaris at the interment of the body of one Lewis Roberts. He states that it was due to ignorance, and in compliance with a foolish custom. The parties had all done penance and so the matter had ended.

Robinson signed the English translation of the xxxix Articles of Religion in 1571, and also the same year the Canons of 1571.³

A STRANGE COMMISSION.

In 1571⁴ the Bishop of Bangor, together with the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishops of Ely, Salisbury, Worcester and Lincoln, sat on an enquiry to consider the case of Christopher Goodman, "concerning his dutiful obedience to the queen's majesty's person, and her lawful

¹ See *Davies and Salesbury*, p. 121.

² *Calendar of State Papers*, vol. 69, no. 14.

³ See *Matthew Parker*, vol. ii, p. 54.

⁴ See Strype's *Annals of the Reformation* (Ed. 1826). vol. i, part pp. 140, 141.

government, being thereof demanded by the said lords, as also requested to put the same in writing, as followeth". The charge against Christopher Goodman was that he had written a book against the government of woman, in hatred to Queen Mary, the great persecutor of her protestant subjects, and for the lawfulness of resisting princes in some cases.

BANGOR DIOCESE.

In reply to enquiries of John Whitgift, at the time Bishop of Worcester, and President of the Court of the Marches of Wales, Robinson sends to inform him, in November, 1577,¹ that there were within his diocese no recusants except one old priest, named Barker,—“ a very poor man ”.

It is apparent from several documents which are found at the Record Office that stringent enquiry was made in the time of Queen Elizabeth with respect to recusants. In 1583, we find the Bishop sending a full report as to the general state of Bangor diocese, and undoubtedly it was in reply to a request for information from the President of the Court of the Marches.

[We have preserved the original orthography of this letter.]

BANGOR DIOCESE.

Who resorteth not to the church and Sacraments.

Humfrey Barker stipendary priest at the towne of Conwey executeth all service in the church dayly but hath not resorted to the holy communion at any tyme.

John Holland m^r of arte in the Towne of Ruthyn³ resorteth to the church quietly, but hath not communicated thes ij yeres almost.

¹ *Calendar of State Papers*, vol. 118, no. 8.

² *State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. 165, no. 3.

³ Ruthin at the time was in the diocese of Bangor. but in 1859 with the adjoining parishes was transferred to that of St. Asaph.

Officers exercising Jurisdiction in the said Dioces.

Roland Thomas doctor of lawe chauncelor of the said dioc.
 Hughe Morgan bachelor of lawe comissary of Arrustley.¹
 Arthure Hughes comissary of Estymaner.²
 Humfrey Prichard bachelor of lawe comissary of Llyn.³
 Thomas Morgan m^r of arte comissary of Anglesey.

*Preachers.*⁴

John Rolland m^r of arte
 John Roberts m^r of arte

domest.

John Oxenbridge m^r of arte now absent
 Th. Wharton found by ye towne of Beomares.

Other publik preachers, besides theym of the chapter and parsons in their owne cures there be non. By reson that there are few devynes skill full in the Wellshe tonge, nether eny speciall stipendes or salaries founded or ordeyned in this dioc for prechers onles provision were mad for suche out of the quenes maieties churches appropriate.

What churches want curates.

No churche in this dicces wanteth utterly his curate, but the Q. Maiesties impropriat churches are very evill servid by reson the stipend is very small, and not able to maynten curate contynnally.

Ni. Bangor.

ROBINSON SERVES ON SEVERAL COMMISSIONS.

With the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and the Bishops of London and Ely, Robinson sat in 1572⁵ to enquire respecting an alleged complaint of the young men of Cambridge against the masters of Colleges. They reported that there was no great cause to make any alteration in the statutes.

¹ Arrustley = Arwystli, is a Rural Deanery in the County of Montgomery and Diocese of Bangor.

² Estymaner = Ystumanner is a Rural Deanery in the County of Merioneth and Diocese of Bangor, and covers the district from Dolgelly to Aberdovey.

³ Llyn = Lleyln, is a Rural Deanery in the Southern part of the County of Caernarvon and Diocese of Bangor, and stretches from Pwllheli to Bardsey Island.

⁴ For *Preacher*, see note, p. 162.

⁵ See Parker's MSS., C C.C.C. (cxviii), art. 39, p. 637.

Nicholas Robinson and Thomas Yale, LL.D., were appointed to "visit" Bangor Diocese on May 2nd, 1576.¹

Also, we read of him and William Meyrick, LL.D., his Vicar in spiritualities, appointed as a commission for Bangor Diocese in 1583.²

In March, 1578,³ we find the Council of the Marches of Wales appointing him and Dr. Ellis Price to examine certain persons who had had dealings with Hugh Owen, a rebel. Hugh Owen, it appears, had left an impression on the country, for later we find another reference to the same person.⁴

An order in Latin dated February 17th, 1579,⁵ is addressed to the Bishops of Bangor and St. Asaph, General Bromley and others, as a Commission of Oyer and Terminer for the counties of Denbigh and Flint.

The Bishop sends in October, 1580, a letter⁶ to the Council of the Marches in which he informs them that he and the Dean of Bangor had sent three light horsemen to Chester. The chapter of the cathedral was mostly non-resident and far apart, and could not be warned in time.

SUSPECTED OF PAPISTRY.

On the 28th of May, 1582, we are informed by his own letters that in spite of the fact that Nicholas Robinson had associated himself most closely during his public career, and had by his activities given token of his sympathy, with the Protestant party, he is charged with having fallen away in religion. Both the letters are of the same date and were seemingly written at Bangor, one to the

¹ See Strype's *Grindal*, p. 315.

² See Strype's *Whitgift*, vol. i, p. 244.

³ *Calendar of State Papers*, vol. 123, no. 1.

⁴ *Calendar of Wynn Papers*, Item 141.

⁵ *Calendar of State Papers*, vol. 129, no. 42.

⁶ *Calendar of State Papers*, vol' 143, no. 39.

Earl of Leicester, and the other to Sir Francis Walsingham, Chief Secretary to Queen Elizabeth. As was to be expected they are similar in purport and vary but little in their wording. They disclose the general condition of the state of religion in Bangor, as well as the mind of an Elizabethan bishop. [We have ventured in this case to give them in present day orthography.]

¹ In Christ Jesu health and peace, etc.

My humble duty remembered to your honour. Where it pleased the right honourable my very good lord, the earl of Leicester to signify unto me that some of my evil willers had privately informed the Lords of her majesty's most honourable privy council that I was a papist or liking of that way as far as I durst, I emboldened myself, though unacquainted, to flee to your godly zeal, in so heinous an accusation, humbly desiring your honour to stay your opinion of me until such time as you might be more certainly informed whether I were such a dissembling hypocrite, as is alleged, or these informers were malicious accusers whereas with the former I was never hitherunto since I was a preacher (I thank God), and the latter I doubt not, but shall fall out in proof. What my judgment hath been touching the sincerity of Christ's gospel ere I was Bishop, was publicly known in Court, at London and Cambridge, in which places I continued preacher seven years: what it hath been since I was bishop, both the Archbishop of this realm, the bishops of Worcester, Chichester, Carlisle and Chester, with whom I am familiar, can and will testify, what I now am, my continual teaching and doing may sufficiently declare. For I publicly interpret every Sunday (being in my diocese and not sick) and other days of assemblies, some part of Holy Scripture: I have expounded this Lent time twice every week (as I have done these fifteen years, other parts of scripture) out of the Epistle to the Galatians certain chapters: I have and do preach in Assizes before the chief Justices and the whole country: at all which times I know that I have uttered no doctrine but that was pure and according to the proportion of true faith. I have four chaplain preachers who are zealous and learned masters of art who through the diocese teach Christ's truth and impunge papistry that chaos of false religion, against the which what my doings hath been and is, but that I am thus compelled, I had rather others did report, yet thus it is, that I have divers times been in danger of my

¹ *State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. 153, no. 66.

life in suppressing pilgrimages, praying to images, night watches at tombs of saints and other superstitions (which I found used in this diocese) as all this country knoweth: that I am threatened daily for searching out of such superstitious people and executing jurisdiction against them as many can witness: that I am termed by letters from my countrymen beyond the seas a persecutor: for that of long time I have laid wait for their massing priests, and such as hear them, and do make inquisition twice every year through every parish of such, whereby (praise be given to God) though some times there were many that did withdraw themselves from the church yet now in my whole diocese there be but six, whom why they were not the last year indicted neither in the Quarter Sessions nor Assizes, I suppose your honour knoweth by my certificate to the right honourable lords of the Council. Therefore if neither in doctrine nor doings I have in my diocese either taught or maintained papistry, I humbly crave at your hands to weigh what my accuser is, what errors of papistry he allegeth to be in me: what proofs he bringeth: what hath moved him thus to deal with me: and I doubt not but that I shall be found innocent in so great an offence, and he be judged guilty of so malicious an accusation. The Lord Jesus increase his manifold graces in your honour to the promoting of his Holy Gospel.

