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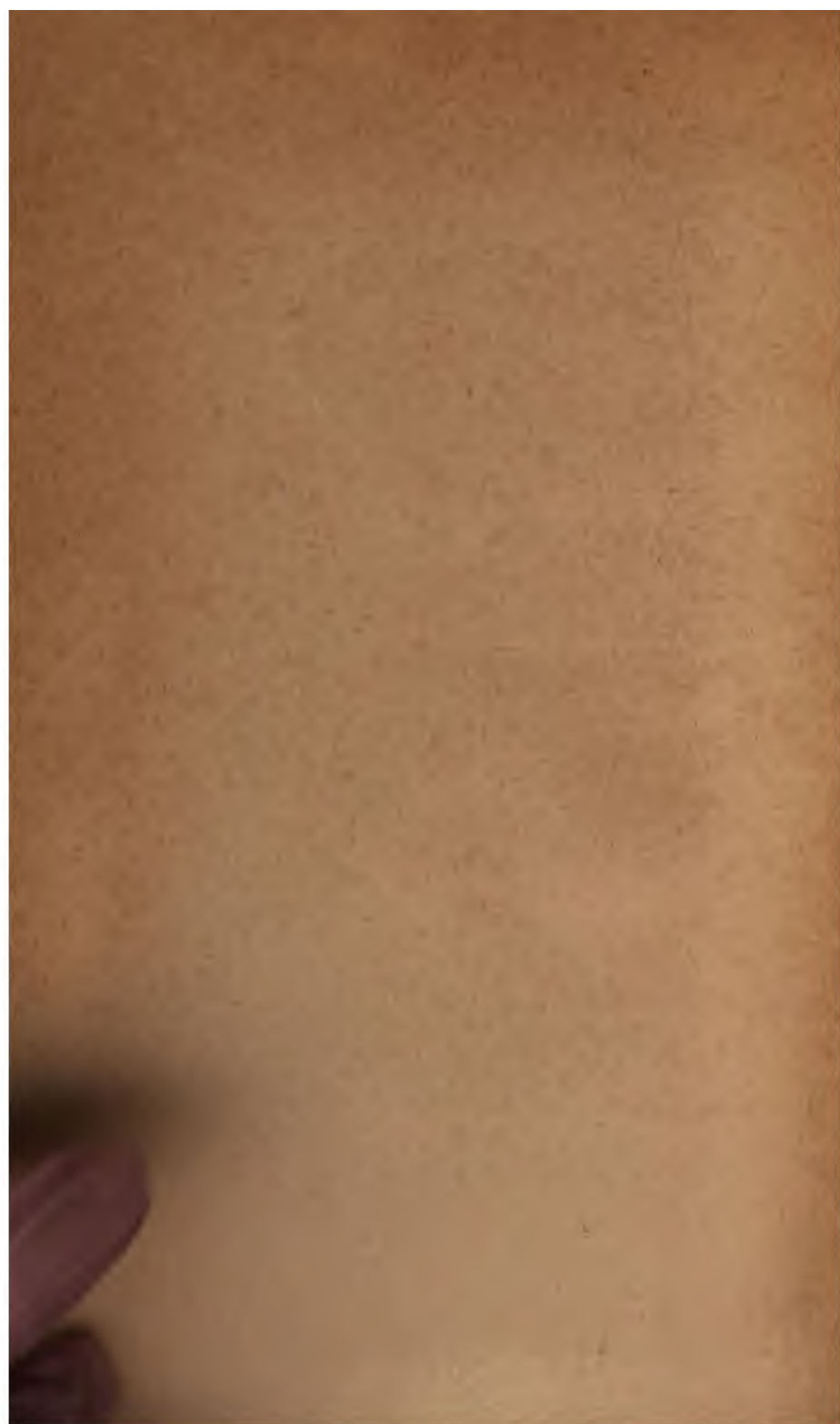
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THE
TRANSACTIONS
OF
THE HONOURABLE
SOCIETY OF CYMMRODORION.
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SESSION 1906-7.

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REPORT
OF
THE COUNCIL OF THE
Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion,

For the Year ending November 9th, 1907.

PRESENTED TO THE ANNUAL MEETING HELD IN THE SOCIETY'S ROOMS,
ON THURSDAY, THE 21ST DAY OF NOVEMBER, 1907.

IN the first place, the Council have to refer to the many losses which have occurred in the ranks of the Society during the past year through death. Last week there were laid to rest, at Llangunnor Church, the remains of the late Sir Lewis Morris, a great-grandson of Llewelyn Ddu o Fon, one of the founders of the Cymmrodorion. For the last thirty years Sir Lewis Morris was closely associated with the work of the Society. He was one of its Vice-Presidents, he took part in many of its gatherings, and he contributed very largely to its Publications. One of his latest contributions, which appeared in a recent volume of *The Transactions*, was an Appreciation of his great friend and fellow-worker, the late Stephen Evans, who for so many years was the Chairman of your Council. Sir Lewis Morris' devotion to the interests of Welsh Learning and Welsh Education, and his services to English Literature, are too well known to need any eulogy.

Our list of Vice-Presidents is also shorter by the death of the late Sir David Evans, K.C.M.G., a willing sup-

porter of Welsh National movements, to whom the Cymmrodorion Society was greatly indebted for much generous hospitality.

As a Council we mourn the loss of a distinguished colleague in the person of the late John Romilly Allen, F.S.A., whose books, and whose contributions to the *Archæologia Cambrensis* as well as to the *Transactions* of our own Society and other Magazines, have considerably helped the study of Celtic Archæology. We also refer with sorrow to the loss of Mr. H. Powel Powel, of Castle Madoc, the Rev. Professor Rowlands, of Brecon Memorial College, and the Rev. J. Jenkyn Brown, of Edgbaston, three of our oldest members, and to the death of Mr. Alfred Davies, formerly Member of Parliament for the Carmarthen Boroughs, Mr. Joseph Broome, of Llandudno, and one of our lady-members, Mrs. John Hughes, of the Manor House, Hampton-on-Thames.

The Council have pleasure in announcing the addition of 45 new members to the ranks of the Society during the past year.

In the course of the last twelve months the following meetings have been held in London :—

1906.

Nov. 16.—ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MEMBERS.

Dec. 5.—ANNUAL DINNER. Chairman, The Right Hon. D. Lloyd-George, M.P., President of the Board of Trade. Guest of the Evening, Sir John H. Puleston.

1907.

Feb. 7.—Paper on "Edward Lhuyd", by Richard Ellis, Esq., B.A. (Jesus College, Oxford). Chairman, Principal Rhÿs.

Feb. 21.—Paper on "The National Flower of Wales", by Ivor B. John, Esq., M.A. (of the Goldsmith's College). Chairman, Ellis J. Griffith, Esq., M.P.

Mar. 27.—Paper on "Art, Religion, and Life (a Welshman's Ideal for

Wales)", by Prof. D. Ffrangcon-Davies, M.A. Chairman, Francis Edwards, Esq., M.P.

May 1.—Paper on "Welsh Church Dedications", by the Rev. John Fisher, B.D., Rector of Cefn. Chairman, The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of St. Asaph.

June 27.—ANNUAL CONVERSAZIONE. By invitation of the Right Hon. the President (Viscount Tredegar), at the New Gallery, Regent Street.

At Swansea :—

In the Cymmrodorion Section of the National Eisteddfod, meetings were held on Monday evening, August 19th, 1907, in the rooms of the Royal Institution of South Wales, Swansea, when an address (followed by a discussion) was delivered on "Welsh Towns as they are, and as they might be" (*Trefydd Cymru fel y maent, ac fel y gallent fod*), by Aneurin Williams, Esq., M.A., J.P. ; Chairman, The Right Hon. Lord Glantawe ; and on Wednesday, August 21st, at St. Paul's Schoolroom, St. Helen's Road (in connection with the Welsh Bibliographical Society), when J. H. Davies, Esq., M.A. (Editor of the *Morrisian Letters*, etc.), read a paper (followed by a discussion) on "Welsh Bibliography and its Aims" ; Chairman, Sir John Williams, Bart., K.C.V.O.

At the last-named meeting steps were taken to establish the Welsh Bibliographical Society, and it is hoped that by some mutual arrangement the labours of the new Society can be utilised and published for the benefit of the members of the Cymmrodorion and of book-lovers generally.

The Council are happy to report that two volumes of *Transactions* (those for 1904-5 and 1905-6) were issued this year, and they are pleased to congratulate the members on the fact that the delay in the issue of the first of these resulted in the securing of the very exhaustive and suggestive paper by the Rev. Thomas Shankland on the *Life and Work of Sir John Philipps of Picton*. In this

connection the Council desire to record their obligations to Sir Chas. E. G. Philipps, of Picton Castle, for enabling them to reproduce the unique portrait of Sir John Philipps, and to the Rev. Sir James Erasmus Philipps, Bart., Canon of Salisbury Cathedral, for the loan of a picture of Picton Castle at the end of the seventeenth century.

The twentieth volume of *Y Cymmrodor* is now far advanced, and it is expected that it will be ready for publication in December. It contains a translation of the *Ystoria de Carolo Magno* issued by this Society in 1883, with a historical and critical introduction by the Rev. Robert Williams, B.A., Llanbedr-y-Cenin, and its publication will be the realisation of a promise made to the members of this Society some twenty-four years ago.

The *Transactions* for the year 1907 are in the press, and will be issued early in the ensuing year. The volume contains Mr. Richard Ellis' paper on *Edward Lhuyd*, with *facsimile* reproductions, Mr. Ivor B. John's paper on *The Welsh National Emblem*, the Rev. John Fisher's paper on *Welsh Church Dedications*, with illustrations, and the papers read at the meetings of the Cymmrodorion Section of the Eisteddfod held at Swansea.

Mr. Edward Owen, the editor and compiler of the *Catalogue of MSS. Relating to Wales* at the British Museum, reports that Volume III of the *Catalogue* will be completed before the end of the year. The part (with the exception of some of the *Glamorganshire Charters*, published by the late Mr. G. T. Clark) is almost entirely made up of fresh and unknown material for the social and economic history of Wales. Mr. Owen reports that through its publication there is hardly a county in Wales that will not have its local and family history illustrated and extended.

The Council having received what is considered to be an encouraging response to the application for subscribers to

the special fund for the publication of *The Lives of the British Saints*, by the Revs. S. Baring Gould and John Fisher, have proceeded with the work. It will, it is hoped, be completed in four substantial volumes, well printed on good paper, with numerous illustrations, and it is offered to subscribers at the very moderate price of half-a-guinea each volume.

The arrangements for the coming Lecture Session includes promises of papers on subjects of special Welsh interest. Mr. J. Lloyd Williams, Musical Instructor at the University College of North Wales, will read a paper on *The Collection of Welsh Folk Songs*, which will be musically illustrated. Mr. Llewelyn Williams, M.P., will contribute an important historical paper on *The Act of Union between England and Wales*; and Professor W. Lewis Jones, M.A., a paper on *The Relation of Dafydd ab Gwilym to European Mediæval Literature*.

The Annual Dinner of the Society will be held on Thursday, the 12th of December, at the Whitehall Rooms, Hotel Métropole, under the Presidency of Principal Sir John Rhŷs, *Chairman of the Council*; and Dr. Douglas Hyde, author of *The History of Irish Literature*, and Mr. W. Goscombe John, A.R.A., have been invited to be the Society's guests on the occasion.

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

THE PRESIDENT,
VICE-PRESIDENTS,
THE AUDITORS,

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

DR. FREDK. ROBERTS,
MR. R. ARTHUR ROBERTS,
MR. RICHARD ROBERTS,
MR. ROMILLY ALLEN (*deceased*),

MR. HOWEL THOMAS,
MR. JOHN THOMAS,
MR. GEO. G. T. TREHERNE,
SIR MARCHANT WILLIAMS,
MR. LLEWELYN WILLIAMS, M.P.,
MR. J. W. WILLIS BUND.

A vacancy occurs through the death of Mr. Romilly Allen, the remaining nine members are eligible for re-election.

THE HONOURABLE SOCIETY OF CYMMRODORION

Statement of Receipts and Payments.

FROM 9TH NOVEMBER, 1906, TO 9TH NOVEMBER, 1907.

Cr.

	£	s.	d.
To Balance in hand, November 9th, 1906 ..	115	17	2
" Subscriptions received ..	446	3	0
" Sale of publications ..	10	0	10
" Special Donation from the President (the Right Hon. Viscount Tredegar) ..	78	7	0

£850 8 0

Examined and found correct.

JOHN BURRELL, } *Joint*
E. W. DAVIES, } *Honorary Auditors.*

Dr.

	£	s.	d.
By Rent of Offices, Fire and Lighting ..	72	1	2
" Publications—Cost of Printing <i>Transactions for 1904-05</i> ..	98	14	0
<i>Ditto Transactions for 1905-06</i> ..	82	2	3
Cost of Distribution ..	14	0	5
Expenses <i>re British Saints</i> ..	15	18	0
General Printing ..	205	14	8
" Lectures and Meetings ..	20	10	6
" Eisteddfod Section Meetings ..	9	18	0
" Conversazione Expenses (covered by special donation from the President) ..	12	16	3
Library Expenses ..	78	6	6
Stationery, Postage, and General Expenses ..	2	15	4
Commission on Publications Sold and Subscriptions received (1906) ..	42	14	2
Secretary's Remuneration ..	16	11	6
Balance in hand ..	50	0	0
	138	19	11
	<u>£850</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>0</u>

HENRY OWEN, *Treasurer.*

E. VINCENT EVANS, *Secretary.*



EDWARDUS

LHUYD

*Cambricitans
viciandus: Coll.*

JESU apud

Oxon. A. M. in eadem Aca-
demiâ S. Theologiae Bedel-
lus Superior; pleriq; ut in
hoc Museo Successor, ita be-
nevolentia et eruditione non
impar. Vir enim hic pereru-
dus, postquam per plures
annos Cantuariæ provinci-
am Summâ cura et fidelitate

PORTRAIT OF EDWARD LHUYD.

From the Donation Book of the Ashmolean Museum.

TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion.

SESSION 1906-1907.

SOME INCIDENTS IN THE LIFE OF
EDWARD LHUYD.¹

By MR. RICHARD ELLIS, B.A.

EDWARD LHUYD was a scholar of brilliant and many-sided genius who attained a high place amongst the learned of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The fields of his research were numerous; in each of them he won distinction, in each he gleaned results of lasting value. He is eminent in botany, in geology, and in many branches of archæology. In philology, his position as one of the founders of the study is one of high distinction. In fact, Lhuyd was one of those scholars who in their manifold activities seem to epitomize the learning of their age.

Because I think it is for specialists to appraise Lhuyd's scholarship in its various departments, and because with the exception of one or two fragments no "Life" of him exists, I have refrained from criticism, and have written a paper which is purely biographical.

Edward Lhuyd was born in 1660, his father being

¹ Read before the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, at 20, Hanover Square, on 7th February 1907. Chairman, Professor Rhys, M.A., LL.D., Principal of Jesus College, Oxford.

Edward Lloyd, of Llanvorda, near Oswestry, and his mother Bridget Pryse, of Glanfraed, one of the many seats then occupied by members of the ancient house of Gogerddan. His father was an ardent loyalist. For church and king he fought and suffered. Contributions to the royal cause and the sequestration of his estates impoverished him. What remained of his property slipped through his fingers, for, though an able and versatile man, he was eccentric and dissolute. During the Protectorate he was forced to go into hiding, on one occasion seeking shelter at Gogerddan. Once he found refuge in a remote part of Carnarvonshire. While at Gogerddan he met Bridget Pryse. A marriage was arranged but did not take place.

Cardiganshire has always claimed the honour of being the birth-place of Edward Lhuyd. A MS. in the Llanstephan collection robs the county of this distinction. In this MS., a book used by Lhuyd and his assistants during their travels, occurs the following note:—

“Mr. Edward Lhuyd was born at Lappiton parish, his nurse is now living at Krew green (where he was nurs'd) 9 y^r of her at Mrs. Judith Cowfield at Lappiton his nurse says he is 41 years old 8 days before Michaelmas last according to Catherine Bowen, his nurse, to y^c best of her memory.”¹

In his ninth year Lhuyd probably entered Oswestry Grammar School, and it is not unlikely that he taught in it, as he was in his twenty-second year when he went up to Oxford. Many of his vacations, I have no doubt, he spent in North Cardiganshire, for a close connexion always existed between him and his maternal relatives. In the Bodleian collection of letters written to Lhuyd are several from the Pryses, one interesting little batch being those from Elizabeth Pryse, a sister of his mother's; their homely contents are a pleasant change from the sober and learned

¹ Llanstephan MS. 185, p. 120.

matter of most of the correspondence. With a few written by Sage Lloyd, another relative, they provide the only feminine element in the very numerous Lhuyd MSS.

Lhuyd entered Jesus in 1682. At no period has the College been more interesting or more national. It was highly esteemed in the University, Oxford was intensely loyalist, and the sacrifices of "the gallant little . . . Welsh College" during the Civil War and the Commonwealth were not forgotten. Its undergraduates were drawn from all classes of Welsh society. Many of its members occupied prominent positions in church and state.¹

"It is something remarkable", says Robert Wynne, Chancellor of St. Asaph, "that when Dr. Maurice began to flourish, upon his admission to his post at Lambeth, there were about the same time a considerable number of eminent men of the Principality of Wales preferred to fill the great offices in church and state, most of them bred up at Jesus College, insomuch, that I well remember it to be observed, it could be said then, that the last Archbishop, Dr. Dolben, of York; the last Bishop, Dr. Lloyd, of St. Asaph; the last Dean, Dr. Humphreys, of Bangor; the last Archbishop's Chaplain, Dr. Maurice; the last Lord Chancellor of England, Sir George Jeffreys; the last Secretary of State, Sir Leoline Jenkins; the last Lord Chief Justice, Sir Thomas Jones; the last Master of the Rolls, Sir John Trevor; and the last Speaker of the House of Commons, Sir Wm. Williams, that had been made, were Welshmen."²

For five years Lhuyd resided in Jesus. That his means were slender there can be little doubt, for within a

¹ *Register of the Visitors of the University of Oxford*, ed. by M. Burrows, Intro., p. cxvi.

² "Memoirs of the Life of Henry Maurice, D.D."; *Cambrian Register*, 1799, p. 268.

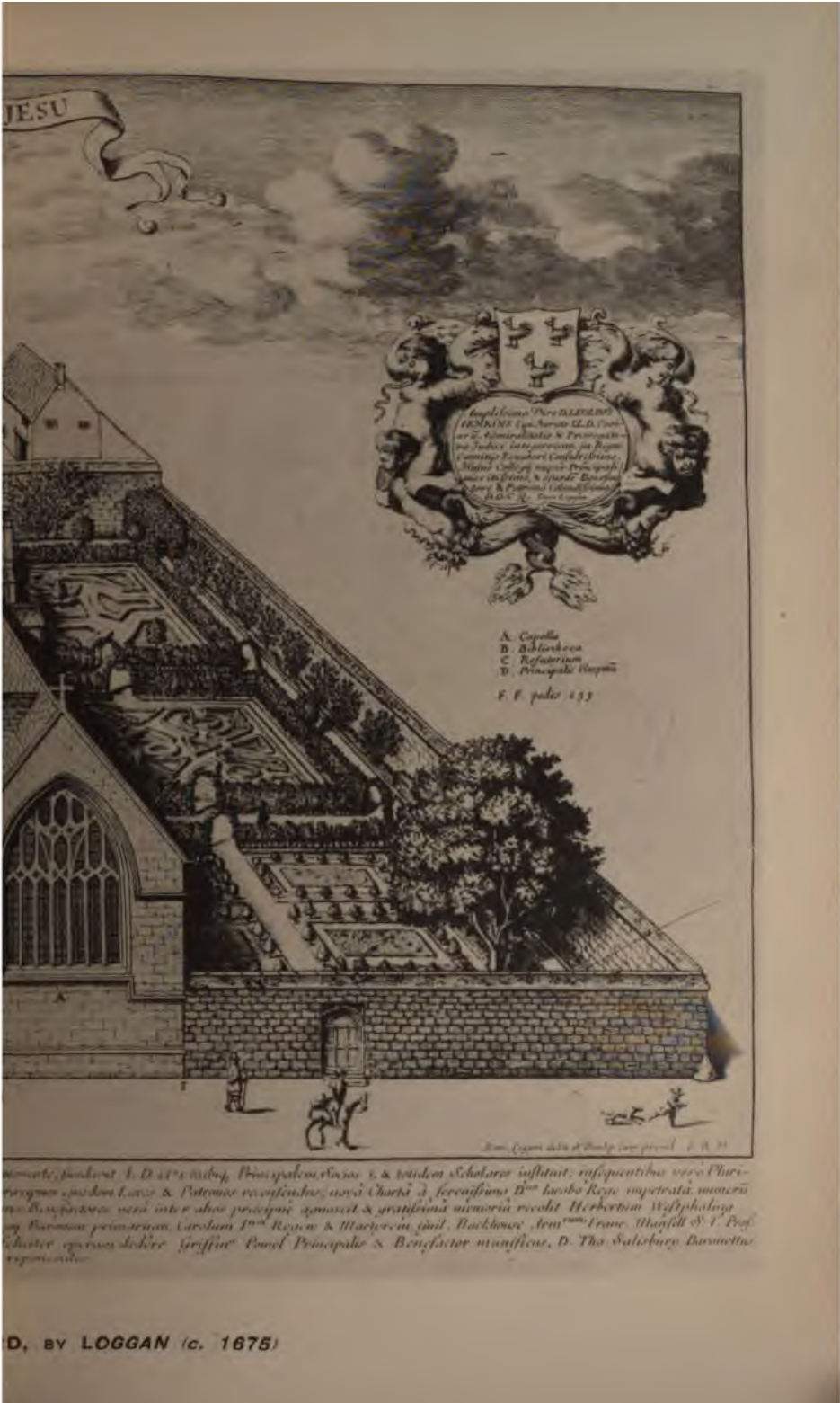
short time of his matriculation he became an assistant at the Ashmolean Museum, and "Register of the Chymicall courses of ye Laboratory", posts which an undergraduate would not occupy who enjoyed anything like a competent income. His tutor was Dr. Plot, the Professor of Chemistry and first Keeper of the Museum. Poverty, which so often benumbs and depresses the scholar, was an incentive to Lhuyd; he threw himself with eagerness into a bewildering number of studies—chemistry and botany, geology, anatomy and philology, to mention only a few. Endowed with unusual physical strength, and gifted with remarkable powers of application, before the close of the eighth year of his residence in Oxford, his industry and talents had brought him distinction in many of the subjects he studied, and had gained him the friendship of men whose names are still great in English learning.

But Lhuyd was no recluse, no mere book-worm. He had his set and enjoyed their company. Welshmen of Jesus they were mostly, but not exclusively—a healthy, happy lot, who often caught his enthusiasm for natural history and antiquities. Parsons, or schoolmasters, or doctors they became as a rule. Echoes of their jollity are heard in the old College nicknames which they gave each other, and which they loved to use in their letters years after they had left Oxford, "Cardo", "Pedro", "Veteran", "Chronic", "Welsh Shentleman", are some of them. "Honest Gabriel", they called Lhuyd. They proved faithful friends; they followed his career with admiration; they never failed him when he had need of their help in his researches. They were not brilliant. Some of them on leaving Oxford did good, unobtrusive work in local botany, geology, and archæology; others suffered for their non-juring principles. More interesting, from a literary point of view, are the undergraduates of later periods who



Elizabetha Regina B. M. Collegium Iesu in hac urbe, sollicitate Henrici Præsi R. D. quibus præ iacobum præ
 vicarium Clericæ & Religionis præ consulentium Despectuibus D. Eubank Thomall Equ. Auc. et gardem
 Pincernam & Robertum abbatem de hinc anticharem: adeo ut hoc Collegium habeat unumquemque Præsidem, Sacros
 Episcopum Henricum, infensum, Jul. Richardum Ep. Bannockburnem, D. Tho. Wynne militem, D. Joh. Walter Servicentem
 & Præsidem. Hoc Collegium, licet hoc seculo non defuit sine Summis & Celebratis Homine, ut
 Tho. Tho. et J. præ. Despectibus, una cum fratre suo Jacobo Howard pauca quædam, ut reliqua successit, utp

VIEW OF JESUS COLLE





gathered round Lhuyd: Erasmus Saunders, Ellis Wynne, William Gambold, Edward Samuel, and Moses Williams being the best known.

Elias Ashmole inherited John Tradescant's Museum. This collection, much enriched with his own additions, he offered to the University of Oxford on condition that it would erect a suitable building. The University accepted the offer, and built "a large and stately Pile of squared stone", finding "such a Building necessary, in order to the promoting, and carrying on with greater ease and success, several parts of useful and curious Learning".¹ The Museum was opened on the 21st of May 1683. Lhuyd was one of its first assistants, and was connected with the institution until his death, which took place in one of its chambers in 1709. Chamberlayne thus describes the building:—

"It consists of ten Rooms, whereof the three principal and largest are publick, being each in length about 56 Feet, and in Breadth 25. The uppermost is properly the *Musæum Ashmoleanum*, where an Inferior Officer always attends, to shew the Rarities to Strangers. The middle Room is the School of Natural History, where the Professor of Chymistry . . . Reads 3 times a Week. . . . The lower Room . . . is the Laboratory, perchance one of the most beautiful and useful in the World, furnished with all sorts of Furnaces, and all other necessary Materials, in order to use and practise. . . . Near adjoining to the Laboratory are two fair Rooms, whereof one is designed for a Chymical Library. . . . the other is made use of as a Store-room for Chymical preparations, where such as stand in need of them, are furnished at easie rates: the design of this building being not only to advance the Studies of true and real Philosophy, but also to Conduce to the uses of Life, and the improvement of Medicine. Near the *Musæum* is a handsome Room fitted for a Library of Natural History and Philosophy.

"The other remaining Rooms, are the lodging Chamber,

¹ Edward Chamberlayne: *Present State of England*, pt. ii (1684), p. 325.

and Studies of the Keeper of the *Museum*, whereof one, which is most convenient, is sometimes employed and made use of for private courses of Anatomy."¹

The opening of the Ashmolean Museum, and the enthusiasm which it infused into the study of what was then called the New Philosophy, had as one of its results the foundation of the Oxford Philosophical Society.

Chamberlayne writes as follows :—

“There is also in this famous University lately established a Society, by the name of the *Philosophical Society*, for the Improvement of real and experimental Philosophy. In order to the better carrying on this generous and useful design, they have settled a Correspondence with the Royal Society at *London*; of which several of them are Fellows, and with the Society at *Dublin in Ireland*, lately Established there for the same good purpose.”²

Among the members were Dr. John Wallis, Dr. Ralph Bathurst, Dr. Edward Bernard, and Dr. Plot, who was director of the experiments.

The Society's book of minutes has been preserved, and its pages supply the earliest information with regard to Lhuyd's academic career. Many of the entries describe discoveries made by him and curiosities which he brought for the examination of the members. I am tempted to give the following minute, for, apart from its Welsh interest, it is the earliest record of his research. The account of the experiment, too, is the first of the many papers he contributed to the *Philosophical Transactions*.

“A sheet of paper was praesented y^e Society, made of y^e Asbestus-stone, by Mr. Lloyd, Register to the Chymicall courses of y^e Laboratory of Oxford. The Paper was made thus :—

“Mr. Lloyd received a Parcell of this stone from the Isle

¹ Edward Chamberlayne: *Present State of England*, part ii (1684), p. 327.

² *Ibid.*, p. 328.

of Anglessey, part of which he pounded (crude as it was) and carrying it to a Paper-mill, had it mixt with water in their troughs for y^t purpose, then taken up, like their other matter for paper, it ran together. But y^e lint being heavy, and quickly subsiding, they were forc^t to stirr it often, and be very Quick in their operation. It was thought it might be made much finer and whiter, if it could be made stronger and tough, so as to be fit for any use."¹

Until 1691, the year of his appointment to the keepership, Lhuyd's position at the Museum was not a happy one. It was undignified and unremunerative, it gave him little liberty; and confinement to a man of his eager and active mind was irksome, even exasperating, for it was a period of great discoveries in botany, geology, and, indeed, in many branches of archæology. Even the man of untrained mind and inexperienced hand might go forth and glean many treasures. Tethered to the Museum, Lhuyd often became restive and yearned to be rambling and searching. Scientists and scientific societies were accustomed at this time to send naturalists into foreign countries to collect specimens. Several times Lhuyd was on the point of being so employed, once by the Botanic Club in London, "to make discoveries of plants in the Canaries", on another occasion in the West Indies by Lord Portland, "that Honourable Mæcenas of vegetable improvement" so Leonard Plukenet calls him. Each time he was disappointed, wars and rumours of wars being the impediments. Checked again and again, Lhuyd's impatience breaks out at last: "I wish", he writes to Martin Lister, "you could send me packing somewhere."

But it was Lhuyd's lot to be satisfied with rambles in England and Wales, with travels in Scotland and Ireland, and, instead of being engaged, to employ others. For the Museum and the purposes of his own research specimens

¹ MS. Ashm. 1810, fol. 74.

were necessary. To find them he explored the country about Oxford. In a few years he had so searchingly examined the district within a radius of twenty miles, that in one letter he mentions his having visited a local quarry more than forty times. Lhuyd was often accompanied in his excursions by undergraduates whom he tutored, sometimes by English or foreign scholars visiting Oxford. He had interesting assistants; a personal survey being often impossible, he taught little village children to look for specimens, giving them pennies for their finds. A very skilful helper was Ned Cousins, a Jesus College cook. He trained labourers and artisans; "I have made", he writes, "two or three country fellows excellent Lithoscopists." Some of these rustics became pensioners, Bishop Nicolson, Dr. Lister, and other naturalists contributing, with Lhuyd, to a fund which provided salaries enabling these men to leave their work and take long journeys in search of specimens.

Lhuyd succeeded Plot in 1690. The keepership gave him greater freedom. It was now possible for him to leave the Museum for a week's or a fortnight's ramble. He was not slow to take advantage of the liberty the appointment gave him. In April of 1691 he went a journey of nine days with two Danish travellers, not a very profitable ramble, as progress was very slow, one of the Danes not having been on horseback before. In August of the same year he "tables" himself at Cirencester. In November he is in Gloucestershire again. These journeys were taken more particularly in search of fossils. It was in Wales that Lhuyd made most of his discoveries in botany, a study which he probably began under his father, before he went up to Oxford, while his acquaintance with fossils dated only from the time the task of arranging the specimens in the Museum was intrusted to him.



THE ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM.

From "Memorials of Oxford," by James Ingram, D.D., Vol. III, 1837.

In 1693 two London booksellers, Swalle and Churchil, were induced to publish an edition of Camden's *Britannia*. Lhuyd's friend, Edmund Gibson, then of Queen's College, subsequently Bishop of London, accepted the editorship. To the counties as left by Camden it was decided to furnish notes. John Ray, John Evelyn, Samuel Pepys, Sir Jonathan Trelawney, and White Kennet, among others, promised additions. In May Swalle visited Oxford "to make choice of some persons as commentators".¹ On Gibson's suggestion, Lhuyd was asked to supply notes for the North Welsh Shires. He offered to "doe something for two or three counties", and selected Denbighshire, Merionethshire, and Montgomeryshire.¹ His choice is interesting, the counties being those with which he was best acquainted. Swalle found others to undertake the remaining counties. But these scholars "imagining some difficulty in it . . . altered their thoughts". In his disappointment Swalle turned to Lhuyd; Lhuyd distrusted the publishers, he had not too readily undertaken the three counties. However, after consideration, he sent Swalle a very modest proposal: "I have", he writes, "offer'd to doe all Wales; & to take a journey speedily quite through it, for ten pounds in hand; and twenty copies of y^c Book, when it shall be publish'd."² Lhuyd, in letters to friends, gives reasons for his decision. To John Lloyd, head master of Ruthin Grammar School, he writes: "If what we doe now, will prove worth acceptance; something more material may be attempted hereafter, especially if some of our more judicious and learned Gentm. shall be disposed to favour it."³ To Martin Lister: "Because upon this occasion I may pick up some materials from y^c Gentry and Clergy which may prove usefull an other time;"⁴ and

¹ MS. Lister 36, fol. 51.

² MS. Lister 36, fol. 59.

³ *Arch. Camb.* for 1848, p. 244.

⁴ MS. Lister 36, fol. 51.

again to Lister: "If I gain any credit by this: its not unlikely but our Gentry may be hereafter willing to encourage something more considerable."¹

Swalle was not generous. He offered five pounds and ten copies. Could he have done so with any decency, he would have excluded the Welsh counties from the edition. Lhuyd says, "They care not how little is done for that country." To the publishers, therefore, his offer to journey through Wales seemed ridiculous; that he should require information other than what could be found in the Bodleian and other Oxford libraries absurd. Indeed, Lhuyd writes, "Mr. Swall . . . and Mr. Churchill did not require I should put myself to y^e trouble & expences of a journey into Wales."² Lhuyd anticipated the methods of present-day research in many ways, but in none more than in his determination always to consult authorities at first-hand, whether they were written on vellum or cut in stone. Slipshod work such as the publishers required was to him impossible. Moreover, he was irritated by their meanness, and accordingly informed Swalle that if he could not accept his proposal "he would break off." The publishers must have agreed, for in the middle of August Lhuyd rode out of Oxford for Monmouthshire and South Wales. His tour being necessarily hurried, he was forced to narrow the scope of his enquiry; his observations were therefore mostly archæological. "I afforded", he tells Lister, "litle or no time to search after natural curiosities".³ From districts he could not visit, he received information in reply to queries.

Of the notes that were sent to them the publishers wished to print only a selection. The contributors were

¹ MS. Lister 36, fol. 98.

² *Arch. Camb.* for 1848, p. 309.

³ MS. Lister 36, fol. 68.

indignant. White Kennet recalled his, and Jonathan Edwards, the Principal of Jesus, advised Lhuyd to follow his example, and to make a book of his additions. He left the matter in the Editor's hands. Gibson pressed for their insertion, and they were printed in their entirety, to Nicolson's delight, who had written to Gibson urging him to include all Lhuyd's notes. But Lhuyd's troubles with the publishers were not over. In their proposals they had stated that each county of England would be preceded by a map. Lhuyd, with others, took England to include Wales. Swalle and Churchil thought the term was not so comprehensive, for two maps only, one for North and one for South Wales, were sent to Lhuyd for correction. His patriotism was wounded, and he refused to have anything to do with them, with the result that readers found the Welsh maps as faulty as those of the English counties. Lhuyd sent Gibson the last of his notes and translations on September 13th, 1694. The new edition was published in the following year. When Gibson received the additions to Monmouthshire and the six South Welsh counties, he wrote to Lhuyd: "Your Counties came safe to hand, and, without flattery, are done like a Gentleman & a scholar."¹ Hearne, referring to the additions, remarks: "But excepting what y^e Learned Mr. Llhuyd of y^e Ashmolean Museum did there is nothing of any great moment appearing throughout the whole Book."² And in 1722, the year of Gibson's second edition: "And indeed I have often heard Mr. Edward Lhuyd say that, tho' he was often importuned & solicited to make Additions to, & Alterations in, w^t he had done abt Wales, yet he would not add or alter anything, but y^t, if w^t he

¹ MS. Ashm. 1815, fol. 84.

² Hearne's *Collections* (O. H. S.), vol. i, p. 217.

had done were reprinted, it should be done just as before. Upon which account I value the 1st Ed., looking upon Mr. Lhuyd's Account of Wales to be the very best Part of all the Additions."¹

Lhuyd hoped that his contributions to the *Britannia* would induce the Welsh gentry "to encourage something more considerable". He was not disappointed.² "I find", he writes in a letter to Lister, "I have got some credit by Camden in Wales"; and to John Lloyd, of Ruthin:—

"Some gentlemen in Glamorganshire have invited me to undertake a *Natural History of Wales*; with an offer of an annual pension from their County of about ten pounds for the space of seven years; to enable me to travail, &c., but I know not how the gentry of other countrey's [*sic*] stand affected. If the like encouragement would be allow'd from each county, I could very willingly spend the remainder of my days in that employment: and begin to travail next spring. Nor should I onely regard the Natural History of the countrey, but also the antiquities and anything else (as far as may be consistent with my capacity) which my Lord of Bangor and other competent judges shall think convenient to be undertaken."³

Stimulated by this invitation, Lhuyd, during the summer of 1695, drew up "a design", and laid it before John Ray, Martin Lister, the Bishop of Bangor, the Principal of Jesus, and other learned friends in England and Wales. All were encouraging, promised him support, and urged him to make it public. Accordingly, in September he writes: "I intend to print some short acct. of it on half a sheet; but must first advise with Dr. Edwards."⁴ The Principal of Jesus was at his parsonage in Hampshire. On his return the proposal was printed, it is entitled:—⁵

¹ MS. Hearne 94, fol. 153.

² MS. Lister 3, fol. 144.

³ *Arch. Camb.* for 1860, p. 179.

⁴ *Camb. Quart. Mag.*, 1833, p. 279.

⁵ MS. Ashm. 1820, fol. 228.

“A DESIGN

Of a British Dictionary, Historical & Geographical ;
With an Essay entitl'd, 'Archæologia Britannica' ;
And a Natural History of Wales.

By Edward Lhwyd, Keeper of the Ashmolean Repository in Oxford.”

Lhuyd thus unfolds his scheme :—

“ Being invited by some persons of Quality and Learning, to attempt something farther in the Antiquities and Natural History of Wales than hath been yet perform'd ; and also finding my self more inclin'd and (as I presume) better qualified for an Employment of that kind than any other ; I have here made bold to offer some proposals towards such a Design : to the end that if the Works above mention'd, may seem conducive to the advancement of Learning, and worthy of the Favour and Encouragement of those amongst the Nobility and Gentry whom it more immediatly concerns, I may forthwith resolve on the undertaking ; or desist, in case they shall appear otherwise.”