Bangor 28 May 1582:

Your honours at "comaundemet in Christe"
Ni Bangor.

Endorsed:—To the Right Hon: Sir Francis Walsingham,
Knight, chief Secretary to her Majesty.

¹ In Christ Jesu health and peace, etc.

My humble duty remembered to your honour. I never thought that any man had been so void of the fear of God as would accuse me of papistry, until I understood from your good lordship, by Mr Nuttal's letter that your lordships of the most honourable Privy Council were informed that I was a papist or liking of that way so far as I durst: which heinous crime how far I am from the manner of my public teaching in my diocese these fifteen years, and my dealing against papists will most manifestly declare. For every Sunday and other days of assembly (being in my diocese and not sick) I openly interpret some part of Holy Scripture: I publicly expound twice every week in Lent these fifteen years some portion also of Holy Scripture: I preach yearly divers times before the chief Justices and whole country, and yet hitherunto (I thank God) no learned or zealous man hath found this fault in my

¹ *State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. 153, no. 67.

doctrine. I have been in danger of life in suppression of pilgrimages, night watches at tombs, praying to images and such like errors of papistry: I am daily threatened for searching out such offenders and using law against them. I am called a persecutor in letters from my countrymen beyond the seas, for that of long time I laid wait for their massing priests, and make inquisition twice every year for them and their hearers in every parish, whereby (I praise God) though many had once withdrawn themselves from the church yet I brought them thither again except one man and five women, who why they were not the last year indicted upon my certificate both to the chief justices I have shewed in my letter to their lordships of the most honourable Privy Council sent in April last, which my doings against papists may testify my disliking of papistry, but that there be two sorts of men that will have every man a papist, that doth not as you do, whereof the one sort will be loose from all ecclesiastical laws and orders established by an authority, the other think nothing sound but that is in railing wise uttered before the people: of either of these sorts though I may be accused for that I am contented to be ruled by laws, and use that speech, which may best move the audience: yet it may be, and it is so reported to me, that the lewd fellow that used articles this last year against me, did this January last by procurement of some gent of this country write to some of the honourable Council for my removing to the bishopric of St. David's, wherein Sir Richard Bulkeley knight dealt also by means with my very good lord, my Lord Treasurer, as Sir William Herbert knight did signify to me, so that by praise or dispraise they would, in show of pleasuring me, hurt me most surely. But my singular good Lord, as I am in conscience and before the eyes of God most free from all papistry, as I doubt not but Archbishops and Bishops with the best learned of this realm will testify, if need require, so as the bishopric of St. David's is not fit for me. Whereupon I humbly request your honourable countenance in defence of my innocency against the slander of papistry and the stay of my hurt minded by my adversaries, and I trust never to be found unthankful for this and all other goodness towards me, whereof if I had never before tasted, yet this care that your honour took for me in this cause must make me a debtor to you for ever. The Lord Jesus increase his manifold blessings in you to the comfort of many.

Bangor. 28th of May 1582.

Your honour's always much bound in Christ,

Ni. Bangor.

Endorsed:—To the Right Hon: my very good lord the Earl of Leicester.

The above letters are given in full and the reader may draw his own conclusions as to their value and weight. As has been said already, thirty years earlier in his career he was suspected, but it was reserved almost to the end of his days before the storm broke over him. Thirty years earlier he was charged with being a protestant, now with being a papist. History does not relate what effect these letters had on their recipients, but the fact remains that Nicholas Robinson departed this life on Wednesday, the 3rd of February, 1585. After May, 1582, we find no reference to any activities of the Bishop except his appointment, in conjunction with Dr. William Meyrick, his Vicar in spiritualities, in 1583, to make a visitation of Bangor diocese.

BURIAL AND COMMEMORATION.

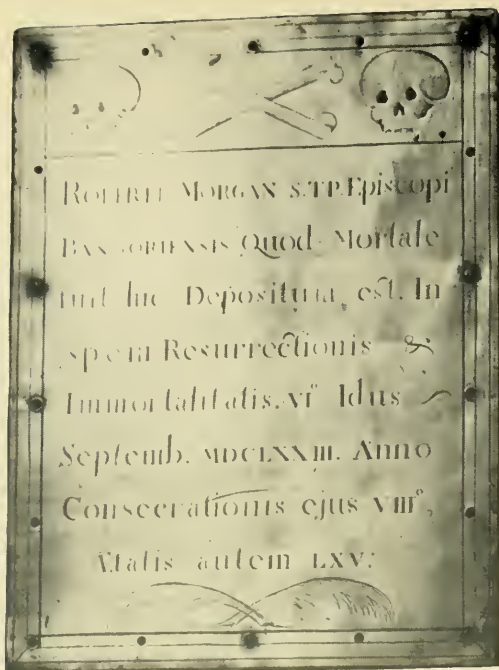
He was buried in Bangor Cathedral. Browne Willis¹ relates that in 1721 his grave, in which also Bishop Robert Morgan (1666-73) was buried, was covered by a stone. It had a broken inscription upon a brass plate, for Nicholas Robinson, which formerly went round the edge, but that the only portion left was "Hic jacet Nicholaus Robinsonaus" There had once been a figure upon the stone but that had been picked out and lost. At the time there was a square piece of brass on the same stone on which was inscribed :—

Roberti Morgan, S.T.P. Episcopi Bangoriensis quod mortale fuit hic depositum est. In spem resurrectionis et immortalitatis viº Idus Septemb MDCLXXIII. Anno consecrationis ejus viii, Ætatis autem LXV.

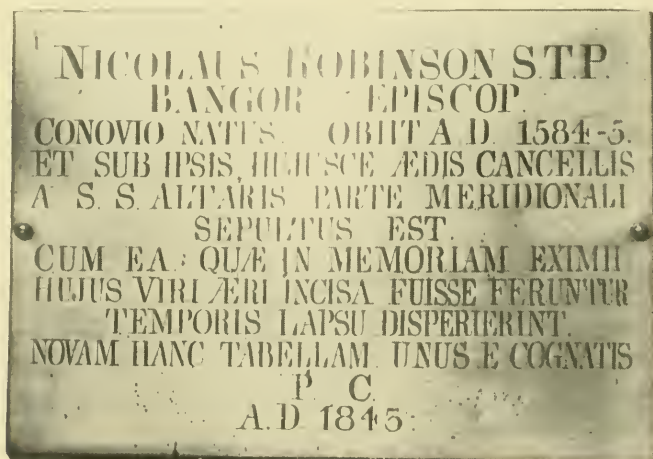
Bishop Humphreys a little earlier than Browne Willis wrote² that Robinson's grave was on the south side of the

¹ See Browne Willis, *Bangor*, p. 27.

² *Athene Oxonienses* (Bliss), vol. ii, 797.



Originally on grave stone over the spot where Bishops Nicholas Robinson and Robert Morgan were buried in Bangor Cathedral. It is now nailed up on the left of the entrance to the Memorial Chapel in Bangor Cathedral.



As the inscription relates this tablet replaced in 1843 the original notice which appeared on Bishop Nicholas Robinson's grave stone. It is now nailed up on the left of the entrance to the Memorial Chapel in Bangor Cathedral.

altar, where there was a flat stone with effigies, and his coat of arms¹ in brass, and an inscription on brass round the edges of the stone was afterwards laid, but that all the brass was torn off, by the most extravagance and fury of the rebel zealots in the late time of the rebellion, and there was nothing left but a small piece of the upper end of the stone with these words, "Hic jacet Nicholaus Robinson", and also a fragment of a label which issued out of the mouth of the effigies with this broken piece, ". . . . -ne speravi". "I suppose the whole was In te Domine speravi".