Having described his projected works, he continues :—

“ Thus I have given a Scheme of what seems to me at present most likely to find acceptance amongst the Learned and Ingenious ; but this I offer with submission to those of greater judgement and experience ; and shall be very ready in case I undertake the performance, to admit of any Alteration or Amendment (agreeable with my capacity) which the majority of persons so qualified shall think requisit. Now in order to the performance of what is here propos'd, 'twill be necessary to travail Wales at least four or five summers : and likewise to make one journey into Cornwall, and an other into Irland or the Highlands of Scotland, for parallel observations, as to their Language, their names of Towns, Rivers, Mountains, &c., it being certain that the want of such actual surveying, hath been in all Ages the occasion of much error and ignorance, in writings of this Nature. Dureing these Travails I propose to myself the collecting materials for each work ; but shall endeavour to prepare the Dictionary for the Presse within the Space of five years, and the Archæologia within two years after at farthest. As to the Natural History, I can set no time for its publication, as not being able to guesse how tedious it may prove ; &

having some thought of writeing it in Latin and publishing it in several sections apart.

“But before we engage in a Work so very tedious & expensive, it seems necessary to understand, what encouragement we are to depend upon; since nothing of this kind hath been undertaken (nor indeed could well succeed) in any Countrey, without such an assurance. It's well known, no kind of writing requires more expences and Fatigue, than that of Natural History and Antiquities; it being impossible to perform any thing accuratly in those Studies, without much travailing, and diligent Searching, as well the most desert Rocks and Mountains, as the more frequented Valleys and Plains. The Caves, Mines, and Quarries must be pry'd into, as well as the outward Surface of the Earth; nor must we have less regard to the Creatures of the Sea, Lakes and Rivers, than those of the Air and Dry Land. But 'tis not the Expences of travailing we are only to regard; the charges of the Figures or Draughts of such new Discoveries as will ocure, must needs be much more considerable; not to mention that a Correspondence as extensive as we can settle it, must be maintain'd with the Curious in these Studies, and such new Books purchas'd, as are pertinent to our Design; and that Labourers (especially in Mines and Quarries) are to be rewarded for preserving such things, as they shall be directed to take notice of.

“Upon these Considerations I hope it will not be thought profuse Liberality (provided those who are competent Judges approve of the Design) if an Annual Pension be allowd towards it, by such Gentlemen as are of their own free choice, inclin'd to promote it, for the space of five years the Money to be deliverd on the first of March or any time that month, into the hands of some Friends in each County, who are pleas'd to take upon them the trouble of returning it. And if this [Proposal] finds Acceptance, my Request is that those Gentlemen who are pleas'd to further the Undertaking, would subscribe their names to this Paper, adding how much they are dispos'd to contribute yearly. And if what is subscrib'd seems to answer these considerations; my design is (with God's permission) to begin travailing next March.

“I am very sensible that such an Encouragement is much above my merit, neither can I promise my Patrons, a Performance (if it please God I may live to go thorow with it) any thing adequat to their Generosity. But whatever shall

be the successe, I intend not to spare either Labour or Charges: and being engaged in no Profession, nor oblig'd to constant attendance in my present Station, nor at all confin'd with the care of any Family, I shall have litle else to mind, but to endeavour the performance of this Task to my own credit, and the Satisfaction of the Gentlemen who shall think fit to employ me."

Lhuyd published his Proposals in November. Before the end of the year they had been widely dispersed in London, and parcels of them had reached all parts of Wales. Martin Lister took them to the Royal Society, to the Houses of Parliament, and to Court. Dean Hickee distributed them among the more learned of the clergy. Through Thomas Mansel, Francis Gwyn, and "Peter Evans of the Old Bayly", they reached "the Parliament men of Wales and the citizens of that country" resident in the metropolis. Lhuyd's friends in Wales were no less active. Refusals were many—not a few objections were raised, the most frequent being the length of time that Lhuyd stated would be necessary for the travels and the publication of his books. But on the whole the appeal was successful. Early in December he informs Lister that he is assured of £30 annually. But it appears that his friends were often satisfied with mere promises, and did not present the papers for subscription. Consequently many contributions were lost. In February Lhuyd decided to employ "a solicitor (one Thomas of Bernard's Inn) as his agent". Thomas was very successful. In March Lhuyd writes: "I was surprised at y^e Catalogue he sent me of two and forty Subscribers being double y^e number I expected."

Pleased with the results of his appeal, Lhuyd decided to spend the coming summer travelling in Wales. The object of his journey he explained in a letter written on his return. "I think", he says, "I have taken the best

¹ MS. Lister 36, fol. 150.

course the first year to ramble as far as conveniently I could, in order to inform myself what help I may expect from Manuscripts, &c., in general." Lhuyd left Oxford for North Wales at the end of April. On the 23rd he writes to Lister: "Sr. if you have any commands before I set out, be pleas'd to write within two or three days after this comes to hand: otherwise I know not how a letter will find me til y^e first of June at which time I have engaged to meet a Gentleman at Mr. Morgan's House, Scholemaster, at Bangor in Caernarvonshire."¹ His appointment was with Richard Richardson, of North Bierley, who had arranged to botanize with him in the Snowdon district. At Bangor, too, was Bishop Humphreys. "My L^d of Bangor", he writes on his return to Oxford, "was extraordinary obliging; and is incomparably the best skill'd in our Antiquities of any person in Wales. He gave me leave to take a catalogue of his MSS. which thô considerable enough are yet much inferior to the Collection at Hengwrt, which I take to be the most valuable in its kind anywhere extant."² From Bangor he went to Hengwrt. At this time Howel Vaughan had not taken up the unreasonable attitude towards his "study" which he assumed subsequently. Unfortunately Lhuyd's time was short on this journey, and he was able to take but a hurried view of the MSS. On September 14th he was at Swansea, whence he sent Dr. Mill, Principal of St. Edmund Hall, a copy of the Eliseg inscription: "I have here presum'd to trouble you with a copy of an inscription, which amongst several others I met with this summer in North Wales." From Swansea also he sent Dr. Tancred Robinson an account of his "successe," botanical and other specimens accompany-

¹ MS. Lister 36, fol. 154.

² *Arch. Camb.* for 1859, p. 166.

³ *MSS. Relating to Wales in B. M.*, p. 410 (Cymm. Record Series).

ing the letter. In acknowledging the gift Dr. Robinson says: "I receiv'd your rich cargo from Swanzey, which is sufficient for a volume according to the measure and proportion of some late Writers." It has not been easy to follow in Lhuyd's footsteps, there being few references to this journey, but its extent may be gathered from a passage taken out of the letter referred to above. The letter, which is dated "Oxf^d. Oct. 25, 96", begins, "It's high time to let you know I am as yet amongst y^e living: thò I have leasure to say little more at present. I am return'd to Oxford about a fortnight since having rambl'd (very much to my satisfaction) through 8 or 9 counties."

The appeal for subscriptions was distasteful to Lhuyd—it hurt his pride. But without assistance the travels on which his research depended were impossible. Unwillingly, therefore, he asked for the aid that was indispensable. Lest, however, any help should be given grudgingly, he begged his friends to be careful that the Proposals should reach hands "that are proper", in other words, that only the patriotic, the learned, and "such as have good estates and will readily assent" should receive them.

But the issue of another set of papers gave him pleasure. These were the Queries which were published in December 1690. They are entitled:—

PAROCHIAL QUERIES

In Order to a

Geographical Dictionary, A Natural History, &c., of *Wales*.

By the Undertaker E. L.³

Lhuyd thus explains their purpose:—

"Having Publish'd some Proposals towards a Survey of

¹ MS. Eng. Hist. xi, fol. 80.

² *Arch. Camb.* for 1859, p. 166.

³ MS. Ashm. 1820, fol. 76.

Wales, and met with sufficient Encouragement from the Gentry of that Country, and several others, Lovers of such Studies; to enable me (with God's Permission) to Undertake it: I thought it necessary for the easier and more effectual Performance of so tedious a Task, to Print the following *Queries*; having good Grounds to hope the Gentry and Clergy (since they are pleas'd to afford me so Generous an Allowance towards it) will also readily contribute their Assistance, as to Information; and the Use of their Manuscripts, Coyns, and other Monuments of Antiquity: The Design being so extraordinary difficult without such Helps, and so easily improvable thereby. Nor would I have any imagine, that by Publishing these *Queries*, I design to spare my self the least Labour of Travelling the Country, but on the contrary be assured, I shall either come my self, or send one of my Assistants into each Parish throughout *Wales*, and all those in *Shropshire* and *Herefordshire*, where the Language and the Ancient Names of Places are still retain'd: And that with all the Speed, so particular a Survey will admit of. My Request therefore to such as are desirous of Promoting the Work, is, That after each *Query*, they would please to write on the blank Paper, (or elsewhere if room be wanting) their Reports; confining themselves, unless the Subject shall require otherwise, to that Parish only where they inhabit; and distinguishing always betwixt Matter of Fact, Conjecture, and Tradition. Nor will any, I hope, omit such Informations as shall occur to their Thoughts, upon Presumption, they can be of little use to the Undertaker, or the Publick, or because they have not leisure to write down their Observations so regularly as they desire: Seeing that what we sometimes judge insignificant, may afterwards upon some Application unthought of, appear very useful; and that a regular and compleat Account of Things is not here so much expected, as short Memorials, and some Directions in order to a further *Enquiry*."

Then follow the *Queries*; they are divided into two sections—in the first are "Queries in order to the Geography, and Antiquities of the Country," in the second, "Queries towards the Natural History." The first part contains sixteen, the second thirty-one questions. They are of a searching character, enquiry being pushed in all

directions. Following each query is a blank space to contain the reply. Lhuyd concludes :—

“Having thus propounded what *Queries* occur to my Thoughts; nothing remains, but that I own to the Publick, that in case this Paper meets with a kind Reception (as from this last Summer's Travels, I have great Hopes it may) if the Undertaking be ill perform'd, 'twill be wholly my own Fault; the Gentry of the Country having in all Respects done more than their Part, and afforded such an Encouragement towards it, as might sufficiently requite the Labours of a Person far better Qualified for such a *Design*: But of this, a particular Account (as is necessary) shall be given hereafter. So I shall only add here; that as to these *Queries*, besides *Wales*, I entreat the favourable Assistance of the Gentry and Clergy in those other Countries mention'd in the former Proposals: And that in all Places, they who are dispos'd to further the Design, would please to communicate this Paper where they think fit, amongst their Neighbours; interpreting some *Queries* to those of the Vulgar, whom they judge Men of Veracity, and capable of giving any the least Information towards it, that may be pertinent and instructive.”

Then follows this recommendation :—

“*We judge Mr. Lhwyd Qualified for this Undertaking; and that he cannot want proper Materials towards it, if (as an Addition to his own Industry) he receives such Answers to these Queries, as can be conveniently return'd from each Parish.*”

“JOHN WALLIS. MARTIN LISTER.

“EDWARD BERNARD. JOHN RAY.”

The name of Bishop Humphreys is absent. Lhuyd explains the omission, “My L^d of Bangor's name ought to have been subscribed amongst the approvers: but I could not conveniently send him the paper as not knowing whither to direct to him: and I was unwilling to print his name without his leave.”

Four thousand “*Queries*” were printed for dispersion in

¹ *Arch. Camb.* for 1859, p. 167.

Wales and Cornwall. To John Lloyd of Ruthin, Lhuyd writes: "I can afford three to a parish; or more or less as occasion requires; besides a sufficient number for Cornwall, &c."

Lhuyd did not at this time contemplate journeys in both Scotland and Ireland. The decision to visit Brittany was not arrived at until he was in Cornwall in the autumn of 1700. When he found it possible to include Ireland and Scotland in his travels he sent Queries for dispersion in the two countries. Before the end of February parcels had been sent to every district of Wales. The means of transit are interesting. Carriers took most of them. Sometimes when so conveyed they missed their destination or were rifled. Many packets were franked by the Bishop of Bangor and the Welsh members of Parliament; travellers passing through Oxford, and undergraduates leaving for the country took bundles. From "Oxf^d. St. Steven's d. 96," he writes to John Lloyd: "I had y^r L^r just now; and had observ'd the very same method you advise me to, about a week since. For I sent by Mr. K. Eaton a parcel of Queries to Mr. Price of Wrexham, with a great many more to your worship directed to be left wth y^r B^r, half a dozen to Chancellor Wyn (from his brother William) a dozen to Dick Jones, the like number betw. Ken. Eytyn and his Father; two to Mr. Humphreys of Maerdy, four to your brother David; and about 50 to the parson of Dolgelheu. His fellow traveller Mr. John Davies took with him a good parcel for Anglesey, and about a douzen to the Schoolmaster of Bangor."¹ Like the Proposals, the Queries were generally addressed to the clergy and schoolmasters. To the latter dispersion was easy, for their boys took them to their homes when leaving for their holidays. John Lloyd writes: "My scholars

¹ *Arch. Camb.* for 1859, p. 166.

were scatter'd all but 3 before y^e receipt of yr Last, those have taken each a Copie wth y^m." At the end of the next term every pupil must have carried a sheet, for their master in another letter writes: "I have dispersed yr Paper of Directions far and wide."

By 1691 Lhuyd's collection of fossils was so considerable that he decided to publish a catalogue of such as had been found in the neighbourhood of Oxford. He informed John Ray of his intention, in which the latter warmly encouraged him. "Your design", he replied, "of publishing a Catalogue of formed stones I doe very much like and approve of. . . I know no man so fit for such an undertaking as your self." At the same time he suggested that Lhuyd should not confine himself to an area so narrow, but should make the Catalogue wide enough to include fossils found throughout England, a suggestion which Lhuyd acted upon. To enlarge the list it was necessary to make excursions into districts hitherto unexplored, and "to establish a correspondence" with fossilists in different parts of the country. The publication of the Catalogue was accordingly long postponed.

In February 1695 Dr. Tancred Robinson, who was distributing Proposals through Ray, urged Lhuyd to print his Catalogue. "Another piece of Advice", he writes, "I wish you would be pleased to recommend to Mr. Lhuyd . . . is the immediate publishing of that usefull Synopsis of figured stones & Fossill[s] whole w^{ch} he hath by him for the Presse. This would be a reall specimen of his Abilities in natural History, and his intentions to gratifie the world with his Discoveries of Products of that kind." This "piece of Advice" was given because the malicious Dr. Woodward was going about London suggesting that

¹ MS. Ashm. 1829, fol. 174.

² MS. Eng. Hist. c. xi, fol. 47.

³ MS. Eng. Hist. c. xi, fol. 54.

the delay was due to incompetence. Lhuyd had not intended so long a postponement, but the Notes for Camden and the Cataloguing of important Collections bequeathed to the Museum and other duties had caused the delay. While the Queries were being distributed Lhuyd left Oxford for Marcham, a neighbouring village. On January 30th, 1697, he writes to Lister: "I have been retired hither ever since I writ last, in order to transcribe my Catalogue of Stones, which I now promise to send you by the beginning of March."¹ And again to Lister from Oxford on March 16th: "Next Monday I shall send you my *Lithophylacii Britannici Ichnographia*, for so I think to entitle the collection of my figured stones. I desire you would please to correct what you find amisse in the Phrase, and also communicat it to Dr. Robinson and Mr. Ray; from both of whom I would beg the same kindnesse."²

In a letter from Caldy Island in February 1698, Lhuyd petitioned the University to publish the Catalogue; he had been led to hope that they were disposed to print it. In the letter which contains his request he trusts that his application will be successful, "in Regard it contains the Grounds of a new Science in Natural History; and is the Result of many years' Searches & Observations."³ His appeal was not successful. The MS. was then offered to some of the London publishers—it was refused. "They will not medle with it," he writes. He thought of "venturing it at his own charges," but that proved impossible, Lhuyd being until his death a poor man. To invite subscriptions would be indiscreet. Even those promised towards his travels were but slowly coming in, while many had been withdrawn. It looked as if the publication of

¹ MS. Lister 36, fol. 170.

² MS. Lister 36, fol. 176.

³ MS. Ashm. 1816, fol. 62.

his fifteen years' research would be indefinitely postponed. How two distinguished Englishmen, Sir Hans Sloane and Samuel Pepys, delivered Lhuyd from the indifference of his University and the hostility of the publishers, one of them shall relate. Writing on July 4th, 1698, to Dr. Charlett, Master of University College, Sloane says:—

“ . . . Mr. Pepys and I drank yr health this day after & before a great deale of serious discourse on the project about getting the mastery of those who would (and will if not speedily prevented) ruine most good books that are proposd to be printed. There is no question to be made that the thing is easy to be done. Wee have in $\frac{1}{4}$ of an hour order'd Mr. Floid's book of form'd stones to be printed here w^t many cuts. That is to say on the first proposall ten of us subscribed to take of each ten copies at the first cost, provided only 120 were printed 20 of which are designed for the author. So we shall make our books worth double the value & be obligd to or putt on by no body. Wee shall also have a thing we like & not lett a thing of that kind be lost . . .”¹

Authors were receiving harsh treatment from the publishers at this time. Not satisfied with refusing learned works “they made it their business to damn them when privately put forth.” Readers of the *Glossography* will remember Lhuyd's references to the booksellers. Scholars were very sore at their treatment. Even vindictive feelings were harboured, and a desire to get the better of the publishers was not confined to Pepys, Sloane, and their friends.

Among the ten subscribers were the Lord Chancellor Somers, Lister, Robinson, Sloane and Sir Isaac Newton, then “Mr. Newton of Cambridge”. Lhuyd completed the preface at Montgomery in October 1698. The MS. was sent to Tancred Robinson, who saw it through the press. The *Lithology* appeared with many imperfections. Lhuyd

¹ MS. Ballard 24, fol. 66.

has been accused of carelessness, but the fault was neither his nor Dr. Robinson's; the blame lay with the printers, at whose hands Lhuyd suffered much. The publication of his works throws a strong light on the methods of the contemporary printing-house. The following is one of several complaints from Robinson: "Notwithstanding all possible care the Compositors will commit many gross Mistakes, and will not correct half the Errata made on the Sides. They are an ungovernable race of men; however it is as correct as most Books of the kind."

The distribution of the copies is worthy of remark; ten were sent to Paris, Sloane presented his to scholars in Italy and Germany; five of Lister's went to the Continent; Newton distributed his in Cambridge; Lhuyd gave his to subscribers—generally "to such as are scholars". The book brought him the reputation that Robinson anticipated. On May 14th, 1706, Hearne wrote in his diary:—

"Mr. Edw. Llhwyd being a person who was naturally addicted to ye Study of Plants, Stones, &c., as also Antiquities, he was made by Dr. Plot underkeeper of ye Ashmolean Museum, & upon his Death he became Head-keeper: sometime after w^{ch} his Name became famous, particularly upon Publication of a small Book in 8°. abt Fossiles: w^{ch} is writ in Latin, & has (together with other Things in the Philosophical Transactions) given occasion to Dr. Sloan to say that he thinks Mr. Llhwyd ye best Naturalist now in Europe."²

While engaged on the *Lithology*, Lhuyd was getting ready for his travels. Preparation was not an easy task, and no little foresight was required. The tours were to be taken into remote districts, and to extend over more than three years. Solitary research was impossible—it was necessary that he should have companions. Nothing

¹ MS. Eng. Hist. c. xi, fol. 89.

² Hearne's *Collections* (O. H. S.), vol. i, p. 244.

in Lhuyd's life is more interesting than his employment of youths to assist him in his many studies. The Museum always provided him with two workers—the librarian, and the under-keeper or deputy. For the library skill in palæography was essential, while a considerable knowledge of botany, geology, and antiquities was indispensable to the under-keeper. To qualify themselves for these posts the assistants received tuition from Lhuyd, and under his training often became so proficient as to be able to render him and other scholars valuable assistance in their research. As a rule they were Welsh undergraduates, youths of slender means, to whom the salaries, though small, were welcome.

Besides the assistants, Lhuyd employed "amanuenses" exclusively for his own research. These "scribes" were boys from the Grammar Schools of Wales. Many of the head-masters were friends of Lhuyd's, several of them old Oxford acquaintances who knew his requirements. When a boy of bright parts, but too poor to enter the University, was about to leave school, Lhuyd was informed. The letter describing the boy's character, abilities, and attainments, contained a passage from a Latin author as a specimen of his handwriting, a good hand being essential for the transcription of MSS., which formed an important portion of the boy's work. If Lhuyd had a vacancy, he entered into treaty with the parents or guardians. On their acceptance, the lad was sent up to Oxford, and, if he proved satisfactory, was taken into Lhuyd's employment, receiving for his services tuition and a salary. When of sufficient age he entered a college, being granted aid often on Lhuyd's recommendation. Of these boys and assistants who worked for and studied under Lhuyd several became able naturalists, linguists and antiquaries. The work of Moses Williams is well known;

Hugh Jones died while making important discoveries in Maryland; to David Parry's knowledge of Celtic philology Lhuyd pays a tribute in his *Glossography*; while of William Jones, when introducing him to Dr. Thomas Smith, of the Cotton Library, Lhuyd writes:—

“Oxf^d, June 26,
1701.

“Rev^d Sr

“Finding there are some Welsh Manuscripts & Collections in other Languages relating to Wales, in the Cotton Library; some of which may be pertinent to an Undertaking I am engag'd in: I humbly request your Favour (if it be not unseasonable) of granting Mr. Jones y^e Bearer Access to them. He is very well skill'd in the British & the Manuscripts never so ancient; and if there be any old ones in that Language that you have not a full Account of, he may possibly inform you of their contents. Be pleas'd to excuse this Boldness & Trouble: & what Favour you shew us herein, shall be always gratefully acknowledge[d] by

“R^d Sr
“Y^r most obliged humble
“serv^t Edw. Lhwyd.”¹

Lhuyd foresaw that his possible death before the publication of his books would be frequently raised as an objection by persons asked to subscribe to his Proposal. With the view of removing this difficulty, he informed more than one correspondent that he intended to take into his employment a colleague, who would be so trained that in the event of his death he could complete the works he had undertaken. To Richard Mostyn, of Penbedw, he wrote on November 26th, 1695:—

“There is one very obvious objection, which I have not taken notice of in the paper, because indeed I could not well answer it; and this is, that if it should please God I should dye before either of these books be fitted for the presse, all the encouragement given me would be so much thrown away. In order to provide for such an accident as

¹ MS. Smith 51, fol. 13.

well as I can, I shall endeavour to make choice of a young man of some extraordinary parts and industry for an amanuensis, and shall instruct him (as far as I am capable) in the studies of Natural History and Antiquities, that so he may be qualified not onely to assist me in this undertaking, if it please God I should live to goe throw with it, but perhaps to finish it as well or better than myself. If it should happen otherwise. I have already an eye on one whom I think fit for the purpose, and also very desirous for such an employment. But I could wish the college would be so favourable as to choose him into the Foundation, that so he may have some being to depend upon in regard to these singular studies will never come in his way to preferment, but rather hazard him the reputation of being ignorant in everything else, as we find it too often happens to men that signalize themselves in any one study. I intend to mention it to Dr. Edwards, who is pleas'd to be very active in promoting this design . . ."¹

The young man "of some extraordinary parts and industry" whom Lhuyd had in view was William Rowland, who had migrated from Jesus to Oriel, the college of his cousin and contemporary, Edward Samuel.

In the Autumn of 1695 Rowland left Oxford to take a temporary post in Cambridgeshire while awaiting ordination. When at this place Lhuyd invited him to become an amanuensis and to accompany him on his projected journeys, an invitation which Rowland gladly accepted. He was already a skilful "lithoscopist", and his letters, written in Welsh, English, and Latin, testify to his interest in philology and antiquities. Lhuyd submitted to him a scheme of study, that he might further qualify himself for the travels. Map-drawing and mathematics are amongst the subjects mentioned. Rowland readily consented, and entered upon his work with enthusiasm. "Duw a wnêl ir gwaith ffynnu, ac yno y bydd Gwilym fyw wrth fodd ei galon", he writes in one letter. But keen disappointment

¹ *Cambrian Quarterly Magazine* for 1833, p. 280.

was in store for master and pupil. It was not to be Rowland's lot to participate in Lhuyd's work. Probably his parents were not favourable, and he withdrew in deference to their wishes. There is no record that the college responded to Lhuyd's request that they should "choose him into the Foundation", and his people may have thought that without a scholarship "these singular studies" would "never come in his way to preferment". Whatever the cause, Rowland had to abandon the much cherished project, and he drops out of notice until 1701, when he writes to Lhuyd from Conway, of which parish he had become vicar in that year.

William Rowland's retirement embarrassed Lhuyd, but only temporarily. From Cardigan, on William Gambold's recommendation, came David Parry. In the Museum Lhuyd found two other "followers"—Robert Wynne and William Jones. Wynne was a native of Carnarvonshire, Jones of Merioneth.

Towards the end of April the carrier took into Monmouthshire what Thomas Tanner called Lhuyd's "moving library". Among its contents were magnifying glasses and other instruments, books of reference, and MSS. for collation. In a few days Lhuyd and his scholars left Oxford. He would certainly have preferred to visit Cornwall, and then proceed to Wales, as we may read in a letter to Lister dated Nov. 12th, 1696: "It would be most to my interest to goe to Cornwall next Summer; but having promis'd y^e Gentry of Glamorganshire and Carmarthenshire (where I have the greatest number of subscribers) to survey those countreys with all convenient speed, I find myself obliged to make that my first businesse."¹

Except in the letters written to and by Lhuyd, there are few records of his journeys, and, as there are many gaps in

¹ MS. Lister 36, fol. 162.

the correspondence, it is not always easy to follow him. Lhuyd left Oxford in the beginning of May. In August he was at Cowbridge. In the meantime he had visited the Forest of Dean, Newport, Cardiff, Abergavenny, Pontypool, and Llanely (Breconshire). At Cowbridge he was detained two months. Writing on September 22nd he states that he had intended to be in Carmarthen in the middle of August, but that he had been delayed. The cause of his detention will be explained below. At the end of October he was in Swansea. From "Lhan Deilo vawr Carmarthensh.", on Dec. 20, 1697, he wrote: ". . . We have survey'd this summer (as particularly as we could) the counties of Monmouth, Glamorgan, Caermardhin, and Cardigan, and are in hopes of finishing Pembrokeshire before next spring . . ." A letter written on February 12th refers to his having passed through Carmarthen — Tenby he reached probably in January. There he remained until May. On May 21st he was at Haverfordwest, on June 19th at Narberth, on July 6th at Cardigan, on July 25th at Lampeter. From Cardigan he had written to Lister: "I shall be out of all Road of Correspondence 'til the 1st of August when I shall be at Dr. Brewsters of Hereford." From Hay he wrote on September 19th to Dr. Robinson, from Newtown to Dr. Lister on October 18th. His preface to the Lithology was finished at Montgomery on November 1st. Christmas he probably spent at Dolgelley, as he was there in January and February. On June 25th he was in Flint. A letter written on July 1st is addressed to him at Mr. Samuel, Schoolmaster, Carnarvonshire.

Lhuyd crossed over to Ireland at the end of August or the beginning of September. At Dublin he was welcomed by members of the Philosophical Society. There he remained but three days. Having received recommendations

¹ *Arch. Camb.* for 1858, p. 345.

² MS. Lister 36, fol. 203.

and directions, he left for the Giants' Causeway; Drogheda, Larne, and Coleraine being among the halting-places on the route. After his visit to the Causeway, Lhuyd and David Parry "stepped over" into Scotland, William Jones being sent into Connaught.¹ "In this kingdom", Lhuyd, writing from Linlithgow, says, "our Travels in the Highlands were through Cantire, Argyle, and Lorn, beside the Isles of Mac y Chormic, Mul, and y Columb Kil, and in the Low-lands through Glasgow, Sterling, and Edenbrough." On December 15th he was at Bathgate, where he wrote as follows to Lister: "We came yesterday from Edenbrough; where I was so kindly entertained by Sr Rob^t Sibbald & Mr. Sutherland; with y^e perusal of their Museums, Coyns & MSS. yt I would affoard no time to write to my best Friends."² Lhuyd was back in Ireland at the end of February. His return was delayed, contrary winds having detained him at the Mull of Kintyre for five weeks. He now went westward; his route can be but imperfectly traced, but from the addresses of his letters and references in them I find he was in Leitrim, Sligo, Galway, in the Islands of Aran, in Killarney, and "on the mountains of Keri".

Lhuyd returned to Wales in April. It was his intention to be in Cornwall at the beginning of June, but his stay in Wales was prolonged, for it was the end of August before he reached Penzance. In Cornwall he remained almost four months, and during that time he, or his companions, visited almost all its parishes. In the middle of November William Jones and Robert Wynne left for Oxford. On November 29th Lhuyd was at Falmouth waiting for a passage to Brittany, "having failed getting one at Looe and Foy". The difficulty must have been great, or else there

¹ *Philosophical Transactions*, vol. xxviii, p. 97.

² MS. Lister 36, fol. 243.

was some other obstacle, as he and Parry did not land at St. Malo until the second week in January.

While engaged in his survey Lhuyd settled in certain centres; in Wales these were generally towns which had grammar schools. From these centres he and his companions explored the surrounding districts, appointments being made with the clergy and others interested in their work. While investigating the party divided into two groups, Lhuyd, generally accompanied by David Parry, going in one direction, Robert Wynne and William Jones in another. This passage from a letter in which Lhuyd apologizes for neglecting a correspondent, gives an idea of the vigour with which he carried on his enquiries. Writing from "Llanbedr, Pont Ystevan", on July 25, 1698, he says: "I hartily beg your pardon for such long silence, and have no excuse to offer but my being daily hurried from Karn to Kaer, from Kaer to Klogwyn."¹ A description of their methods when in Cornwall, given by Thomas Tonkin, will serve equally well for their procedure when in Wales. In a note in William Pryce's *Archæologia Cornu-Britannica*, he refers to "Mr. Lhuyd . . . travelling with his three companions (with knapsacks on their shoulders), on foot, for the better searching for simples, viewing, and taking draughts of everything remarkable, and for that reason prying into every hole and corner . . ." The extent of their investigation may be gathered from this list of "observables", taken out of a pocket book which Lhuyd used when in Wales.² The things to be noted are:—

Name.	Limits.	Rect. or vic.
How far from ye next	Extent.	Villages.
market towns.	Houses in number.	Townships.
— Corp, or vill.	Chappels of Ease.	Castles.
Hundred.	Saint.	Abbies.

¹ *Arch. Camb.* for 1858, p. 343.

² Llanstephan MS. 185, p. 123.

Free schooles.	Urns.	Age.
Hospitals.	Coins.	Land gained by ye sea.
Bridges & founders.	Amulets.	Diving Rivers.
Sanctuaries.	MSS.	Medic. Springs.
Seats of ye Gentry.	Rocks.	Cave.
Names of houses.	Parks.	Mines, &c.
Krig. Kaer.	Woods.	Minerals.
Karn.	Commons.	Quarries.
Roman ways.	Warrens.	Brit. Names.
Cheqd. pavements.	Rivers.	What fuel.
Crosses.	Brooks.	Any odd thing, as toads, &c., in stone.
Beacons.	Cataracts.	Any old thing in Turf pits.
Meini Gwyr.	Lakes.	
Kromlech.	Springs.	
Inscriptions.	Mount, or champ. ground.	
Arms.		

Lhuyd's tours were not without their adventures. Each country he visited, with the exception of Scotland, furnished some exciting episode. In South Wales he was frequently molested. From Tenby, on February 28, 1698, he writes to John Lloyd:—

"I writ to you several times since I left Oxford which is now almost a twelvemonth: but I suppose my Letters either miscarried or that I forgot to give directions where yours might meet me. I find many of my Letters this last year have miscarried, intercepted I suppose by the Country people who were very jealous of us & suspected us to be employed by the Parliament in order to some further Taxes, & in some places for Jacobit spies."¹

And to Thomas Tanner, from Pembroke, on May 20 in the same year, he says:—

"Yours of ye 2^d came to hand w^{ch} is more than many of my Letters doe; for y^e Country people are very curious to know whom the Spies and Conjurors correspond with, & what their Intregues, which has been y^e only Discouragement I met with, since I left Oxford: but y^t will now soon be over; for in y^e Counties that remain I & my companions are pretty well known. . . ."²

¹ *Arch. Camb.* for 1851, p. 52.

² MS. Tanner xxii, fol. 38.

S. Nicolay
July 22. 1697.

The occasion of this trouble is to desire you would please to send
by the carrier what acc. may be given of the parish of
Linen V^o; in answer to a Paper of Queries whereby which
I hope you have rec^d. some like since from my friend
M^r. Nicoll. The main particulars I desire to be infer^d
in, are 1. How you find the name written in ^{the} oldest Record
you have perus^d. also whence you suppose it denominat^d.
Henry Hingay in the Village of St. Church; and how many you
suppose in the whole parish; with a number of Acres in the
parish if known? 2. What parishes border on't? 3. On
what day is the S^t. Feast? 4. Whether a
Rectory, or Vicarage? 5. What Villages, Hamlets, Cushey
Monastery, Chappel, &c. it contains? 6. What
Sett of the Parish, in the parish. 8. Whether there

... 10. ... whether you have heard of any Roman Coins or
other antiquities found in the parish? The particulars whether
it be known where that British Copper Coin yours for
brought up to Oxford (holand on one side and impress with
a horse and a wheel) was found. y. by what parts, County
Rivers and Rivulets in the parish? and lastly what
Quarries, Stone pits, Marble pits, &c. Such answers
to the Queries as may be returned; will be very
acceptable to S^r.

Y^r obliged Friend and
Servant Edw. Lloyd.

FACSIMILE LETTER FROM EDWARD LHUYD.

Endorsed—"For the Revd. Mr. Hawking, Minister of Gwen V6."
From MS. Rawlinson, B 464, Fol. 20.*

But in spite of their acquaintance with the remaining counties, an experience more unpleasant than any they had hitherto met with, was not impossible in North Wales—nothing less than capture by banditti. Humphrey Foulkes, then a tutor at Eton, subsequently rector of St. George, Denbighshire, in a letter incompletely dated, but which must have been written in the later nineties, says: “The latest news I received from ou[r] parts is that the Rapperies, about 24 in number, who came out of the woods & mountains to infest those parts all this last summ . . . and stole abundance of oatbread, salt butter, & some money, are now (Nov. 5th) happily retired to their winter quarters.”¹

The capture which the rapperees of North Wales possibly might have made the Tories in Ireland almost effected. To Richard Richardson, from Oxford, June 8, 1701, Lhuyd writes: “I hope you have received ere this, dried samples of the Irish Plants I formerly mentioned. The carrier told me, you had the few Seeds, though not in due time; I wish they had been more, and better; but we came out of Ireland too soon, and the Tories of Kil-Arni in Kerry obliged us to quit those mountains much sooner than we intended.”²

In Scotland alone Lhuyd escaped molestation, the only country in which he had anticipated serious trouble. Reports of the troubled state of the Highlands, and warnings that personal violence was probable, almost induced him more than once to leave Scotland out of his tours. On January 30, 1697, he wrote to Lister: “I must beg your further trouble of enquiring of Dr. Grey or Dr. Wallace whether they have heard of any Gentleman or Clergyman amongst y^e Highlands anything studious

¹ MS. Ashm. 1815, fol. 58.

² Nichols's *Illustrations of Literature*, vol. i, p. 317.

of their own Language and the Antiquities of their country; as also whether we may travail there with safety, provided we can be well recommended. As for course fare and hard lodging we are proof, being but an other sort of Highlanders our selves: but if it be the manner of the Country (as some tel me) to knock men in y^e head even for a threadbare suit of cloaths, I shall easily bridle my Curiosity."¹ But in no part of the country was he interfered with, his investigations were nowhere disturbed. From Linlithgow, on December 17, 1699, he wrote: ". . . In the Highlands we found the People everywhere civil enough; and had doubtless sped better as to our Enquiries, had we had the Language more perfect."²

In Cornwall Lhuyd experienced the annoyance which had disturbed his work in South Wales, but in a more acute form. In a letter dated St. Ives, October 15, 1700, which William Jones carried to Thomas Tonkin, Lhuyd writes: "You will receive by the bearer, (Mr. Jones), Mr. Carew's *Survey of Cornwall*, together with what else I borrow'd, with my most humble thanks. I once designed to have waited on you myself long ere this; but now it so happens, that I take the South coast, and leave the North to the bearer, to copy such old inscriptions as shall occur, and to take what account he can of the geography of the parishes. I know you will be pleased to favour and assist him in your neighbourhood; but where we have no acquaintance, we find the people more suspicious and jealous (notwithstanding we have my Lord Bishop's³ approbation of the undertaking) than in any country we have travelled. And upon that account I beg the trouble of you, when he leaves your neighbourhood, to give him two or three letters to any of your acquaintance more eastward. Mr. Pennick

¹ MS. Lister 36, fol. 170.

² *Phil. Trans.*, vol. xxviii, p. 97.

³ Sir Jonathan Trelawny.

not being at home, we have been strictly examined in several places; and I am told the people, notwithstanding our long continuance here, have not yet removed their jealousy. I was forced, for their satisfaction, to open your letter to Mr. Pennick, and that proving to be just an account of me, as I had given, we were immediately dismissed.” Tonkin, in the note from which I have already quoted, writes in defence of his countrymen: “Mr. Lhuyd came into the country at a time, when all the people were under a sort of panick, and in terrible apprehension of thieves and house-breakers, and . . . raised a strange jealousy in people already so much alarmed: though this alarm (as it appeared afterwards) was without the least foundation, and at last discovered to be the contrivance of some designing neighbours, to get money for their assistance in this pretended danger. He was with me at Lanbrigan, August the 27th, 1700. And Sir Richard Vyvyan being then out of the country . . . I gave him a Letter to the late Mr. Chancellor Pennick, then residing at St. Hillary, whereof he was Vicar, and a very worthy, learned Gentleman. At Helston, as Mr. Lhuyd was poring up and down, and making many enquiries about Gentlemen’s seats, &c., he (with his companions) was taken up for a thief, and carried before a Justice of the Peace; who, on opening my Letter, was very much ashamed at it, and treated him very handsomely. This the bearer, Mr. Jones, gave me a full account of, though I had heard it before from others.”