To-day, this stone is not to be found though a careful search has been made for it. The original inscription in memory of Robert Morgan may be seen nailed up on the pillar near the lectern in the Cathedral, and near it, is a small tablet to Nicholas Robinson which was undoubtedly erected by a relative in 1843 with the following inscription:—"Nicholaus Robinson, S.T.P., Bangor: Episcop. Conovio natus. Obiit A.D. 1584-5. et sub ipsis hujuse ædis cancellis A.S.S. Altaris parte meridionali sepultus est cum ea quæ in memoriam eximii hujus viri æri incisa fuisse feruntur temporis lapsu disperierint novam hanc tabellam unus e cognatis. P.C. A.D. 1843".

It should be remarked that fifty years ago the floor of the chancel of the cathedral was retiled, and all the tombstones were removed, but what became of them no one appears to know.

¹ According to Bedford's *Blazon of Episcopacy*, p. 17, Burke's *General Armory* (1884), p. 862, they were Azure, a chevron between three sheaves of arrows, points towards base, argent.

Lewys Dwnn "*Heraldic Visitations of Wales*, vol. ii, p. 113. "Arvau Nicholas Robins yw 5(k)ar) 18 Saeth benllydan (ar) 12 uwch y (k) 6 is y (k) in pâl. Yr Esgobaeth sev oedd hynny (g), a bend ermine 3 molet ar; ac felly y maent ar i tomb heddiw".

WILL.

Robinson died February 3rd, and by the 19th of the same month probate had been obtained. It is as follows with some change in its orthography but not in its wording :—

¹ In the name of God. Amen. The fifth day of April Anno Domini (one thousand five hundred and eighty four) I Nicholas Robinson Doctor of Divinity and by the sufferance of Almighty God Bishop of Bangor being diseased and sick in body but whole and perfect in mind and memory (The Lord be praised) do make my last will and testament in manner and form following.

First, I do bequeath and commit my soul to the mercy of the Almighty, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and my body to be buried where and at it shall please them that shall have to do with it. Secondly, I do give and bequeath to the Dean and Chapter of Bangor aforesaid to be bestowed upon the reparation of the fabric of the Cathedral Church of Bangor aforesaid if need so require or else towards the buying of a cell in the said church ten pounds. Item, I do give and bequeath towards the maintenance of the church of Conway five pounds. To either of my churches in Anglesey, Amlwch and Llangristiolus twenty shillings a piece. Item, I do give and bequeath to William Robinson my eldest son all my purchased lands set, lying and being within Broughton in the Lordships of Bromfield and Maelor within the county of Denbigh to have and to hold the same with the appurtenances to him his heirs executors and assigns for ever. Item, I do give and bequeath the rest of my purchased lands in fee simple with all manners of rents, reversions and services thereunto belonging wheresoever within the counties of Denbigh, Caernarvon and Anglesey to my well-beloved wife Jane Robinson alias Brereton to have and to hold during her natural life and after her natural life to my aforesaid son William Robinson and to his heirs for ever. Item, I do also give and bequeath to Humfrey Robinson my second son the one moiety of all the profits and commodities that shall happen and arise of the several leases of the Rectories of Llanrhaiadr in Dyffrynclwyd, and Llanbedrog in Lleyrn the other moiety to remain to his mother my executrix during the term of the same. Item, I do give

Extracted from the Principal Registry of the Probate Divorce and Admiralty Division of the High Court of Justice, in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury.

and bequeath to Herbert Robinson my third son the one moiety of all the profits and commodities of the Rectory of Conway in the county of Caernarvon, and of the Rectory of Penmon in the county of Anglesey during the term of the said several leases and also the one moiety of all other leases that I have for years within Conway, Arllechwedd and Creuddyn in the counties of Caernarvon the other moiety to remain as afore to my said wife and executrix. Item, my will is that Pierce Robinson my fourth son be content with that lease of the Bishop lands in Treffôs in the commote of Tindaethwy and the county of Anglesey which I have bestowed on him to whom also I give and bequeath the moiety of a lease in reversion upon the parsonage of Llangefni within the county of Anglesey the other moiety to remain as afore to mine executrix. Provided always that if my said son my executrix or their assigns come to have the possession of the said lease and do from time to time during the term thereof enjoy it quietly without let or interruption of the incumbent there for the time being he, she, or they, shall make the rent now reserved upon the lease up to twenty pounds yearly to the incumbent. Item, I do give and bequeath to my daughter Margaret Robinson the one half or moiety of all my debts plates and household stuff whatsoever to me belongs (except books) for her preferment in marriage. Item, if my wife aforesaid be now with child and delivered and the child live I do give and bequeath to the said child the moiety of a lease that I have of Trowfroyd (?) (*sic*) in the Com. of Penllyn and the county of Merioneth, and the one half of all my books. Item, my will is that if any of my said children do die without lawful issue his portion before bequeathed do remain and belong to his next brother in age. All other my goods and chattels (before not bequeathed) I do give and bequeath to the aforesaid Jane Robinson, alias Brereton, my wife, whom I do make my whole and sole executrix to discharge and pay my funeral and debts and pay my legacies and tutoring or guardian over my said children and their several portions during their minorities every of them to see them brought up honestly. And if it shall please God to call out of this life my said executrix during the minority of my said children or any of them my will and request is that the right worshipful my beloved Sir Randle Brereton, knight, my wife's brother be so good as to take the tuition and oversight of William my eldest son, Mr Thomas Bennett my loving kinsman, parson of Llanrhaidr aforesaid, of Humfrey my second son, my loving servant Roland Mostyn, gentleman, of Herbert my third son, and Doctor W. Meyrick my Chancellor of Pierce (*ierd, sic*) my fourth son during the several minority of either of them praying them to see them brought up in the fear of

God and virtue as my trust is in them. I do give to the said Sir Randle, Thomas, Roland, and William full power and authority to use and order my said children and their several portions to the best profit and preferment of my said children according to their discretion. Item, I do give and bequeath to my sister Jane Holland of Conway my best cloth gown. Item, I do give and bequeath to Richard Robinson and John Burches my nephews and servants forty shillings and a horse, viz., to Richard Robinson my horse called Salesbury, to John Burches my gray horse. Item, I do give to Gabriel Burches my nephew the mare I had of Sir Thomas Williams, late parson of Llanbedr-y-cenin, and now is in Trefriw. Item, I do give to Thomas Lloyd my man a gelding and forty shillings in money. Item, I do give to George Potter my man four pounds, and my request is that my executrix above named shall consider the rest of my servants according to her discretion and help them as she may. Item, I do expressly recall and revoke all other former wills and testaments heretofore made whatsoever ratifying this only for my last will and testament. In witness whereof I have put to my hand and seal the sixth of April Anno Domini one thousand five hundred and eighty-four. N. Bangor, Robert Morgan, William Merick, Rowland Mostin, John Griffith.

Vicesimo septimo December An. Dom 1584 et reginæ Regine Elizabethæ Vicesimo septimo.

Memorandi: That I the said testator being of perfect memory do add to my said former will not revoking any thing disposed of afore. And do give and bequeath to my eldest son William son aforesaid, lands near Conway called Bryn Hopkyn late purchased and recovered by me of Mr Richard Peake of Conway esquire and his son Hugh Peake son and heir apparent of the said Richard Peake to have and to hold to him and to his heirs for ever. In the presence of these following, viz., N. Bangor, William Merick, John Griffith Robert Morgan.

Proved 19th February 1585.

NICHOLAS ROBINSON'S FAMILY.

According to the will, he had four sons and one daughter, but actually he left five sons,—William, Humphrey, Herbert, Pierce and Hugh. The will was signed the 5th of April, 1584, the codicil was added in December, and Robinson died the following February. In the will will be found a delicate reference to certain contingencies,

and provision was made accordingly. If Hugh had been born between April and December there was no need to mention him in the codicil as provision had already been arranged for him.

Nicholas Robinson's widow remarried, for a deed of settlement on her marriage to a widower, Arthur Price of Maenor, Cedewain, Montgomeryshire, is to be found, dated the 29th year of Queen Elizabeth, which would be in 1587.

Robinson's daughter, Margaret, married Edward, a son of the above Arthur Price by his first wife, Bridget Bouchier, the daughter of John Bouchier, Earl of Bath.

Sir John Wynn in his "Memoirs"¹ wrote of Nicholas Robinson, "He dyed rich, and left many hopeful children, for whom he had well provided".