Hearing on his arrival in Brittany that several English merchants had been seized as spies near Brest, Lhuyd decided to avoid that town, and to keep near Morlaix. But here, as in Cornwall and Wales, his methods excited suspicion, and reports were sent to the “Entendent des

¹ *Archæologia Cornu-Britannica*, Letter I.

marines" at Brest that there were spies in the district. This official sent "a Provô" and two officers to arrest Lhuyd and Parry, then at St. Pol de León. "The Messenger", writes Lhuyd, "found me busy in adding the Armoric words to Mr. Ray's *Dictionariolum Trilingue*, with a great many Letters and small Manuscripts about the Table, which he immediately secured, and then proceeded to search our Pockets for more."¹ Lhuyd produced letters of recommendation to merchants and clergy of the district. One of the clergy undertook to bail them. Seeing the "Provô" unwilling to accept his offer, Lhuyd says: "I return'd my Thanks to y^c Gentleman and told him I w^d not have his name call'd in the least Question on my account, but was very ready to make my appearance and glad of the opportunity of seeing Brest."² The officers considerably allowed Lhuyd and Parry to travel alone. On arrival at Brest they appeared before the Intendant, who without examination ordered them to the Castle, where they were informed that they would not receive the allowance of one and eight pence a day usually given the King's prisoners, but that they must support themselves. They refused to purchase food, "which we did", says Lhuyd, "because we found we did not lie much under Mercy, having a ground Room and the Conveniency of receiving through a Window anything that was necessary, which some Irish Soldiers in the Castle would bring us for our Money."³ The Intendant relaxed, and they were granted fifteen pence daily. After eighteen days' imprisonment they were released, their papers, which had been examined and found to contain "nothing of treason", returned, but they were refused a pass to Paris, and were ordered to leave the kingdom, being informed

¹ *Mona Antiqua*, p. 340.

² *Arch. Camb.* for 1857, p. 388.

³ *Mona Antiqua*, p. 340.

“that war was already declar’d against the Emperor, the Dutch and the English”.

In spite of many interruptions Lhuyd’s investigations were so successful that it is impossible to enumerate their results in the present paper. The account of his survey of Wales must be especially partial, and devoted almost exclusively to the fruits of his searches for ancient MSS. in Glamorganshire.

In a letter written to Thomas Tanner, from Cowbridge, on September 25, 1697, occurs this passage: “This Summers Progresse has prov’d (in y^c maign) well enough to my satisfaction; especially as to Welsh MSS. and materials towards y^c Natural History.”¹ In a letter to John Lloyd, in December of the same year, he says: “I met with several Welsh MSS. but not above 2 or 3 of any considerable Antiquity: and they not written above 300 years since. One of them was a fair large folio on velom, containing copies of such old MSS. as y^c writer could meet with. This, least we should not meet with y^c like elsewhere, we transcrib’d, tho it cost us 2 months.”² The “fair large folio in velom” was *Llyfr Coch Hergest*, then the property of Thomas Wilkins of Llanblethian. Prebendary Wilkins was very jealous of his MSS. It was with great reluctance that he had allowed them to go out of his keeping, and his anxiety was great until they were returned. “Mr. Wilkins”, writes one of Lhuyd’s correspondents, “desires you to be carefull of his Antiquities especially the old British Vellum Manuscript wch. he values at a great Rate.”³ Thomas Wilkins’s solicitude with regard to the *Red Book* was not a little galling. The MS. was not his property, and had he been willing to restore it to its rightful owner Lhuyd could have bought it

¹ MS. Tanner xxiii, fol. 152.

² *Arch. Camb.* for 1858, p. 346.

³ MS. Ashm. 1817b, fol. 203.

for twenty shillings, and thus the two months consumed in its transcription at Cowbridge might have been employed otherwise. In one of his letters to Tanner, Lhuyd gives the reason why he had not met with more Welsh MSS. "of any considerable Antiquity." "Great part", he says, "of our writings have without doubt been long since burnd and destroyd; and many of them of later years, for one Mr. Roberts, a clergyman in this countrey, tels me he saw heaps of parchment Books & Rolls, burnt at St. David's during ye late Civil Warrs; and did himself being then a school boy, carry several out of ye library for the sake of ye Guilt Letters, &c."

Two passages taken out of letters written by Edmund Gibson and Archdeacon Nicolson, give some idea of the success which attended Lhuyd's researches as a Naturalist. Writing in January 1698 to Dr. Charlett, Gibson says: "Mr. Llwyd sent me out of Wales, about a week agoe, 5 Incriptions that he had met with on his Travels. It is a prodigious treasure of antique & Natural Rarities, that he will pick up, to furnish materials for his new undertaking." The date of Nicolson's letter is October 24, 1698: "Tis now high time", he tells Lhuyd, "to be looking towards Montgomery. I wish I had met with anything in my last Summer's Simpling Voyage that might be answerable to the agreeable Entertainment which your Welsh Mercuries alwaies bring with them."

Scientists had been paying great attention to Ireland during recent years: Botanists had been particularly active there. It was anticipated that Lhuyd would make few discoveries in Natural History, but that his archæological finds would be considerable. The results, however, were entirely the reverse. "Mr. Lhuyd", wrote Tancred Robin-

¹ MS. Tanner xxii, fol. 64.

² MS. Ballard 5, fol. 119.

³ MS. Ashm. 1816, fol. 506.

son to Lister on August 30, 1700, "has found more of Nature than Antiquities in Ireland"; and to Lister again on September 3,¹ ". . . He has met with very few Antiquities in Ireland, but nature hath made amends by her wonderfull Luxuriancy." Writing soon after his arrival in Cornwall, Lhuyd says: "For Antiquities, Ireland affords no great variety; at least it was not our fortune to be much diverted that way. I have in divers Parts of the Kingdom picked up about 20 or 30 Irish MSS. on Parchment."

References to his travels in Scotland are not numerous. He tells us, however, in a letter to Henry Rowlands: "We collected a considerable Number of Inscriptions in Scotland"; and in a letter to Lister: "We sped well enough in ye High Lands as to some Materials for ye *Archæologia Britannica*."

Writing to Thomas Tonkin, Lhuyd thus describes his gleanings in Cornwall: "Those few things that occurred to me in Cornwall, which are chiefly Inscriptions, and a Vocabulary as copious as I can make it, I design to insert (God willing) in my *Archæologia Britannica* . . ." He informed Richard Mostyn of Penbedw, that "the onely four Cornish Books remaining were communicated to me, besides many other Favours by y^c Bishop of Excester, and I have copies of each of them. That countrey afforded some ancient Inscriptions like those added to Camden in Wales. . . ."

The unfortunate imprisonment in Brittany entirely frustrated Lhuyd's plans, and his research in that country

¹ MS. Lister 37, fol. 27.

² MS. Lister 37, fol. 29.

³ *Philosophical Transactions*, vol. xxvii, p. 524.

⁴ *Mona Antiqua*, p. 337.

⁵ MS. Lister 36, fol. 243.

⁶ *Archæologia Cornu-Britannica*, Letter iv.

⁷ *Arch. Camb.* for 1857, p. 389.

yielded but a meagre harvest. Referring to his sudden departure—the passage is from a letter to Henry Rowlands—he says: “So much for our coarse Welcome in France, which prevented almost all the Enquiries I design’d, into the Language, Customs and Monuments of that Province. For all we could do was but to pick up about twenty small printed Books in their Language, which are all, as well as ours, Books of Devotion, with two Folios publish’d in French; the one containing the History of Bretagne, the other the Lives of the Armoric Saints . . . I had taken directions about ancient British Manuscripts in some of their Convents, and some Persons noted for their Skill in the Language and Antiquities of their Country, but was not allowed Time to consult either Men or Books, or to view any of their old Monuments, so that I shall be able to say little of that Country, besides what relates to their Language.”¹

Lhuyd and Parry sailed for Poole, and within a week of their release they were in Oxford. To Richard Mostyn, Lhuyd wrote on April 21, 1701: “Being after a tedious ramble of four years at length return’d to the place from whence I set out; and for what I can foresee sett’d (if it please God) for the remainder of my time; ’tis my Duty to return most humble Thanks to my best Friends and greatest Patrons, who have enabled me to perform such expensive Travails; and necessary I should entreat their farther assistance as to correspondence and Information, ¹ case anything may occur remarkable, during the time . shall be culling out the pertinent part of my collection and digesting it for the Presse, w^h (make what Hast I can) must needs be the work of some years.”²

Very soon after his return Lhuyd despatched William Jones and an assistant to transcribe documents in the

¹ *Mona Antiqua*, p. 342.

² *Arch. Camb.* for 1857, p. 387.

Tower and in other London Collections. To private libraries in Wales and elsewhere he sent requests for the loan of MSS. and records.

The first part of the *Archæologia Britannica*, entitled *Glossography*, and published in 1707, embodies but a small portion of Lhuyd's research. The remaining results of his survey were to appear in other volumes; they are thus described in the Proposals:—

“In the Historical & Geographical Dictionary, a brief Account is designed: First, of all Persons memorable in the British History; whether mention'd by the Romans or Writers of our own Nation: and of all such Authors as have written in British, whether Welsh, Cornish, or Armorican.

“Secondly, of all Places in Britain mention'd by the Greeks and Romans; and of all Hundreds, Comots, Towns, Castles, Villages, and Seats of the Nobility and Gentry of chiefest note, now in Wales: as also of the most notable Mountains, Rivers, Lakes, Camps, Forts, Barrows; and all such as either retain any monuments of Antiquity at present, or seem from their name to have had such here tofore. Throughout this whole work, an interpretation of all such proper names as are now intelligible is intended; with conjectures concerning some of those which are more obscure

“The essay entitl'd *Archæologia Britannica* is design'd to be divided into four Parts.

“The First to contain a comparison of the modern Welsh with other European Languages: more especially with the Greek, Latin, Irish, Cornish, & Armorican.

“The Second, A Comparison of the Customes and Traditions of the Britans with those of other nations.

“The Third, an Account of all such monuments now remaining in Wales as are presum'd to be British; and either older or not much later than the Roman Conquest, viz., their camps and Buryal places, the monuments call'd Cromlecheu and *Meineu gŵyr*; their Coyns, Arms, Amulets, &c.

“The Fourth, An Account of the Roman Antiquities there, and some others of later date, dureing the Government of the British Princes; together wth copies of all the

Inscriptions of any considerable Antiquity, as yet remaining in that countrey.

“The Natural History may be divided into five sections. The first whereof may contain a General Description of the Countrey in respect of its Situation and Quality of the Soil: An Account of Meteors with comparative Tables of the weather in general places. Also of the Sea, Rivers, Lakes, Springs, and Mineral Waters.

“Sect. 2. An Enumeration & Description of all the various Sorts of Earths, Stones, and all Mineral Bodies.

“Sect. 3. Of Form'd Stones, or such as have a constant & regular Figure, whereby they are distinguishable from each others [*sic*] no lesse than Plants or Animals.

“Sect. 4. Of Plants, wherein we shall onely take notice of such as grow spontaneously in Wales, and have been rarely or not at all observed elsewhere in this Island, adding a Catalogue of such as are found in England or Scotland, and have not been observ'd in Wales.

“Sect. 5. Of Animals; in the same Method.”¹

Lhuyd resolved to publish the *Archæologia Britannica* before the Dictionary and Natural History, because he thought “it would meet with more buyers”, and because he had “a tolerable apparatus for it”. In November 1703, the *Glossography* was finished, and placed in the printer's hands; it was not published until 1707. Lhuyd was not responsible for the delay—“the Press”, he wrote, “has never stayed an hour”—it was caused by lack of type; founts, especially such as were required for Lhuyd's Orthography, being so scarce that it was impossible for more than one compositor to proceed with the work.

The *Glossography* had a mixed reception. The Welsh gentry were disappointed, not unreasonably. To most of them it was a sealed book—even the Welsh preface was printed in letters that greatly puzzled; they would have found the Dictionary, the Natural History, or one of the other parts of the *Archæologia* more interesting. “Y^r

¹ MS. Ashm. 1820, fol. 228.

Learned & curious booke”, wrote one of Lhuyd’s Welsh Correspondents, “had not ye reception in these parts as it deserved, not one in twenty that I conversed with giving it any tolerable character.” The learned of Paris were dissatisfied because it was not written in Latin. By English and Celtic scholars it was received with admiration. From London, on August 8, Lhuyd wrote: “The Linguists and Antiquaries in these parts are so well satisfied with this volume that it sels much beyond what could be expected of a book so forreign.” Dean Hickes had his copy on June 2. His letter is typical of the numerous appreciations that Lhuyd received. “Sir”, he writes,

“This day I received the copy of your *Archæologia Britannica*. The moment I received it, I sat down to peruse it for 4 houres together, and had sit longer at it, if other affaires had not called me of [*sic*]. Your performance throughout, as it is worth all your labour, and paines: so I doubt not but it will be very satisfactory to all men, who have a genius for antiquity, and the more learned and judicious they are, the more they will approve it, and be pleased with it. For my own part, I professe unfeignedly to you, that I am an admirer of it, and wish for my own sake, and the sake of my late undertaking² it had been printed 20 years ago, so usefull would it have been unto me. It hath cost you a great deal of thought, and by consequence required a great deal of time, and now I consider the Harmony, and accuracy of the severall parts of it, I wonder we had it so soon. When it is bound, I will carefully peruse the whole, and then you shall hear more from me of it. In the mean time, sir, I give you my share of the public thanks, w^{ch} are due to you, and had I the honour to be known to Sir Th. Mansell³ your patron, I would give him thanks for encouraging such a

¹ *Arch. Camb.* for 1860, p. 15.

² *Ling. Vett. Septentr. Thes.*, Oxon., 1705-03.

³ The *Glossography* is dedicated to Sir Thomas Mansell, created Baron Mansell of Margam January 1712.

noble, and truly usefull a work. Would all other Gentlemen, who are able, follow his Mecaenas-like example. The commonwealth of Learning would soon enlarge its territories, and in particular the darknesse of Antiquities would in few yeares be brought to light. I pray God continue your health unto you, and that you may live to finish your other designes; and that you may also find patrons to encourage you, is the hearty wish of

“Your faithfull freind,
and serv^t GEO. HICKES.”¹

Subsequently to his travels Lhuyd's life was uneventful. Except to reside for long periods in some neighbouring village, where he might find the quietness that was impossible at the Museum, he rarely left Oxford. Still, he made one important excursion which should be recorded. In the summer of 1702 he visited Cambridge to consult a MS., which, according to the recently published catalogue of the University Library, “. . . promised . . . a map of Britain and Ireland by Giraldus Cambrensis . . .” The map was disappointing, being but a crude draught. This journey, however, was not in vain, for while searching in the various libraries Lhuyd discovered the glosses and Englynion of the Juvenus MS.

On his return from Brittany, his University, in appreciation of his prolonged and laborious researches, conferred on Lhuyd the honorary degree of M.A. In 1708, the year following the publication of the *Glossography*, he was made a Fellow of the Royal Society. In the spring of 1709 he was elected Superior Beadel of Divinity, but unfortunately he was to hold the office for a few months only. His election took place on March 11, and he died on June 30.

Lhuyd had been endowed with a fine physique, and his powers of endurance were great; had it been otherwise he

¹ MS. Ashm. 1815, fol. 188.

could not have carried on his numerous studies so enthusiastically and so successfully. There are references to his strength and sturdiness when a youth, and he himself, in a letter that is without date, but which must have been written after his thirtieth year, tells a correspondent that he could not remember to have taken physic more than three times in his life. This excellent health he enjoyed until 1698. When at Haverfordwest, in 1697, being then thirty-seven, he writes: "For my part I have not been one day very sick these ten years; nor have I ever enjoy'd my health (God be thanked) better than in my Travails." This good fortune soon deserted him. When in North Wales in the following year, he began to suffer from a severe headache, which became periodic, and from a cough, which developed into chronic asthma. Towards the end of June 1709, Lhuyd, through sleeping in a damp room at the Museum, caught a chill. On Sunday, June 26, pleurisy set in, which became complicated with asthma. He died late on Wednesday night or early on Thursday morning, and was buried on Friday night, at nine o'clock, in the Welsh Aisle of St. Michael's Church, his body being accompanied from the Museum by the Beadels and members of Jesus College Common Room.

Lhuyd died in debt. His income as keeper of the Ashmolean Museum had never exceeded £50. His travels proved more expensive than he anticipated; he was often "pocket bound" on his journeys, for his supporters failed him miserably. In 1696, the year of the first tour, the subscriptions amounted to £110 0s. 0d. In 1700, they had dwindled to £11 15s. 0d. Financially, the *Glossography* was not a success. Moreover, Lhuyd was of a very generous nature. His gifts to friends and others who helped him in his work were many. Undergraduates always found in him a friend,

¹ *Arch. Camb.* for 1857, p. 385.

he frequently lent them money, and the indebtedness was not seldom forgotten. The beadelship would have freed him from difficulties—it was “something better than £100 per annum”—but it came too late.

Lhuyd's MSS. and books were seized by the University. There is a tradition that the authorities of Jesus College wished to purchase them, but were dissuaded by William Wynne, one of the Fellows who had quarrelled with Lhuyd. It was hoped that, if they might not go to Lhuyd's College, the Bodleian would acquire them. Indeed, John Anstis, who had given Lhuyd several MSS., and who desired to buy the collection, did not press his offer lest he might make their purchase more difficult to the University library. But Bodley's librarian does not appear to have made any effort to procure them. Besides Anstis, other intending purchasers were Bishop Nicolson, Lord Mansell, Sir Thomas Sebright, and Humphrey Wanley, the last on behalf of Lord Harley. Anstis, the bishop, and Lord Mansell, withdrew, and left Sir Thomas, who was an old Jesus man, and Wanley keenly to compete. To Wanley the chief attraction was *Llyfr Coch yr Hergest*. Lhuyd had borrowed the MS., and it was in his possession when he died. Thomas Wilkins's letter, stating that he had given the *Red Book* to the College and not to Lhuyd, is affixed to its cover. At Wanley's request, Moses Williams examined the collection. He reported that the *Llyfr Coch* had been removed to Jesus College library, and that the other MSS. might be purchased for £80, the amount of Lhuyd's debts. In spite of the loss of the great MS., Wanley was as eager as ever, but his attempts were in vain. The collection was ultimately sold to Sir Thomas Sebright, on which Wanley remarks: “After we have been beating the bush another is about to run away with the Hare.” It will always be regretted that

the MSS. did not pass into Jesus College library, or into the Bodleian, as then they would have escaped the calamity that has dogged them from the time they left Oxford.

How far Lhuyd had proceeded with his other works it is impossible to say. A few months after the publication of the *Glossography*, he wrote to John Lloyd of Ruthin: "Pray learn, as much as you can, in whose hands the Grants or Charters of the Religious houses in Denbighshire and Flintshire may be. S^r Thomas Mansel has sent me lately all these (*sic*) of his Abbey of Margan (*sic*), which are 205; & they give me much more instruction than I was aware of. I suppose no Gentleman that's anything a scholar would scruple to lend them; but for those that are in other hands we are not to expect them." Tancred Robinson, writing within a week of Lhuyd's death: "I remember Mr. Lhwyd told me he had perfected for the press an *Onomasticon Populorum, Vrbium et oppidorum Antiq. Britan.*, and had prepared a second edition of his *Litholog. Britan.*, very much augmented." In January 1714, Richard Richardson of North Bierley, wrote: "I am sorry that I could have no better account of Mr. Lhwyd's Collections from him then I had, not many months before he dyed he sent me an account that he designd to print his Nat. Hist. of Wales in latine for the advantage of foreigners, in two octavos, in a fine Elziver character which induces me to believe that he had that worke in a great measure ready for the press."¹

To Richardson Lhuyd had written on Nov. 8, 1708: "The first thing I design to publish will be only an 8vo in Latin, containing an account of the method observed by

¹ *Arch. Camb.* for 1860, p. 17.

² MS. Lister 37, fol. 157.

³ MS. Ballard 17, fol. 138.

the ancient Gauls and Britans in the naming of persons and places. Perhaps you may supply me with some names of Mountains and Rivers of Yorkshire, not to be found in the maps; some of which might illustrate or confirm other observations. Are there no Irish or British Manuscripts to be heard of in all your country, or any barbarous Iss.”¹

Hearne and others who examined Lhuyd’s collection found his materials “undigested”. But after his death they were confused, and it is to be feared tampered with. The much loved David Parry alone could have brought the work to completion, but, unfortunately, he in no way concerned himself with the MSS. Already in Lhuyd’s life time he had entered upon the path which led to his ruin. Once his master’s care and restraining influence were removed his fall was rapid. He survived Lhuyd but five years, dying on December 8, 1714, “a perfect sot”.

I conclude with three tributes to Lhuyd:—On May 14, 1706, Hearne wrote in his diary: “. . . I tell you, y^t he is a person of singular Modesty, good Nature, & uncommon Industry. He lives a retir’d life, generally three or four miles from Oxford, is not at all ambitious of Preferment or Honour, & w^t he does is purely out of Love to y^t Good of Learning and his Country . . .”

“Rhag bod ymma”, says John Morgan, at the end of his *Myfyrdodau Bucheddol*.² “Ddalenneu segur, mi argrephais yr Englynion isod, ar Farwolaeth Mr. Edward Llwyd, Ceidwad y Musaeum yn Rhydychen.”³

¹ Nichols’s *Illustrations of Literature*, vol. i, p. 321.

² *Hearne’s Collections* (O.H.S.), vol. i, p. 244.

³ *Myfyrdodau Bucheddol ar y Pedwar Beth [sic] Diveddaf* . . . Lundain . . . 1745.

⁴ The Englynion are printed *verbatim et literatim*.

Carmen Englynicum in Obitum Celeberrimi & Linguis Peritissimi Antiquarii Dom. Edvardi Luidii, M.A.R.S.S. Ashmoleani Musæi apud Oxonienses Custodis; qui hâc vitâ decessit 29 die Junii, Ann. Dom. 1709, Ætatis suæ 49.

Mae aml gawodydd ymma, a Gorfif
 Garw llafar fel Gaua';
 Mae iâs oer yn y Mis Ha',
 Oes oerach nag iâ Eira.

Gan in hôff Haul gynneu ffo, a'i Gannaid
 Oedd gynnes fachludo;
 Gan i Brif atteg ein Bro,
 Ai gwiw Geidwad ei gado.

Ymmaith fyth Weniaith i anwyl Feinir,
 Oedd fynych yngorchwyl;
 Ymmaith bêr Lais om hemyl;
 Syn yw'r Glust gan Swn oer Glul.

Clul Gwr cu' *Gymru* i gyd, an Browdwr
 Mewn Brwydreu Celfyddyd:
 Arweddwr Cyfarwyddyd,
 A doeth Ben Dysceidiaeth Byd.

Hwyliaist or Llwybreu halaeth, gan hoffi
 Anhyffordd Wybodaeth
 Allan on Dysc, lle nid aeth
 Un Dyn i Derfyn d' Arfaeth.

Meini nâdd a Mynyddoedd, a Gwalieu
 Ac olion Dinasoedd,
 A Dail dy Fyfyrdod oedd,
 A Hanesion Hên Oesoedd.

Ni fu gwn, soniwn am sydd, un Heniaith
 Anhynod na newydd;
 Na ddo, ith dyn Go' dan gudd,
 Cywreinwaith, nai Carennydd.

Chwiliaist, ti gefaist yn gyfan Addysc
 Y Derwyddon allan;
 A Bri y Cowri, a'i Can,
 Ai Hiroes gynt, ai Harian.

Cyhoeddodd, rhanodd oth Rhinwedd Llyfreu
 Llafurus beth rhyfedd :
 Eithr or Byd mwy aeth ir Bêdd,
 Anial Dir, yn ol d'orwedd :

Nid oes un Einioes yn unig mewn Bedd,
 Mae'n Byd yn gladdedig.
 Mil draw yn d'ymmyl a drig,
 O Wladwyr canmoledig.

Garw yw huno Gwr hynod heb orphen
 Ei berffaith Fyfyrdod,
 Rhoddem a feddem dy fod
 O law Angeu, Lew yngod.

Od a'r un i Dir¹ Annwn, Nidn Callef
Nid Cennlifoedd fyrddiwn,
O oer Alar a wylwn,
A feddalhá Feddwl hun.

Ond er ir Cnawd, Brawd llwch brau, ymollwng
 I'wyllys yr Angau ;
 Mae'r Enw pér mawr yn parhâu
 Mewn Parch, er mwyn ai piau.

Ym mhob Tre' a Lle bydd *Llwyd*,
 Er ei Glul yn Aur ei Glôd,
 Yn Dwr, yn Glydwr ein Gwlad,
 Unig Crair Awduron Créd.

Pob Craig wen oi phen iw phant, ddiwidswydd
 A ddadsain dy Haeddiant.
 Pibau bronnydd, pôb ryw Nant,
 Filoedd a gân dy Foliant.

A Duddyfnion Afonydd a gludant
 Dy Glôd yn gyfarwydd,
 Diball Dréth i bell Dreithydd,
 Yn oes eu Dwr, Nos a Dydd.

A thra bo Athro bywiawl, na cherrig,
 Na Chaerau Dieithrawl,
 Nag un Llyseuyn llesawl,
 Na hen Iaith, bydd faith dy Fawl.

¹ Nid eir i *Annwn* ond unwaith.

Lest the phrase "a brilliant and many-sided genius" applied to Lhuyd at the beginning of this paper should be considered extravagant, especially when it has been followed by so incomplete a record of his life and work, I will close with a recent appreciation of one side only of Lhuyd's learning—his philology. At the conclusion of an address delivered at Oswestry in June 1896, Professor Rhŷs said:—

"I was yesterday shown a most picturesque old house . . . , and as I heard it called the Llwyd Mansion, my curiosity was at once roused, and I found that it belonged in ages gone by to the Lloyds of Llanvorda. Of that family came a great man, a very great man, to wit, Edward Llwyd,—who was born in the year 1660, and died in 1709, when he was buried in the Welsh aisle of St. Michael's at Oxford; that is to say in the burial place then reserved for Jesus College. For Llwyd was undoubtedly one of the greatest men educated at the Welsh College. I feel an interest in the memory of Edward Llwyd, not only on account of his connection with the Welsh College, but because he was in many respects the greatest Celtic philologist the world has ever seen. It is not too much to say that had Celtic philology walked in the ways of Edward Llwyd, and not of such men as Dr. Pughe and Col. Vallancy, it would by this time have reached a far higher ground than it has, and native scholars would have left no room for the meteoric appearance of Zeuss or of the other Germans who have succeeded him in the same field of study."¹

¹ *Bye-Gones*, vol. xiii, p. 363.

THE NATIONAL EMBLEM OF WALES.¹

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A WORD of introduction is, perhaps, necessary. I know I am by no means the first to make the suggestion that the daffodil ought really to be the national emblem of Wales. It can be seen in print in more than one place² that many people believe that the daffodil has been wrongly ousted by the leek ; and I know that there have been other workers in the field before me. But what has been already done in this direction I have not allowed to bias me in the slightest. I took up the question with a perfectly open mind ; I have examined all the evidence adduced (and, I would fain believe, have discovered a deal more), and therefore I do not want it thought that I am merely raking up old theories and quoting second-hand opinions.

Again, it may be well to say a word or two on the nature of the evidence which will be submitted to you. When corresponding with your secretary (Mr. Vincent Evans) he suggested the desirability of bringing forward, if possible, new historical evidence. Now, historical evidence, in the ordinary acceptation of the term, it is impossible in this case to obtain. A moment's reflection will show why. The

¹ Read before the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, at 20, Hanover Square, on Thursday, the 21st of February 1907. Chairman, Ellis J. Griffith, Esq., M.P.

² See, for instance, "Wales", in the *Story of the Nations*, O. M. Edwards ; note in index under "Leek".

very nature of the case prevents it. The adoption of a national emblem is not, as a rule, a historical event taking place, like the battle of Hastings, on a definite day, at a definite place, and we are absolutely sure, in the case of Wales, that no such event could have taken place. It may be admitted at once that there is no *direct historical* evidence available in connection with the Welsh national emblem, whatever that emblem may be—leek, daffodil, or anything else. Therefore my task will be to bring forward presumptive proof—“circumstantial evidence” if you like—in favour of the daffodil, and to show that, although we cannot *directly* disprove the traditions connected with the leek, we can show that they are absurdly improbable and quite untenable.

A crude analogy may serve to make the position more clear:—Suppose we came across a tradition, accompanied by a deal of detail, that three horned men with wooden legs lived in a cellar under the Bank of England a hundred years ago. If a man chose to believe that, it would be exceedingly difficult to disprove it *directly*. To a scoffer the believer would say: “How do you *know* there were not?” The reply to that would only be a number of arguments pointing out how exceedingly unlikely such a thing was, and, to the average mind, a sufficient number of arguments of this kind would be quite as convincing as direct evidence. It is plain that direct historical evidence to prove that a thing did *not* happen is exceedingly difficult to obtain, and in such cases we must be satisfied with dealing only with questions of possibility and impossibility, probability and improbability. Suppose, again, that in addition to being able to heap up arguments showing the extreme improbability of such a condition of things as those of our crude example, we could point to the exact way in which such a statement had arisen as the result of

a misunderstanding—then, I believe, we should be absolutely and easily convinced of the error of the statement.

In attempting to disprove the claim of the leek to be the national emblem of Wales, we naturally cannot go back to some definite day upon which the national emblem was adopted, and say that it was not the leek but something else that was intended. But we *can* point out that for several reasons it is exceedingly improbable that the leek was ever intended to be the national emblem; that the incident upon which its adoption rests can never have taken place; and that it was the most unlikely selection that any individual or nation could make. We can also show how a simple confusion explains the original error, and point out what strange influences helped to perpetuate this error; and, finally, we can show, on æsthetic grounds, on the grounds of common-sense, and by analogy with other cases of a similar kind, that the very rival candidate over whose name the confusion arose has the real claim to the position.

As a fixed point of departure we have to take the famous passage from *Henry V*, act iv, sc. 7, beginning at line 90 (*Arden Edition*).

King Henry asks Montjoy—

“What is this castle call'd that stands hard by?

Montjoy: They call it Agincourt.

King Henry: Then call we this the field of Agincourt,
Fought on the day of Crispin Crispianus.”

Fluellen then breaks in—

“Your grandfather, of famous memory, an't please your majesty, and your great-uncle, Edward the Plack Prince of Wales, as I have read in the chronicles, fought a most prave pattle here in France.

King Henry: They did, Fluellen.

Fluellen: Your majesty says very true: if your majesties is remembered of it, the Welshmen did good service in a garden where leeks did grow, wearing leeks in their Monmouth caps; which, your majesty

know, to this hour is an honourable badge of the service ; and I do believe your majesty takes no scorn to wear the leek upon St. Tavy's day.

King Henry: I wear it for a memorable honour ;
For I am Welsh, you know, good countryman."

This is, in all probability, the best known reference in all literature to the Welshman and his leek, and was written by Shakespeare in 1598 or 1599. It merits the most careful examination—if we use the phrase "repays examination", the "repayment" we get is peculiar and surprising.

The "grandfather, of famous memory", is John of Gaunt, 1340-1399. Edward the Black Prince's dates are 1330-1376.

The mention of the Black Prince fighting in France immediately suggests Crécy, 1346, but John of Gaunt was only six years of age then, so Crécy is impossible.

Now John of Gaunt and the Black Prince fought shoulder to shoulder more than once. In 1376, for instance—this, however, was not in France, but in Spain—when John of Gaunt was the leader of the first division of the Black Prince's army. In 1370, however, we have the nearest approach to a "prave pattle" in the sack of Limoges by these two redoubtable warriors. On turning to Froissart's account of this action we find it to have been no "prave pattle" at all, but little more than a massacre of almost defenceless townspeople. We may qualify this, however, by saying that Froissart was French in his sympathies, and therefore not quite trustworthy. Fluellen says that he read of this battle in the "Chronicles". In no Chronicles that have come down to us is there any trace of any such battle. In all probability the story has no historical foundation whatsoever. Fluellen himself is a character of Shakespeare's own invention—he is to be found neither in Holinshed's *Chronicles* nor in the "*Famous Victorie*", upon

which the play of *Henry V* was based. The only source upon which Shakespeare could have been drawing was the current tradition of his day.

Putting aside any preconceptions for a moment, let us ask (*a*) what Shakespeare actually says, and (*b*) what can be reasonably gathered from the passage we have quoted—

“The Welshmen did good service in a garden where leeks did grow, wearing leeks in their Monmouth caps; which, your majesty know, to this hour is an honourable badge of the service.”

Now, it seems to me that it is impossible for that phrase to mean anything more or less than that Shakespeare was here giving a reason—what he thought was *the* reason—why Welshmen should wear leeks. The words “to this hour is an honourable badge of the service” would be meaningless otherwise; “and”, Fluellen goes on to say, “I do believe your majesty takes no scorn to wear the leek upon St. Tavy’s Day”—the day of the Patron Welsh Saint. Henry replies—“I wear it for a memorable honour; For I am Welsh, you know, good countryman.” A memorable honour, evidently, of the service performed by the Welsh in the “prave pattle”, a meaning confirmed in the next scene.

But why should there be any question of scorn? And why should it be so deliberately lugged in by the ears? Because Shakespeare is deliberately endeavouring to place the wearing of the leek in a favourable light. As I shall show later on, the leek in England was a symbol of worthlessness, and was often used in expressions of scorn.

In this very play, when Pistol jeers at Fluellen and is made to eat the leek, we have both the general scorn and its well-deserved retribution made very prominent. This scene confirms the first, if any confirmation were needed, in again showing us Shakespeare using every means in his

power to place the Welsh custom in the most favourable light. Gower's reproof of Pistol is most dignified and just:—

“Will you mock at an ancient tradition, begun upon an honourable respect, and worn as a memorable trophy of pre-deceased valour, and dare not avouch in your deeds any of your words? I have seen you gleeking and galling at this gentleman twice or thrice. You thought, because he could not speak English in the native garb, he could not therefore handle an English cudgel; you find it otherwise; and henceforth let a Welsh correction teach you a good English condition. Fare ye well.”

Now in 1598 Elizabeth *Tudor* was on the throne. Need I go on to point out why Shakespeare should endeavour to remove any unpleasant stigma from anything connected with Welsh nationality? We see Shakespeare go out of his way more than once to pay compliments to “the fair vestal throned by the west”; this is only a very similar and a very natural procedure.

Let us now compare this Shakespearian version of the leek legend with the form which has most general acceptance. I shall take the latter from a work typical of those by which such stories are propagated—an interesting, gossipy collection of all kinds of information and curious notes about flowers, put together, in a rambling and unscientific fashion, by the Rev. Hilderic Friend into a work entitled *Flowers and Flower Lore*. He begins:—

“The following paragraph from a scarce work bears so directly on the question that I quote it entire—“The Welsh, who are the pure descendants of the ancient Britons, regard St. David as their *Tutelar Saint*, and annually hold festive meetings on the 1st of March, which was formerly solemnly dedicated to his remembrance, with every mark of conviviality. In the year 640, the Britons under King Cadwallader gained a complete victory over the Saxons; and St. David is considered not only to have contributed to this victory by the prayers he offered to Heaven for their success, but by the judicious regulation he adopted for ren-

dering the Britons known to each other by wearing *Leeks* in their caps drawn from a garden near the field of action ; while the Saxons, from the want of some such distinguishing mark, frequently mistook each other, and dealt their fury among themselves, almost indiscriminately slaying friends and foes. From this circumstance arose the custom of the Welsh wearing leeks in their hats on St. David's Day, a badge of honour considered indispensable upon the occasion, and to have been established from the very period designed to have been commemorated."

Taking this story as it stands, let us point out its inherent improbabilities.

(a) The Leek is a cultivated plant, it would have taken a fairly large garden to supply an army with badges.

(b) Did the Saxons and Welsh so resemble one another that distinguishing badges of this type were necessary ? Were they so unused to warring against each other that some distinguishing mark was necessary ?

(c) If a distinguishing mark were necessary, would a leek worn in the cap be satisfactory ?

(d) Supposing the leek were a satisfactory mark of this kind, it would serve both sides equally well, for the Saxons would only attack leek wearers.

(e) This battle took place in 640 A.D. Unfortunately for the story St. David died thirty-nine years previously, 601 A.D.

On the face of it the story is ridiculous, and no scholar who has ever examined it has given it a moment's credence. Other evidence against it, based upon what we know of St. David, I shall return to later ; but I think you will agree with me that in itself the story is an absurdly improbable one. On comparing it with the *Henry V* story we notice a very striking resemblance. In both the central idea is the same—the leek is worn on St. David's Day as a "memorable honour" of the prowess of the Welsh on the field of battle. Of the two stories the Shakespearian is

the more sensible (for instance, a garden of leeks would easily furnish a sufficient number of leeks for the caps of the small body of Welshmen who were with the English army in France at any of the times to which Shakespeare may be referring), and it seems to me certain, beyond any manner of doubt, that the two stories are but variants of one and the same original. More than that, it seems to me possible (I only suggest this as a possibility, I cannot prove it absolutely at present) that the Shakespeare story is the earlier of the two, and, perhaps therefore, the parent of the St. David version. The evidence which seems to point in that direction is as follows:—

1. If Shakespeare had known the St. David version he surely would have definitely referred to it in the passages we are handling.

2. About the same time as Shakespeare was writing *Henry V*, or at any rate between that time and 1615, Drayton was composing his *Polyolbion*, a series of songs descriptive of the various parts of England and Wales. The *Polyolbion* is a very mine of legends of the kind with which we are dealing, and Drayton spared himself no pains in collecting them. He evidently travelled through the districts he describes, and his fidelity to Welsh topography and orthography is, for his period, remarkable. This is his version of the leek legend—

“There is an aged cell¹ with moss and ivy grown,
In which, not to this day, the sun has ever shone,
That reverend British saint, in zealous ages past,
To contemplation lived, and did so truly fast
As he did only drink what crystal Hodney yields,
And fed upon the leeks he gathered in the fields,

¹ According to the margin of the Folio Edition, this cell was in “the valley Ewias” in Monmouthshire. The name still remains in Ewias Harold, just inside the border of Hereford.

In memory of whom, in each revolving year,
 The Welshmen on his day that sacred herb do wear.
 Where of that holy man, as humbly do they crave
 That in their just defence they might his furtherance have."

If the generally-accepted legend had been in existence in Drayton's time it is impossible to believe that he would not have come across it.

3. In a work dating from about fifty years later, the *Botanologia*, or the *British Physician*, of Robert Turner, of Holshott, 1664, we have another mention of leeks in connection with Wales without any reference to the St. David story:—

Leeks: "They grow plentifully in our gardens. . . . Leeks are hot and dry in the third degree, of subtle parts, one of Mars his plants, which infuseth much valour into the Welshmen. . . ."

According to this good man, therefore, the Welsh ate leeks in order to give themselves something analogous to Dutch courage. Coming to more modern times, scholars have, as I have said, at once rejected the popular legend, and have endeavoured to account for the leek custom in various ways. Owen Pughe's suggestion is that the custom arose from the practice of every farmer contributing his leek to the common repast when they met at *Cymmortha*, an association by which they reciprocated assistance in ploughing the land. This is purely a guess; it is based upon no evidence or likelihood of any kind; besides, let us hope that Welsh farmers had something more substantial as sustenance than a leek or two per head.

In 1805, Theophilus Jones, the compiler of a *History of Brecknock*, wrote:—"As to the leek, which is now given as the badge of the Principality, curiosity seeks in vain for its allusion, or the circumstances from whence the custom of wearing it on St. David's Day originated." And in the 1898 edition of the same work we have the still fuller

statement, quoted by Mr. Herbert Arthur Evans in the Arden edition of *Henry V*:—"All we know at present of the custom is that it is derived from the English, who probably at first meant it as a mark of contempt, though it has since been adopted by the Britons as an honorary badge of distinction."

Here I think we have arrived at one definite stage in our treatment of this subject. A certain custom exists among the Welsh; certain differing legends endeavour to account for this custom—none of them do so satisfactorily. We are perfectly familiar with many similar cases in other connections—the early history of Rome, for example—and there is absolutely no doubt whatsoever that we are dealing with "aitiological myths", *i.e.*, myths invented to account for existing customs and institutions. In this case we can say with certainty that at least as early as Shakespeare's time, and probably long before, the custom existed among the Welsh of wearing leeks on St. David's Day. Attempts were made to explain the custom, and these attempts are the legends we have mentioned. This aitiological tendency is characteristic of all nations, but it seems to be particularly characteristic of the Welsh. Had I time I could show you how the whole collection known as the "Mabinogion" is honeycombed with legends of this type, and from the time of the invention of those tales up to the present day this tendency has been strongly developed among the Welsh.

As an example take the following. There are, I believe, a number of places in Wales bearing the name of Morlais, and I know for certain that the inhabitants of one of them believe that the name is due to the fact that at some spot near, a listener may hear the sound of the sea—*llais y môr*. A visitor was

recently taken by an inhabitant of a certain Morlais to the proper spot, and there, indeed, he heard the sound of the sea, although the sea was many miles away. Needless to say, what he really heard was the noise of the wind in the trees, which is capable of providing *llais y môr* anywhere. Now I quite believe, so great is my faith in this aitiological tendency, that in every "Morlais" you will find some one or other who derives the name in this way, and who can lead you to the proper spot, although there is nothing more certain than, whatever Morlais may mean (and there are doubts about its exact meaning) that it cannot by any possibility whatever mean *llais y môr*.

We are therefore thrown back upon the fact that a certain custom exists for which the traditional explanation or explanations are totally unsatisfactory; we must now turn elsewhere.

The Welsh name for "leeks" is the plural substantive *cennin*; sing. *cenhinen*.

Cornish forms *cenin*, *cennin*, *cinin*.

Breton form *kinen*.

A cognate Irish form seems also to mean "leek". But any Welsh Dictionary gives:—

Cennin cyffredin, common leeks.

Cennin y brain, wild hyacinths.

Cennin y Gwinwydd, daffodils.

Cennin Pedr, daffodils.

Cennin Ffrainc, shallots.

Cennin Ewinog, garlic.

It is evident that the term *cennin* was a kind of generic term; and of the plants so named the common leeks would naturally be the one most familiar to the majority of people. From this it follows, too—a most important point for us—that anyone meaning to speak of, say, the

hyacinth or daffodil would be very likely to be misunderstood; he would be thought to be speaking of "leeks".

There is a curious parallel in the case of English. The Old English or Anglo-Saxon form is *leac*, which we also find used as a kind of generic term applied to a number of plants, some closely related to the leek, such as the Garlick (spearleek), others belonging to quite different families, as the Hollow Leek (*Corydalis Cava*), and the House Leek (*Sempervivum Tectorum*), whose names survive to the present day. It is interesting to look up old botanical glosses, and note how the application of the name gradually narrows down. By the fifteenth or sixteenth century it is quite plain that the word "leek" alone in English would suggest the common vegetable in just the same way as the word *cennin* suggests the ordinary leeks to the average Welshman.

Going further afield than our own islands we find that the leek (*allium porrum*) is one of the best known and commonest of cultivated plants. It was known to the Egyptians, and by them almost considered sacred. The Israelites, hungering in the wilderness, we are told in *Numbers xi*, when lusting for the flesh-pots of Egypt remembered "the fish which we did eat in Egypt freely; the cucumbers, and the melons, and the leeks, and the onions, and the garlick." It was known to the Greeks and Romans, and evidently much used by them. It is grown in nearly all temperate climates. Its hardiness and its value as a food would account for its being so widely spread and so popular. As illustrating its hardiness, we may notice in the account given of the Great Frost of 1608, that the great proof of the severity of the weather lay in the fact that "the leek, whose courage hath ever been so undaunted that he hath borne up his lusty head in all storms, and could never be compelled to

shrink from hail, snow, frost, or showers, is now by the violence and cruelty of the weather beaten into the earth, being rotted, dead, disgraced, and trod upon."

It is most important to remember in the next place that except in one very doubtful instance (a supposed case in China), the leek has never been found growing wild.

I have already mentioned that in England the leek was regarded with contempt. The herbalist Gerard, in his *Herbal*, published a year before the writing of *Henry V*, declares that it "hateth the body, ingendereth naughty blood, causeth troublesome and terrible dreames, offendeth the eyes, dulleth the sight," etc. John Parkinson, the apothecary of James I, about fifty years later, is equally severe from a slightly different point of view, but more to our purpose. "Our dainty age now refuseth them wholly, in all sorts except the poorest; they are used with us sometimes in Lent to make pottage, and is [*sic*] a great and general feeding in Wales with the vulgar gentlemen."

But two hundred and fifty years before this we find the leek used as a proverbial expression for something utterly valueless. In the *Romaunt of the Rose*, whether it be Chaucer's or not, we find the author speaking of physicians and advocates:—

"For by her wille, without leese
Every man sholde be seke,
And though they die, they settle *not a leke*—"

i.e., not the least bit. And again:—

"And other suche, *deare ynough a Leeke*—"

i.e., dear enough at the cost of a leek, the most worthless thing that it could be compared to.

Again, in the *Child of Bristowe*, we hear that:—

"The beste song that ever was made
Ys not worth a Leky's blade,
But men will tend ther tillie."

The best song ever made is not worth a leek blade (*i.e.*, is worthless) unless men will listen to it.

Even at this stage it seems to me fair to ask: Is it likely that any nation would choose a cultivated vegetable of this kind as its national emblem? There is absolutely nothing of distinction or note in the leek, and there ought decidedly to be something of the kind in order to justify the extraordinary selection of a cultivated vegetable as a national emblem. For we find that such emblems are usually wild flowers—the English rose—the Irish shamrock (about which, by the way, there exists a deal of controversy; several plants claim to be the true shamrock, all of them, of course, wild)—the Scotch thistle—the fleur-de-lys of France (be it iris or lily)—the broom (*planta genista*) of the Plantagenets.¹ Before, therefore, beginning to think of accepting a vegetable as a national emblem we ought to require the strongest of direct evidence in its favour. Of that kind of evidence we have absolutely none; more than that, the one piece of evidence which is nearest to being what we many term direct is, in itself, I think, quite fatal to the claim of the leek. I owe it to Professor Rhys and a North Welsh friend of mine that in some parts of North Wales (Anglesey for instance) leeks are far from common, and they are *not known* as *cennin*, but as *lécs*. It hardly needs pointing out that the word *lécs* is only a Cymricised form of the English name “leeks”. It is impossible to exaggerate the value of this apparently tiny fact. It means that the so-called national emblem of Wales is unknown even by name in large districts of Wales, which is an unthinkable state of affairs.

¹ As heraldic badges—exactly similar cases—we have the columbine as the badge of the Greys of Witten, the oak badge of the Stewarts, and the fir, holly, juniper, pine, heather, and mistletoe as the badges of Scotch clans.

We are therefore driven to the conclusion that the leek is not the national emblem. Almost equal in value to this piece of evidence is the fact, attested by one of the keenest of Welsh antiquaries, a man whose wide knowledge of everything Welsh was not to be surpassed in his own day, William Owen Pughe. He tells us in his *Cambrian Biography*, under the head of "*Dewi*", that he had never heard of the custom of wearing leeks on St. David's Day until he went to London. Is it, therefore, possible to think of the leek as the "national" emblem in any sense of the word?

But still "*y genhinen*" may quite well be that emblem all the while, and if we translate it as "daffodil", and not "leek", we not only remove every difficulty, but also explain how the difficulty arose.

But, it may be fairly asked, are we justified in supposing that people could fall into such an error as we suggest? Is it not accusing them of rather too much silliness? Not in the least! Far more foolish errors than this are constantly being unearthed by students of history, folklore, and kindred subjects. One of the most colossal still persists up to the present day, and forms a subject of wonderment both to those who believe in it and to those who do not. In addition, the instance I am about to give, turning as it does upon the misunderstanding of a word, forms an excellent analogue to the case we are discussing. About half-a-mile from the Cathedral in Cologne stands the Church of St. Ursula. Built into the walls of this Church, preserved in chests, shrines, cases and stone tombs, are thousands of bones and skulls, which we are gravely told are the remains of St. Ursula and eleven thousand virgins who were massacred by the Huns on the spot where the Church was built. St. Ursula was the daughter of a British prince named Deonotus, and she,

with ten virgin companions and eleven thousand attendant virgins, sailed for Rome, and on her return met her death at Cologne along with her companions. This was supposed to have taken place 238, 283, or 451 A.D. The story first appeared in the eighth century, was developed in the twelfth, and was popularised by Geoffrey of Monmouth. It was a tale after this "saucy and shameless liar's" own heart (I borrow William of Newbury's compliment to Geoffrey).

The ridiculousness of the story needs no pointing out. Its artificial character is shown by the "elevens". Ursula and her more intimate companions made up eleven, and with them went eleven thousand more. The idea of eleven thousand and eleven virgins getting together and setting out for Rome in (at the latest) the fifth century is absurd on the face of it. But merely calling it absurd is insufficient. We must account for the tale, and although I do not vouch for the absolute accuracy of the explanation (as I said at the beginning, in cases of this kind direct historical evidence is seldom obtainable), the following is probably what occurred. The lady Ursula *did* meet her death at Cologne along with her companion Onesimilla, and it is quite possible that they were martyred by the Huns (a fashionable name for the wilder inhabitants of Europe). In a Latin monkish chronicle an entry recording the martyrdom would read as "Ursula et Onesimilla, virgines"—"Ursula and Onesimilla, virgins", were put to death, etc. In copying this later, perhaps in the eighth century, if the copying were done from dictation, it would be the easiest thing in the world for the scribes to understand "Ursula et undecim mille virgines"—"Ursula and eleven thousand virgins." The Catholic Church would make no difficulty in discovering the necessary bones and skulls; it has accomplished more difficult feats than that.

So, in comparison with a colossal error of this type, there is nothing out of the ordinary in supposing that *cennin* should be taken to mean leeks and not daffodils.

So much for the bulk of the case against the leek. It is not yet quite finished with, there are still some arguments to bring forward, but we shall leave them for the present and turn to the claims of the daffodil.

I have already pointed out that it is known (in the plural) as *cennin pedr*, or *cennin y gwinwydd*.

It is by far the most striking of the flowers that bloom in the early spring,

“ Daffodils
That come before the swallow dares, and takes
The winds of March with beauty.”

For this reason it is the most likely, one may say the obvious, flower to be chosen for a Saint's Day falling on March the First. It is sometimes called *Lili Fawrth* (March Lily), and is known in Carmarthenshire as *Blodyn Mish Mawrth* (The Flower of the Month of March).

The daffodil rejoices in the botanical name of *Narcissus Pseudo-Narcissus*, and the recognised name has also the form *daffadil*, *daffadilly*, *daffadowndilly*. The word originally was the same as *asphodel*, and at first meant that flower; but it was soon applied to the narcissus, and is now properly confined to a section of that species. Its earlier form was *affodil*, or *affadil*, the modern initial “d” is as yet quite unaccounted for. The root is, of course, the Latin *asphodelus*, from the Greek *asphodelos*, in spite of a derivation very often quoted in books of the popular type, a derivation which was the work of some titled lady whose name I have forgotten. “It comes”, says this lady, “from the Anglo-Saxon words ‘affo dyle’, meaning, ‘that which cometh early’.” There is only one difficulty in accepting this derivation; there are no such words in Anglo-Saxon

or any other language, and therefore they may mean anything her ladyship pleases.

The flower has an enormous number of popular names. Lide Lily = March (*Hlyd-monath*) Lily, in West of England. In Devonshire—Lent Rose, Lent Lily, Lentalily, Lents, Lentils. In other places Butter-and-Egg Narcissus.¹ In Germany one variety is called *Joseph's Stab*. In China a small variety is called *Shui Sin Fa*, Water Fairy Flower. In Wales, among other things, daffodils are called *Blodau Mis Mawrth*, and again in the singular, *Y Lili Bengam* (the crooked lily), *Lili Fawrth* and *Lili Grawys*; and, most striking of all for our purpose, in places as far asunder as Landebie in South Wales, and Talycafn in North Wales, daffodils are called *Blodau Dewi*, The Flowers of St. David!

Leeks, we find, are extremely rare in North Wales, and are not known there by their Welsh name. Daffodils, on the other hand, are to be found everywhere in Wales. In the lower part of the Conway Valley there is a church noted for the profusion of daffodils around; they turn the whole immediate neighbourhood into a sheet of gold in springtime. That church is known as *Llanbedr-y-cennin*, which can mean nothing more nor less than St. Peter's of the Daffodils. Leeks are out of the question.

A deal of lore attaches to the daffodil; indeed, when we remember what an enormous amount of lore of all kinds is connected with flowers as a whole, we naturally expect to find such a striking flower as this possessed of at least its fair share. In Greek legend it seems to have been the symbol of perishableness and death. It was sacred to the divinity of the nether world, Hades. Persephone had just gathered a narcissus when she was carried off by Hades.

¹ And quoted in Halliwell's *Dictionary* we find Cencleffe = Daffodil, a form I should like to know more about.

The earth, at the instigation of Jupiter, had brought forth the flower as a lure for the unsuspecting maiden.

In country places there exist at the present day many queer beliefs concerning this flower. In Devonshire, for instance, one blossom alone must not be carried into a house because it brings some form of ill-luck. In a farmhouse the supposed consequence is the failure of the brood of ducks for that year. Strangely enough, a handful of blossoms is supposed to do no harm.

But, as I have already hinted, such a vast number of similar beliefs exists about such a number of flowers, plants, trees, leaves, etc., that we cannot base any arguments whatsoever upon their existence. It may possibly be said that such beliefs may indicate the early existence of some special deference paid to the flower; but upon this I do not wish to insist.

But there *does* exist a widespread custom in connection with the daffodil which I cannot help thinking of great importance in connection with our subject.

Anne Pratt, in her *Flowering Plants of Great Britain*, published sixteen years ago, tells us that "In Hertfordshire and other counties, an old custom still exists of gathering these flowers and placing them on sticks; and these bouquets are carried by children into town, who sing the old Norfolk ditty:—

‘Daffy down dilly is coming to town’, etc.,

and term this custom, ‘Going a daffying’.” In this we are referred to Hertfordshire and Norfolk. During the eighteenth century a gala was kept up by the boys of Lanark Grammar School in Scotland in which daffodils were used. The Rev. Hilderic Friend remarks that “going a daffying” is a village custom evidently quite common, because he does not specify any particular part of the

country in which it takes place. He gives the rhyme used in full :—

“Daff a down dill
Has now come to town
In a yellow petticoat
And a green gown.”

In Lancashire, too, the custom seems to exist; and there the children sell the daffodils for pins, as it is considered unlucky to take money. This, again, seems to me to point most distinctly to some kind of sacred association.

In Devonshire the custom has become amalgamated with another, that of Cockthrowing in Lent. Daffodils are there called (in addition to other Devonian names already mentioned) Lent Cocks, and they are decapitated, instead of chanticleers, in deference to modern good feelings which condemn the older, more brutal, and “bluggy” performances.

Traces of a similar custom exist in Wales, but they seem to have died out rapidly during the past fifty or sixty years.¹

I think that instances drawn from Hertfordshire, Norfolk, Lanark, Lancashire, Devonshire, and Wales furnish absolute proof of a widespread custom in this island of connecting the daffodil with some festival in early March. A sanguine partisan of the daffodil would perhaps see a great deal more than that.

That this fact may be important evidence cannot be denied, and it may be important in this way. Folklore and country customs of this kind persist for long ages with a tenacity truly astonishing. I am afraid I have not the time left to illustrate the point, but I am sure you will let

¹ People now living, however, still remember the actual custom of wearing daffodils on St. David's Day! This striking corroboration comes just as this is going to press, and I have no opportunity of enlarging upon it.

me take that for granted, as one of the common-places of this kind of research. We are doing nothing very extraordinary, therefore, in supposing this daffodil-custom to be exceedingly old. Now we know again that the Anglo-Saxon conquest was not, as it has too often been supposed, a crushing out of the Celts and a substitution for them of Teutonic invaders. Authorities are now practically agreed that the present population of Great Britain is at least half Celtic in origin. Again, the existing superstitions and customs of the conquered race are often adopted and preserved by their conquerors. Therefore I see no difficulty in supposing that this custom is a relic of an old Celtic custom, perhaps ultimately connected with some early form of nature-worship. If this is so, if the daffodil was the subject of some rite in the very earliest times, it does not prevent its adoption as the national emblem; and even if the custom did not take its origin in this way, our case is unaffected. In other words, Blodau Dewi might well have been connected with nature-worship in spring before the sixth century (the age of Dewi Sant), and the custom would be adopted and sanctioned by him, in accordance with the policy of the early Church, which took over all "pagan" feasts and gave them some Christian significance, as was done in the case of Christmas and Easter.

Even were that not so, there is no difficulty in believing that St. David might have had a warm place in his heart for the daffodil. This is far more likely than the tradition concerning his decoration of the Welsh warriors with leeks, for he seems to have been a peace-loving person, to whom a love of the flowers of the field seems far more natural than the lust of battle. He is first mentioned in the *Annales Cambriae*, in the tenth century, where we learn that he died in 601. The legendary history concerning him is somewhat extensive, and was first collected by

Rhygyfarch, Bishop of St. David's, 1090. It is plain that Rhygyfarch's *Biography*, written nearly five hundred years after the death of David, can hardly be a reliable document. It is almost needless to add that none of his early biographers mention the leek story, and although it would be dangerous in the extreme to attach much value to the events recorded in these biographies, it is, perhaps, not so dangerous to take from them the general impression that they give, namely, that they record the life of a mild and saintly priest.

Let us now examine the question on entirely different grounds. Knowing what we do of Welsh literature and of the Welsh temperament, it is quite fair to ask whether the Welsh people, or any Welshman concerned with the choice, would have chosen the leek as an emblem rather than the daffodil. One of the chief characteristics of early Welsh literature is the love of glowing colour and beauty. Take for instance the following passage from the *Mabinogion*, from the tale of *Kilhwch and Olwen* :—

“And the youth pricked forth upon a steed with head dappled grey, of four winters' old, firm of limb, with shell-formed hoofs, having a bridle of linked gold on his head, and upon him a saddle of costly gold. And in the youth's hand were two spears of silver, sharp, well-tempered, headed with steel, three ells in length, of an edge to wound the wind, and cause blood to flow, and swifter than the fall of the dewdrop from the blade of reed-grass upon the earth when the dew of June is at the heaviest. A gold-hilted sword was at his thigh, the blade of which was of gold, bearing a cross of inlaid gold of the hue of the lightning of heaven ; his war-horn was of ivory. Before him were two brindled white-breasted greyhounds, having strong collars of rubies about their necks, reaching from the shoulder to the ear. And the one on the left side bounded across to the right side, and the one on the right to the left, and like two sea-swallows sported around him. And his courser cast up four sods with his four hoofs, like four swallows in the air, about his head, now above, now below. About him was a four-cornered

cloth of purple, and an apple of gold was at each corner, and every one of the apples was of the value of an hundred kine. And there was precious gold of the value of three hundred kine upon his shoes, and upon his stirrups, from his knee to the tip of his toe. And the blade of grass bent not beneath him, so light was his courser's tread as he journeyed towards the gate of Arthur's palace."¹

Is that the spirit which would choose the leek in preference to the daffodil?

In a poem ascribed to the mysterious and problematic Taliessin (which may date from the ninth century), known as *Adfwynau Taliessin*, "The things pleasant to Taliessin," we come across the phrase, "Adfwyn lluarth pan llwydd y genin," translated by Skene as "Pleasant [is] the camp when the leek flourishes." Here I should suggest reading "llyarth" for "lluarth", and translating it as "Pleasant is the bank (or slope) when daffodils flourish," especially as the next line reads, "Arall adfwyn katawarth yn egin," "Pleasant also the charlock² in the springing corn," for the charlock too is yellow, and the connection therefore seems quite natural. If that is so, that phrase is probably the earliest reference to the daffodil in modern literature, and, fittingly, it is to be found in the literature of the nation, to whom the daffodil ought to mean more than to any other.

Summing up the case in a few words, it seems that we can reconstruct with great probability the actual happenings in connection with the national emblem of Wales. This emblem was, in the first place, the daffodil, *y genhinen*; the exact method of its adoption we can only guess at, although we can supply many reasons for the choice.

¹ *The Mabinogion*, Lady Guest's translation, Ed. Nutt, pp. 103, 104.

² Queerly enough, although it has, of course, no direct bearing on the point, the *-lock* in charlock, hamlock = A.S. *leac* = leek.

Owing to similarity of name it became confused with the leek, and the enormous influence of Shakespeare (along with, probably, a mischievous delight on the part of the English in bantering the Welsh on the subject), served to perpetuate the error, although abundant proofs that the belief was an error lay ready to hand, as we have seen, in all parts of Wales.

But what of the future? Judging from the letters I have received from those Welshmen to whom I have written, the restoration of the daffodil to its own kingdom ought to be a very simple process. All that is necessary is the giving of an authoritative lead; and perhaps you will forgive me for saying that I can conceive of no body better fitted for that task than this Society, nor can I conceive of any task which this Society might more fittingly undertake.

WELSH CHURCH DEDICATIONS.¹

BY THE REV. J. FISHER, B.D.,

Rector of Cefn, St. Asaph.

HOOKE, in the sixteenth century, expressed the orthodox Anglican view of Church Dedication in the following words:—

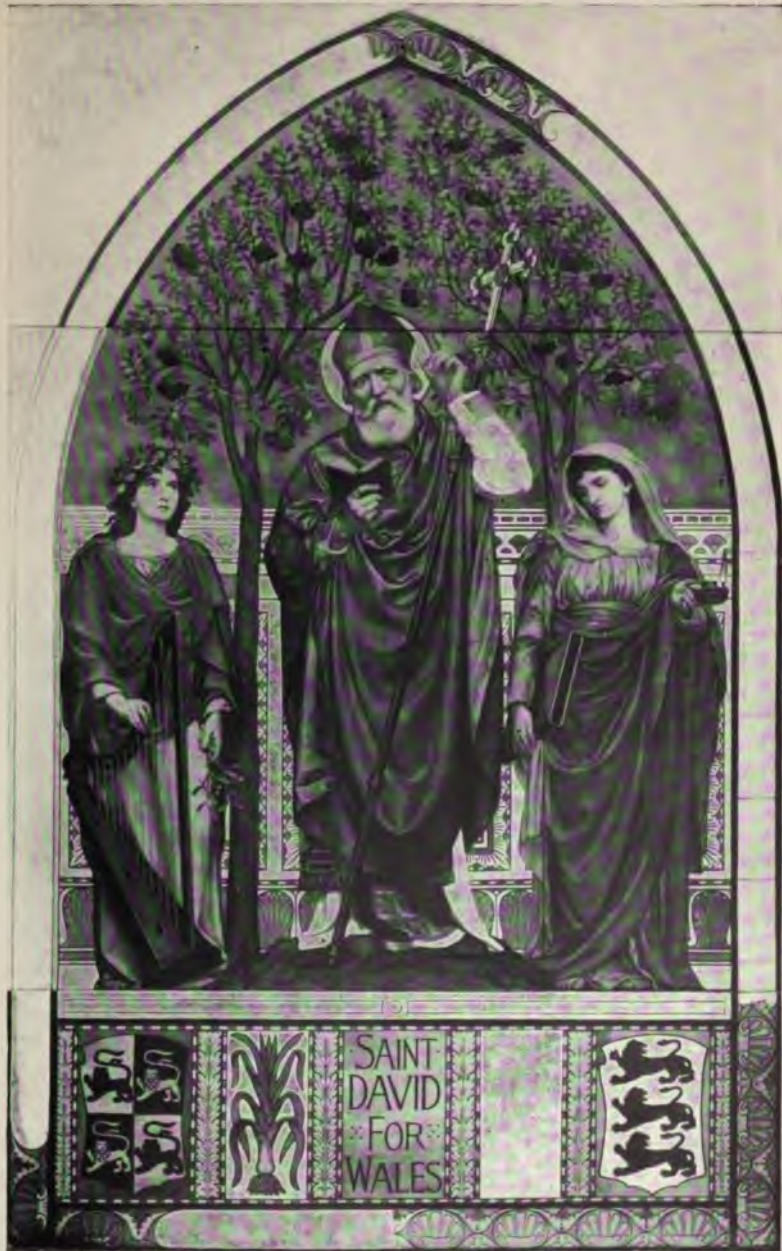
“That churches were consecrated unto none but the Lord only, the very general name itself doth sufficiently shew. . . . And because the multitude, as of persons, so of things particular, causeth variety of proper names to be devised for distinction sake, founders of churches did herein that which best liked their own conceit at the present time; yet each intending, that as oft as those buildings came to be mentioned, the name should put men in mind of some memorable thing or person.”²

True to this ancient principle of Church Dedication are the “Memorial Churches” which are of late becoming somewhat fashionable, such as the “Albert Memorial Church” in Manchester, the “Hook Memorial Church” in Leeds, and the “Lightfoot Memorial Church” in Sunderland.

This, however, was not the principle which underlay church dedication so-called in Wales during the Age of the Welsh Saints, *i.e.*, the fifth to the seventh centuries, though there was a small class, the Merthyrs, which partook of the memorial type. The great bulk of the earliest churches in Wales were called after the names

¹ Read before the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion at 20, Hanover Square, on Wednesday, the 1st of May, 1907. Chairman, the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of St. Asaph.

² *Eccles. Polity*, v, 13.



S. DAVID.

Reproduced by permission of Sir EDWARD POYNTER, P.R.A., from his original Cartoon (now at the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington), for the decoration of the Central Hall of the Houses of Parliament.

of their actual founders, and not after departed saints. This, as a general principle for that class of churches, was first enunciated and illustrated in detail by Professor Rice Rees in his *Essay on the Welsh Saints*, published in 1836, a remarkably clever and sound piece of work, particularly when is considered the scanty material he had to go upon. Formal dedication in the modern technical sense was then unknown in the Welsh Church; this came later, under foreign ecclesiastical influences, when the Welsh Saints themselves became venerated as patrons and advocates. The churches were simply named after the pious persons who raised them, just as a house or other building is to-day often enough called in Wales. The founders would certainly not "dedicate" churches to themselves. The relationship, in fact, was more than that of dedication, it was one of ownership; so that when the term dedication is applied to these churches it must be understood to mean what has been very properly termed "proprietary" dedication. We have a curious illustration of the principle in the *Book of Llan Dáv*,¹ in a grant to that monastery, where we are told that Guruodu, King of Erging, erected and endowed the church of Lann Guorboe "in honour of the Holy Trinity, and therein placed his priest (*sacerdos*) Guorboe" to perform the offices of the church, which church was henceforth known by the name of its first priest-in-charge. We are indebted to this custom of "dedicating" churches to their living founders for the preservation of very many Saints' names, which would otherwise have been wholly lost.

Bede² has described for us the Celtic mode of church consecration or dedication, entering into greater detail than usual, no doubt because it was foreign to his Latin ideas. According to him, the founder had to go and

¹ P. 162.

² *Hist. Eccl.*, iii, 23.

reside for a certain time on the proposed site, for it was the custom to "first consecrate with prayer and fasting those places which had been newly obtained for founding a monastery or church"; and, in the case he mentions, the founder fasted "for the whole forty days of Lent", after which the erection of the building was proceeded with. But it may be a matter for doubt whether this dedication ceremony was gone through in the case of every ecclesiastical foundation, particularly the smaller ones.

We need not be deterred from accepting these Saints as the original founders of so many of the churches that bear their names, because they are credited with having actually built them, for a church in those days merely meant, in most cases, a small oratory, which was generally constructed of timber. In fact, many of the churches of to-day were originally simply hermitages or cells, and have been named after the hermits or anchorites who occupied them. That they must have been quite small we may gather from the measurements of Irish churches of the period that have been recorded. The early Welsh Christians do not appear to have acquired the building art of the Romans during their occupation of Britain. That the Celtic churches were usually constructed of wood we know, and that even down to the twelfth century in Ireland.¹ In Wales, St. Kentigern, in the sixth century, erected his monastery on the banks of the Elwy "of planed wood, after the manner of the Britons", and not of stone, as "it was not then the custom".² St. Gwynllyw built his church (now St. Woolos) at Newport, Monmouth, of "boards and rods";³ and it was of timber, it would appear, that his son, St. Cadoc,⁴ ultimately built Cadoxton-juxta-

¹ St. Bernard, *Vita S. Malachie*, c. vi, sec. 14.

² Joscelyn, *Vita S. Kentigerni*, c. 24.

³ *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 148.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 46.



S. BRYCHAN.

From Stained Glass Window, S. Neot, Cornwall.

Neath. Similarly, St. Aidan of Ferns, when in Wales, was minded to build a church, it was to be of timber cut in the forest;¹ and it was with timber cut in the forest that St. Finnian of Clonard, with other monks, built near St. David's.² In fact, we have a survival of this primitive mode of church building in the little timber-built church of Molverley, in the Diocese of St. Asaph. But stone was also occasionally employed, for St. Illtyd built Llantwit Major of "stone materials, and surrounded it with a quadrangular dyke".³ The same was true of the *castell*. In fact, such early stonework, whether ecclesiastical or military, as remains to-day, that we do not owe to Norman architects, is comparatively very little.

This theory, that churches were named after their actual founders, has of late been controverted, but the conclusions set forth are, upon the whole, too sweeping and misleading. It is perfectly true that the numerous Teilo and Dewi churches could not well have been all founded in person by those two great Saints, but were designated Llandeilo and Llanddewi because they at an early period belonged to the monasteries of Llandaff and St. David's respectively. That the Dewi churches were regarded as "proprietary" churches we know from the poem, *Canu y Dewi*, by Gwynfardd Brycheiniog (*flor. c. 1160-1220*).⁴ In that poem he enumerates some twenty churches only, which he says were owned by Dewi—*Dewi bieu* is his phrase—and in the list are included churches with other dedications, such as Llangyfelach and Llangadog, but inasmuch as they had subsequently become the possessions of his monastery, they had been "rededicated" to him.

¹ *Acta SS. Hibern.* in *Cod. Salam.*, p. 484.

² *Book of Lismore*, ed. Whitley Stokes, p. 192.

³ *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 164.

⁴ *Red Book of Hergest*, col. 1186; *Myv. Arch.*, p. 194.

Such churches were colonies of those two monasteries, and were served, no doubt, by monks from them. As we find in the *Book of Llan Dáv*, land would first be granted to that monastery by some local chief, and on this a church



S. TEILO.

From Fifteenth-Century Stained Glass at Plogonec, Finistère.

would be built, which would be entered among the possessions of the monastery, and called after Teilo. The same would, no doubt, occur in the case of the Dewi churches; and it is a characteristic of these latter churches that they

often come in groups or clusters. A church would be planted in a certain district, possibly by Dewi himself, or by his monastery after his decease, and from it there would be local offshoots, bearing the name of Dewi. It was the form "Church extension" took in those days. All this was perfectly true, but after all it only accounts for a comparatively small number of churches. How, for instance, about the many churches in the Diocese of Llandaff alone, called after Welsh Saints, of which there is no record whatever in the *Book of Llan Dáv*, a twelfth century compilation, that they belonged to the monastery of Teilo?

But what is much more damaging to this theory that all churches bearing Welsh Saints' names were colonies of some monastery or other, with its abbot, as chief of the tribe of the saint, at their head, is the fact that the whole of Central and North Wales is studded over with churches, called after persons known to have lived during the Age of the Saints, which cannot by any stretch of imagination be said to have been colonies or offshoots of any monasteries, simply because there were no monasteries in those parts of the greatness and influence of the Teilo and Dewi ones to colonize them; and the churches in Central Wales especially were too far distant from the existing northern monasteries, no less than the southern ones, to come within the scope of their influence.

In brief, this late theory may be taken as true to some extent only, particularly in the case of those two powerful South Wales monasteries; but the principle cannot be applied to Welsh dedications generally. The theory has been pushed too far; there is no proof that the Welsh churches were all settlements from certain monasteries. The cumulative evidence of the extant *Lives of the Welsh Saints*, and of local tradition wherever it exists, or did



S. WINEFRED.

*From Fifteenth-Century Glass in Chancel Window,
Llandyrnog Church, Denbighshire.*

exist, is, that the churches were founded by the persons whose names they bear, and their founders (for instance, Beuno, Carannog, and Cybi, among others) are represented as moving from place to place, without regard to tribal boundaries or any restriction, much like Christian missionaries to-day in foreign parts. Too much has been made of the Irish parallel. But we know, too, from the *Lives of the Irish Saints*, that they were even more restless than the Welsh Saints, planting churches far and wide, even across the seas. The supposed Welsh Saints, Caron, Cennech, Ffinan, Myllin, Saeran, Sannan, and others, were Irish-bred; and many of the Celtic Saints, Welsh and Irish, had a great reputation as church-founders in Brittany.

A good number of the Welsh Saints we can only describe as hermits or anchorites. There are, for instance, two churches to-day in Anglesey, Llaneugrad and Llanallgo, dedicated to two brothers, sons of Caw and brothers of Gildas. The Monk of Ruys, in his *Life of Gildas*, tells us the origin of these two churches. He says—"Egreas (Eugrad), with his brother Alleccus (Gallgo), and their sister Peteova (Peithian), a virgin consecrated to God, having given up their patrimony and renounced worldly pomp, retired to the remotest part of that country (*i.e.*, Anglesey), and at no great distance from each other, built, each one for himself, an oratory, placing their sister in the middle one. . . . They were buried in the oratories which they had built, and are preserved there, famous and illustrious for their constant miracles."

Similar instances occur of Saints who may be regarded as hermits and first planters of Christianity in certain localities. Another trio, the children of Hawystl Gloff, Diheufyr (the Deiferus of the *Life of St. Winefred* by Prior

¹ *Gildas*, Vita 1^{ma} ed. Prof. Hugh Williams, p. 327.

Robert of Shrewsbury), Teyrnog, and Marchell, settled in the Vale of Clwyd, and had their cells at Bodfari, Llandyrnog, and Llanfarchell (now Denbigh), which ultimately became those churches of to-day, the parishes of which adjoin. Their two other brothers, Tyfrydog and Tudur, have churches at Llandyfrydog in Anglesey, and Darowen in Montgomeryshire. Other instances of brothers or companions so settling near each other might be mentioned, but many more of whole families being dispersed all over Wales, and sometimes beyond it.

These dedications mark the first stage in the evangelization of the country; and the names of the first planters of Christianity here have been handed down crystallized in these Church names. Their footprints are so frequent in some districts that we can hardly go a couple of miles without lighting upon some memorial or other of these primitive church founders. There are embedded in these church names, of the early and mediæval periods, whole chapters of Welsh church history.

Our earliest name for a church is no doubt *Llan*; but another very early term is *Merthyr*. This latter does not appear to have had in Wales the same meaning as the Latin *Martyrium*, a church erected over a martyr's grave. There were but very few martyrs of the Welsh church in the ordinary sense of the word. The former fairly numerous *Merthyr*-names were probably bestowed as in Ireland, where the term meant a cemetery, which had been sanctified by the relics (*martre*) of some saint, with probably a small chapel. The *Merthyr*-names occur principally in S.E. Wales, and there is but one instance that I know of in the whole of North Wales—*Merthyr Caffo*,¹ in Anglesey, now Llangaffo. There are in all sixteen *Merthyrs* indexed in the *Book of Llan Dáv*, which were of

¹ *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 186.

the nature of "Memorials" to the Saints whose names they bore. By the twelfth century the term had become synonymous with *Llan* and *Ecclesia*. In the *Book of Llan Dŷr Merthir Cynfal* is otherwise called *Llan Cinfall* and *Ecclesia Cinfal*. The prefix has been superseded in most cases by *Llan*, as in Merthir Machen, now Llanfaches, and Martir Celer, now Llangeler, and occasionally by *Eglwys*, as in Merthir Iwan, now Eglwys Iwan.¹ Speaking of the prefix in Church-names, in one instance in the *Book of Llan Dŷr, Monasterium, Llan, Ecclesia, and Cella* are treated as synonymous. I refer to the Gower Church known to-day as Bishopston by the English, and formerly as Llandeilo Ferwallt by the Welsh: it occurs in the MS. mentioned with all these terms prefixed to Conuur, its original saint. The *Heallan*-names were once fairly numerous, but such as have survived are few; some have become *Llans*. From *Heallan* we have the diminutive *Heallenic* of the *Book of Llan Dŷr*,² of which there are a few instances. They appear to have been subordinate churches or chapels. There is no instance of *Capel*, *Bettws*, or *Dyserth* in the *Book of Llan Dŷr*. *Capel* is clearly a comparatively late loan-word, which we probably adopted from the Normans. We derived *cafell* from *capella* at an earlier stage. The subordinate *Capel* has in many instances become a *Llan*. The extinct *Capel Llanfihangel*, near Fishguard, and *Llanfihangel Capel Edwin*, now Eglwys Fach, Cardiganshire, are strange combinations. *Bettws*, i.e., Bead-house (a house of prayer, thence an alms-house), had been fully established in Wales by the time of the Norwich *Taxatio*,

¹ The Merthir Tudhistil of the *Cognatio de Brychan*, mentioned as Llan Dydstyl in a plaint in Aneurin Owen's edition of the *Welsh Laws* (p. 625), survives in the farm-name Capel Tydst, in the parish of Llandeilo Fawr.