The eldest son, William Robinson, would be ten years of age at his father's death, and he finally settled down at Gwersyllt Park, near Wrexham. In some strange way his biography has become entangled in that of his son John (the Royalist Colonel), and generally speaking most of the details attributed to William should be credited to his son John. William died in 1645, and John in 1681. The family tree which we give will remove all misunderstanding in this respect.

The second son Humphrey, after studying at Oxford and Cambridge, was ordained, and was instituted Rector of Aber near Bangor in 1600, which parish he served to his death in 1621.

Herbert, the third son, in all probability is the one mentioned in *Alumni Oxonienses*, as having matriculated in 1598, aged 17, but there is no record of any degree.

¹ See *The History of the Gwydir Family* (1827 Ed.), p. 105.

AFTERMATH.

(1) *Hugh Robinson.*

Though not mentioned by name in his father's will, yet Nicholas Robinson had a son called Hugh, and in all probability he was born early in 1585.

An Ode,¹ in memory of Nicholas Robinson, on the occasion of his death, which was written by John Phylip, a very well known Bard and a contemporary of the Bishop, states² :—

“ Doe son drwy gambrits ini
dwyn i hardd flodeuyn hi ”.⁷

And he mentions by name, and that in proper order, all the children, and of course Hugh among them.

If farther proof were required, it might be mentioned that Hugh, the fifth son, appears in Lewys Dwm's “ Heraldry ”.³ This book of pedigrees was compiled late in Queen Elizabeth's reign and early in James I.

Further, Bishop Humphrey Humphreys (1648-1712), in his corrections⁴ for the “ Fasti ”, goes out of his way to emphasise the prominent position which was occupied by Hugh, the son of the Bishop, as Headmaster of Winchester School, 1613-27.

The *Alumni Oxonienses*⁵ gives Hugh's record as follows :—“ Robinson, Hugh, of co. Anglesea, gent, New Coll, matric 16 Dec. 1603, aged 19, fellow 1605, B.A. 21 April 1607, M.A. 23 Jan. 1610-11. B. & D.D. 21 June,

¹ See Llanstephan MS. 30, p. 300, “ Marwnad aylwydd Nicholas esgot Bangor ”.

He died in 1620, at the age of 77.

² “ Yesterday there was a report through Cambridge that her bright flower had been taken ”.

³ See *Heraldic Visitation*, vol. ii, p. 290.

⁴ See Bliss's Edition of Wood's *Athene Oxonienses*, vol. ii, 797-9 (footnote).

⁵ See *Alumni Oxonienses* (1891 Ed. .

1627, chief master of Winchester school, rector of Llanbedr with vicarage of Caerhun, 1613, and of Trefriw, co. Carnarvon, 1618, rector of Bighton, Hants, 1622, Canon of Lincoln, 1625, Archdeacon of Gloucester, and rector of Dursley, 1625-47; died 30 March, 1655, buried in St. Giles-in-the-fields”.

We are not altogether satisfied with this record. When the Alumni refers to William and Humphrey it states clearly that they were the sons of Bishop Nicholas Robinson, whereas with Herbert and Hugh each is described simply as *generosi filius*, one born in Caernarvon and the other in Anglesey.

When we examine the ordination registers of Bangor Diocese we find that two Hugh Robinsons were ordained within three years of each other. Our difficulty with our present material is to differentiate between the two. We set forth the records of the two as found in these registers:—

May 30th, 1613. In the church of Llanfechell [Anglesey]. Deacon:—Hugh Robinson, M.A., to serve the Church of Llanbedr-y-cenin.

June 29th, 1614 [Probably at Bangor Cathedral]. Priest:—Hugh Robinson, M.A., Rector of Llanbedr-y-cenin.

Again we find—

May 19th, 1616, Deacon, Hugh Robinson, M.A.

May 26th, 1616, Priest, Hugh Robinson, M.A.

To complicate the situation we find that a Hugh Robinson at two different dates was instituted to two different but adjoining parishes. The entries are as follows:—

Oct. 4th, 1613. Llanbedr cum vicaria de Caerhun, Hugh Robinson, M.A., on the resignation of Humphrey Robinson, M.A.

December 17th, 1617. Trefriw cum capellis de Llanrhychwyn et Bettws-y-Coed, Hugh Robinson, M.A., on the resignation of David Owen.

It will have been noticed that these records do not iden-

tify them with Nicholas Robinson. Also, in the ordination of the second Hugh Robinson no title is mentioned, and only a week intervenes between the Diaconate and the Priesthood. This points to some strong cause operating why this should be done. It is very similar to what happened in the case of Nicholas Robinson.¹

Hugh Robinson was appointed Headmaster of Winchester School in 1613. He had already been scholar at Winchester, and his name will be found in the Register of Scholars :—

“Hugo Robinson, de parochia Sanctæ Mariæ com[itatus] Anglisæ, 11 annorum festo Michaelis preterito: admissus 1^o Januarii [1596-7]: Bangoriensis [diocesis].”

In the “Register of Oxford University”² the entry runs as follows :—

1603. 16 December, New Coll.. Robinson, Hugh. Anglesea, gen[erosi] f[ilius] [aet] 19.

These two last-mentioned records as well as the Alumni agree with regard to the age, with Hugh, the son of the Bishop, who, as we have already shown, must have been born late in 1584, or early in 1585.

Now there are in Anglesey no less than four parishes which claim St. Mary as patron. As will be shown farther, Hugh Robinson was intimately connected with the one now called Llanfairynghornwy (about twelve miles out of Holyhead on the Northern coast). Unfortunately the registers of the parish do not afford us any help, as the oldest are only dated 1725. Still, the church building clearly shows that most of the building, and especially its extension, dates from the days of Nicholas Robinson.

Altogether, we are led to the conclusion that the Hugh of the ordination of 1616 was the son of the Bishop, and

¹ See p. 159.

² See *Register of Oxford University* (Oxford Historical Soc.), vol. ii (1571-1622), part ii, Matriculations.

that he became Head of Winchester, but did not hold any preferment in Bangor Diocese. The other Hugh was his cousin, being either son of Hugh, Nicholas Robinson's elder brother, or a son of Humphrey Robinson, who is described as a Kinsman of the Bishop, and preceded him as Rector of Llanbedr-y-cenin. This Hugh undoubtedly held Llanbedr as well as the benefice of Trefriw in plurality. We find from the Diocesan Registers that both of these livings were vacant in 1664, and were filled then by two different men. Owen Evans, M.A., was instituted to Llanbedr, May 27th, 1664, and William Salesbury, M.A., to Trefriw, June 3rd, 1664. The entries do not give any further information.

Hugh Robinson, the Head of Winchester, is said to have died in 1655, but the other Robinson was in residence at Caerhun in 1647,¹ and seemingly was alive in his rectory at Trefriw in 1663.²

It is interesting to notice that Hugh Robinson was not the first native of Wales to be Chief Master of Winchester, for we find Hugh Lloyd of Lleyn, Caernarvonshire, as Head of Wykeham's foundation in 1579-1588. He died in 1601. He also had been a scholar of the school, and was at New College, like Hugh Robinson.

Venn gives in *Alumni Cantabrigienses* under a John Robinson, that he was a son of Hugh Robinson, Rector of Llanbedr, and was at school at Llanrwst when Roger Wynn was master. John was admitted sizar, 20th of June, 1649, aged 19.

We also find in Venn "Hugh Robinson, St. John's, B.A. 1607-8, M.A. 1611", and he identifies him with the Rector of Bramerton, Norfolk, who had two sons at the college, but there is nothing in the register to confirm this identification.

¹ See *Calendar of Wynn Papers*, item 1831. ² See *Ibid*, item 2390.

On the other hand, in “*Scholæ Wintoniensis Phrases Latinæ. The Latine Phrases of Winchester School . . . by H.R., D.D.*¹ . . . London, 1654 ”, is a Latin dedication by Nicolaus Robynsonus,² which contains the statement, “*Dum scholæ Wintoniensi meus præerat pater, phrasium illic elegantium reperit, copiam ipse dedit*”.

(2) *The Skerries.*

They are a group of rocks (they can hardly be described as islands) off the North-West Coast of Anglesey, and about two miles from the mainland, and within view of Holyhead. They are described in Leland’s itinerary as follows³ :—“*Ynys y Moel Roniaid (maxima insula Mona adjacens); this isle is not past 2 myles fro Cair Noe*”. The parish to which they belong is called by the same writer, “*Llan Vair y Kaer Noy*” (Llanfairynghornwy). To-day the rocks form the site of one of the most brilliantly lit lighthouses in the British Isles. For a very interesting and instructive account, the “*Transactions of the Anglesey Antiquarian Society*” for 1924 should be read, for they contain a full and well-written article⁴ by Mr. H. R. Davies, entitled “*An account of the private lighthouse on the Skerries*”. Mr. Davies relates, step by step, the different vicissitudes of the early lighthouse builders, and how the rocks were in 1841 sold for £444.984 11s. 2d., and how the then representatives of Nicholas Robynson obtained a third of this sum as their share. He

¹ This was Hugh Robynson, Head of Winchester School.

² Apparently the son of the above afore-mentioned Hugh Robynson. The name is something more than a mere coincidence. Unfortunately there is no information to be found with respect to this Nicholas, otherwise we might have traced his father’s history with more certainty.

³ See *The Itinerary in Wales of John Leland* (1906, Lucy Toulmin Smith), p. 132.

⁴ See p. 54 of same.



To face p. 193.

“The Skerries”, off the North-West Coast of Anglesey.

gives us, as others also have done,¹ some account of the terrible catastrophe which befell thirteen young men on the 20th of June, 1739, as they were returning on a stormy evening to the mainland from the Skerries, and amongst them William Robinson, the sixth descendant in a direct line, and the surviving male heir of Nicholas Robinson. We append a pedigree in order to trace the family connection.

To us, the importance of the Skerries lies in the fact that Browne Willis, in a footnote,² charges Nicholas Robinson with having alienated them from the See of Bangor. He writes, "This isle, by what I am inform'd was alienated from the See, by Bishop Nicholas Bangor, in Queen Elizabeth's time, to one of his sons". We agree with the conclusion³ to which Mr. Davies came to in his study of the question, "Legal minds can see no indication of any question ever having been raised as to the title of the Robinsons to the Skerries".

It will have been noticed that in his will Nicholas Robinson describes carefully some of his property as purchased lands. When Maenan Abbey was suppressed the estate was disposed of by Royal Commissioners, which was the usual method adopted throughout the country in accordance with the Act of 1535. At the time, the income from lands, property and rights of the Abbey of Conway is given in the Valor Ecclesiasticus at a total of £123 2s. 0d. Listed in the Anglesey property is mentioned Villata de Cowney at £9 14s. 7d.. and the Hameletta de Ucheldre at £2 5s. 2d. The township de Cowney (Llanfairyng-hornwy) was purchased by the family of Nicholas Robinson, and the other property, which almost adjoins, by that

¹ See *A History of the Island of Mona or Anglesey*, by Angharad Llwyd (1833), p. 257.

² See Browne Willis, *Bangor*, p. 245.

³ *Transactions of the Anglesey Antiquarian Society*, p. 59.

of the family of Hugh Owen of Gwenynog. Sir John Wynn informs us that the Robinson family was wealthy. On the Llanfairynghornwy property was a branch religious house under Conway, for Maenan Abbey had also to serve the neighbouring parish church of Llanbadrig, what was mentioned as of the value of £15 2s. 2d. (The rectorial tithes of Llanbadrig are still in private hands.) The house at Llanfair is to-day called Monachdŷ (Monastery), and it may well be that in 1585, when Nicholas Robinson died, it was inhabitable and that Hugh Robinson was born in it.

In *Taxatio Ecclesiastica* of Pope Nicholas IV, circa 1291, in the terrier of the property of the Abbey, is mentioned :—

“Item habet Manerium de Coruoles [Cornwyls] tres carucatas terræ, cum redditu et molendino et aliis commoditatibus”. xvi, xs.

This is the Monachdŷ, or the Monastery, land in question. It is now an unusually large farmhouse with six hundred acres of land attached. The local tradition is that the circuit of the farm is thirteen miles. The land even to-day pays no tithe, and is the only holding in Anglesey which employs a whole time shepherd. This property is not mentioned in the original charter to Conway Abbey in 1198, it must have been acquired after that year.

In all probability, in Nicholas Robinson's time, though within the township of Cornwylas, the Skerries were looked upon as of no value, till the family was approached in 1713 with the view of granting a lease, for the purpose of exploiting the rocks as a means of raising toll on all vessels sailing that way for lighthouse charges.

(3) *Knebworth.*

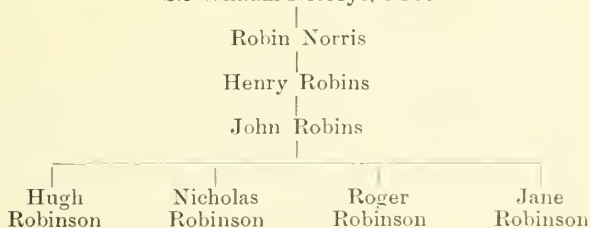
As we began, so we end at Knebworth. The accompanying pedigree, which does not in any way pretend to give in full all the details of the family, will suffice to show the various links in the chain. It may on two occasions have been turned to the distaff-side, yet it shows clearly how Nicholas Robinson to-day is recalled in Hertfordshire. If we climbed the heights even before the days of Nicholas Robinson¹ we could show that the great-great-grandfather of the Bishop, Sir William Norreys of Speke, married Agnes the daughter of Meredydd of Pennynydd, the father of Sir Owen Tudor, who was the grandfather of Henry VII. That the Lytton family realised this distinguished line is evident from the fact that the ceiling of the drawing room of Knebworth House is decorated with various shields, including even that of Cadwaladr, which show quarterings with other important houses, as Breton of Malpas, Warburton of Bodely, the Grosvenors of Eaton, and the Stanleys of Hooton.

MARWNAD ARGLWYDD NICHOLAS ESGOB
BANGOR

(Llanstephan MS. 30, pp. 300-305).

Troes duw awr drom trist ywr dreth
torri brigyn tw r bregeth
Maer eglwys lwys i lussen
ar ffydd wedi torri i ffen

¹ Sir William Norreys, c 1445



Marwolaeth a wnaeth yn ol
 marw dysg a mawrhad ysgol.
 Meirwon y rhawg ym ir rhod
 Marw arglwydd mawr i wirglod
 Mewn ysgol wynion wisgoedd
 Nicolas yn messenas oedd
 Tri doctor kyn efory
 tri yn saint garbron trwn y sy
 Sain grigor son goreugall
 sain pawl a Robinson heb pall.
 Esgob ar ddysg bur ddiwyl
 ben gronyn bangor anwyl
 Anwyl oedd yn i lwyddiant
 ymynwes kor mwy nis kant
 Oni chant yn iach yntau
 yn iach i ffydd nai choffhau
 Yn iach dyn gwychach dan gob
 fyth ddisgwyl y fath esgob
 Deilio bu/r ysbrydoliaeth
 dail ai lawr yn awr yr/aeth
 Doe son drwy gambrits ini
 dwyn i hardd flodeuyn hi
 Bu bron brudd am i gudd gau
 barn santaidd yw brins yntau
 Gwnaeth dda ddoniaeth i ddynion
 ai groewber iaith gar i bron
 Ar hwnn oer yw i henwi
 Yr oedd bwys i heglwys hi
 Ai gras addas i addef
 a gaid ai gair gydag ef
 Mann trist ywr parlament trosto
 oes yw fewn i eissieu fo
 Keissiont ar gonvocassiwn
 at faith hap ni chant fath hwnn
 Mewn dawn oll amneidia a wnaeth
 ai ras gwbl or esgobaeth
 Dwyn gair a duw yn i garn
 oddiar bob esgob y bu.
 Apostol ffydd gatholig
 os a gro trosto y trig
 Drud yw i bawb doriad bedd
 dwfn un dewein o wynedd
 Ir un bedd rann wybyddiaeth
 ysgol gred a dysg loegr aeth
 Waeth waeth os aeth yr oes honn
 waeth waeth grediniaeth dynion