² See index, p. 404. Compare the Lennic on p. 197, and the Llan Gwlwg Lenig of *Myr. Arch.*, p. 750.

1254. Bettws Cadwaladr has become Llangadwaladr (Denb.), and Pentraeth (Angl.) was formerly Llanfair Bettws Geraint. The Dyserth Sanfreyd of the *Taxatio* of 1291 is the Llansantffraid Glan Conwy of to-day. No *Cil*, in the sense of *Cella*, occurs in the *Book of Llan Dáv*, becoming afterwards *Llan* or *Eglwys*; and it appears that in the instances it occurs it is merely descriptive. The word corresponding in meaning to the Irish and Gaelic *Cill* is *cell*, borrowed from the Latin *cella*. We have a few other prefixes to Saints' names, particularly *Bod* and *Tre*, and the occasional *Ilech*, *Maen*, and *Ty*.

The Welsh were not in the habit of "styling" their own Saints, but they did so in the case of "strangers"; hence we find Llansantffraid, Llansantsior, Llansantffagan (also Llanffagan), and Lann Sant Guainerth (now St. Weonard's). Llandyfeisant, under Llandeilo Fawr, seems to stand alone.

Sometimes we have as church-names simply the saint's name without prefix, as in Baglan, Ceidio, Llywel, and Llywes. Sometimes the prefix has been dropped, as in Kiffyg, formerly Lann Ceffic (Carm.), and Clodock, formerly Merthir Clitauc (Heref.). Occasionally the Welsh prefix is transposed in English—Lann Cein has become Kent-church, and Lann Cinitir, Kender-church. In Llanfihangel yng Ngheri, now Kerry, Llanfihangel y Bugeildy, now Bugeildy, and Llanfihangel y Bettws, now Bettws y Coed, the Archangel's name has disappeared, but the churches are still dedicated to him. Similarly, Llanfair y bri has become Llanybri, and Llanarmon ym Mechain, Llanfechain.

There are to-day not many churches in Wales without some dedication or other. They are more numerous in Pembrokeshire than elsewhere. Though the ecclesiastical element is a very distinctive and preponderating feature of

our parish names, as compared with the English ones, it has not always served to preserve the names of the original dedicatees of many of our churches, and so their names are often lost to us. Sometimes the name has been deliberately changed, generally at the rebuilding of a church, to that of some better-known Saint in the Calendar of the Latin Church. But the "historical continuity" of the Church in Wales is never so apparent as by the names of those early saints, which have clung so tenaciously to those ancient spots which they have hallowed for well-nigh fourteen centuries. There are means of recovering some of even the more obscure ones. Forgotten dedications not infrequently turn up in mediæval wills, it being customary for the testator to define carefully the church in which he desired to be buried, or to which he bequeathed money or land. Terriers and other church records also now and again supply anonymous churches with their missing dedications. Sometimes the holy well or some other object in the parish has preserved it. To take one instance only to illustrate how the correct dedication of a church has been lost: The church of Erbistock, *i.e.*, Erbin's Stoke, has for many generations been regarded as dedicated to St. Hilary. In the *Valor* of 1535 (vi, p. xlv), however, we find entered under Erbistock, "It' y^e offryng of Saynt Erbyns". But the well-attested Festival of St. Erbin on January 13 and that of St. Hilary "occurred", which explains how St. Erbin, the rightful patron, has disappeared. In the Middle Ages the parishes were often very large, the outlying hamlets being served by numerous chapels. At the Reformation these chapels, and especially the chantry chapels, perished by the score. Under the two Cardigan-shire parishes alone, Llandyssul and Llanwenog, Rees¹

¹ *Welsh Saints*, p. 328.

mentions six and four extinct chapels respectively. These chapels, as well as their dedications, are in many cases now clean forgotten, but farm and field names sometimes retain them.

In England they took precaution to have the name of the patron saint preserved. Archbishop Wulfred ordered, in 816, that it be "written on the walls of the oratory, or in a table, and also on the altars, to what Saints both of them are dedicated".¹ And Archbishop Gray, in 1250, ordered that there should be "the principal image in the chancel of that Saint to which the church is dedicated".² The latter provision was observed in the case of Welsh churches too, during, at any rate, the late Middle Ages.

Another clue to the recovery of a lost dedication is the wake-date, or the principal fair, for the mediæval church was the centre and rallying-point of the common life in every parish, as witnessed by the canons and constitutions passed from time to time for restraining or repressing the holding of markets, fairs, and sports within the precincts of the church. The *Gwyl Mabsant* represented the *Encenia*, or anniversary feast, kept in memory of the dedication of a church. I am quite aware of the distinction between the Feast of the Patron or Title and the Feast of Dedication, but to the Welsh, latterly at any rate, the *Gwyl Mabsant* did for both. Henry VIII's order for altering or removing the Dedication Feast to the first Sunday in October seems to have been, fortunately, practically ignored by the Welsh.

Fairs were very generally held on the Festivals of the Church, and always, it would appear, on the Festivals of the Welsh Saints. At Cardigan and Whitland, with both churches dedicated to the Virgin, fairs were at one time annually held on five of her six Festivals; at Rhuddlan,

¹ Wilkins, *Concilia*, i, p. 169.

² *Ibid.*, i, p. 698.

also St. Mary, on four of her Festivals. But the old fair days have to be used with caution, as sometimes the fair was held on the Eve of the Saint's Day. To take Nevin for instance. Its old name in full was Llanfair yn Nefyn, with dedication to the Virgin on the Feast of the Assumption. There were fairs there on two of her Eves, O.S., March 24 and August 14. This, by the way, puts the supposed dedication to Nefyn, or rather Nyfain, daughter of Brychan, out of court. So with Llanrwst Church, dedicated to St. Gwrwst or Grwst. His Festival, Gwyl Rwst, occurs on December 1 in a great many of the early Welsh Calendars. A fair was held there, O.S., on its eve, November 30, which happens to be also St. Andrew's Day. This will account for the church being sometimes given as dedicated to St. Andrew instead of to St. Grwst. Similarly, the Festival of a Saint of the Welsh Calendar, chancing to fall on the Festival of a Saint in the Calendar of the Church Catholic, has been the means of altering the dedication of several churches. For instance, Llaneurgain or Northop is now dedicated to SS. Peter and Eurgain, because their Festivals "occurred" on June 29; Llandrinio, now to SS. Peter, Paul, and Trinio, for the same reason; and St. Mordeyrn of Nantglyn has in the same way been completely ousted by St. James.

The Dewi churches and chapels are very numerous. Rees, in 1836, enumerated them as fifty-three in all, being the third favourite dedication in Wales. Excepting eight in Llandaff and three in Hereford they are all in St. David's diocese. But he, of course, took no account of the dedications to him in Cornwall, Devon, and elsewhere in England, as well as in Brittany. There are no ancient Dewi dedications in North Wales—Llanddewi in Denbighshire is misleading, being a modern parish and church

(1867). Dewi is still the one purely Welsh Saint that has been formally canonized, probably during the first quarter of the twelfth century, and evidently with the object of helping forward the fusion of the two Churches. Archbishop Arundel, under a constitution of 1398, and Archbishop Chicheley, under another of 1415, ordained that his Festival be observed as one of the higher rank throughout the province of Canterbury.¹

His Life is beset with difficulties, and it is not improbable that there may have been one or more other church founders of the name, who in the Middle Ages became welded into one. Dewi was not an uncommon name formerly. There are four persons of the name, two clerics and two laymen, indexed in the *Book of Llan Dáv*, none of whom could possibly be identified with St. David. One of them, who lived during the time of Bishop Uvelviu, is mentioned as "Deui summus sacerdos filius Circan";² and was evidently a person of importance locally at Llanddewi Rhôs Ceirion, now Much Dewchurch, Herefordshire, which church seems to have been the mother church of three adjacent Dewi churches. These churches, at any rate, were most probably not dedicated to the St. David of Menevia.

The first period in the history of Welsh dedications, *i.e.*, to native Saints, is supposed to have closed with the beginning of the eighth century, when we enter on a new period, the Welsh adopting the mode of the Latin Church of dedicating to what may be generally called departed Saints, and roughly in the following order—St. Michael the Archangel, the Blessed Virgin Mary, St. Peter, the Apostles, St. Bride, and other Saints of the Latin Calendar. But the old method was not entirely abandoned, in fact it

¹ Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii, pp. 234-5, 376.

² Pp. 161-2; Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, ii, pp. 274-5.

wore on in a disguised form into the Middle Ages—the thirteenth century at least. For instance, Eglwys Brewis, said to have been named after Bishop Wm. de Braose or Bruce of Llandaff, who died in 1287; Bettws Gwerfyl Goch, dedicated to the Virgin, and appears in the *Taxatio* of 1291, which received name, according to Lewys Dwnn,¹ from Gwerfyl Goch, daughter of Cynan ab Owain Gwynedd, whose husband built the Church, and she lies buried in it; to which might be added, out of several others that occur, the extinct Capel Coker, in the parish of Kidwelly, so called after Galfridus de Coker, Prior of Kidwelly in 1301.

The dedications to St. Michael the Archangel, as Rees has shown, formed the second most popular dedication in Wales, no less than ninety-four churches and chapels being dedicated to him; and it is characteristic of them that they are very regularly distributed over the country—they do not crowd, like the Mary and other dedications, in certain particular districts—which proves that it became, to all intents, a thoroughly Welsh dedication. This new departure in dedication seems to have been deemed important enough to be recorded in the *Annales Cambriæ*, s.a. 718, “Consecratio Michaelis Archangeli ecclesiæ”; or, as entered in *Brut y Tywysogion*, s.a. 710, “Kyssegrwyd eglwys lann vihagel.”² But there is no means of knowing which of the many it was. This is the earliest Welsh dedication in the modern sense.

There are four Llanfihangels mentioned in the *Book of Llan Dâv* in grants made during the episcopates of two Bishops of the tenth century. One of them is also mentioned³ in a grant of the episcopate of Bishop Gurvan, who,

¹ *Heraldic Visitations*, ii, p. 17.

² *Bruts*, ed. Rhys and Evans, p. 258.

³ Pp. 167-8. In the lists on pp. 308, 311, Gurvan is arbitrarily entered as the tenth Bishop of Llandaff.



S. DUBRICIUS.

*From Ancient Roll, copied in one of the Dugdale MSS. in
the Bodleian Library, Oxford.*

it would appear, was a disciple of Dubricius. Dubricius, according to the *Annales Cambriæ* and the *Book of Llan Dáv*, died in 612, but this is manifestly too late. He had died probably a little before the outbreak of the Yellow Plague in 547. If Gurvan be the disciple of Dubricius, and the church-name is not a twelfth century modernization, we have here a Llanfihangel of about the end of the sixth century. It was probably Llanfihangel Tal y Llyn, Breconshire. But it is a very doubtful instance.

The cultus of the Archangel, who occupies a large place in Christian Art and Christian Poetry, received an immense impetus from two pretended apparitions between the sixth and the eighth centuries. He was the conquering Captain of the Heavenly Host, the Victor over Satan and the Powers of Darkness, and the Patron of the Church Militant. As such he was the natural champion of triumphant Christianity against Paganism. If it was originally the custom, as it appears, to build the churches dedicated to him on rising ground, or among mountains, it was not long before it was set at nought. This completes the Welsh dedications before the Conquest.

The most numerous dedications in Wales, as in England, are to the Blessed Virgin Mary. Rees gives a list of as many as one hundred and forty-three churches and chapels. They are to be attributed to foreign influences, particularly under the Normans. We read in *Brut y Tywysogion*, s.a. 1155, "Ny bu bell wedy hynny yny gyssegrwyt eglwys ueir ymeiuot."¹ (It was not long afterwards that the church of St. Mary in Meifod was consecrated.) The Cistercians arrived in Wales in the first half of the twelfth century, and soon became very popular there. It was they that converted the Welsh to Latin Christianity. Their great influence shows itself in the dedications to the Virgin and the

¹ *Bruts*, ed. Rhys and Evans, p. 318.

Apostles. The Mary churches are mainly found in towns, near Norman castles, or were attached to Cistercian monasteries. They are very numerous in Pembrokeshire, where Rees enumerates twenty-three churches. There may possibly have been a few earlier dedications to the Virgin in Wales than the twelfth century. There were a few Mary dedications in England as early as the seventh century. In the *Book of Llan Dáv* (twelfth century) there are only two Llanfairs mentioned, and they possibly represent but one church. A grant of one of them,¹ apparently St. Mary's, Monmouth, was made during the time of Bishop Cimeilliauc, who died in 927. Edgar, King of the English, is said to have founded a church in honour of the Virgin in Bangor in 973.² The church of Llanfaredd, near Builth, if dedicated to St. Mary, presents an exceptional Welsh form for her name, due, as Sir J. Rhŷs has suggested,³ to the name being accented *María* and not *Mária*, and would belong to an earlier period than the ordinary Llanfair.

The Mary churches, being so numerous, had to be distinguished by some appellation, geographical or descriptive, but there is nothing particularly noteworthy about any of these superadded names. It is not quite clear, however, why Llanfairfechan is so called; but it must have been in contradistinction to some other St. Mary church. We have the parallel in Llanafan Fawr and Llanafan Fach, and others. Compare with it in England

¹ P. 231.

² Browne Willis, *Survey of Bangor*, 1721, p. 57. Lewis Morris, *Celtic Remains*, p. 190, observes that the *Garth Branau* (now Garth) of Llanfair Garth Branau was fancifully taken by Willis to mean *Edgarth Frenin*.

³ *Welsh Philology*, p. 206. In old parish lists the name is spelt "Llan-varaith", or "-variaith". (Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans, *Report on Welsh MSS.*, i, p. 915; *Myv. Arch.*, p. 744.)

the several St. Maries the Less; where, at York, is also a St. Mary Senior and a St. Mary Junior, as well as a St. Peter the Little; and at Chichester, a St. Peter Major and a St. Peter Minor. Our Welsh appellations are not so pretty as some of the English ones, *e.g.*, St. Mary in the Elms, at Woodhouse, Leicestershire; and St. Peter in the Rushes, at Rempstone, Notts. But St. Peter le Willows at York is matched by our Llanfihangel Helygen; and to it we might add Llanbedr y Cenin, St. Peter in the Leeks, or we will assume that Cenin Pedr are meant, and accordingly render it St. Peter in the Daffodils, which puts the English appellations after all in the shade.

Possibly such names as the following take us back to the co-owned or portionary churches¹ of Giraldus Cambrensis and the *Taxatio* of 1291:—Llan Gattwg Feibion Afel, Lann Mihacgel Meibion Gratlaun (*Book of Llan Dáv*), Llan Gynin a'i Weision (or, a'i Feibion), Bettws Wyrion Iddon (now Bettws y Coed), and Bettws Wyrion Wgan (now Bettws yn Rhos).

With the introduction of the cult of the Virgin many of the dedications to Welsh Saints were swept away entirely, and the churches re-dedicated to the Virgin. Often there would be an excuse for this. In the Middle Ages the enlarging or re-building of a church gave free scope to a change of dedication, and a fashionable saint would take the place of a local and comparatively obscure one. Sometimes the church and parish name seems to have been altered on some such occasion, as at Llanfair Dyffryn

¹ Llanbryn-mair is interesting as a late survival. In the *Terrier* of 1730 it is stated, "Y^e Rectors had a claime formerly to half of y^e house and gleab, which claim, Dr. Lloyd, then Bishop of this Diocese [then St. Asaph], thought fitt to alter and exchange for a valuable consideration in y^e year 1692." The Vicar of the parish "antiently had and receiv'd 40s. yearly in lieu of sermons to be preached there from y^e Rectors of Llanbryn-mair."



S. ASAPH.

*From Fifteenth-Century Glass in Chancel Window,
Llandyrnog Church, Denbighshire.*

Clwyd, which was previously dedicated to St. Cynfarch. But more frequently the name of the native Saint was retained along with that of the Virgin. The custom of double dedication was extended also to New Testament Saints and eminent Saints of the Western Church. Occasionally we meet with two or more churches within the same churchyard, which may have led to confusion. There are in the *Book of Llan Dáv*¹ two instances where two churches, at Hentland and Welsh Bicknor, each with its own dedication, stood in one *cimiterium*. Similarly, in Meifod churchyard we have the churches of St. Gwyddfarch, St. Tyssilio and St. Mary (the last consecrated in 1155).² Another source of double dedication, as also of confusion as regards the original dedicatees, was the practice of placing a separate portion of the same church under the invocation of some other saint.³ The Lady Chapel is a familiar example. We have a purely Welsh instance of double dedication at St. Asaph, where the south aisle of the Parish Church was formerly known as Eglwys Asa, and the north aisle as Eglwys Gyndeyrn. This may possibly account for some of the other Welsh double dedications, such as Corwen and Cwm Churches both to SS. Mael and Sulien, and Llanynys to SS. Mor and Saeran. Llanwrin Church was originally dedicated to SS. Ust and Dyfnig, and afterwards re-dedicated to St. Gwrin, who belonged to the following century. At the re-building and consecration of Llandaff Cathedral by Bishop Urban in 1120, when the body of St. Dubricius was removed thence from Bardsey, the cathedral was formally dedicated

¹ Pp. 275-6.

² Cynddelw calls Meifod "trevret y triseint" (*Myv. Arch.*, p. 177).

³ Llywelyn Fardd says that there were three altars in Towyn Church (Mer.), to SS. Mary, Peter, and Cadfan respectively (*Ibid.*, p. 249). Llanddewi Brefi Church had, according to Gwynfardd, five altars (*Ibid.*, p. 196).



S. DEINIOL.

*From Fifteenth-Century Glass in Chancel Window,
Llandyrnog Church, Denbighshire.*

to the trio—SS. Dubricius, Teilo, and Oudoceus, with whom was coupled St. Peter, the pre-eminent Saint of Latin tradition. About the same time St. Andrew was added to St. David at St. David's Cathedral (*Privilegium* of Calixtus II, 1123), and, possibly, the Virgin to St. Deiniol at Bangor. St. Asaph Cathedral was left alone. Some of the Welsh Saints have been hardly dealt with in the matter of dedication. St. Cynidr of Glasbury, grandson of Brychan, had originally half a dozen dedications, nearly all in Breconshire, and all, except one to St. Peter, have been re-dedicated to the Virgin. Similarly, Mwrog at Llanfwrog, Nefydd at Llanefydd, had to make way for the Virgin; Ieuan Gwas Padrig, at Cerrig y Drudion, for St. Mary Magdalene; and Cynllo, at Rhayader, for St. Clement.

But it will have been noticed, in instances already given, that the Welsh Saints themselves have occasionally ousted some of their compatriots. To those instances might be added Llywel at Llywel, ousted by SS. David and Teilo, and Hiledd or Heledd Forwyn at Llanhilleth, replaced by St. Iltyd. In some cases, in English districts, Welsh Saints' names have been altered to those of Latin Saints of similar form, such as Brynach changed to Bernard. As favourite "foreigners" we have SS. Nicholas, Martin, George, and Catherine.

It has been supposed that some of the Llanbedr churches are dedicated to the Welsh St. Pedyr, son of Corun ab Ceredig, and brother of SS. Tyssul and Carannog, but this is scarcely probable. Llanybyddair, or Llanybyther,¹ has been ascribed to him, but it would be impossible to square the names. St. Pierre (Mon.) appears to have been named after the Norman family which settled there soon after the

¹ With the name compare Crug y Byddair (also Y Crug Byddar), a township of the parish of Bugeildy.

Conquest, and built the church.¹ Meliteyrn and Pennal commemorate by their dedication name the Festival of St. Peter ad Vincula, the Gwyl Awst of the Welsh. There are four Llanbedrs mentioned in the *Book of Llan Dáv*, one of which occurs in a grant² of the time of Bishop Joseph, who died in 1043.

The dedications to Sant Ffraid, "the Mary of Ireland," are very numerous. Two churches only are indexed in the *Book of Llan Dáv*, one of which also occurs in a grant³ of Bishop Joseph's time. So it would appear that it was only beginning in the eleventh century to become a favourite dedication.

There is a small number of mediæval churches dedicated to the Deity or the Holy Trinity. Llanddwy, now Llanddew, near Brecon, is a notable one. Dwy is reduced from Dwyw, which is treated as the old genitive of Duw. Giraldus says the name signified *Ecclesia Dei*. The parish wake was held on Trinity Sunday. The Lando of the *Taxatio* of 1291, for Llandrindod, stands no doubt for the same form; and we have also a Llandow in Glamorgan. There was once a Llanddwy on the Ystwyth in Cardiganshire, with a Ffynnon Drindod, and another Lando, with a Trinity Well, at Cardigan. To these we might add Eglwys y Drindod or Christ Church, Monmouthshire, the extinct Capel y Drindod at Fishguard, and the likewise extinct Capel Crist at Talley. Christ Church and Holy Trinity are interchangeable.

There are a few churches bearing the Holy Rood dedication, such as Bettws y Grog, or Ceirchiog, in Anglesey, Y Grog o'r Mwnt, now Mount, in Cardiganshire, and Eglwys y Grog yn y Fenni (Abergavenny), with others of

¹ Coxe, *Monmouthshire*, 1801, p. 4.

² Pp. 261-2. The extinct Radnorshire churches, Llanifan and Llaniago (Rees, *Welsh Saints*, pp. 351-2), seem to have commemorated two more of the Apostles.

³ P. 263.

later date. Mold church is now dedicated to the Virgin, with Festival on September 8 (Lady Day in Harvest), and its two early chapels, Nerquis and Treiddyn, are also dedicated to the Virgin. But its old dedication was "Y Ddelw Fyw",¹ the Living Image, that is, the Holy Rood, from a legend of the miraculous bleeding of an image of our Lord when nailed by certain Jews to the cross. Browne Willis gives the dedication of the church of Rhiw, in Lleyrn, as "St. Eelrhyw, or Delwfyw. September 9". "Gwyl y Ddelw Fyw," on September 9th, occurs in several of the Welsh calendars of the sixteenth century.

There is a number of references to Y Ddelw Fyw in mediæval Welsh literature. Dafydd ab Gwilym in one passage exclaims, "Myn y Ddelw Fyw!" But the Living Image more particularly had in mind by the Welsh was the one in Mold church. It is mentioned in two odes of the late fifteenth century, by Hywel Cilan and Tudur Penllyn, to Rheinallt ab Gruffydd, of Tower, in the parish of Mold. It was taken away, no doubt, at the Reformation, for when John Ray visited the church in 1662 he wrote in his *Itinerary*: "Therein is a Stone Pedestal and a Canopy, where, they say, stood a living or quick Image".²

The Welsh showed considerable partiality for what we might call a numerical dedication; *i.e.*, they named a church the church of so many saints, from two up to twelve. This is quite peculiar to Welsh as compared with English dedications. I know of only one English dedication of the kind—the long destroyed church at Canterbury,

¹ See Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans, *Report on Welsh MSS.*, i, p. 915.

² *Select Remains of the Learned John Ray*, 1760, p. 221. See, further, *Lives of the British Saints*, i, pp. 112-4. The Image was ultimately destroyed, apparently in 1768 (Archdeacon Thomas, *History of Dio. St. Asaph*, 1st ed., p. 600).



S. TYSSILIO.

Statue at S. Sulpic.

dedicated to the "Four Crowned Martyrs",¹ who were brothers. These churches were very probably originally named after so many "Saints", or monks, who lived there in community. We have a Llanddeusant in Anglesey, dedicated to SS. Marcellus and Marcellinus; and another in Carmarthenshire, dedicated to SS. Simon and Jude. A Llantrisant in Anglesey, dedicated to SS. Sannan, Afan, and Ieuan; another in Glamorgan, dedicated to SS. Illtyd, Tyfodwg, and Gwyno; another in Monmouthshire, dedicated to SS. Peter, Paul, and John; an extinct church of the name in Llanfihangel y Creuddin, as well as an extinct chapel, Trisaint, in Margam. There was a Llan y Pedwar Saint, which has now disappeared, in Lley. "The four Saints of Llangwm (Mon.), Mirgint, Cinfiec, Huui, and Eruen", are mentioned in a grant to the Church of Llandaff in the eleventh century.² We have Llanpumsaint, in Carmarthenshire, dedicated to SS. Gwyn, Gwyno, Gwynoro, Celynin, and Ceitho, all brothers born at one birth; and also dedicated to them is the extinct chapel of Pumsaint in the parish of Caio, which appears in the *Book of Llan Dáv* as Lann Teliau Pimp Seint. There was no church called after six Saints that I know of, nor after seven and eight Saints; but we have the second numeral in "the Seven Saints of Mathry"—the Dyfrwyr of Llanddowror and Cenarth—with their curious legend. There was, however, a Llan y Naw Saint, now extinct, in the commote of Twrcelyn, in Anglesey. The next we have are two churches called Llan y Deuddeg Saint, now both extinct, mentioned in the *Book of Llan Dáv*, the one at Welsh Bicknor, and the other near Llangors, Breconshire. There was also a Ffynnon y Deuddeg Saint, mentioned in the boundary of Llangors parish. Penrhos, Mon.,

¹ Bede, *Hist. Eccl.*, ii, 7.

² *Book of Llan Dáv*, p. 274.

anciently Llangattwg Penrhos, occurs in the Norwich *Taxatio*, 1254, as "Eccl. de Landeudoc Penros".¹

There is a Llansaint near Kidwelly, and another, formerly, in the commote of Tindaethwy, in Anglesey. We should probably be right in regarding Llansaint as the proper old Welsh All Saints dedication, for the majority—there is a fairly good number—of the present All Saints dedications are in all probability to be referred, as in England, to the reign of Henry VIII, whose policy it was to diminish the number of Saints' Days. There was at the Reformation, and after, a strong reaction against the ordinary Calendar Saints, and a marked preference for non-committal dedications. A few of our All Saints dedications are known to have supplanted dedications to Welsh Saints, whose festivals happened to fall on November 1st. Sir J. Rhys suggests² that Llansaint, near Kidwelly, is dedicated to the two supposed Saints Vennisetlas and Cimesetlas, whose names occur on two inscribed stones built into the south wall of the church. The only objection to its being dedicated to them is that, being two, Llanddeusant would more likely have suggested itself. The various numerical dedications show that the Welsh had a predilection for a more distinctive and particular dedication than Llansaint.

The old name for the church of Hên Eglwys, in Anglesey, was Llan y Saint Llwydion, the church of the

¹ In the Welsh Calendars *Y Trisaint* are commemorated on January 31st and June 6th—the latter trio being apparently SS. Artemius, Candida, and Paulina, martyrs at Rome in the fourth century. We have also *Y Pumsaint* on January 7th and November 1st—the latter were those of Caio; one of them, Ceitho, was also commemorated on August 5th.

² *Arch. Camb.*, 1907, p. 70. This Llansaint, in the inventories of Church goods taken by the Commissioners in 1552, is called "Hawlyng Church", and in the Terrier of 1636, "Alkenchurch."

Holy Saints. It is usually said to be dedicated to a St. Llwydian, with Festival on November 19th, but he has clearly been evolved out of the church name. The church is referred to in a poem, *circa* 1600, in which a number of Anglesey Saints are invoked :—

“Y Saint Llwydion tra dél cof,
Trewalchmai rhof yn nesaf.”

It is also known as Eglwys Gorbre Sant; and Mynwent Corbre occurs in *Englynion y Beddau* in the *Black Book of Carmarthen*. Corbre is the Irish Cairbre, and there are three Saints of the name commemorated in the Irish Martyrologies.

St. Ursula and her Companions, the Eleven Thousand Virgins, were culted, but not extensively, in Wales, particularly in Cardiganshire, where we have Llanygweryddon, or Llanygwryfon, “the Church of the Virgins”. Their Festival is October 21st, which, says the author of *Drych y Prif Oesoedd*,¹ was known as Gwyl Santesau. There was formerly a Capel Santesau in the parish of Llanwenog, and one of the great fairs in the neighbouring parish of Llanybyther, held on October 21st, O. S., and still on November 1st and its eve, is called Ffair Santesau. It is difficult to account for her cult in this part; but St. Lucia or Lucy, one of her numerous companions, has also dedications, under the form Lleuci, in the counties of Cardigan and Carmarthen—at Bettws Leuci, Llanwnen, and Abernant. She is to be distinguished from the St. Lucy commemorated on December 13th. Another “foreigner” in Cardiganshire is the Gwyddalus or Vitalis of the extinct Llanwyddalus, in Dihewyd, apparently the second century martyr venerated at Ravenna.

Some of our church dedications are a little perplexing

¹ I, 2.

through their being dedicated to certain Saints under the several distinct forms which their names assumed, mainly through the employment of the endearing and honorific prefixes *mo* and *to* or *ty*. Brioc, Briauc, Briafael, and Tyfriog all represent the same person, the two last forms occurring in St. Briavel's, Gloucestershire, and Llandyfriog, Cardiganshire. Tathan of St. Athan's, and Meuthi of Llanfeithin, are the same. So also Maelog, Meilig, and Tyfaelog; Gwynin and Tegwynin; Dogfael, or Dochfael, and Tydoch; and Aidan, or Aeddán, and Madog. A dropping of the *ty* prefix occurs in the Monmouthshire church-name, Llansoy, commonly regarded as dedicationless, but is in reality dedicated to Tysoi, a disciple of St. Dubricius.

One would hardly suppose that Tyfai of Llandyfeisant is the patron of Lamphey, in Pembrokeshire, of Foy, on the Wye (both guessed to be St. Faith), and of the extinct church of Lampha, near Bridgend, Glam.; but when we get back to the earliest forms of these church-names it is obvious.

Brychan's daughter, Cain, is the Ceinwen of Llankeinwen, the Ceinwry' of Llangeinor, and the Keyne of Keynsham and Cornwall.

Some churches have needlessly been supposed to be dedicated to certain English Saints, through similarity of forms, thereby ignoring their rightful Welsh dedicatees. For instance, Llanina, in Cardiganshire, is usually said to be dedicated to Ina, the famous King of the West Saxons; but it is not generally known that Ceredig of Ceredigion had a daughter named Ina, who might well be the patroness of the church. Llanvillo, in Breconshire, is generally supposed to be dedicated to St. Milburg, the seventh century abbess of Wenlock; but it is surely more probable that, in Brychan-land, Brychan's daughter, St.

Belio, should be its real patroness. Similarly, Llanthetty, in Breconshire, is much more probably dedicated to St. Dedyw, the son of Clydwyn ab Brychan, than to Tetta, the eighth century abbess of Wimborne, a name which cannot possibly be equated with that of the Saint of the church-name. And so of Llanedy, it is much more likely to be dedicated to the obscure male Saint of the local legend, than to either of the tenth century English Ediths.

But the subject is a very extensive one, opening out in various directions, and I can only hope, in conclusion, that I have at least succeeded in making it sufficiently interesting to induce others to pursue it further. Several aspects have been but very slightly touched upon. As we have seen, a great deal of hidden history underlies these dedications; and their geographical distribution and relative popularity are also significant. These dedication-names, we have reason to know, were not given at haphazard. To those good Welsh folk, of the Early and Mediæval Church, they represented something that was very real and dear; and they remain with us to-day stamped for ever, we may believe, upon the topography of our land, abiding witnesses to the Faith of our forefathers, and the high antiquity of our most venerable institution, *Hén Eglwys Lwyd y Llan.*

**Cymmrodorion Section of the National Eisteddfod
(Swansea, 1907).**

**WELSH TOWNS AS THEY ARE AND AS
THEY MIGHT BE.¹**

BY MR. ANEURIN WILLIAMS, M.A.

I DESIRE first of all to acknowledge the great kindness I have received from several gentlemen who have sent me reports and other material to use in the preparation of this paper.

Next, I fear that the title I have chosen is much too wide. To do it full justice, I must treat of all the various conditions and forces that affect our towns; of their municipal government, their industries and the relations of the various classes concerned in them, of their moral and religious life, their schools and colleges, their water supply, their sanitary service, and I know not what else. All this is evidently far too much for one paper, and I never intended to attempt it. What I had in my mind was the construction and growth of our towns as they are and as they might be. This, then, is the real subject of my paper, and it naturally divides itself into two parts. Of Welsh Towns as they are, I need not speak at great length, they are well known to you. Much has been

¹ Read at the Royal Institution of South Wales, at a meeting of the Cymmrodorion Section of the National Eisteddfod of 1907 (Swansea). Chairman, The Right Hon. Lord Glantawe.

written about them, and even since I was honoured with the invitation to contribute this paper to your gathering, they, or at least the towns of South Wales, have formed the subject of a striking series of articles in the Press. Welsh towns as they are have many charming characteristics: they have ancient associations; they are full of the wonderful results of modern enterprise; in many cases they contain buildings of beauty and of historical interest; or again, they are beautifully situated in picturesque country. But taking them as a whole, they are overcrowded, many of them are unhealthy, and parts of most of them are ill-built, insanitary, smoky, dirty, and ugly. At any rate these are the characteristics of many parts where the poor live; and in this, alas, they are not peculiar: the towns of England and Scotland have much the same defects. With regard to the unhealthiness, I may give the following facts and figures:—While the death-rate in 1906 was 15·4 for the whole of England and Wales, and as low as 14·2 in Cardiff, it was 16·2 in Newport, and 17·9 in Swansea and 19 in Merthyr. Nor was this an exceptional year. The average of the ten preceding years gives 18·1 per thousand in Swansea, 19½ in the Rhondda Urban District, and nearly 21¼ in the Rhymney Urban District, where, by-the-by, 1906 was an exceptionally good year. In 1905 the Merthyr death-rate was 22·1, being the highest rate of all the large towns in England and Wales for that year. If we take the deaths of children under 1 year of age, we find that in 1906 the rate for the whole of England and Wales was 133 per thousand born, and in Cardiff it was almost exactly the same figure, viz., 134, but in Newport it was 146, in Swansea 156, in the Rhondda 173, and in Merthyr 178, where in 1905 it was 204. Taking the 10 years previous we have Cardiff 148, and Swansea 160, while the Rhondda was very close to

200. But it is quite unnecessary to multiply statistics on this matter, the broad facts are notorious, though I do not say that Welsh towns are worse than some similar towns elsewhere. It is, moreover, notorious that it is the overcrowded parts of our towns which contribute most to the high general mortality and the quite terrible waste of infant life. We find, for example, certain very crowded parts of great cities in England running up to a death-rate of 40, while in parts well supplied with gardens and open spaces it goes down to 12 and even lower. In Bournville, with its splendid conditions, it is said to be about 8; while the whole country of New Zealand, where the people are well-housed and well-to-do, and are widely spread about the country, has a death-rate of only 9.

We naturally ask ourselves why this lamentable state of affairs in Welsh towns should be. Men of different temperaments will give you very different answers—answers, however, which can be readily divided into two classes, one class consisting in blaming the people for the conditions in which they live, and the other in blaming the conditions (and the privileged classes, as the controllers of those conditions) for the state of the people. There is, it seems to me, truth and falsehood in both these opposite views. Many working-class families are forced to live in conditions which are necessarily demoralising; many, on the other hand, have their own vices and weaknesses chiefly to blame for the conditions in which they live. It is the old problem of heredity and environment, of the nature born in any living thing and the circumstances with which it finds itself surrounded. I do not propose to discuss to-night which of these two potent factors is the more potent. It is enough for my purpose (1) That the surroundings of the people are universally admitted to have a mighty influence upon their lives, and to be largely

within the control of those who have money and power, and within the control of our Government and Local Authorities, and (2) that I have a change in those surroundings to suggest which I believe to be of first-rate importance.

There are, however, two matters which I must just touch on before I proceed with my subject, lest it should be thought that I did not see their immense importance. I mean drink and coal smoke. There is no doubt that drink is the cause of an immense deal of poverty and degradation, and thereby of a great deal of the overcrowding, unhealthiness, dirt and ugliness of the towns. But it is equally true that drink is often the result, as much as the cause, and that, in the towns we are considering, the evil conditions do afflict large numbers of decent and sober people. Then as to the smoke, that is quite evidently a great cause of dirt and evil conditions, and I am one of those who believe, that for a woman to live, as many working women must, where she cannot by her best efforts keep her house clean, must be hopelessly demoralising. It is greatly to the credit of our race that so many succeed in making a brave fight against such conditions. But if we look a little deeper, we shall see that, even supposing drunkenness and smoke were removed, there would still remain the insanitary houses crowded together, the want of ventilation and the want of decent accommodation of all sorts, there would still be an evil crying aloud for remedy. I do not, therefore, this evening desire to spend time on the smoke or the drink question. Happily, public opinion is becoming more and more alive to the drink evil. As to smoke, I hope we may regard it as a decreasing evil, taking the country as a whole, for the tendency of modern industry is more and more to avoid the creation of much smoke in generating power and in domestic heating and

cooking. I fear we cannot say so much in the process of metallurgy, with which Welsh towns are chiefly concerned: in them there seems but little decrease of the smoke made. Where it can be avoided, I agree that public authorities should check it, so far as they can do so without impeding industry; and where there are processes in which smoke is unavoidable, they should be carried on at a distance from the homes of the people: or, to put it in another way, the homes where the people live should be established at a distance from those processes. In what I say this evening, I shall, therefore, assume that we have agreed about these two evils and the necessity of dealing with them, and I shall confine myself to the construction of buildings and the laying out of towns.