Ymysg pob gau ddysg eiddil
Som henw math sy ymhenau mil
Dysg iach o gambrits a gai
duw yn i fin ai danfonai
Os cynnal yn oes canwr
os bord lawn ysbrydol wr
os llyfodraeth drwy faeth draw
os karu dysg ai heuraw
Band gorau bennod geirwir
bann o gred oedd bangor dir
Byw ba waeth bei bai weithian
bangor yn for yn y fann
Aml gwedd mal y gwyddwn
oedd yma hawdd ymyw hwnn.
Aml och rhawg aml wae a chri
aml gwaedd lle bu aml gweddi
Aml braw lle bu mawl a braint
bryd och oer brawd a cheraint
Aml dwr yn ymyl deurüdd
aml mal od yw briod brudd
Meistres Sian maes drwy i haes oedd
bort win lawn brywtwn linoedd
Merch o eigwaed marchogion
mynd ior o stad mae/n/drist hon
Mae or ddau fyth mowredd fo
chwedyn duw ai gwarchadwo
Pump o wyr blaen pwmpae/r/blaid
ag un lloer ganwyll euraid
Mowredd fyth am iraidd faeth
mastr wiliam sad reolaeth
Wmffrey grym a ffriw gwr iach
herbard lain hwyr bryd lanach
Pryd iowndeb pared unduw
parhau oes hir Pirs a Huw
Mae/r/dawn nid ymrhyd anael
ymrig aur tawdd margred hael
Dyna iawn duw i ninau
dyna chwech rhoed in iachau
A chwechant fynych oel waith
ond unarhyntheg nod iaith
Gyda mil wrth gadw moliant
eissioes ai oed Jesü sant
Y dydd in diwedd yna
y galwodd duw yn arglwydd da
Y bedwared bid oerach
ar byntheg dameg nid iach

Or gyssegriad bennlad llu
 yw esgobaeth fais ai gwybu
 Fo a wyr y byd fawr a bach
 yn pallu i anaf bellach
 Dyma anaf damweiniawl
 dyma ddiwedd buchedd bawb
 Dyma wyl wag y deml wen
 dyma eissiau brawd Moessen
 Eissiau i lef yn y krefydd
 eissiau dyn fel Awstin fydd
 Eissiau a nad sy/n/i/ol
 eissiau Eisag rasysol
 Eissiau gwr o ddysg irael
 eissiau rhodd eglwyswr hael
 Hwyr geni yn rhe gonwy
 fyth in mysg y fath ddyn mwy
 Ynghor lle bu gynghorwr
 demial gynt anwyla gwr
 Pei doe yno i fforddio ffydd
 is kob hwnn esgob beunydd
 I fath ddyn faith ddaioni
 nai ail fyth ni wilia fi.

SION PHILIPP AI KANT.

“MARWNAD
ARGLWYDD NICOLAS ESGOB
BANGOR”.

Photostat reproduction of the original from Llanstephan MS. 30, pp. 300-4, now in the National Library of Wales.

This Elegy forms one of the Series of Welsh poems copied under the superintendence of Dr. John Davies (1570?-1644) of Mallwyd. Where the copyist failed to read the original he left blanks, afterwards written in by Dr. Davies.

Martynad arglwydd Nicolab
a Sgoth Bangor

scath ddu mawr dom hysc mawr durt
forni brigyn frys v butycth

Mawr tylwys llyw i llystn
ar ffedl wedi fenni i ffln

Martynad, a roniath yn ol
mawr durt a martynad vsgol

Meirion v rhawg yn yr rhes
mawr arglwydd mawr i roniath

Meirion vsgol mawr mawr durt
nicolab yn mawr durt oedd

Tri durt fynn vsgol
fyn yn fawr gartnon fynn vsgol

Tri durt gartnon fynn vsgol
fynn vsgol a durt fynn vsgol

Sgoth ar durt bwr durt
ben ywngyn bangor mawr

Durt oedd yn i llystn
mawr durt fynn vsgol

Tri durt yn iarth yntab
yn iarth i ffln nai roniath

Tri durt durt ywngyn durt gort
fynn vsgol v fynn vsgol

Tri durt fynn vsgol v fynn vsgol

Julio be / v / y / s / brodoliatth
 dail ai lann yr aron y rathle
 Dot sen dnyoy quambrits im
 drom i hurod fiodob'n hi
 De bron brood am i gods qaw
 barn fantuice vno brimb yntab
 (Hwathth) don ddomiacth i ddomion
 ai qrofoobor iath qaw i bron
 Tu hrom oer vno i honni
 yr otdd brwb i hqglroyb hi
 Li qwab adab i adaf
 a yaid ai yaur qydaq of
 Mann trist yror parlament froste
 oob vno firon i eiffite fo
 Hwiffant ar qomora firon
 at faith hap ni thant full hrom
 Meron daron oll amntidie a romaeth
 ai vob qabl or efgobacth
 Drom qaur a dero vn i quro
 o ddiar bob efgob y be
 D postol ffoca gatholig
 ob a qro frofey frig
 Dru'd vno i barob donach beod
 Drosn on detim o vno ddd

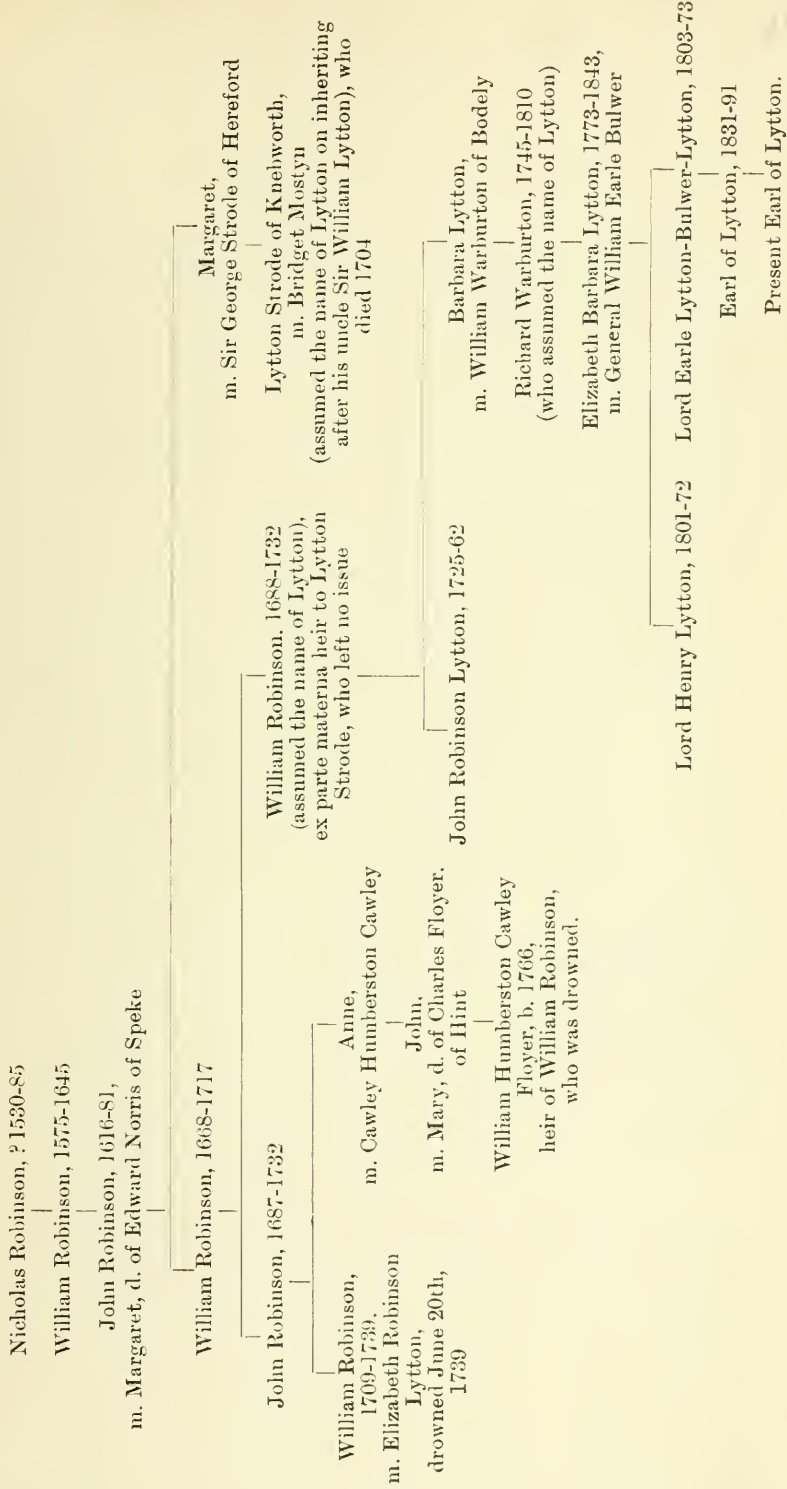
w/bn

In an bled nam wyddiath
ysgol guto a dyfyr letyr attle
Nathth wathth ob athth yr oeb honn
wathth wathth qreomathth demon
ymyfyg pob qub eoyfy oiddil
fom honn mathth (o ymhonab mil
dyfyr iath o gambrithe a qou
dew yn ifm au danfonau
The rymul yn oeb rannor
ob bore laron ysbudol nor
The llyfodwrthth dnyr fathth dwan
ob fawr dyfyr ai hawarw
The qouab bonnos qeunwir
bann o qub eed bangor dir
Dyrr ba wathth bei bau rodythjan
bangor yn for yn y fann
Am l ythodde mal y gweddron
oee ym harode ymre hawm
Am oth rharoy aml was a thri
aml qreudo le be aml qreodo
Am llywre le be manel a brait
bryddh oth oer bwaro a rharant
Am llywre yn ymre ddyddh
am l mal ee yx bried bried

mystroh

Edward Ed etrus
ar Lymbhog dnmby me iare
Hi yst segind lornillad ar
yma hqobath) fait ai ymre
fe a wye y bnd farar a lard
In yalle i anar hollary
Yma anar dnmweimanel
Yma dnmred hrothped kanzel
Yma royl roay y deml ron
Yma tiffias lward Mooson
Eiffias i lef ym v) brested
tiffias dyor fat dnmstn fyde
Eiffias a nnd b'n i'ol
Eiffias Eifay wafyol
Eiffias qron o dnyf nracl
Eiffias whod dnyf nracl
Dnyf yom on rha yomay
folh m nryg y fate dnm mroy
Yghor ar bb ymghorron
otimial qont annala ym
Phi dot vno i ffordio fyde
is pob hrom dnyf hrothped
ffate dnm fait dnmion
nra ail fote m nracl fi
Lyon Philipps ai Kault

BANGOR AND KNEBORTH PEDIGREE



Letters to and from William Owen (Pughe), 1804-1806.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE BY E. VINCENT EVANS.

A HUNDRED years and more ago William Owen, afterwards known as William Owen Pughe, played a prominent part in connection with Welsh Letters. Born in the parish of Llanfihangel y Pennant, Meirionydd, in 1759, he spent many years of his life in London, but ended his days on an estate he inherited (and which added Pughe to his name) near Nantglyn in Denbighshire. In London he became acquainted and corresponded with a large number of persons who were engaged in antiquarian and other researches. His literary reputation rests mainly on his "Geiriadur Cymmraeg a Saesneg" (*A Welsh and English Dictionary compiled from the Laws, History, Poetry, Bardism, Proverbs, and other Monuments, of the Knowledge and Learning of the Ancient Britons*) (1793) and on the collection of ancient Welsh poems published under the title of the *Myvyrian Archæology*. In regard to the latter he had the advantage, or otherwise, of the collaboration of Edward Williams (*Iolo Morganwg*) and Owen Jones (*Owain Mgyfyr*). He contributed extensively to the *Cambrian Register*, the *Cambro-Briton*, the *Cambrian Quarterly*, the *Gentleman's Magazine*, *Y Greal*, *Seren Gomer*, the *Cymmrodorion Transactions* and other periodicals, and he translated "Paradise Lost" (*Coll Gwynra*) into Welsh.

In recent times it has been the fashion to decry William Owen's attempts to explain Welsh philology, and to make light of his efforts to improve Welsh Literature. His explanations may be erratic, and his guesses may be mistaken, but his conscientious labours for the enlightenment of his fellow countrymen deserve something better than ingratitude and ridicule.

We have mentioned the fact of his corresponding with a number of distinguished persons interested in literary and antiquarian pursuits. Quite recently a member of our Society, Captain B. Howard Cunnington, a well known Wiltshire archæologist, came across a number of letters written by William Owen to his great-grandfather, William Cunnington of Heytesbury, in the early years of the nineteenth century. The letters themselves are not of great value or importance but they serve to show in a remarkable degree the speculative and observant interest taken by William Owen, as well as by his correspondent, in a variety of subjects.

We are indebted to Captain Cunnington for permission to use these letters.

LETTERS.

To Wm. Cunnington, Heytesbury, from William Owen.

Penton Street, Pentonville, London; Dec. 21, 1804.

Dear Sir,

Accept my thanks for the two fine Wiltshire hares, which came in very good condition. But I am sorry that you should put yourself to so much trouble on my account. In your letter you enquire after Bard Williams,¹ I have to tell you that I have not heard from him since he left London. I am used to him in this respect; for he is often subject to these dilatory fits.

I hope you have been fortunate since I had the pleasure of seeing you, in discovering additional remains of antiquity in your hallowed and classic ground of Druidism; and I hope that you have by this time resolved to publish a full account of your various

¹ Edward Williams (*Iolo Morganwg*).

discoveries; so that the world may reap the advantage in illustrating the history of the ancient Britons through your labours. I do not remember mentioning to you the important fact that there is a sepulchral tumulus in Caermarthenshire raised over a Welsh princess in so late a period as the close of the 12th century. It is on the road side towards New Castle in Emlyn, and not far from that place. But Abury with its adjunct, Silbury Hill, claim my reverence above any other Druid spot. It is remarkable that the names of both places, in our ancient Triads identify one as the appendage of the other. Thus Silbury Hill is called *Cluder Cyvrangon*, or *Heap of the Conventions*; and the circle of Abury is called *Gorsez Bryn Gwyzon*, or *Supreme feat of the Hill of the intelligent ones* (Wise men). Perhaps you may not have heard anything about the divine Mission of Joanna Southcott the prophetess of Exeter; but it is a very remarkable circumstance that the great leading points of theology in her writings agree exactly, and often in the very expression, with our Druidical Triads of Divinity. Bard Williams was so struck with this similitude that he charged me, as a believer in her, with giving her the materials for those points.

Mrs. Owen joins me in respects to you and Mrs. Cunningham, hoping that you and all the rest of the family enjoy health; and we wish you a happy Christmas! Mrs. O. desires me also to remember her to your Daughters.

I remain, Sir, Your much obliged humble servant,
WM. OWEN.

To William Owen from Wm. Cunningham.

Heytesbury, March 12, 1806.

Dear Sir,

In my last letter to you I was straitened for time and room, otherwise I should have requested your opinion in regard to the belief of the Britons in the transmigration of the soul—whether this doctrine was generally believed by the Britons or only by particular sects or Clans? That the Celtic Britons believed in the immortality of the Soul I think is sufficiently proved from finding so many articles for war and domestic use in their Sepulchres; and the finding these articles, in my opinion militates against the belief of the transmigration of the Soul into another Body. I will not trouble with quotations on this subject from Books with which you are better acquainted than myself but I shall be particularly obliged for your opinion on this subject also of any remarks on my last letter; you must see I want light, yet I don't know where I am to obtain it unless you will assist me. Mrs. Cunningham and my daughter join me in respectful Compliments to yourself, Mrs. Owen and family.

Dr. Sir, Your most humble servant, WM. CUNNINGTON.

P.S.—I saw the above circular work last week,¹ it is situated on the brow of an hill overlooking a stream of water, the area contains about two acres of eleven Tumuli, eight are Sepulchral, No. 9, 10 and 11 are not, they form an acute angle, the distance from 9 to 10 and from 9 to 11 are the same, they are all three nearly of a size and placed at equal distances from the Vallum. The Vallum about 8 feet or more in the slope, is within, like Stonehenge and a complete circle. What are we to say of it?

To Wm. Cunnington, Heytesbury, from William Owen.

Penton Street, Pentonville; March 15, 1806.

Dear Sir,

I am very sorry that I delayed in answering your letter recd about 2 months since, so long as to see a second coming to hand; but I hope that you will excuse my inadvertence, which would not have been if I had not been perplexed by a variety of things all coming upon me at once, in midst of which your favour lay by me neglected. I have now noticed some passages in your first letter.

You consider Abury and Stonehenge to have been “erected by the primitive Celtic inhabitants of this island, of course of high antiquity.”