A large part of the present houses of the working classes in Welsh manufacturing towns grew up at a time when sanitary science was scarcely at all understood, and not at all enforced. Such houses were probably bad enough from the first, often being built back-to-back, without ventilation, without damp courses, without proper sanitary accommodation. But in course of time they have become intolerably bad, a danger to the lives, not only of those who live in them, but of all who live near them. Happily, there has been great improvement. I was born in one of the poorest of Welsh towns, and though the conditions there are still bad, I can remember them much worse, and when I go back I am struck by many signs of improvement, and not least, by the large number of good houses which have been built by the workmen for themselves through Building Societies. The Local Authorities also have done much to condemn bad houses, improve sanitary conditions, and, to a smaller extent, to provide new houses. But all that has been done is little compared with what is needed. I find that still in many places there are back-to-

back houses, cellar dwellings, damp and ill-ventilated dwellings, with bad water-supply, bad sanitary arrangements, a demoralised people, and a high death-rate. In one Welsh borough, I am told 2,000 dwellings ought to be condemned, but it cannot be done as there is no place for the people to go to. Of another, I hear that there is an enormous demand for houses, and many that ought to be condemned, while the Municipality has put up two or three dozen.

For many years we have been alive to the necessity of dealing with the worst class of house property, and slum clearances have taken place at immense cost to the ratepayers. I understand that one of your finest streets in Swansea was not so long ago a slum, which was cleared away with excellent results, but at great expense to the ratepayers. It is said that public bodies in England have spent £6,000,000 in buying slums. But when you have cleared a slum, you have done nothing towards properly housing the people. You have merely unhoused them, and unless proper houses are forthcoming, the condition is probably worse than before, because they just have to crowd in anywhere they can. New building is therefore absolutely necessary. But when the slum has been cleared away, usually with excessive compensation to the slum owner, the cost of the site becomes such that it is hopeless to expect private enterprise to re-house the people on that site. If private enterprise uses the land, it must be for something which will stand a much higher rent than workmen's houses; and if a public authority re-houses the people on that site, it must be done at a great loss, even though high block buildings, such as one sees in London and other great towns, are put up, to get as many people as possible on the acre. The only real hope is the building of new houses away from the centres of the present towns.

In addressing the recent International Housing Congress in London, Mr. John Burns pointed out that "in every country, old and new, the people are being rapidly urbanised", they are flocking into towns. This is nowhere more seen than in Welsh towns: not only the growth of old towns, like your own, attests it, but the springing up of new town populations, as in the Rhondda, practically out of nothing. New building, therefore, on an enormous scale is a necessity, first to re-house those now living in slums and secondly to house the growing town populations. We affect to regard it as an open question whether a particular town will grow bigger or not. In nine cases out of ten there is no question about it: until the whole tendency of modern life is reversed our town populations must grow. Nowhere more than in Wales, with its immense fields of coal, its ports, its established industries, and its ingenious and industrious people, is this a certainty. Our Welsh towns, therefore, should base everthing—their land policy, their sanitary policy, their housing, etc., on this assumption of growth. The German towns have done so for the last thirty years, and it has been the basis of their prosperity.

At present, our public policy affects not to know about this coming growth, and the public authorities lag behind and leave the enterprise and the profit to private individuals. To regulate such private enterprise we lay down elaborate building regulations, but these, unfortunately, do not prevent the putting up of whole streets of new house property which are not very attractive even at first, and in a few years degenerate into slums again. The reason is, that while we regulate the construction of each house, we do little or nothing to prevent houses being unduly crowded together on the land. In some cases as many as forty working class dwellings are put on an acre. So long as this

takes place there must be overcrowding in the worst sense. There are two senses in which we may speak of overcrowding—overcrowding within a single house, which is bad enough, and the overcrowding of the ground with houses, which is far worse. In country places the cottages are far too crowded at nights, but at any rate in the day time there is plenty of fresh air all round, and statistics seem to show that the rate of mortality depends upon the number of houses, and, therefore, the number of people to the acre, more than almost anything else. Thus where a large number of families live one above the other in certain “model dwellings” the death-rate is 36 per 1,000, against about 15 in rural places where the houses are much worse built and drained.

Not to labour this part of my paper further, I submit that this state of things must continue so long as towns are allowed to grow up under the impulse of private speculation, each man doing very much as he likes in the development of his own bit of land, making his road where he likes, and generally doing as he pleases, without regard to the common interest, subject only to the restraint of building bye-laws, which are hampering enough as to details without producing really good results. If we want our towns to be healthy, spacious and beautiful, each of them must have some well thought out plan for its development, and that plan must be carried out under public control, in the public interest. It is said of the old part of New York, that the streets were laid out by the cows. When the island was first occupied, it was used as farm land, and the cows coming and going made certain tracks for themselves; these became footpaths, then lanes, then roads with cottages, and finally the streets of the older part of New York as it is to-day. A town should be so planned that the main lines of through communication, the less

important lines for merely local communication, and the quiet roads never used except for the actual houses lying upon them, should be chosen and laid out on a reasonable system. The classes of building suitable for each locality should be determined, so that the factories may on the one hand be put where they will have the best communications—and not have to cart all their heavy goods through the streets, as they have to do in London and many other centres—and on the other hand may not crowd upon the dwelling-houses and render them noisy and dirty, dangerous and insanitary. The width of the streets should be adequate, and sufficient open spaces should be allowed for. In fact, the whole development must be considered in advance, foreseen as far as may be, and provided for: not allowed to take place haphazard. That such rational development is possible is no mere dream, for it does actually take place in other countries. I might describe steps more or less in this direction taken by Public Authorities in almost every civilised country except Great Britain, for almost everyone has some system of town planning. But Germany is, for this purpose, far and away the most advanced country, and I will, therefore, briefly describe to you what is done there, and done on a system which, far from raising the rates, brings them down or even abolishes them altogether.

Town planning has been practised in Germany for about fifteen years, and though it is considered by the Germans to be only in its infancy, it has achieved results which strike the traveller very forcibly. He notes not only the improvements in the old parts of the town, but the beautiful laying out of the new parts, the well arranged houses, wide streets and boulevards, and tree-planted open spaces. This has not come about of itself, but is the result of forethought and of regulation in the public interest. In Ger-

many, as in every civilized country, the towns are growing rapidly. Many of them have been doubling themselves in about twenty-five to thirty years, and some increasing far more rapidly than that. The Municipal Authorities of a town, therefore, are empowered to introduce a general plan of development for its near future, this process being introduced to mean about twenty-five years. Thus the development plan includes an area as large as, and often larger than, that already covered by the town, and may include land outside the municipal boundaries.

Town development is as much an art in Germany as in America. The questions that surround the factories and industries, with the necessary railway and canal connections, are decided in terms of large houses, for medium houses, or for the poorer classes; and suitable building regulations are made for each case. The lines of the tramways mark the principal traffic, and the medium roads for local traffic, and the residential streets, only used for the houses in which the rich dwell. The width of these roads is determined; the maximum height of buildings along them, the arrangement of buildings, whether detached, semi-detached, in blocks, or rows, or as it may be; the number of families to be accommodated on a given area; the amount of the site to be left unbuild upon; the provision of public open spaces, and a great many other matters necessary to secure health and beauty in the common interest, and to avoid the injury of one site by another, and the cost of subsequent widenings and clearances. The municipality is not, however, an autocrat: the draft plan must be shown in public for a month, anyone may object, and there is an appeal to a superior authority. Where the best use of a particular area cannot be foreseen, that part of the plan may be left to be determined later, and where a mistake has been made, or circumstances have changed,

the plan is modified. No building is allowed except in accordance with the development plan; the municipality can take compulsorily the land needed for streets and open spaces, paying compensation; and when building takes place along a street, the municipality can recover from each owner so building his proportion of the cost of road, sewers, etc.

A very interesting point is the transposition of sites as it is called, viz., such a shifting and alteration of the boundaries and position of the several properties as to cause them to be at right angles to the building line, and to form symmetrical sites. For this purpose the Municipality takes the various properties in a given area into its hands, re-arranges their boundaries, and then gives back to each owner, as near as may be, his original holding, each separate property being, however, diminished by the equal percentage necessary to transfer to the town the amount of land required for streets and squares. If, for instance, an area of 100 acres belonging to several owners were being planned, and 10 acres were required for roads and spaces, and if in this area one owner had a piece of land containing one acre and of very irregular shape, he would be assigned instead nine-tenths of an acre, forming a site of symmetrical shape and lying at right angles to the building line.

In this way unsystematic building is prevented; but there is nothing to compel the owner to build or sell, nothing to prevent his asking an excessive price. The German towns have, however, another string to their bow. For the last thirty years or so they have been encouraged by their Governments to buy land freely round their borders and develop it for building. Our towns, meanwhile, have been forbidden to do anything of the sort, forbidden to buy an acre of land, except for some purpose

pecially authorised by Act of Parliament. Through these purchases of land the German towns have acquired very large estates, which have brought them in very handsome profits, and caused their rates to be very low or to disappear, for the value of land where towns have grown has gone up by leaps and bounds. It is said that many hundreds of German towns have either low rates or none, thanks to the land they have bought or inherited. Frankfort-on-Maine owns 8,000 acres of land on its outskirts, besides one-tenth of the existing town area; and Mannheim, Hanover, Strassburg, Freiburg and others own from one-third to one-half of all the land within their precincts. This land having been bought well in advance of the growth of the towns was got comparatively cheap, and has gone up enormously in value. The towns have adopted three main methods of using their land: (1) selling sites after developing roads, sewers, etc.; (2) building houses and letting them; (3) letting the land on building leases. Selling sites has been the readiest means of realising profit and indirectly increasing the amount of land purchased by the towns. Building and letting has the most direct influence on the supply of good and cheap houses, but it involves very great outlay of capital. Letting on building leases is rather foreign to German customs, and presents difficulties in German law.

Another method by which some German towns have combated the land speculator, put part of the unearned increment into public coffers, and increased the supply of building land, is the levying of a rate on the capital value of building land whether actually built on or not. This has been allowed in Prussia since 1893, instead of the old method (which we also have in this country) of rating unbuilt-on land according to its annual value for agricultural purposes.

Thus we see how different the policy of Germany has been from our own, and how the order, spaciousness and beauty of their towns is due to carefully thought out planning and regulation, to taxing building land on its selling value, and perhaps more than all, to public ownership of land on an extensive scale. Of course, mistakes are made in foreseeing the future, but on the whole these are not many nor serious, and the nett result is a vast improvement upon anything that our system of pure individualism can show.

However, we, in this country, have some instances which prove that town planning may be practised with success among us also. Wherever a large estate is developed by one owner, there is of course some method in the doing of it, but it often happens that the owner is by no means too well supplied with capital for his work, and his object is usually not the greatest good of the community, but his own personal living or profit; so that the result is none too good. Better instances may be found where public spirited employers have laid out towns or villages round their factories. The magnificent instances of Port Sunlight, round the factories of Messrs. Lever, and Bournville, round those of Messrs. Cadbury, are now well known. But the most remarkable instances of town planning in England have undoubtedly sprung from the book called *Garden Cities of To-morrow* written by Ebenezer Howard, and first published about nine years ago. Mr. Howard advocated, as a true cure for the overcrowding and evil conditions of our towns, that industries and those working at them should, in many cases, be moved out of the existing towns to new towns, on land which is now merely agricultural. The proposal was that sufficient land—a large area, say 6,000 acres—should be acquired; that a certain portion in the centre of it should be defined as the

town area, and that the outlying parts should be retained as a permanent agricultural belt, surrounding the town area, and devoted to farms, small holdings and allotments, and to villas, with large gardens attached. The town area should be surveyed, and rationally planned according to its own natural characteristics—its hills and valleys and streams. Certain positions should be set aside for the factories, where they would have easy communications with the railways or canals, or other means of transit; the houses should not be crowded together, but each should have its garden; the roads should be ample, and open spaces be provided in abundance. He argued that there would be an immense increase in the value of the land, which had been agricultural, so soon as population began to accumulate upon it, and that this would be sufficient to pay for the more costly form of development, and would indeed leave a margin of profit for the public benefit. For he proposed that, subject to the payment of all expenses, the land of the new town should be held in trust for the benefit of its inhabitants.

While it was evident that such a proposal could not apply to all industries, it was evident also that there were many light industries which could be carried on anywhere where sufficient population, and adequate railway communication, and fuel not too dear, were to be had. A number of people convinced of the possibility of Mr. Howard's ideas formed the "Garden City Association" for propagating the idea. In a couple of years or so, the Association reached some 2,000 members, and then a small Company was formed to explore the country to secure a suitable site. Within a year this was found at Letchworth in Hertfordshire, half-way between the towns of Hitchin and Baldock, about 35 miles from London, on the Great Northern Railway to Cambridge. Here 3,818 acres were

secured for £152,000, an average price of about £40 an acre, including farm buildings and cottages and a few better houses. This land was bought not quite four years ago. It was first carefully surveyed, then a plan made for its development, with a view to building a town for 32,000 on the central portion, and leaving about 2,500 acres for the agricultural belt, besides a central park and other open spaces. A few roads were made, and water was got, sufficient for 6,000 people, by sinking on the estate itself.

About a year after the purchase, cottages began to be built, and factory sites to be let. In the last three years a population of over 4,000 has been added to the original 400 inhabitants of the estate. There are many miles of streets, sewers, water-pipes and gas-pipes, a railway station, water-works, gas-works, a central electric power station, 10 factories, some of them capable of employing from 200 to 400 people; more than 40 shops, several places of worship, dozens of private villas, and so on—more than 800 new buildings in all; the houses detached, semi-detached, or in blocks of four or six, every house with its own garden. Rents of cottages are about 5 or 6 shillings a week with a nice garden thrown in. The growth appears only to be beginning, and there is little or no doubt that by next summer the population of the place will be 6,000.¹ All this in spite of the fact that the Company started with very inadequate capital, and though its capital is constantly increasing, has never had money enough to do any considerable amount of building itself. It has been obliged to content itself with planning and development, and letting the land on ground-rent: the Company does not sell the freehold. In order that the ultimate profit of this development may return to the inhabitants the dividend on the shares of the Company is limited to 5 per

¹ The population in September 1908 is 6,000.

cent. cumulative, and any remaining profit is devoted to the benefit of the town and its inhabitants. In all probability the town in its collective capacity, as Municipal Corporation, or Urban District Council, will ultimately be the owner of the soil on which it will stand, including of course the agricultural belt.

This example at Letchworth, and the spread of the knowledge of what is being done in Germany and elsewhere, have led to other attempts in England to solve the same problem. Some 240 acres of land at Hampstead is being developed by a Trust as a new suburb of London—a garden suburb ; while at Warrington in Lancashire, and other towns, the same idea is being carried out.

Now I come to another new development in the matter of housing, which is destined, I think, to play a considerable part, not only in making our towns what they should be, but in giving the working-classes an additional opportunity, of the very best kind, of improving their position by thrift and organisation and mutual help. If you went with me to Letchworth, which I have been describing, I should point out to you some of the finest groups of houses neatly arranged among their gardens, or grouped round large open greens, belonging to a Society called "Garden City Tenants, Limited." This is a Co-operative Society, formed to enable its members to put together their small capital, to lease land from the Garden City Company, and to erect houses upon it, borrowing a large part of the cost from the Public Works Loans Commissioners, and from other sources. Similar societies you would find at Ealing, on the edge of London, at Sevenoaks, in Kent, and near Birmingham, Manchester, and elsewhere. Their object is to enable artisans to own a group of houses in common, and to occupy them themselves, paying rent to the Society and enjoying practically as

much security of tenure as if they were freeholders. I want to point out how much this differs from the ordinary purchase of a house through a Building Society. Building Societies undoubtedly have done a very great and very valuable work all over the country, and not least in South Wales. Near my own old home in Dowlais, I have been struck, as I have said, by the large number of much improved houses, and upon enquiry, I learn that they are houses the workmen have built for themselves through Building Societies. Nevertheless, for each individual to build for himself in this way is by no means a perfect solution of the matter. First of all, from the point of view of the individual, to buy a house may turn out a very hampering thing. The man may want to move to another neighbourhood, and then he may have to sell his house at a loss so as to avoid the greater loss of having a partly-paid house on his hands, for which he has to find a tenant, meet the instalments of the Building Society, and pay for repairs, while he himself is living at a distance. From the point of view of the community, it does not insure any regularity in the development of the town, it is no cure for the excessive crowding of houses upon the land, nor does it secure permanently a large class of independent householders, since the houses are only too apt to drift into the hands of speculators in house property, as the original owners for one reason or another have to sell.

The system of workmen forming a Co-operative Society to own houses collectively, as I have described, does give the community an assurance that that property will be managed as a whole, with a view to a wider interest than that of the owner of one or two houses. Its character will be as far as possible kept up. It also gives the workman the opportunity of moving easily to a new neighbourhood if he desires, seeing that he can either take away his shares

in his pocket and draw the interest upon them, or sell his shares to some newcomer. Societies of this sort are multiplying fast, and seem destined to play a very important part in the future. Probably, when our towns are large landowners, developing building estates, these Tenants' Co-partnership Societies will be large builders and house owners on those estates. But there is no need to wait for that time. They can be started and are being started wherever a few acres can be bought. Why should not Welsh artisans do what English are doing in this respect.

I have thus very briefly given you some idea of what has been done elsewhere to cure what I may call the town-evil. If I have not dwelt upon the familiar methods—building bye-laws, slum clearances, and municipal building—which have been long practised among us, it is not only that I am anxious not to take up too much of your time, but that I desire to emphasise the total inadequacy of those old methods. They may keep in check, partially and in a belated way, some of the grosser evils of insanitary housing, they afford no remedy against the bleeding to death of our people by enormous ground-rents and high rates; they can never give us towns which shall be spacious, healthy and beautiful, not only in the rich quarters, but for all the people.

And now I need not detain you much longer. We have seen something of the defects of Welsh towns as they are and noted that these are too great to be dealt with effectually by slow, costly, and piecemeal methods. We have seen something of the most advanced and rational methods of Town development elsewhere; and in doing so we have caught a glimpse of the cities of the future. What then are the methods by which this ideal should be reached, and how far is it practicable in the special circumstances of the Welsh towns?

First, of course, we want the destruction of the slums, which indeed we have been working at more or less for a generation. Of course, we want it, but not before new houses are provided, and these new houses must not be great barracks of tenements, nor even smaller houses let in flats, but cottages with gardens. For this purpose, building must be carried on extensively on what is now agricultural land. There is room enough. To house the whole of the present population of these islands in cottages with a quarter of an acre each would require a mere fraction, less than a thirtieth, of the land of the country, leaving more than 29/30ths for works, factories, farms, large gardens, wild spaces, and so on.

Secondly, this new building must not be on the old haphazard, and private speculation, lines; it must be according to rational plans thought out beforehand. We need town planning. In old towns the authorities must have the right to plan out the area surrounding them, indicating the roads and open spaces, regulating the class of buildings in each area, insisting that a garden be provided with each workman's house. I am happy to think that next Session of Parliament we shall have a Bill introduced by the Government conferring upon towns such a right. Even more important, perhaps, is it that suitable authorities should have power to plan out new areas where industries are arising, or where they may be induced to come by the provision of good facilities, with low rent, low rates, and wide elbow room for the gradual extension of factories.

Thirdly, even town planning is not enough. It cannot prevent the people being kept poor because enormous amounts of wealth are being transferred, as "unearned increment", from those who by their labour and capital do earn it, to those who simply sit and take the vast increases

in the value of land over which a town has grown. Moreover, much of the question of unearned increment, town planning matters, I think, goes to its best results as long as we have the taxation and laws which must necessarily result from the authorities regulating the land of unwilling private owners. What we need is, surely, that our towns should require the owners of the new areas over which they are destined to grow, should plan it out, whether it be in private individuals or investors, to co-operative societies or societies, such as I have described, sometimes perhaps in societies or companies formed for housing the working classes or largely, sometimes build upon it themselves. "Every man his own landlord" should be our motto.

The towns of England and Wales within the last generation or so have spent £15,000,000 on widenings and improvements which a provision laying out of the land would have anticipated. This could be avoided for the future. Open spaces could be freely supplied, for they would add to the value of the land round about, and of other land further out. Healthy conditions would be aimed at, for they would benefit the landowners, i.e., the towns, and save them expense in sanitation, hospitals, poor-rates, police, and a dozen ways. Public ownership of land would be especially profitable where the community owned also the tramways, the gas, and the water; since it would have the readiest means of determining the flow of population to any land it desired to develop. I may note, too, in passing that investors in building would have much better security under the new system for the value of their property, which now too often rapidly depreciates through the haphazard growth of other property near it.

Welsh towns in a few cases already own some land. Mr. Lleufer Thomas collected information on this point

for the Welsh Land Commission in 1895-6. Of thirty Corporations, he found that sixteen owned no agricultural or common land within their boundaries, while of those that owned land the chief were Swansea (548 acres, it is now 645 acres, I understand), Kidwelly (501 acres), Tenby (248 acres), Montgomery (89 acres), Welshpool (66 acres), Conway (40 acres), and Aberystwyth (28 acres). Swansea, therefore, has already the basis for developing one or more model quarters.

For the most part, however, our towns lack the land, and to acquire this there must be some means of fixing a reasonable price, and saving the ruinous expense of Arbitrations and the other procedure under the Lands Clauses Act. I imagine that we shall soon have a law for the valuation of the capital value of land, for the purposes of taxation; and I suggest that, where a public authority acquires land, it should be at the price fixed for taxation purposes. A fair value for taxation is surely a fair value for purchase by the community.

And now it remains only to ask whether, if all this is possible elsewhere, there is anything in the special circumstances of Wales to render it impossible for us. On the contrary, I think there is much to make it specially possible, and specially appropriate. The natural position of our towns is unsurpassed, their surroundings are usually picturesque, they lie on noble mountains, along rivers naturally beautiful, or by the sea; their industries yield vast wealth from the natural resources of our country, they are full of an intelligent and energetic people. The growth of the Welsh towns is itself a reason why improved methods of development are specially applicable to them, while the rapid growth of many new urban centres out of practically nothing, as in the Rhondda and Rhymney valleys, gives very special opportunities. Wherever a new

pit is sunk, a new works built, or a new port opened, there you have an opportunity to create a Welsh garden city. Some day I hope that public authorities may have the power to see that such new centres do grow up models of what villages and towns should be: may have the power, and may use it under that impulse towards active progress which can only come from the people themselves. It is always for the people to see that their representatives act.

However, until the Authorities have the power we must look elsewhere. Why should not our great employers and great landowners find a pride and pleasure in seeing such model settlements arise round their works or on their land? Is there any better form that patriotism could take?

Such, I think, is the ideal we should form of our Welsh towns as they might be—may I not say as they shall be! Such are some of the means to realize that ideal; and if we can make it a reality we may be sure that, though some of our people may not rise to their opportunities and show themselves worthy of the better condition, the majority will, as the majority of our people always have shown themselves fit to benefit by the improvements which have come to them.

Let us then move forward towards the towns of the future, the near future, which shall be clean, spacious, healthy, and beautiful, not for the rich alone, but for all, "with children"—as Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman recently said—"with children playing in the gardens of our cities."

WELSH BIBLIOGRAPHY AND ITS AIMS.¹**BY MR. J. H. DAVIES, M.A.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY is a science which may be pursued from two different standpoints. From one point of view it is merely a part, but an important part, of the business of a library. It enables a librarian to classify, arrange, and identify his stock-in-trade; it guides the literary student in his labours, and it is the handmaiden of all who search for knowledge through the medium of books. A bibliography only differs from a catalogue in that it is more complete. Every good catalogue is a bibliography. It is from this point of view that the subject is generally approached, and this is the excuse for giving it prominence; but whatever the utilitarian value of such a work may be, the mere recital of the titles of a large number of books does not appeal to the imagination, and is of little interest in itself. Indeed, if this were all, it would be difficult to arouse enthusiasm for bibliography.

There is, however, another point of view from which the science of bibliography may be regarded, and it is to this phase of the subject that I wish to direct your attention. Let me premise that most people have an innate love for collecting. It may not survive the schoolboy stage, but it is latent in nearly every human being and in many animals. The pursuit is sometimes looked upon as a

¹ Read at the meeting of the Cymmrodorion Section of the National Eisteddfod of Wales, held at Swansea on 21st of August, 1907. Chairman, Sir John Williams, Bart., K.C.V.O.

virtue, sometimes as a vice—that depends upon what we collect. But the book-collector is the prince of collectors. His pursuit is innocent and innocuous, it is instructive and useful, it confers benefits upon others, and betters and broadens the life of the man himself. If he is a book lover, as every collector should be, every additional book he secures is an additional friend. Now the science of bibliography, regarded from the point of view of the bibliophile, is very much more than the mere description, cataloguing, and preservation of books. It connotes the knowledge which may be acquired as to each individual book. To the cataloguer a book consists of a binding, a title page, and a number of other pages. To the bibliophile the book brings a far different message: the binding may speak to him of the delicate taste of a French artist, the type and paper bring up visions of a cultured craftsmanship, the book itself may recall a famous incident in history or remind him of the tragic career of a forgotten genius. He is always on the verge of an interesting discovery in literary annals, and when, as not infrequently happens, he makes such a discovery, it affords him an innocent joy which the ordinary human being cannot appreciate. To the bibliophile the books become living beings, he individualizes them and assigns to each its foibles and its virtues.

The difference between the two kinds of bibliography is the measure of the distinction between the mere cataloguer and the book-lover. The one kind is a bare statement of the facts relating to a book, the other deals with the life history of a book. The one is the anatomical description of a book, the other is the biography of the book. If one applies these definitions to Welsh Bibliography, the distinctive value of the two kinds will be seen. The catalogue issued by the Cardiff Free Library a few years ago, as far

as it goes, is an excellent instance of the modern bibliography. It is true that occasionally the book-lover peeps over the bibliographer's shoulder, but in the main we have a dreary list of items, the same space being devoted to a worthless pamphlet as to a classic of Welsh Literature. That is as it should be in the catalogue of a public library. The work of Charles Ashton on the *Bibliography of Wales in the Nineteenth Century* partakes of the same character, and if it were published, it would never impair the popularity of Gwilym Lley'n's book. Gwilym Lley'n was a real book-lover. He lived for books. He searched the lowly cottage and the great mansion for them, with greater success in the cottage. I have somewhere read a description of his methods, in which the writer describes how, in pursuit of his hobby, he set about searching all the farm-houses of the district as soon as he was appointed to a new circuit, hurriedly noting down on scraps of paper or on the backs of envelopes the particulars of every rarity he came across. Perhaps that was not the most scientific way of proceeding, but when we consider that *Llyfryddiaeth y Cymry* was the work of one man, without money or other advantages, it is perhaps as remarkable a literary monument as any man has reared for himself.

In proceeding to found a Welsh Bibliographical Society, it would in my opinion be a mistake to endeavour to cover the whole ground at one stroke. Portions only of the field should be taken up, and the work should be done thoroughly and accurately. The materials gathered by Charles Ashton will be valuable, if made accessible, only in as far as they are reliable, but the publication of his work would in a measure retard rather than advance the scientific study of Welsh Bibliography. In a few years time the National Library will be drawing up its catalogue, and such a catalogue, scientifically edited, the facts drawn

from books accessible to everybody, will be far more valuable than the compilation hurriedly put together from fragmentary notes by Ashton. I should not be surprised if it were also far more complete in every respect.

Before coming to the practical suggestions I wish to offer as to the aims of a Welsh Bibliographical Society, I should like to make some general remarks as to Welsh books. We in Wales are too apt to proceed on English lines, even where, as in the case of Welsh Literature, there is a vast difference between the problems to be solved. Relatively speaking, Welsh books are far scarcer than English books; the editions were smaller, that is to say fewer copies were printed, and the literary output has of necessity always been less. The result, regarded from the collector's point of view, is that his field is more circumscribed. Not only is the sum total of books in the Welsh language infinitely less, but the individual copies of any Welsh book are scarcer, as fewer were printed. Moreover, after making allowances for these two factors, it will be found that a far smaller proportion of Welsh books in good condition survive the vicissitudes of time. The chief reason for this state of things is that while in England the rich are large patrons of literature, in Wales, practically speaking, only the poor buy Welsh books. An English book is preserved in scores of well ventilated libraries, whilst a Welsh book may be thrown into a damp cupboard, or left on the open shelf in a kitchen, to breed bookworms and reek of the smell of peat. The consequence is that the Welsh book collector makes it his business laboriously to search the cottages and farmsteads of the country, while his English *confrère* need only give his order to the expert bookseller in London. A large proportion of English books find their way to the collector's cabinet through the medium of a bookseller, but it is an uncommon

thing to buy a rare Welsh book from a bookseller, and any person who thinks he can make a representative collection of Welsh books in this way is sadly mistaken. The great moments of an English book collector's life occur when he picks up a bargain in a bookseller's catalogue; he knows nothing of the joy of the Welshman who secures his gem in an old bundle of books in a sale at a country farmhouse, which he may have reached after a long tramp over hill and dale. These factors, the scarcity of Welsh books and the unlikely places where they may be found, make the collecting of Welsh books peculiarly interesting. The Welshman hitherto has not developed crazes, the excitement of the chase is enough in itself. In England you have the black-letter man, the tall copyist, the uncut man, the rough edge man, the early English dramatist man, the collector of Elzevirs, the broadsider, or the pasquinader, the old brown calf man, the Grangerite, the gilt topper or the marble insider, and, last of all, the first edition man. The varieties are infinite, and those who wish for further information may with profit study the works of Hill Burton and the immortal Dibdin. As things are at present in Wales, or as they were a few years ago, the rich collector with his cheque book could not compete with the intelligent peasant, who spent his spare time searching in out-of-the-way nooks for his prey. The most successful collector of Welsh books in the last generation was one David Evans of Llanrwst, who followed the profession of an itinerant pedlar and buyer of rags and bones. He travelled through Wales in his donkey cart, calling systematically at every cottage and farm-house bargaining for rabbit skins, and having books thrown in as a make-weight. In this manner he brought together a marvellous collection of rarities, many of which may now be seen by the curious, richly bound in calf or morocco, adorning the

book-shelves of Sir John Williams at Llanstephan, or enhancing the value of the great Welsh collection over which Mr. Ballinger so ably presides. Then there is Myrddin Fardd, who is still with us, who, in order to procure every comfort for a dying son, sold the collection which he had formed with infinite pains over a period of fifty years. Other instances might be cited equally to the point, which show that as far as the collecting of Welsh books goes, the race is not to the rich but to the persistent.

There is a further point I wish to make about Welsh books. There is a character, an individuality, about Welsh books. An English author writes his treatise or collects his poems, sends the manuscript to a publisher, pays him a cheque, or occasionally perhaps receives a cheque in payment, and, *hey presto*, the book is in print, and for sale at any bookseller's. Imagine the history of a Welsh book. The writer is perhaps a country tailor. In the intervals of driving his needle through the tough *brethyn cartref*, he jots down on the whitewashed wall of his cottage the *disjecta membra* of an *englyn*. When satisfied with it he may transfer it to the penny memorandum book in which is kept the measurements of his customer's clothes. By and by it may wander into the poet's corner of the local newspaper, finally to emerge with many of its fellows in a sixpenny booklet, roughly printed by the local Caxton. Then it has to be paid for, and sold, if possible, and this the tailor must do himself, or if he is of too modest a nature set his wife to the task, for poet's wives are usually said to be of the practical type. If the book has merit, some intelligent person in the neighbourhood will put it carefully by and wait until he gets a small pile of similar productions, when he will proceed to the nearest town or secure the services of the village shoemaker, and get the books bound together in good tough calf, labelled in

straggling letters on the outside with the magic word *Amryw*. I think no one will doubt that a book produced under such circumstances possesses an individuality of its own, and it is no exaggeration to say that many Welsh books have a similar life story. Indeed, did time allow, one could specify instances far more remarkable.

The Welsh *Amryw* is at once the joy and despair of the book collector. The joy, because it preserves what would otherwise have been lost, a rare elegy by Pantycelyn, a collection of hymns by Morgan Rhys, a scarce interlude by Twm o'r Nant, a ballad by Jac Glanygors, and a theological treatise on Predestination; there you will find them cheek by jowl in the *Amryw*. But the *Amryw* is also the despair of the collector, for of the sixteen tracts bound together which he buys, he may already possess fifteen.

I have talked enough about Welsh book collecting, it is high time to return to the subject of the paper. How is it possible to ally the interests of the book-lover with those of the pure bibliographer? This might be attained in several ways. A person might undertake to compile the bibliography of some particular book, or of the works of some particular author. Mr. Ballinger, in his bibliography of Vicar Prichard, and in his more recent work on the Welsh Bible, has given an excellent example of the value of this kind of work. In these two instances he does not confine himself to copying the bibliographical details of each edition, far from it; by means of comparison and research he has been able to throw a flood of light on some of the most important questions concerning the religious literature of Wales. One of the aims of Welsh bibliographers should be to encourage this class of work, that is, to study, as fully as possible, the literary history of a given book.

There is another direction also in which Mr. Ballinger

has given a lead. I refer to his article in *The Library* a few years ago on the Trevecca Press. The history of a particular press is, from the bibliographer's point of view, quite as important as the history of a book. We sadly require some accurate information as to the Carmarthen presses, and also as to those at Shrewsbury, Wrexham, Chester, Trefriw and Llanrwst, Bala, Machynlleth, and other places. There is enough scope for work, provided it is carefully done. A third direction in which valuable bibliographical work could be carried out is that of making bibliographies of certain well-defined branches of literature. A list of Welsh hymnals, printed before 1800, with an alphabetical index to the hymns, and notes as to the variations, would be welcomed, for the Welsh hymns are so good that time and labour might be expended upon them with profit. A bibliography of Welsh ballads would also be an interesting compilation, for the *cerdd* in Wales carried out the functions of the modern newspaper for a whole century, and a mass of local history can be gleaned from *cerddi* which could not be obtained elsewhere. Another type of publication which contain valuable historical data, frequently combined with considerable literary skill, are the *Marwnadau*. Large numbers of these were printed in the eighteenth century, and they are now extremely scarce. A full account of the growth of the Welsh almanac during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, provided full bibliographical details were given, would throw light on the social life of Wales, and considerably modify our ideas as to the history of the *Eisteddfod*. Bibliographies of the tracts produced during some of the heated religious, educational, and political discussions which occasionally sweep over Wales, would be of great help to the historical student.

One might multiply these divisions indefinitely, and

excellent work might be done, provided skilled workers could be found. In concluding, I hope I have said enough to show that Welsh Bibliography is an attractive subject, that it gives considerable scope for individual research, and that the results obtained from a close study of it would well repay the literary and historical student, and be of permanent value to all who take an interest in the history of Wales and her literature.

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REPORT
OF
THE COUNCIL OF THE
Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion.

For the Year ending November 9th, 1908.

PRESENTED TO THE ANNUAL MEETING HELD IN THE SOCIETY'S
ROOMS, ON THURSDAY, THE 26TH DAY OF NOVEMBER, 1908.

THE Council have pleasure in announcing that fifty-five new Members have been added to the Society during the past year. They regret to report that since the last Annual Meeting many of the Society's supporters have passed away. The recent death of Sir John Puleston deprives the Cymmrodorion of almost the last of those strenuous workers who took part in the successful revival of the Society thirty-five years ago. From 1873 to the date of his death Sir John Puleston was a warm supporter of all Cymmrodorion movements, he laboured zealously for the promotion of all Welsh interests, and in many directions he rendered to his native land most valuable service. The Council have also to record the loss of another member of many years' standing, the Honourable George Kenyon, to whom Wales is deeply indebted for his many efforts in the cause of National Education; of Mr. R. H. Wood, F.S.A., a former President of the *Cambrian Archæological Association*; of Sir Charles Hughes-Hunter, Bart., of Plascoch; Mr. Thomas Darlington, late Inspector of Schools, whose contributions to the Society's *Transactions*

gained considerable notice ; and, amongst others, Mr. Paul Bevan, Mr. J. Pugh Morris, Dr. Owen Roberts, and Miss Isabel Southall of Cradley.

In the course of the last twelve months the following meetings were held. In London :—

1907.

November 21.—**ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MEMBERS.**

December 12.—**ANNUAL DINNER.** Chairman, Principal Sir John Rhys, M.A., D.Litt. ; Guest of the Evening, W. Goscombe John, Esq., A.R.A.

1908.

January 21.—Paper on “Welsh National Melodies and Folk Songs”, by Professor J. Lloyd Williams, University College of North Wales ; Chairman, Sir William H. Preece, K.C.B.

May 8.—Paper on “The Act of Union between England and Wales”, by W. Llewelyn Williams, Esq., M.P. ; Chairman, J. Herbert Lewis, Esq., M.P., Junior Lord of the Treasury.

May 28.—Paper on “The Literary Relationships of Dafydd ap Gwilym”, by Professor W. Lewis Jones, M.A. ; Chairman, Sir Francis Edwards, Bart., M.P.

June 26.—**ANNUAL CONVERSAZIONE**, by special invitation, at the Hall of the Fishmongers' Company, at London Bridge ; Chairman, the President (the Right Hon. Viscount Tredegar).

At Llangollen : In the Cymmrodorion Section of the National Eisteddfod, meetings were held :—

On Monday evening, August 31st, 1908, in the Memorial Hall, Market Street, Llangollen, when an Address (followed by a discussion) was delivered on “Village Societies in Wales” (for the encouragement of “The things that are more excellent”), by Lady St. David's of Roch Castle ; Chairman, Sir Herbert Roberts, Bart., M.P.

On Wednesday, September 2nd, at the Memorial Hall, Mr. T. H. Thomas, R.C.A., and Mr. Christopher Williams read Papers (which were followed by a discussion) on “The Past, and the Future of Art, in Wales” ; Chairman, Edward O. V. Lloyd, Esq., J.P., D.L.

The Council are glad to be able to report that arrangements have been made for the delivery of a series of interesting addresses during the coming Session, including papers on the following subjects :—

- “The Use and Age of Ancient Stone Monuments”, by Sir Norman Lockyer, K.C.B.
 “Some Aspects of Roman Wales”, by Professor F. J. Haverfield, M.A., Oxford.
 “Howell Harries: Patriot and Citizen”, by the Rev. M. H. Jones, M.A., Trevecca College; and
 “Tudur Aled”, by Professor J. Morris Jones, M.A.
 “The Origin of the Welsh Romances”, by Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans, M.A.

During the year the Society has published, at a somewhat considerable expense, Vol. XX of *Y Cymmrodor*, containing a translation of the *Ystoria de Carolo Magno*, published by the Society so far back as 1883, together with a critical introduction, and an account of the relation of the Welsh Version to other Texts, by the Rev. Robert Williams, B.A., Rector of Llanbedr, in the Vale of Conway. It is gratifying to the Council, as doubtless it will be to the members of the Society, that the Welsh Version, published for the Cymmrodorion in 1883, is to-day being used in the three Constituent Colleges of the University of Wales for the Degree Courses in Welsh.

The *Transactions* for the year 1907 made a belated appearance owing to difficulties in regard to some of the papers and the illustrations contained therein. It is hoped that the enhanced value of the production has justified the delay. The Council gratefully acknowledge the permission accorded to them by Sir Edward Poynter, President of the Royal Academy of Arts, by which they are enabled to present the members with a faithful reproduction of the original cartoon of “Saint David”, now at the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington, which was designed by Sir Edward Poynter for, and is now a prominent feature of, the decoration of the Central Lobby of the Houses of Parliament. In the same volume the Council have been glad to reproduce the only portrait obtainable of one who remains, in many respects, “the greatest of Celtic Philo-

logists"—Edward Lhuyd—illustrating an important contribution to the Life History of Lhuyd, by Mr. Richard Ellis, of the Welsh Library, Aberystwyth. The number also contains Mr. Ivor B. John's paper on *The National Emblem of Wales*; the Rev. John Fisher's *Welsh Church Dedications*, with illustrations of Welsh and Breton Saints; Mr. Aneurin Williams' *Eisteddfod Section* Address on *Welsh Towns as they are and as they might be*; and a paper on *Welsh Bibliography and its Aims*, by Mr. J. H. Davies.

With the view of putting into practice a recommendation passed at a meeting of the *Eisteddfod Section* held at Swansea in 1907, and of assisting the newly-formed "Welsh Bibliographical Society", the Council have undertaken the expense of printing and publishing *The Bibliography of Welsh Ballads printed in the Eighteenth Century*, compiled by Mr. J. H. Davies, M.A., Aberystwyth. It will be issued in instalments as a supplement to the Society's *Transactions*; the first instalment appearing at the end of the volume for last year.

The Council refer with special gratification to the production of the third volume of Mr. Edward Owen's most valuable *Catalogue of MSS. relating to Wales at the British Museum*, a work that has already proved to be of great advantage to the students of Welsh historical documents. They also refer with pleasure to the production of Vol. I of *Lives of the British Saints*, by the Rev. S. Baring-Gould and the Rev. John Fisher, a work that has been received with most cordial praise by competent critics. The second volume is nearly completed, and will be issued early in the ensuing year. It will be remembered that this great work is published by aid of special subscriptions, and the Council will be glad of further support in this direction. In order to facilitate publication they have made an advance of £50 to the *British Saints*

Special Fund. It is understood that this and other advances will be repaid if the publication of the entire work results in a profit.

The Council regret that up to the present they have not been in a position to place the *St. David's Registers* in the hands of the printer. They trust, however, that the entire transcript will be completed before Christmas, after which they hope to take immediate steps towards publication.

The Annual Dinner of the Society will be held on Thursday, the 20th of December, 1908, at the Whitehall Rooms, *Hotel Metropole*, under the presidency of the Right Hon. Lord Glantawe, and the Council have pleasure in announcing that the Chancellor of the Exchequer and Mrs. Lloyd-George have accepted invitations to be the Society's guests on the occasion.

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

THE PRESIDENT,
THE VICE-PRESIDENTS,
THE AUDITORS,

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

DR. ALFRED DANIELL.
MR. J. H. DAVIES.
MR. W. E. DAVIES.
MR. E. VINCENT EVANS.
MR. PEPYAT W. EVANS.
MR. WILLIAM EVANS, C.B.
MR. ELLIS J. GRIFFITH, M.P.
MR. T. H. W. IDRIS, M.P.
MR. R. H. JENKINS.
MR. W. GOSCOMBE JOHN, A.R.A.

A Statement of the Accounts of the Society for the year is appended to this Report.

THE HONOURABLE SOCIETY OF CYMMRODORION.

Statement of Receipts and Payments.

FROM 9TH NOVEMBER, 1907, TO 9TH NOVEMBER, 1908.

	<i>Cr.</i>	<i>Dr.</i>	<i>£</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
To Balance in hand, November 9th, 1907 ..	188		72		6
" Subscriptions received ..	564		14		9
" Sale of Publications ..	17		7		17
	611		92		4
		108	4		1
<i>Distribution:—</i>					
<i>Cymmrodor</i> , Vol. XX ..		92			4
<i>Transactions</i> for 1908-7 ..		4			9
		96			3
General Printing ..		200			8
Lectures and Meetings ..		39			4
Misteddfof Section Expenses ..		57			14
Library Expenses ..		7			17
Stationery, Postage, and General Expenses ..		5			1
Record Series' Fund, donation ..		37			0
British Saints' Fund, advance ..		50			0
Commission on Publications Sold and Subscriptions received (1907) ..		50			0
Secretarial Honorarium ..		26			3
Balance in hand ..		50			0
		125			11
		4			4
		129			11
		4			4
		133			11
		4			4
		137			11
		4			4
		141			11
		4			4
		145			11
		4			4
		149			11
		4			4
		153			11
		4			4
		157			11
		4			4
		161			11
		4			4
		165			11
		4			4
		169			11
		4			4
		173			11
		4			4
		177			11
		4			4
		181			11
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		185			11
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		189			11
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		501			11
		4			4
		505			11
		4			4
		509			11
		4			4
		513			11
		4			4
		517			11
		4			4
		521			

TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion.

SESSION 1907-1908.

WELSH NATIONAL MELODIES AND
FOLK-SONG.¹

BY

J. LLOYD-WILLIAMS, D.Sc.,

Director of Music, University College of North Wales.

THE great and increasing interest shown by various western nations in their native melodies, and the wonderful success that has attended the efforts of English collectors of Folk-songs, suggests that it is time that we Welsh people should set about the serious study of our National Melodies, and the collection of such of our Folk-songs as are still unpublished. The Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion has done a great deal, particularly during the earlier years of its existence, to foster a love of our native minstrelsy. More recently, valuable papers on the subject have been read before the Society by some of our foremost musicians. There are two names in particular that deserve recognition for the work they

¹ Read before the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion at 20, Hanover Square, on Wednesday, 22nd January 1908; Chairman, Sir William H. Preece, K.C.B.

have done in elucidating the history of Welsh music, and in publishing charming musical arrangements of a large number of the airs; they are those of the veteran harpist, Mr. John Thomas (*Pencerdd Gwalia*), and of Mr. D. Emlyn Evans. In addition to other work in this field, the latter contributed to the *Cerddor* for 1893 a most valuable list of Welsh airs published up to that date. It is greatly to be regretted that the state of his health prevents Mr. Evans from completing the work so well begun by him, for he undoubtedly knows more about the subject than any other Welsh musician.

In spite of all that has been done for the study of Welsh national melody, the subject still remains in a state of sad confusion. To begin with, it is well known that many of the airs in the earlier collections are of non-Welsh origin, and there are many others which, owing to their English titles, or to the possession of certain characteristics more frequently found in English or Irish airs, lie under a strong suspicion of not being native.

This is not the place to dwell upon the value of a nation's minstrelsy. It is self-evident that the benefit to be derived by any people from the singing of its national music can only be obtained from such of the melodies as show the possession of national characteristics. Some of these songs have grown up with the people and with the language; others have been composed by men who were steeped in the traditions of their country, and filled with love of its history and its literature; these are the melodies which are recognised by the hearts of the people, as expressing the national aspirations; and it is these songs, and these only, that can be relied upon in school, or college, or Eisteddfod, to foster a love of language and of country. Furthermore, it is only by an intimate acquaintance with such truly national song that our musicians can ever hope

to establish a distinctively Welsh school of musical composition.

But what are these characteristics? Though the lover of Welsh minstrelsy frequently feels, as by a kind of intuition, when a melody is truly national, no one has been able as yet to formulate any rules for the identification of these distinctive traits. It is true that a great many people, particularly our English neighbours, regard the prevalence of the minor mode as one of the characteristics, but this has never been statistically demonstrated; many musicians hold that mournful tunes are not more numerous in Wales than in other parts of the British Isles, and it is well known that a great many of the best old English airs are in the minor mode. That Welsh melodies have a distinctive character of their own cannot be denied. Whether these are too subtle to be analysed and stated in words after a careful and critical comparative study remains to be seen.

In addition to the foreign airs which require to be weeded out of our list of native melodies, we find in most of the old collections a number of purely instrumental pieces which deserve no place whatever in our *repertoire* of Welsh airs. It is perfectly true that a great many of our best airs were originally harp tunes, and had no words fitted to them till a comparatively late period; there are, however, many melodies which, owing to their extended compass, or to their melodic structure, are quite unvocal. It is clear that all such tunes should be eliminated, unless indeed the forms of some of them permit of their being used for penillion singing.

Lastly, a number of airs have been included which, though of Welsh origin, are either inferior musically, or, owing to the absence of the Welsh feeling, have never appealed to the Welsh singer, and, consequently, lack the

element of persistence that should characterise a national melody.

Far more deplorable than this state of confusion in our list of melodies is the indifference that has been exhibited towards our national airs during the last twenty years. They have been neglected to such an extent that they have all but disappeared from concert programmes; the Challenge Solo Competition has nearly banished them from the local Eisteddfod platform, and, as a natural result, although the country is now richer in vocal talent than it ever was, few of our vocalists understand how to sing the melodies properly. They apply to these simple airs the methods of the opera, and then attribute the ill success of the renderings to the poorness of the airs, rather than to their own faulty interpretation. And yet when the melodies are sung in a simple, unaffected manner, by singers that possess a loving insight into their genius, they never fail to reach the hearts of the people that listen to them. There are, however, welcome signs that the tide has turned and is beginning again to set in their favour. This, then, is a particularly opportune moment for placing the study of this department of our national heritage on a thoroughly sound scientific basis.

The present paper is intended merely as an introduction to the more detailed and critical work which remains to be done, and as a general survey of the field. For the student the most crying need of the present is a detailed bibliography. A complete list of all the Welsh airs already published is in preparation, including full references to the collections where they may be found, and to old ballads and lyrics in connection with which their names have appeared. It is hoped that such a list will facilitate the work of the student, and that in time it will be found possible to formulate rules and guiding principles for

the recognition of the distinguishing traits of Welsh minstrelsy.

It is clear that no satisfactory work can be done in this subject by any investigator unless he has some acquaintance with the song literature of other nationalities, particularly the English and Irish. It is equally evident that the work to be done requires the co-operation of many students. A careful examination of all the available historical data, together with a critical study of the internal evidence of the melodies themselves, their tonality, form, and melodic structure, ought to enable us to decide with greater certainty whether any given melodies are of Welsh or of foreign origin. One important result of such an inquiry would be the formation of a standard list of *bonâ fide* Welsh melodies. This would involve the rejection of a number of tunes which are foreign in both their origin and character. There are, however, many tunes of undoubted foreign origin which have settled in our country, and, in the process, have taken on certain Welsh peculiarities of rhythm and melody, so that they are now indistinguishable from the true product of the soil. Quite recently a Welsh musician condemned a number of tunes, and said they could not compare with certain fine old Welsh tunes which he specified. Out of the five melodies named by him, four were immigrants from over the border, and yet he was not inexcusably wrong, for each of the tunes had taken on a distinctively Welsh garb. Other *rejectamenta* would be some of the purely instrumental pieces already referred to—melodies which had only a transient vogue, and, being devoid of any national characteristics, were, from their very nature, incapable of expressing any national sentiment. The remaining songs would include all the really native melodies, together with local forms of a number of

tunes, which, like certain folk-tales and ballads, are widely distributed over the British Isles and other countries, and whose home cannot be specified.

The list so compiled would necessarily be much shorter than our present one, but it would be of far greater value to the musician and to the student of musical history.

The activity of the newly-formed Welsh Folk-Song Society is likely to add to the list a large number of hitherto unpublished airs, of which many will undoubtedly be of permanent value. Here, again, the operation of separating the wheat from the chaff will sometimes prove to be one of great difficulty. Even after winnowing out the non-Welsh constituents, there will be the further task of eliminating the worthless airs. It seems as if certain folk-song enthusiasts were disposed to regard every melody whose authorship cannot be traced as of "communal origin", and as something sacred and above criticism. This were as absurd as it would be to regard all folk-rhymes and ballads as heaven-born poetry. And yet we know that musicians have over and over again rejected as worthless, melodies which others, equally great or greater, have regarded as inspired.

Some of our Welsh musicians have expressed a great deal of scepticism about the possibility of finding any melodies not already collected, and, when face to face with the fact that a large number have already been discovered, they boldly say that the new finds cannot equal the old tunes. We can imagine the same words of discouragement being addressed to Maria Jane Williams, of Aberpergwm, while she was noting down from the lips of the South Wales peasantry such expressive melodies as "Y Fwyalchen" and "Y Deryn Pur".

Hitherto the melodies have been considered from one point of view only, the purely musical one. It must not

be forgotten that they may furnish a great deal of very valuable information to the student of ethnology—local dialects are now closely studied ; everything in the form of folk-lore is carefully collected—national melody, and folk-song in particular, would be of the very greatest interest in the study of races and their characteristics. To give one instance, there can be no doubt that there is a great difference between the melodies of North Wales and those of the Southern part of the Principality. In the former harp music prevailed, and penillion singing was cultivated by all who could sing at all, whereas in South Wales the song, in the ordinary sense of the word, predominated. In North Wales, owing perhaps to the prevalence of the harp, the tonality of the melodies seemed strikingly modern, and of the modal tunes that occurred the majority were Dorian. In South Wales, on the other hand, modal tunes were far more common, and many of them were in other modes than the Dorian, or exhibited mixed, often eccentric, tonality. These are but a few of the differences observable, but they are easily explicable on ethnological grounds ; the greater admixture of Norman, Flemish, and, in later times, of many other nationalities, with the Celtic blood in South Wales would, in itself, suffice to account for the character of its folk-music.

It is extremely unfortunate that we have no published collections of Welsh melodies of earlier date than 1742. This makes it impossible to trace the development of national melody, and increases the difficulty of deciding the conflicting claims of English and Welsh to certain tunes. The only sources of information at our disposal are certain well-known, because often quoted, passages from the old Welsh laws, from Giraldus, and from the annals of old Eisteddfodau, together with incidental

references in the works of Dafydd ap Gwilym and other poets, and, finally, a fairly long list of names of tunes.

One can hardly hope for the unearthing of any musical MSS. of the pre-1742 period, but something may still be done to extend and to clarify our ideas of the music of that time and of the status of the harpists and singers. The old belief respecting the hoary antiquity of most of the Welsh melodies has disappeared: the great Druidic myth so sedulously cultivated by the collectors of the eighteenth century has been exploded. And yet so tenacious of life was it that we find in the Carnarvon Eisteddfod (1894) prize essay the statement that "many of the airs found in our collections at the present day have *undoubtedly* descended to us from the ancient Druids". With regard to the passage from Giraldus, referred to above, it is very probable that more has been read into it than a correct translation warrants. It certainly testifies to a high development of musical taste and capacity, but the passage relating to part-singing is not very clear, and in other parts of the book the singing of the Irish and of the North countrymen is described in very eulogistic terms. Progress in the future will not be assisted by a too complacent magnification of the supposed glories of the past.

The activity shown in research by our young Welsh scholars will probably bring to the light of day many illuminating references to musical matters, and in official records there may be hitherto unnoticed information about Welsh musicians. During the Tudor period it is well known that Welsh harpists were numerous, not only in Wales, but in England as well, and that many Welshmen, with poetical and musical tastes, filled important posts in England. In 1530 there was published a book of songs among which was one composed by Sion Gwynedd, and entitled "My Love Mourneth". A few years later a

Richard Jones published, in London, "A Handfull of Pleasant Delites". That this printer was a Welshman is confirmed by the motto of the book, "Heb Dduw, heb ddim." There are probably many other interesting cases.

From a purely musical point of view, the period that would best repay study would be that from the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries, particularly the latter half of it. If all the references occurring in the literature of the period, together with information gleaned from official documents, were collected together and carefully collated by some musician who also possesses a knowledge of the life of the period and of contemporary English music, and of the Welsh poetry and metres of the time, the work would be of the utmost value as a contribution to our knowledge of the musical activity of that particular period on the one hand, and, on the other, as a foundation to the critical study of the airs that we still possess.

The interesting facts about the enterprise of Welshmen during the Tudor period, and the positions of trust that many of them had gained outside Wales, together with the close intercourse between the English and the Welsh during that time, and during the campaign of the Civil War, are made use of in two contrary ways. Some writers will have it that, as a result of this intercourse, our melodies were to a great extent replaced by English airs. There must be a great deal of truth in this, but the other side of the question should not be ignored. Is it not highly probable that our harpists, our soldiers, our singers, set some of the Welsh melodies a-travelling then? We know that extensive travel, and close intercourse with foreigners, did not prevent certain Welshmen of that age from cherishing their language and adding to its literature. Why, then, should it so readily be taken for granted that they discarded their native melodies?

Chappell and other English writers have claimed many of the tunes in our collections as English, on the ground of priority of publication in England. That this in itself is insufficient evidence is proved by the well-known cases of "Y Gadlys", and "Clychau Aberdyfi", both of which had been utilised in English ballad operas long before they appeared in any Welsh collection. In both these cases the Welsh origin is acknowledged in the Welsh references that occur in the English words. The case of "The Bells of Aberdovey" is particularly instructive, for though it had been sung in a ballad opera in London in 1785, it was not published in Wales till Maria Jane Williams noted it in her collection of folk-songs in the year 1844. One additional example, of much later date, may be given. In Vol. I, Part 3, of *The Folk-song Journal* may be seen a melody noted in Sussex, the words commencing "There were six joyful Welshmen". It is evidently a degenerate version of "St. David's Day", so much altered in rhythm that it was found impossible to identify the original barring of the tune.

Another matter that requires the attention of the musical student is the critical analysis of the curious instructions for playing the *crwth*, and the solution of the notation in which are locked up the tunes, or, more probably, *crwth* accompaniments, to be found in the *Myvyrian Archaiology*, and dating from the reign of Charles I, or, perhaps, much earlier.

There is a very long list of names of melodies sung during this period, and the study of them gives much food for thought. The earlier names are almost wholly Welsh, but of the later ones, particularly those associated with the *Cerddi* of the latter half of the seventeenth and the eighteenth century, a very high percentage, often more than fifty per cent., bear English names. Of the earlier

ones the great majority are quite unfamiliar. A few, such as "Mwynen Gwynedd", "Erddigan Hun Gwennlian", and "Caniad Pibau Morfudd", have survived; it does not follow, however, that the melodies are the same. Even now we have plenty of cases where several different tunes bear the same name. The very first air in the 1742 Collection is called "Sidannen". In the *Blodeugerdd* is a ballad in praise of Sidannen (Queen Elizabeth), and written to a tune of the same name. It would have been utterly impossible to fit the ballad to John Parry's "Sidannen", so there must have been another air bearing the same name but in a different metre.

There is another fact that should be taken into consideration. Although the oldest of our collections are only from a hundred to a hundred-and-fifty years old, many of the tunes have in that interval altered considerably. This is inevitable in the case of the best melodies—those that are sung by generation after generation. Like the language itself the songs are in a state of flux. "Morfa Rhuddlan" is very different now from the version recorded by Blind Parry, and "Nos Galan", whose tonality seems now so strikingly modern, was once sung with the flat 7th. It follows that even should we be able to prove that the airs mentioned above have persisted, they must have undergone a great many changes during that time. Looked at from this point of view, the attempts of certain writers to ascertain the age of the melodies by an examination of their present structure must be viewed with suspicion.

Of the songs which are quoted as in use for ballad singing during the period from 1650 to the beginning of the last century, we still possess a large number, but, as has already been pointed out, among them there is a very large proportion of tunes bearing English names. It must not be concluded, however, that all these were necessarily

English. A name frequently found above the old ballads is "Crimson Velvet", or "Ffion Felfed". There were several old tunes called by this name, but they are all different from the English one quoted by Chappell, not only in melody but in metre as well. What probably happened was this: an English ballad was written on the old story of the crimson velvet; the idea was borrowed by a Welsh ballad writer, but he wrote in a different metre. If the ballad became popular, then we know from analogous processes going on, even to-day, that it would be sung to different tunes in different localities, unless indeed the tune itself was sufficiently striking to become popular. The name of the ballad now attached itself to the tunes, and the next step was to utilise the airs themselves for the singing of other ballads in the same metre, but on different subjects.

In other cases the name was generic. Among the English there were many tunes which were sung at the close of convivial gatherings; they were all entitled "Loath to Depart". We also find more than one "Anhawdd Ymadael" in our Welsh list, but I have not been able to find as yet that any of them are English, though they may bear the English title.

Lastly, many of the itinerant ballad-mongers were ignorant and ill-educated, and they often imposed upon the peasantry by affecting a knowledge of English which they really did not possess. Thus, some of the Welsh ballads have English versions which are evidently clumsy translations from the Welsh. Similarly, some of the Welsh titles were clumsily translated; occasionally the needlessness of the translation was obvious, as in the case of "The Anglesey Tune".

But even after making due deductions for the cases mentioned above, the fact remains that a large number of

these ballad tunes were non-Welsh. This is not to be wondered at, for even to-day we are quite as guilty of despising our own treasures. Had the ballad singers enriched our store of ballad tunes by borrowing of the very best, they might have been forgiven; as a matter of fact, however, many of the tunes are very poor. It is an undoubted fact that ballad music was far less Welsh than harp music, and that it was inferior in quality to both the harp melodies of the cultured classes on the one hand, and the folk-song of the peasantry on the other.

We have referred to three different classes of tunes, the *Harp Melodies*, the *Ballad Tunes*, and the *Folk-songs*. Before passing in review the published collections of Welsh airs it would be convenient to explain the distinctions drawn between the three kinds of tunes.

Harp melodies are easily distinguished by their chordal structure, by the prevalence of arpeggios and extended scale passages, and by the frequency of sequential melodic figures. Added to these are the modern tonality and the boldness of most of the airs. All these traits are due to the qualities of the instrument itself. Owing to the fact that the triple harp had the semitones, in addition to the complete diatonic scale, many of the melodies modulate into nearly related keys. The majority were originally purely instrumental; this explains the fact that many airs that are perfect in form and melodic structure are *as yet* devoid of the intimate association of word and note which one finds in those airs that have grown up *with*, or *out of*, the words. Another Ceiriog may come who may succeed in unlocking the door to the heart of many more of the fine old tunes. In North Wales, where harp playing was very highly developed, the chief vocal use of the melodies was for penillion singing. This art was peculiar to North Wales, the South Walian excelling in the ordinary song.

Most of the typical *ballad tunes* came into existence without the intervention of a musical instrument—they were entirely vocal. They sprang out of attempts to give expression to the story of the ballad. In a great many cases they were devoid of both melodic and rhythmic beauty. Many of the ballad metres had exceedingly long verses, and a great number of them; the singers in many cases were uneducated men who wrote very inferior verse; most of them do not seem to have been moved to sing by any musical feeling, their only inspiration having been the desire to earn an honest penny. A very large number of these tunes are plaintive in character, a fact that is pointed out by Chappell in relation to old English narrative tunes also. They are simple in structure, the only leaps occurring in the melody in many cases being to the 5th or 8th or some other strongly accented note at the commencement of a phrase, the remaining notes moving in stepwise succession. Most of the tunes, having to be sung to a large number of long verses and to many ballads of diverse natures, are utterly devoid of any strongly marked sentiment. Even in the case of the better class ballads of Huw Morus and others, one feels that far too much is expected of the tune. Take, for instance, one of the “*Carolau Mai*”. Here we have a short musical metre, and there are many charming lines in the verses, and at least two of the tunes (*Mwynen Mai*) to which they can be sung are very pretty; yet, owing to the continual change of sentiment in the words, and also to the frequency of words that are only of use in bringing in alliteration, we are prevented from feeling any distinct intimacy between words and music. As the ballad singers were more intent upon their story than the music, the latter became a mere sing-song, often suggestive of the “*Hwyl*” of old Welsh preachers.

The *Folk-song* proper was generally much superior to the ballad tune as music. It originated in a desire to sing, either for singing's sake, or in order to express emotion, or to give better expression to certain lyrics that had taken the fancy of the singer. Some of the oldest are characterised by bold rhythm and striking melody, but the words are mere jingle, without any attempt at either metre, rhyme, or poetry. Such are various cumulative songs, "Can Rhannu", and the many versions of "Yr Hen Wr Mwyn", with its startling contrast in pace and spirit between the question and the answer, and many others.

As examples of the lyrical ones we need only mention such gems as "Y Fwyalchen", "Y Deryn pur", "Tra bo Dau", "Y Gwew Fach", "Merch y Melinydd", and others. Here we have homely words, few verses, a clear idea clearly expressed, in terms which call up a picture, or appeal to the heart. Though the language is often colloquial, it is direct, and does not err by being too abstract, or unusual, or unnecessary, as frequently do more ambitious lyrics. These words are wedded to equally simple spontaneous melodies and we feel that it would be a sin to divorce them.

While the three classes of melody are thus typically distinct, as might be expected, the three divisions are joined by intermediates. A few of the harp airs, such as "Morfa Rhuddlan", and others, were occasionally utilised as ballad tunes; many of the folk melodies were as strikingly chordal in their structure as any of the harp melodies, while others were as purely vocal as were many of the ballad tunes. In both these classes modal tunes and melodies which are devoid of decided rhythmic feeling are frequent. Penillion singing often partook of the characteristics of folk-song. The mode of singing penillion in alternate solo and chorus, as in "Nos Galan", "Hob

y Deri", and the various "Tribannau", a style widely prevalent in both North and South Wales, might also be regarded as combining the characters of harp melody and folk-music.

It is true that much of the singing took place in public-houses, and this naturally gave rise to much trashy music and unprintable words. This did not prevent the production and appreciation of some of the most beautiful of our folk-melodies. The same paradox exists to-day, where some of the most inspired of our sacred melodies are sung in various inappropriate places.

The first collection of Welsh melodies published was called *Antient British Music*.¹ It appeared in 1742, and consisted of twenty-four melodies, arranged by John Parry, the Blind Harpist of Ruabon, and Evan Williams, or Ifan William, a London musician. The volume is not very valuable. Many of the pieces are so artificial and laboured that they do not deserve a place in any collection of national melodies. Others bear names which at once suggest a foreign origin, e.g.: "Mael Syms" (Moll Sims), "Gramwndws Gallia", and "Burstoy". Among them, however, we find such undoubtedly native tunes as "Morfa Rhuddlan", "Meillionen", and "Breuddwyd Dafydd Rhys".

It seems as if Parry, in his first essay, committed the mistake of ignoring the simple and natural, and straining after the elaborate and difficult. This is confirmed by the fact that many of the tunes found no place in the *repertoire*

¹ Mr. Frank Kidson has very kindly informed me that he has in his possession the only known copy of a volume called *Aria di Camera*, 1727 or 1728, containing the following Welsh airs:—"Welch Morgannwg", "Welch Morgan", "Meillionen o Feirionydd", "Morfa Rhuddlan", "North Welch Morris". These were contributed by Thomas Parry of Llanwrmarthen. Mr. Kidson adds: "I have also found, in various publications, early Welsh tunes, prior to

of succeeding harpists. Bardd Alaw, writing in the *Cambro-Briton*, in 1820, tells us that he did not know the name of the compiler of the imperfect copy that he possessed, and that many of the airs it contained were unfamiliar to him. The names of the tunes were not printed, but in many of the copies still extant they have been written. Incidentally, it may be of interest to observe that the arrangements are quite different from those that appeared in the later volumes of John Parry, or in the works of Edward Jones. They are more ingenious, and show a fondness for imitative and anticipatory figures. May we not reasonably conclude that they are the work of Ifan William rather than of John Parry?

John Parry's second volume is generally believed to have appeared in 1761. Hamer Jones, in his unpublished Bibliography (which Mr. Vincent Evans kindly allowed me to examine), gives the date as 1752. It was entitled: *A Collection of Welsh, English, and Scotch Airs, etc.* Of these the titles are given: only four are Welsh, the only new one being "Y Gadlys", here called "Of noble race was Shenkin". This had long been a favourite in England. In addition to these there are, however, twelve unnamed "airs for the Guittar", and it does not appear to have been noticed that most of these are Welsh, among them being "Mwynder Arglwyddes Owain", "Cwmpiad y Dail", "Glan Fedd-dod Mwyn", and "Blodau'r Drain". Of the three volumes published by Blind Parry, the *British Harmony*, published in 1781, was by far the most valuable. Of the forty-two airs contained in it, the majority were typical Welsh melodies, many of which have retained their popularity to the present time, as, for example, "Syr Harri Ddu", "Nos Galan", "Mynachdy", "Blodau'r Gorllewin", "Hûd y Frwynen", "Merch Megan", "Mentra Gwen", etc. There are, however, several that are undoubtedly English,

or whose claims to be regarded as Welsh are very doubtful.

In 1784, Edward Jones, of Llandderfel, otherwise known as *Bardd y Brenin*, published the first edition of his *Relicks of the Welsh Bards*. This contains sixty airs, and in the title page it is claimed that they had never before been published. Edward Jones was an extraordinarily diligent collector of melodies, but he was exceedingly uncritical. This is shown in the list of melodies contained in his book. The first, "Rhyban Morfudd", was a new publication, but the three succeeding ones had already appeared in John Parry's last volume, published three years before. Out of the total of sixty, more than one-third had already appeared. His want of care is also shown by the fact that he has in more than one instance published the same tune twice, under two different names, as in the case of "Ffarwel Ednyfed Fychan", which appears on another page as "Castell Towyn".

In this volume we meet with "Ar hyd y nos", "Wyses Ned Puw", "Dafydd y Garreg Wen", "Codiad yr hedydd", "Tros-y-Garreg", "Pen Rhaw", and other well-known melodies.

A second edition appeared in 1791, but some copies bear other dates, such as 1794, 1796, and 1800. This volume contained forty-two melodies additional to those in the first edition, and all except four were new publications. Among them were "Gorhoffedd Gwyr Harlech", "Gogerdan", "Codiad yr Haul," and "Dewch i'r Frwydyr".

In the year 1802 there appeared *The Bardic Museum*, the second volume of the *Relicks*, containing sixty melodies, of which forty-nine were new. Here first appeared "Agoriad y Cywair", "Pant Corlan yr Wyn", and "Y Bardd yn ei Awen".

When we survey the list of melodies published up to

the beginning of the nineteenth century there are some facts which strike us forcibly. In the first place *the airs were nearly all instrumental*. In the three volumes published by Blind Parry there are no lyrics. A very few do occur in the works of Edward Jones, but besides being so rare as to be practically negligible; they are all, except the few penillion, very poor and clumsily fitted to the airs. The volumes are collections of "songs without words".

It is true that English musicians had published some of these as songs with English words. We find, for instance, *Six Welch airs adapted to English words, and harmonized for three or four voices* (1796). The words were by Mrs. Opie, and the arrangements by E. S. Biggs. The fact, however, remains that we have in these collections no examples of *Welsh songs* of the period, excepting a few like "Nos Galan", "Hoby Deri", and "Yr Hen Wr o'r Coed". We know that there must have existed a large number of folk-songs. Their absence from these volumes is not difficult of explanation. The collectors were two harpists, one living in London, the other often accompanying his patron (Sir Watkin Williams Wynn) to England. They would probably not have much sympathy with the songs of the peasantry; even to-day many musicians look upon folk-music with contempt. The peasant singers in their turn felt shy of singing their simple ditties to these clever harpists. Collectors of to-day know only too well how difficult it is to unlock the memory of the folk-singer without abundance of tact and sympathy. Even if the collectors were acquainted with the folk-songs, they might perhaps think it foolish to print these trifles, these "common" songs, which everyone knew. Mr. J. H. Davies has pointed out that no one started printing traditional Welsh folk-ballads and lyrics until the last century, because they were so well known; in fact, they were so common that

they were thought nothing of. Formerly only newly-composed ballads were printed, as these were the only ones that would sell.

The other notable fact about these collectors is that both of them were Northwalians. If we exclude the five Welsh songs contributed to the *Aria di Camera* in 1727, by Hugh Edwards of Carmarthen, the very first South Wales contributions to our song literature was made, in 1844, by Miss Williams of Aberpergwm. As has already been pointed out, if the North excelled in harp music and penillion singing, South Wales was distinguished for its songs. When we study the beautiful melodies collected in a comparatively small district by Miss Williams and by Ieuan Ddu, we begin to realise the loss sustained by the country through the indifference of their predecessors. If collectors had been equally active a hundred years earlier, if they also had the artistic sense to appreciate all the different kinds of national melodies, and if the whole country had been ransacked, instead of certain limited areas, what a rich store of beautiful native minstrelsy would have been treasured up. If we are asked why so many of these have disappeared from among the peasantry, seeing that all really national music is characterized by persistence, the answer is clear. The rise of Nonconformity in Wales, and the waves of Revival that swept over the country during the closing years of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth, produced two very contrary effects. On the one hand the movement gave the people a more serious view of life and banished a great many of the vices and frivolities that cankered the social life and condition of the people. At the same time, as in other reformations, in this and in other countries, a vast amount of temporary injury was caused to the artistic development of the country. Every-

thing that had been in any way connected with the sinful pleasures of the old life was ruthlessly cast aside: there was no attempt to discriminate between the good and the evil. Speedily the harp became rarer and more rare; penillion singing very nearly became a lost art; violins, 'cellos, and clarionets disappeared from the churches; for over sixty years there was a strong prejudice against allowing musical instruments of any kind to enter a place of worship; even yet, certain country places stand out against organs or harmoniums in their churches. The singing of the old worldly songs was regarded as sinful, and old people who still remembered the old ballads could not be persuaded to sing such "vain and trushy things"; young people rarely had a chance of hearing any of them, and they naturally grew up with the idea that Welsh airs were comparatively few in number and that still fewer of them were worth singing. In fact, the process was more than a forgetting of the old music: it was one of extinction of the songs; there was a deliberate attempt to destroy the taste for the melodies. When we consider the fact that the Welsh gentry had become Anglicized in their ideas, and that the Welsh middle class and peasantry had become so thoroughly imbued with the Puritanical feeling, it is a wonder that so much of the old music remains. We are thankful to the Methodist Revival for giving us so much excellent sacred music; at the same time we cannot avoid regretting the want of discrimination shown in dealing with our national minstrelsy, and lamenting the loss that resulted from it.

The place of Edward Jones among Welsh musicians is that of an extremely diligent collector of melodies. In *Wales*, vol. i, there is a copy of a letter written by Iolo Morgannwg, about the year 1792, to a Mr. Moyle, in which Edward Jones is referred to in very depreciatory

terms. He is said to be incapable of writing three words of English correctly, and it is further stated that much of the literary portion of the *Relicks* was written by Mr. John Walters and Mr. Samwell, and some by Iolo himself, but, as the latter bitterly remarks, without a word of acknowledgment by Edward Jones. Mr. Emlyn Evans, in his note on this letter in the *Cerddor* (vol. v, p. 88), agrees that "the value of the literary work of Edward Jones was very small—he was too devoid of critical acumen, and too ready to load his pages with all kinds of traditions and superstitions; still he performed an excellent service to the Welsh nation, and his labours and fame will not soon be forgotten".

Although Edward Jones continued his activities till 1820, this, perhaps, is the best place to quote Chappell's remarks about the authenticity of certain of the airs contained in Jones' three volumes of Welsh melodies. In a footnote to the tune "Dargasson" (*Popular Music of the Olden Time*, p. 64), Chappell says: "This tune is inserted in Jones' *Relicks*, p. 129, under the name of 'The Melody of Cynwyd', and some other curious coincidences occur in the same work. At p. 176 the tune called 'The Welcome of the Hostess' is evidently our 'Mitter Rant'. At p. 176 the tune called 'Flaunting Two' is the country dance of the 'Hempdresser'. At p. 129 the 'Delight of the Men of Dovey' appears to be an inferior copy of 'Green Sleeves'. At p. 174 is 'Hunting the Hare', which we also claim. At p. 162 'The Monks' March' is 'General Monk's March', published by Playford, and the quick part 'The Rummer', and at p. 142 the air called 'White Locks' is evidently 'Commissioner Whitelocke's Coranto'. . . . In several of these, particularly in the last, which is identified by the second part of the tune (and especially by a very different version, under the same name, in Parry's

Cambrian Harmony . . .), there is considerable variation, as may be expected in tunes traditionally preserved for so long a time, but their identity admits of little question. In vol. ii, at p. 25, 'The Willow Hymn' is 'By the osiers so dank'. At p. 44 'The first of August' is 'Come Jolly Bachus', with a little admixture of 'In my cottage near a wood'. At p. 33 a tune called 'The Britons', which is in *The Dancing Master* of 1696, is claimed. At p. 45 'Mopsy's Tune, the old way' is the 'Barking Barber', and 'Prestwich Bells' is 'Talk no more of Whig or Tory', contained in many collections. At vol. iii, p. 15, 'The Heiress of Montgomery' is another version of 'As down in the meadows'. At p. 16 'Captain Corbett' is 'Of all comforts I miscarried', and at p. 49 'If love's a sweet passion' is claimed. In addition to these Mr. Jones himself noticed a coincidence between the tune called 'The King's Note' (vol. iii) and 'Pastyme in Good Company'. Such mistakes will always occur when an editor relies solely on tradition."