I fully agree with your opinion respecting Abury. It was doubtless, the circle where the national convention of all the British states met; and therefore it is mentioned in our Triads under the name of Gorsedd Bryn Gwyddon (Convention circle of the Hill of those who had knowledge) as one of the three primary conventional circles of Britain; thus taking its name from its adjunct, Silbury Hill; and also, singularly enough, Silbury Hill taking its name from the circle, being called *Cludair Cyvrangon*, or Mound of Convention. It is from the stupendous plan of Abury that I infer its high antiquity; that is I consider it as old as when the Britons were in the height of their power and unmolested by foreign enemies, for such a great work could only have been erected in such a period. That *all* our stone circles are of so high antiquity is by no means the fact: nor the use of them is to this day known and their ceremonies practised in Wales; and not only so, but there is a pretty large circle in South Wales on a hill, and erected *on the rubbish* of one of our numerous castles of the erection of the 12th century or thereabout.

With regard to Stonehenge, I consider that a mixed work: there was an original circle there of which the feis stones on the inner verge of the vallum, are the remains. Of this I shall say no more, as the purport of my opinion is already given by Mr. Britton, in his Wiltshire.

¹ The illustration referred to does not appear in the letter.

We have preserved in our Triads of Laws the plan and even detail of the constitution of the ancient Britons, which shows that they had a grand national plan of religious resort, to which all the states went under the general protection of the whole. No particular state was permanently supreme, for the sovereignty was always vested in the elder, or the prince of the longest reign, that is, supposing the Chief of the Silures were the elder, and consequently the sovereign to-day at his death it might be the chief of the Trinobantes: and in the same way everything (word illegible) went according to eldership; so that they were always free from the tumult of election.

Our Courts of judicature were held on eminences, and generally in circles enclosed by a vallam. Such I imagine were those which you have noticed on different parts of the Wiltshire plains. These sort of works were in use in Wales, I believe as late as the termination of the native line of princes, by the death of Llywelyn in 1282.

Thus you can infer no particular era for the erection of either of these kind of works, as they were in use among the Cymry in all ages, wherever their sovereignty extended.

I believe that the Britons also continued generally to raise sepulchral tumuli till as late as the 6 or 7 century: There is one raised over a princess of S. Wales in the 12 century, near the road from Caermarthen to Cardigan.

The variety of discoveries you have made through your indefatigable researches make me wish greatly that you would give the whole to the world.

In the Triads of Laws beforementioned we have regulations and terms used which could only relate to a pure nomadic state, when the tribes lived entirely in waggons and these removed in times of danger to places of security, such as alluded to by you, and described by ancient writers, as the fortifications of the Britons.

Respecting your observation, in your last letter on transmigration, I have to observe that it was universal among Cymry or as far as the Bardic druidical religion extended. Your remark that the sepulchral remains militate against such a system, arises I presume, from the description of it as it appeared among the Greeks &c. which by no means gives any proper idea of the bardic transmigration, which I consider as the most beautiful doctrine ever promulgated next to divine revelation itself.—Nay I think it a part of that revelation as taught in the primitive world.—Transmigration in the bardic Theology was what *hell* is in the Christian. If a man's life preponderated he went after death to a higher and more happy state of being; and even in the angelic state went on progressively to eternity, approaching towards the presence of God; and without such change in the modes of existence the soul

could not bear the tedium of eternity; as none but God could so consistent with happiness. The bards held that there was lapse of intelligence or the Fall of man; and hence it progressively rose from the lowest point of existence, transmigrating through all modes of animal life, rising higher and higher, and thus increasing in knowledge and intellect, until it arrived at the state of humanity, in which it had arrived at so much knowledge as to be able to choose or attach itself to either good or evil, and thus being a free agent was amenable for its conduct if attached to evil, and at death was punished by being thrown back into the circle of transmigration to a state corresponding with its turpitude: And it was possible for a man to be so evil as to be thrown back at death to the lowest point of existence from whence as before he passed the various forms of existence till it came again to the human state; and this state of probation remains open to the human race for the whole to arrive at happiness; and then, evil being subdued, the circle of transmigration has answered the benevolent design of the deity. I suppose that this short sketch will be sufficient to show you that the transmigration or the bardic state of punishment of evil cannot in the least militate against any discoveries you may have made. For at the interment of princes and other great men, it is not to be imagined that any memorials should be deposited in their graves, which implied that the deceased were consigned to punishment—any more than that the relatives of a Christian should inter him with tokens of his being gone to hell.

The circle which you describe in your last appears a singular curiosity probably we must class among the judicial circles. The Bardic (or Druidic) circles required them to be surrounded with stones, every stone being of appropriate use—The principal avenue was to the east, but not exactly so—some pointed to the sun rising at one or other of the principal points of sun rising, being formed by drawing a line to the centre of the circle by placing an index stone at a convenient distant from the circle, so as to obtain precision.

Mrs. O. joins with me in respects to Mrs. and the Miss Cunningtons and hopes that you and they enjoy good health.

I remain, Dear Sir, Your obliged humble servant, WM. OWEN.

I am sorry that you should suppose that your letters are not valuable enough with me to pay for them. I shall set you the example in not paying for this.

To Wm. Cunnington, Heytesbury, from William Owen.

Penton Street, Pentonville; July 26, 1806.

Dear Sir,

Having an opportunity of sending by Mr. Britton, who is setting off on another grand tour through Wilts, I write to thank

you for your letter of May 29th containing your valuable account of the extraordinary Work of Marden. I can find no difficulty in agreeing with your opinion of its being the remains of one of the principal fanes of our primeval ancestors. It would be fruitless to identify it, perhaps, with any religious work mentioned in our ancient records. But I should be very glad if I could any where find out the third primary circle of the Britons (the other two considered to be Abury and Boscawen). The one I want to discover was called Gorsedh (Conventional or High Seat of) Moel Ewvr (Evoor) *Moel* implies that which is bald or exposed, and is a common term for a bare hill, or whose character is not rocky—a grassy conical mountain peak or down. Evoor is the name of a plant, which must have abounded on such a Moel; and I believe that it is called sowbread in English. It grows in fields, its stalk leaves and flower having a resemblance to Hemlock, and has a bulbous root, like the earth nut. Din Ewvr (Dinevor) castle near Carmarthen is a name where the same word Evoor is used. Whether there might be a circle on that hill, before the erection of the *Din* or castle, cannot be now ascertained. Now the question must be whether there is a high swelling hill contiguous to Marden? the site of the work itself does not appear to answer such a description.

This discovery of Marden, makes me wish that all similar works in Wilts and its borders were delineated, and described by you, in addition to the history of Barrows.

You will see by what I have said concerning Marden, that I can hardly form an opinion of its use; therefore it be no disappointment to you, in not receiving it sooner; but I am sorry for my delay, especially now as I notice your words, in asking for it,—“as soon as possible.”

Please to give my best respects to Mrs. Cunnington who with yourself and family I hope enjoy good health. I remain, Dear Sir, Your most humble servant, WM. OWEN.

To Wm. Cunnington, Heytesbury, from William Owen.

Penton Street, Pentonville; Dec. 27th, 1806.

Dear Friend,

Your letter of the 2nd instant was sent after me into N. Wales, where I have been for some time till the 18th instant on some business, and where now all my family is, in consequence of the death of an old and distant relation, who bequeathed to me his property. If I had not been a good deal hurried on that account I should have sooner thanked you for the very interesting account which you have given of your sepulchral discoveries and which appear to become more and more important as you proceed. I think you have guessed very happily respecting the use of the articles of bone of which you have sent drawings—that they were used in casting of

Lots. For under the druidical system many important decisions were made in this way, particularly all their elections for the members of their various functions. And, as I have heretofore informed you that druidism is still preserved, so I shall now give you to understand that numberless allusions to the *coelbren*, or Lots, are to be found in the works of the Welsh Bards, and the manner of casting these Lots I have seen myself, in attending the Bardic Meetings (Here a porter brought me a parcel, which on opening I found to be a present of a hare from yourself—and I thank you for your kindness) The election is thus carried on: pieces of wood are cut, of about the size of the remains described by you, each elector has one, on which he inscribes the name, initial, or descriptive mark of any candidate that he supports, excepting himself (for he must not elect himself); the ballots being thus prepared, they are thrown in the receptacle used for that purpose, and are then taken out and examined one by one, so as to determine the issue. It is likely there were particular marks also to represent various offices or functions.—and the marks on the relics sent by you may have designated the various distinctions conferred on the person in whose tomb they were found.

If Mr. Fenton be still in your neighbourhood, and you should see him, please to give my best respects to him. Remember me also in the same manner to Mrs. Cunnington, whom, with you and the rest of the family, I hope are in good health, and enjoying the usual festivities of the season.

I remain, Dear Friend, Your greatly obliged Servant,

WM. OWEN.

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