Many of the above claims are undoubtedly well founded, while others require further investigation. Scattered through the volumes of *Y Cerddor Cymreig* may be found a number of other interesting parallels between Welsh and English melodies.

During his tours in Wales, in the closing years of the eighteenth century, Bingley devoted some attention to Welsh music. He has an interesting description of one of the last of the *crwth*s, and some critical remarks upon harps and harpists, and Welsh minstrelsy, but he contributes very little that is new, excepting in the way of variants of melodies already published. Some of these he wrote down from the playing of harpists, and his claims to have secured better forms of the melodies than those of Edward Jones are very often justified. The fact remains, however, that

he confined his investigations entirely to harp music, and made no attempts to get acquainted with the national folk-melodies.

In 1807 there appeared Dr. Crotch's *Specimens of Various Styles of Music*. Among these were thirty-six Welsh airs. Most of them were selected from the work of Edward Jones, but a few were derived from other sources. With the exception of one tune all were harp melodies. The history of the solitary exception is somewhat interesting. Number 156 of the specimens has no name prefixed to it, but from the introduction we find that it was "heard by Mr. Malchair in Harlech Castle". This same Mr. Malchair was a Spanish violinist, who lived in Oxford at the time when Dr. Crotch was Professor of Music in the University. He interested himself in noting down melodies that he heard sung or played, and he materially assisted Dr. Crotch by supplying him with illustrative examples from his stock of MS. music. The Harlech Castle air is exceedingly simple; it is in the minor key, of the well-known A.B.B.A form, and of limited compass, lying entirely between the tonic and dominant; thus it has all the characters of a simple folk-tune. The sequel to this story is no less interesting. A short time ago Llew Tegid, turning over a heap of rubbishy second-hand books on a stall in the Bangor market, came across a neatly-written volume of MS. music. This turned out to be one of Malchair's books, and within it, among a number of airs of various nationalities, was this forgotten Welsh folk-song. Copied in a Welsh castle by a Spanish violinist, and published by an English professor of music, after the lapse of a hundred years it thus returned once more to its native hills.

Crotch's remarks upon the Welsh airs are so appreciative that they have been quoted again and again; it is

chiefly on this account that he demands notice here. So far as his criticisms apply to harp tunes alone, what is said about the modern tonality and measure of Welsh music, and about the excellence of the Welsh marches, is fully justified. It must be borne in mind, however, that the music upon which the remarks are based form a mere fraction of Welsh national melody, and that in other departments, particularly that of folk music, modal music and irregular rhythm prevailed extensively even at a much later period. Besides, although Dr. Crotch was a brilliant player and composer, he was not a critical student of musical history; he accepted without further investigation the material at his disposal, and he was not well acquainted even with old English melodies. This explains the fact that of the thirty-six airs here given a few are included which are not Welsh.

The year 1809 is notable in the annals of Welsh music, not because of any additions to our published airs, but on account of the two first serious attempts made to fit the harp melodies with words. The two men that took this work in hand were John Parry (*Bardd Alaw*) and George Thomson of Edinburgh. The efforts of the latter were sufficiently ambitious and generous to deserve success, but from an artistic, and particularly from a national, point of view it was a decided failure, and the causes of this are so instructive at the present juncture that they are deserving of close consideration.

Thomson had already studied the Scotch and Irish melodies when he was led "to think of the Welsh airs also. Delighted with the beauty and peculiar character of these, and finding that they had never been given to the public in a vocal shape, the Editor formed the resolution to collect and adapt them for the voice; to procure masterly accompaniments and characteristic English

verses, and to render them in all respects as interesting as possible." The airs were sent to Thomson by "friends in different parts of Wales". He also "traversed Wales himself, in order to hear the airs played by the best Harpers". He acknowledges obligations to Sir Foster Cunliffe of Acton, Sir Robert Williams of Fryers, Owen Williams, Esq., of Llanidan, Paul Panton, Esq., of Plasgwyn, Owen Jones, Esq., Merchant in London, Mr. Richard Llwyd, and Mr. John Clark, for assistance. The total absence of English poems to the melodies surprised Thomson greatly. His astonishment was still further increased when he was told by Richard Llwyd, the Bard of Snowdon, that there were hardly any lyrics even in Welsh. Llwyd adds: "There are in the Cambro-British many penillion, or short epigrammatic stanzas, which have in some degree intruded into the lyric province. Of these compositions, which in festive circles are frequently extemporized, Jones has given a variety." In a footnote Thomson adds a very instructive passage: "The Editor was not so fortunate as to meet with any of the Welsh Improvizatori, nor with Harpers who sang along with the instrument." Thus we see that here again we are confined entirely to instrumental music, and it is clear that the folk-song of the peasantry found no encouragement in the halls of the gentry, where the enthusiastic Scotsman was entertained.

Now, what were the causes of the failure of this ambitious and well-conceived enterprise? In the first place, Thomson altered many of the melodies to suit his own taste, and that his taste did not equal his enthusiasm is evinced by the bitter complaints of Irish and Scotch writers of the gross injustice done to their melodies. In the next place, the poems were not successful. Some of them, notably some of those supplied by

Mrs. Grant, were good, but the majority betrayed a complete want of sympathy with the spirit of the music, and with Welsh national sentiment. In many cases the poets employed wrong metres and utterly failed to catch the rhythm of the music, torturing the lines to fit wrong metres by shortening here, or adding there, or making a plentiful use of inappropriate and weakening slurs. One of the worst instances of this is "Hob y Deri Dando". What with Thomson's interference with the melody, and Mrs. Hunter's badly fitting words the melody is a mere travesty of the original.

The following table shows how the musical settings were distributed.

Vol. I (1809).	Haydn	...	20
	Kozeluch	...	10
Vol. II (1811).	Haydn	...	17
	Kozeluch	...	15
	H. and K.	...	1
Vol. III (1817).	Haydn	...	4
	Beethoven	...	26
			—
			93
			—

In the musical settings, as in the words, there is the same inability to express the national sentiment. This was felt quite as strongly in the case of the Irish and Scotch settings. This is what one of the writers on Scottish music in *Grove's Dictionary* says (Ed. I, vol. iii, p. 449): "The musical arrangements were by German musicians of the highest standing, whose scientific knowledge, however, scarcely made up for their want of acquaintance with the style of music."

It would be exceedingly difficult to find a better object lesson in national music than this presents to us. Here

we have an enthusiastic Scotchman who mutilates many of the Welsh airs which he desires to glorify; we have a number of English and Scotch poets, most of whom fail to fit the airs with words that express either the rhythm or sentiment of them; and the foremost musicians of Europe write excellent arrangements, which yet lack the subtle something that breathes out the national feeling. All this shows us clearly that it is essential that both the poet who writes the words, and the musician who sets the accompaniments, should be completely imbued with the national feeling, in order that the melody may retain its power of appeal to the hearts of the people that gave it birth.

John Parry the second, subsequently known as Bardd Alaw, had already published several collections of Welsh airs, arranged for instruments, particularly in 1804 and 1807. In the year 1809 there appeared the first volume of his *Welsh Melodies*; of these airs twenty-three were furnished with words.

Born at Denbigh in 1776, Parry became successively bandmaster of the Denbighshire militia, teacher of the flageolet in London, director of music for the Vauxhall Gardens, and musical critic for the *Morning Post*, besides filling a great many other minor posts. He must have been an attractive personality, being genial and generous, and withal modest to a degree. These qualities made him exceedingly popular among Englishmen as well as among his fellow countrymen. His industry was remarkable. He published "upwards of seven hundred vocal pieces, and as many instrumental ones, and about twenty books of instruction for different instruments, and a collection of two thousand melodies of various nations, forming altogether about forty thick folio volumes" (T. Price, introduction to *Welsh Harper*, vol. ii). As a musician he had a practical acquaintance with the capacities of

most of the instruments of the orchestra; he wrote with great facility and fluency; his melodies were excellent in form, and full of grace and elegance; while his accompaniments were smooth, flowing, and appropriate. It is true that Parry lacked the power to produce anything great or strikingly original (he seems to have been fully conscious of his own limitations): it is equally certain that his refined taste never allowed him to publish anything that was crude or unmusical.

Not only did he possess a more delicate sense of the beauty of melody and of accompaniment than Edward Jones, but his feeling for metre and poetical rhythm was far more acute. Parry could himself write very smooth verse, and, whether he writes his own lyrics, or edits those of other writers, we find abundant evidence of his sound instinct for the appropriate union of word and note—of musical and rhetorical accent. In this respect (though not always in the quality of the poetry) Parry's works would bear study by the majority of modern Welsh writers of lyrics. To give only one instance: he expressly states, in one of his introductions, that the Welsh melodies (meaning the harp airs) require a syllable for each note. Now it is notorious that some melodies of this type have been utterly spoilt for vocal purposes by the excessive use of slurs: the *Cambrian Minstrelsie* in particular will furnish many examples. Even Ceiriog occasionally went wrong on this point, witness his "Hela'r Ysgyfarnog", where he has followed the example of Mrs. Hunter (in Thomson's book) rather than the far more vigorous metre adopted by Parry.

Bardd Alaw's professional work lay among the English, and in his publications he catered for the English market, yet he never lost his love of Wales and of her song. He was an active member of the various London Societies of

Welshmen, and he took the liveliest interest in Welsh Eisteddfodau. If to all the above be added the fact that he lived at a time when national minstrelsy was in high repute, we at once perceive that Parry was remarkably well endowed, and most favourably situated for improving the status of the Welsh national music which he loved so well. He undoubtedly did a great deal for it, and yet alas! there were limitations of knowledge and of vision which prevented the accomplishment of much that might have been in his power: much excellent material that lay convenient to hand was not properly utilized, and golden opportunities for enriching our store of melodies were missed.

The second and third volumes of the *Welsh Melodies* appeared in 1823 and 1829, and the first was re-issued with a smaller number of airs, and with words by Mrs. Hemans. Welsh airs were also employed in several of the ballad operas written by Parry, and others are found scattered through various collections. When we examine these melodies, to try and discover the extent of the service thus rendered to Welsh vocal music, there are several things that strike us forcibly. First and foremost is the fact that the words supplied were entirely English; nothing was done as yet towards popularizing the vocal, or *song*, use of these harp airs among the Welsh-speaking peasantry, as was subsequently done so effectively by Ceiriog and Talhaiarn.

Next let us consider the airs themselves. For the present we must leave out of consideration the *Welsh Harper*, for the second volume did not appear till 1848, and Parry cannot be credited with the novelties that appeared in it. We find that Parry made no addition to our stock of published national melodies, he merely took the tunes that formed the *repertoire* of the harpists—

the poor, neglected folk-song remained unrecognised by him.

A careful analysis of the contents of his many publications further reveals the fact that he had a certain set of tunes which were utilized over and over again. If, for instance, we take the *Welsh Melodies* of 1809, the *Six Divertimentos* (instrumental) of 1825, the *Trip to Wales*, a ballad opera published in 1826, and *The Welsh Girl*, another ballad opera dated 1833, we find that "Nos Galan" and "Hunting the Hare" appear in the four publications, while the following are made use of in three of the works:—"Ar hyd y Nos", "Y Gadlys", "Gorhoffedd Gwyr Harlech", "Codiad yr Haul", "Llwyn Onn", and "Cadpen Morgan". In the case of many of the airs the credit of popularizing them belongs entirely to Parry; in others he merely followed the example of certain English musicians who had already recognized the beauty of some of the airs and made them widely known in England. There still remain in the old collections a number of excellent airs which await a new Ceiriog to vivify them with appropriate lyrics.

Parry wrote a great deal about musical matters to the *Cambro-Briton* and other publications; he was also fond of inserting in his works gossip little paragraphs about the melodies. His style was always vivacious and bright, and, so long as he confined himself to contemporaneous matters, such as the mode of playing particular airs by the harpists, the *tempi* adopted, the methods of dancing and of penillion singing, the notes are very interesting and useful. As soon, however, as he tries to play the part of the musical antiquary he betrays his ignorance. Although he possessed an imperfect copy of the 1742 collection (of which he has given us a full account), he did not know that Blind Parry was the compiler; nor did he seem to

be aware that the harpist of Ruabon had ever published such a volume. He regarded it as paradoxical that a tune called "Triban" should be in common time, not knowing that the term applies to a metre, and that there are a great many tunes which have borrowed the name. "Tri th'rawiad" also puzzled him greatly—he thought the term must refer to a masonic rite!

Parry's ideas of the form and structure of Welsh melodies were limited entirely to the harp tunes, and his writings show that the characteristics by which he recognized them were such as would exclude a large number of our folk-songs. Of this type of melody he could write examples to order, witness his "Cader Idris" ("Jenny Jones"), "Sion ap Ifan", and the many songs presented by him to the London Welsh societies. Parry's Eisteddfodic friends solemnly decreed that these should be enrolled among the national melodies; they did not realize that in doing this they usurped the function of the national musical taste. Some of the melodies, like "Cader Idris" (which has the form and harmonic plan of "Llwyn Onn"), justified the decree, but others, such as "Merched Mon", though included in several collections, never succeeded in winning recognition as national melodies.

In spite of these shortcomings, Parry had a very real love for the music of his native land, and he did a great deal to make the melodies better known in England as well as in Wales. His smooth and melodious arrangements, and the English words he procured for them were in themselves sufficient to increase the popularity of the airs. Besides this, the better educated Welshmen of that time held Parry in such high esteem as a musician that any music bearing his name was admitted without question into public favour; while among the English, the frequent performance of these Welsh melodies in the theatre and the

Vauxhall Gardens gave them an excellent advertisement. The result of this can be seen in the large number of arrangements of them published by English musicians, some for vocal use, others for instrumental purposes, particularly as exercises for the pianoforte and other instruments.

During this period John F. M. Dovaston, of West Felton, near Shrewsbury, published his *British Harmonies* "with symphonies, harmonies and accompaniments by Mr. Clifton, and appropriate songs by Mr. J. F. M. Dovaston, M.A." The writer has not seen a copy of this work, but from certain letters, dated 1824, in the Jenkins Kerry MSS., we know that Dovaston took a great deal of interest in the Welsh melodies, and that he had assisted Dr. Crotch in procuring specimens for his lectures. The following passage in one of the letters is instructive: "In my almost annual excursions about my beloved Wales I always carry a small book of staved paper for the purpose of taking down from the harpers' playing any tune, either that is good, or savours of the olden time." Once more we have an example of the reliance placed upon the harpist as the sole exponent of a nation's song.

The only other collection of melodies of this period was *The Cambrian Harmony* by Richard Roberts, the blind harpist of Carnarvon, in 1829. Incidentally we may mention that the *Cambrian Harmony*, credited in the British Museum Catalogue to Bardd Alaw, and dated 1809, was really a very poor reprint of Blind Parry's *British Harmony*. Roberts's collection is not of great value. Though it was claimed that the airs "had never before been published", only about fifteen or fewer were new. The melodies were all for the harp, and had no words. Roberts is said to have been an excellent harpist, but he was evidently no scholar, for the spelling is very faulty and the English translations are often shockingly bad.

This period is appropriately brought to a close by the publication of the first volume of the *Welsh Harper*, by Bardd Alaw, in 1839. This was practically a reprint of the greater portions of the three volumes of Edward Jones, with a small number of previously unpublished airs and a few original melodies at the end. The preceding year was marked by a very notable event—the collection of Folk-songs proper by Miss Maria Jane Williams, of Aberpergwm, and by Ieuan Ddu; these collections were, however, not published till 1844 and 1845 respectively.

We have now shown conclusively that from the year 1742 to 1838, or more correctly 1844, Welsh national song was represented, in its published collections, by harp melodies, together with a comparatively small number of ballad tunes; and that folk melodies were almost completely ignored. It is important to bear in mind, however, that the bulk of this harp music was really and truly national music. Foreign students of national music might find it difficult to realize this, but we have plenty of evidence for it. We know that up to 1825 there was hardly a neighbourhood without its harpist, and the greater number of these airs were well known to all the instrumentalists. Even now there are many of the old harp MS. books in existence, and, with slight variations, the same list of airs appears in most of them. We also know that penillion singing, according to the “legitimate style”, prevailed throughout the length and breadth of North Wales. Bardd Alaw testifies to his having often witnessed from “30 to 40 persons sitting round the harper, and each in his (or her) turn sing a pennill”.

In his two books on the *Origin and History of Gwyneddigion* (1830), and on *Penillion Singing* (1825), W. D. Leathart gives us some curious illustrations of this custom. Under the date 1789 we read: “At 3 o'clock in the morning,

however, after singing all night, the Eosyddion agreed to deposit their medals with the umpires", etc. "In 1790 some gentlemen of St. Asaph gave a medal for the singers 'gyda'r delyn'. This was awarded to John Jones, a blacksmith of St. Asaph, after a *contest of thirteen hours*." In the earlier book a list is given of the houses in London where penillion singing went on, each evening of the week, and yet we are told that at this time, owing to the influence of the Methodist Revival, these old customs were greatly on the wane. Even so late as 1830 a list is given of twenty-five penillion singers *living in London*.

In view of the combination of adverse circumstances that obtained at this period it is surprising that the melodies managed to survive at all, and their perpetuation (in spite of the strong current of prejudice) is in itself a strong evidence that they possessed truly national characteristics. The discrediting of the music through the influence of the Methodist Revival was not the only evil that befel it. The harp, and the music played upon it, were driven more and more into the public-house; fewer men of respectable character or of intelligence followed the calling of harpist, and, as a natural result, the playing itself greatly deteriorated. Dovaston refers to the harpists' poor playing in indignant terms; Parry tells us that most of them played by ear, and that the triple harps especially were frequently not completely strung.

The kind of air that suffered most from the Reformation was the dance tune. Travellers in Wales tell us that the dance music of that period was exceedingly lively. The religious movement extinguished dancing. Of the tunes a very small number underwent conversion into vocal music and so were saved; the majority have become so unfamiliar to us that when we meet with them in the

old collections we instinctively suspect them of being strangers and interlopers.

We now leave the period of a hundred years between 1742 and 1844, a period which (so far as its published music is concerned) may be termed the *Period of Harp Melodies*, and come to a time when some amount of attention was paid to the more humble folk melody. The harp tune is still pre-eminent, and the attention paid to its "poor relation" is often grudging and unintelligent, yet over and over again has the latter proved its claim to recognition: the airs may often be simple and unsophisticated in form and structure, they are frequently more vocal, and in expressiveness the best of them have not been surpassed by any of the harp tunes.

Miss Williams of Aberpergwm's collection, already referred to, and published in 1844, is quite unique in the annals of Welsh song. It is the first collection of genuine Welsh Folk-songs ever published. It is the precursor of other published collections, but in its thoroughness and accuracy it stands alone. It is a noteworthy fact that for nearly the whole of this class of work we are indebted to the Eisteddfod. This stands to the credit of the institution, but it is certainly not to the credit of those collectors who never would have interested themselves in the work without the inspiration of an Eisteddfodic prize. Aneurin Owen Pughe had already won a prize for such a collection at the Brecon Eisteddfod; these melodies, however, were not published till 1848, when they (or at least some of them) were incorporated in the second volume of the *Welsh Harper*. Lady Llanover offered a prize for unpublished Welsh airs at the Abergavenny Eisteddfod of 1838. The best collection was that of Maria Jane Williams, but the second best, compiled by John Thomas (*Ieuan Ddu*), was also very good,

and appeared in 1845, incorporated in *Y Caniedydd Cymreig*. In the Llangollen Eisteddfod of 1858 a prize was again offered for a collection of unpublished Welsh airs. The best, that of Llewelyn Alaw, formed the nucleus of *Alawon fy Ngwlad*, by Nicholas Bennett. The second best, the authorship of which we have not as yet been able to ascertain, is now the property of Mrs. Mary Davies. Some of the melodies in this collection will be included in the forthcoming *Journal of the Welsh Folk-Song Society* (part i).

Returning to the Aberpergwm collection, *The Ancient National Airs of Gwent and Morganwg*, as it is called, comprises forty-two airs. Among them are such well-known favourites as "Y Bore Glas", "Bugeilio'r Gwenith Gwyn", "Clychau Aberdyfi", "Y Deryn Pur", "Y Fwyalchen", and "Merch y Melinydd". For the singer and for the student alike, this is a model of what a folk-song collection ought to be.

In the first place the folk-words sung to the tunes are in all cases recorded. Where, as in the instances quoted above, the words are good and well mated to the melodies, the advantage to the singer and to the melody itself of having the lyrics recorded is self-evident. In other cases, where the words are inappropriate or otherwise objectionable (though not, as occasionally happens, unprintable), it is still an advantage to place them upon record—they can be replaced by better ones at any time.

Miss Williams is also careful to supply particulars as to the place of origin of each melody. Had this been done by other collectors, what a lot of trouble would have been saved to the student!

All the airs bear clear evidences of painstaking care in noting them down. It is to this fact that we are indebted for the eight Dorian melodies contained in the

collection. On the authority of the harp melodies in the earlier collection, the impression had grown that Welsh national airs were always modern in their tonality, so that it is positively startling to come upon a collection, made within a limited area, where nearly one-fifth of the tunes are modal.

One would have thought that the success achieved by Miss Williams would have encouraged many others to labour in this field, and that the work done by her would have served as a model for successive workers. Wonderful to relate, very few attempts were made to rescue the remainder of our folk-songs from oblivion, and every collection published fell far short of the excellence of this one.

Ieuan Ddu's *Caniedydd Cymreig* contained twenty-five unpublished folk-songs, together with many previously published tunes, and a number of original melodies. Unfortunately the words associated with the tunes are replaced by new ones, both Welsh and English, written by the compiler, and these are very unequal in merit. Some of the lyrics are good, others have occasional verses that are singable, but a large number are too clumsy, both in thought and diction, to become popular. Several of these tunes also are modal, some being very mixed in their tonality.

It is very unfortunate that so many of our musicians should have misunderstood the modal tunes. Some have expressly and positively stated that all such tunes must of necessity be "wrong", and that the "mistakes" of ignorant people, as they have been called, should on no account be perpetuated. There certainly are occasional cases of this description, but every musician who has paid any attention at all to the history of musical scales knows that true modal tunes furnish examples of scales which

represent an older stratum of melody than the major mode, or the modern minor; of this stratum, outcrops appear in the folk-music of every western nation. Furthermore, a comparative study of folk-music shows us that some of the melodies depend entirely for their expressiveness on their modal characteristics; when Dorian tunes are changed into minor, or Æolian into modern minor, they immediately lose some element of expression that they previously possessed. In genuine examples of this class we have the untaught musical feeling finding, as by instinct, its own language, simple and quaint it may be, but natural and effective, and free from the sense of effort and adherence to rule that so often causes much of the "correct" music of the musician to seem commonplace or ineffective. The net result of the lack of appreciation of modal music on the part of the Welsh musicians of the past has been that all the modal tunes in the collections under discussion have been persistently ignored; and that of others, subsequently collected, many have suffered the process of "correction", that is, of conversion into the more easily harmonized minor form.

In the year 1848 the second volume of *The Welsh Harper* made its appearance. This contains a large number of previously unpublished melodies, many of them being of great interest. The airs were taken from three MS. collections, which had been given to John Parry many years before this. One of the three, the Brecon prize collection of Aneurin Owen Pughe, has already been referred to. The other two were "A Book of Wels Tuns", noted down for the patriotic Owain Myfyr by "some erudite Cambrian minstrel during a tour made by him for that purpose at the expense of Mr. Jones", and a very extensive collection made by the Rev. John Jenkins of Kerry. There is nothing in the volume to indicate which

MS. any particular tunes were taken from, or, indeed, whether all the airs were made use of. Fortunately, however, the originals of the third MS. have lately been recovered, and by comparing these with the *Welsh Harper* we can decide whether Parry made good use of the material at his disposal or not. The writer wishes to express his obligations to the custodians of the MSS. for allowing him to inspect them. As soon as the contents have been examined and catalogued they will be made public. The tunes are neatly copied, and systematically arranged in "Adrannau", according to their nature, the books being labelled *Molus Seiniau Cymru*. The majority consist of carol and ballad tunes, consequently many are of English origin. There are, however, many true folk-songs among them.

What makes this MS. especially valuable is the fact that most of the tunes have words referred to them. All who have tried to fit old ballads and carols to the published versions of the tunes named above them know what a hopeless task it is in many cases. (On this point see *Eos Llechid* in *Y Cerddor*, vol. i, p. 39.) Here we have the fitting of words to music done for us. We are referred to *Eos Ceiriog*, or the *Blodeugerdd*, or some other published collection, or to a MS. The name of the author is given, and the first verse quoted in full, while in the case of unpublished folk-words all the verses are generally copied. The locality in which the melody was sung, or the name of the person who supplied it, is usually added. We know that the MS. in Parry's possession contained these particulars, for among the papers there is a list of tunes "sent to Mr. Parry in 1826", and in addition to the name of the tune, in each case the opening bars of the melody are written, together with a reference to the words to be sung. The whole of this mass of useful information

has been entirely omitted by Parry! And yet he manages to find room for things we could well have done without. Among the quaintest and most characteristic things in this, as well as in the Brecon collection, are the Ploughing and Milking Songs. Parry evidently could not appreciate the rustic simplicity of them. One of the former, entitled "Cwyn yr Aradrwr", in the Kerry MS., has the following words:—

"Fe gwyd yr haul er machlud heno,
 Fe gwyd y lloer yn ddisglaer eto ;
 Cwyd blodau hâf o'r ddaear dirion,
 Ond byth, O byth ni chwyd fy nghalon," etc.

The tune is printed without the words, but an original part-song, "founded on *Cwyn yr Aradrwr*", is added. This is "sweetly, smoothly modern", and regular in its cadences, and has the following words written to it by Parry himself:—

"Stay, gentle Fay, and hear my ditty,
 I love a maid who loves not me,
 O, gentle Fay, on me have pity,
 Cause her to love or set me free."

Neither words nor music call before our vision the Glamorgan field or its ploughboy. Into another melody of this class Parry has introduced a most concert-hall echo effect. "Eos y Bele", in vol. i of the *Welsh Harper*, affords an example of the difficulty caused by the omission of the words. The middle part of the song as it stands seems most puzzling in its form; when, however, we examine the MS. copy we find that two short interludes for the harp have been included as if they were integral parts of the melody. In several other cases where there is a difficulty in understanding the form of a tune, a reference to the words causes the apparent difficulty to vanish, and very often it becomes an added charm. There will, undoubtedly, be many who will agree that it would

have been of far greater profit to Welsh music had these MSS. been published exactly as they were—we could have more easily spared Bardd Alaw's harmonies than the interesting information suppressed by him; the former could have been supplied by other musicians, the latter once lost would only have been recovered with difficulty.

The exigencies of space will not permit a detailed discussion of the remaining collections, nor indeed do they demand more than a passing notice, excepting only the valuable collection of Nicholas Bennett, for they contain little that is new.

Davidson's 250 airs, published in 1859, have neither words nor harmonies, and there are no particulars of origin of any of the tunes. There are many new melodies, but of these many are not Welsh; thus the collection is very unreliable.

From 1860 until the appearance of Bennett's Collection in 1896 the most important work done consisted in popularizing the vocal use of the Welsh melodies. This was accomplished chiefly through the excellent Welsh lyrics written by Ceiriog, who was foremost in this field, though Talhaiarn was also very successful in many of his songs. The two collections that contained the largest number of these new lyrics were Owain Alaw's *Gems of Welsh Melody* and Brinley Richards' *Songs of Wales*. Many other Welsh poets tried to emulate the example of Ceiriog, but though there have been many partial successes, no one has as yet been able to don Ceiriog's mantle. There is still a vast amount of work to be done before all our Welsh airs are furnished with worthy lyrics.

A few previously unpublished melodies were recorded in the works of Pencerdd Gwalia, Owain Alaw, and Dr. Parry, while others were published separately from time to time.

The *Cerddor* and its successor, *Y Cerddor Cymreig*, deserve

special recognition for the tunes and the excellent articles that appeared on their pages.

Mr. Nicholas Bennett, in a spirit of unselfish patriotism, spent an immense amount of time and trouble and money in collecting together unpublished Welsh melodies. Seven hundred were handed over to Mr. Emlyn Evans, who carefully winnowed out foreign elements and tunes that had already appeared. He also harmonized the airs and added an excellent account of some of the more celebrated harpists and penillion singers. This work represents a strenuous and honest attempt to collect unpublished Welsh melodies, and as, in spite of wholesale rejections by the Editor, about five hundred tunes have been recorded, it is clear that the Welsh nation owes a deep debt of gratitude to Mr. Bennett for collecting the airs, and to Mr. Evans for so ably editing them. At the same time we cannot but regret the fact that Mr. Bennett should have taken the *Welsh Harper* for his model rather than the more excellent Aberpergwm collection. It is true that the inclusion of the words (where such were obtainable) would have increased the expense of publication; particulars of origin could, however, have been given without adding much to the cost of printing. After Bennett's death, his papers and books were dispersed, but several of the MSS. used by him in the compilation of the melodies have passed through the writer's hands, and the comparison of them with the published work is often full of interest. There is some evidence to show that Bennett, in collecting, like most of the earlier collectors, was partial to instrumentalists. Not only have harpists' MS. books been utilized, but Militia Band books as well have been ransacked. Some of the marches in particular seem to have been composed expressly for local bands, so that their claims to be included among the national melodies

are not very strong. In one of the MS. books, a very neatly-written collection of harp tunes, there is a note in Bennett's handwriting that such-and-such pages (which are missing) had been sent to the Editor. In the same book, in a handwriting different from that of the rest of the book, there is a real folk melody in the Dorian mode, and in all probability Welsh. This was seemingly not regarded as good enough for inclusion to send to the Editor. In another MS. there is a case which reminds one of Parry's treatment of "Eos-y-Bele". The air "Mwynen Mai" in *Alawon fy Ngwlad* seems to terminate on the dominant. The MS. out of which Bennett copied the tune has the words written underneath the music, and these finish on the tonic, four beats before the end, the additional notes having the direction "ar y delyn" above them.

So great is our indebtedness to this collection that attention is called to some of its evident shortcomings not in any spirit of mere fault-finding, but in the hope that musicians who assisted Mr. Bennett, or who possess some of his papers, or who have access to any other sources of information respecting any of the melodies, and particularly of folk-words associated with any of the tunes, should either publish such information themselves or communicate it to the writer, or to the Welsh Folk-song Society for publication.

One question remains to be considered—Are there any Welsh melodies still uncollected? Some pessimistic musicians maintain that there are none, or, alternatively, if there are any, that they are not worth noting down. The work already done by the recently-established "Canorion", and "Welsh Folk-song" societies is a sufficient answer to this question. From a very limited area in North Wales a very large number of tunes have already

been obtained, and among them are several that will enrich our national minstrelsy. As might have been expected, many of those offered were mere variants of airs already published, others were English, and some were poor in quality. Even after making the necessary deductions for all these circumstances we find that the Society has already more material in hand than it can publish for a long time. The examples selected for publication in the Society's Journal are not confined to such melodies as may be good enough to sing on the concert platform—others are included which serve to elucidate the nature and development of the folk-song, or which throw some light on the characteristics of Welsh music or on purely local peculiarities.

The following is a summary of some of the more important conclusions come to above.

1. The majority of our national melodies were originally harp tunes, and were only fitted with words at a late period. Many of those included are either not adapted for vocal use or are of foreign origin.

2. Up to 1844 all the published collections were made by North-Walians or by foreigners; the beautiful South Wales song was altogether neglected.

3. Of the carol- and ballad-tunes a large number were English, but several that bear English names are in reality Welsh.

4. The publication of Folk-melodies was neglected until 1844, and the excellent example set by Miss Williams, particularly in respect to the recording of folk-words, has never been adequately followed since.

Folk-melodies differ essentially from the typical harp-tunes. Among them occur modal tunes, particularly Dorian.

5. Welsh national music has suffered irreparable loss through not being properly recorded. Welsh musicians were the last in the British Islands to start the publication of their melodies; they have subsequently been slow in perceiving where the riches of their country lay, and in making proper use of them.

For the student, and for the lover of Welsh minstrelsy, the following are some of the aims and objects which should be kept in view in all future work in this field.

1. The critical study of the different types of Welsh melodies, with the view of elucidating the special characteristics of our national music.

2. The formation of a chronological list of all the published Welsh airs, together with a complete bibliography and an alphabetical index.

3. The collection of all unpublished melodies, and of particulars relating to these and to tunes already published.

4. The securing of a poet, or school of Welsh poets, capable of performing for the remainder of the Welsh melodies what Ceiriog did for so many of them, and what Moore and Burns did for Irish and for Scotch melodies.

5. Above all, the present movement—as yet feeble and half-hearted—for obtaining the proper recognition of our native minstrelsy in the life of the nation, in the Schools, the Colleges, the Eisteddfodau, etc., should be widened, strengthened, accelerated.

Were this done we have no doubt that Welsh national music would become a potent factor in fostering our nationality: it is not impossible that in time, as musical culture advanced, a distinctive school of Welsh music would spring into existence, which would thoroughly justify for Wales the old title of “Gwlad y Gân”.

THE UNION OF ENGLAND AND WALES¹BY W. LLEWELYN WILLIAMS, B.C.L., M.P.
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"My next example is Wales. This country was said to be reduced by Henry the Third. It was said more truly to be so by Edward the First. But though then conquered, it was not looked upon as any part of the realm of England. Its old constitution, whatever that may have been, was destroyed; and no good one was substituted in its place. The care of that tract was put into the hands of lords marchers—a form of government of a very singular kind; a strange heterogeneous monster, something between hostility and government; perhaps it has a sort of resemblance, according to the modes of those times, to that of a commander-in-chief at present, to whom all civil power is granted as secondary. The manners of the Welsh nation followed the genius of the government; the people were ferocious, restive, savage, and uncultivated; sometimes composed, never pacified. Wales, within itself, was in perpetual disorder; and it kept the frontier of England in perpetual alarm. Benefits from it to the State there were none. Wales was only known to England by incursion and invasion.

"Sir, during that state of things, parliament was not idle. They attempted to subdue the fierce spirit of the Welsh by all sorts of rigorous laws. . . . In short, when the statute book was not quite so much swelled as it is now, you find no less than fifteen acts of penal regulation on the subject of Wales.

"Here we rub our hands—a fine body of precedents for the authority of parliament and the use of it!—I admit it fully; and pray add likewise to these precedents, that all the while Wales rid this kingdom like an incubus; that it was an unprofitable and oppressive burden; and that an Englishman travelling in that country could not go six yards from the high road without being murdered.

"The march of the human mind is slow. Sir, it was not, until after

¹ Read (in part) before the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion at 64 Chancery Lane, on 8 May 1908; Chairman, J. Herbert Lewis, Esq., M.P., Junior Lord of the Treasury.

two hundred years, discovered that, by an eternal law, Providence has decreed vexation to violence, and poverty to rapine. Your ancestors did, however, at length open their eyes to the ill husbandry of injustice. They found that the tyranny of a free people could of all tyrannies the least be endured; and that laws made against a whole nation were not the most effectual methods for securing its obedience. Accordingly in the twenty-seventh year of Henry VIII the course was entirely altered. With a preamble stating the entire and perfect rights of the crown of England, it gave to the Welsh all the rights and privileges of English subjects. A political order was established; the military power gave way to the civil; the marches were turned into counties. But that a nation should have a right to English liberties, and yet no share at all in the fundamental security of these liberties—the grant of their own property—seemed a thing so incongruous that, eight years after, that is, in the thirty-fifth of that reign, a complete and not ill-proportioned representation by counties and boroughs was bestowed upon Wales, by Act of Parliament. From that moment, as by a charm, the tumults subsided, obedience was restored, peace, order, and civilisation followed in the train of liberty.—When the day-star of the English constitution had arisen in their hearts, all was harmony within and without:—

“Simul alba nautis
 Stella refulsit,
 Defluit saxis agitatus humor:
 Concidunt venti, fugiuntque nubes,
 Et minax (quod sic voluere) ponto
 Unda recumbit.”

BURKE: *Speech on Conciliation with America*, pp. 484-6.

LECKY, writing of the effects of the Act of Union of 1707 upon the national character and social condition of the Scottish people, asserts that “there are very few instances on record in which a nation passed in so short a time from a state of barbarism to a state of civilisation, in which the tendencies and leading features of the national character were so profoundly modified, and in which the separate causes of the change are so clearly discernible.”¹ Burke, in the glowing passage cited above from his speech

¹ Lecky, *History of England*, vol. ii, p. 320.

on "Conciliation with America", may have allowed his enthusiasm for the British constitution to carry him too far. Some of his references to the course of events in Wales are inexact, and his description of the destruction of barbarism at the brightness of the coming of English liberty is too roseate for the historian's prose. Yet in substance the great orator's account is borne out by the facts of the case. Never was there a country seemingly more unfit for freedom than was the Wales of Henry VIII; never was statesmanship more speedily and more abidingly justified of a bold and generous experiment. "An old and haughty nation, proud in arms" became converted, in the course of a single generation, into a peaceful and industrious people. A country which for centuries had been desolated by private feuds, where anarchy and lawlessness had been universal, and where an appeal to a court of justice had been looked upon as the sign of a craven spirit, was suddenly transformed, as if by magic, into the home of a people whose respect for, and obedience to, the law were only equalled by their eagerness to have recourse to it in every cause, however great or however trivial.

"A better people to govern than the Welsh Europe holdeth not", was the testimony of Sir Henry Sidney, whom Queen Elizabeth sent to govern Wales as President of the Court of the Marches. Sidney took an intelligent and sympathetic interest in the people whom he ruled. It was owing to his advice and active encouragement that Dr. Powel published, in 1584, his *History of Cambria*. In the preface Dr. Powel bears witness to the change that had been wrought in Wales by the legislation of Henry VIII.

"Concerning the alteration of the estate, there was never anie thing so beneficiall to the common people of Wales as the uniting of the countrie to the crowne and kingdom of England, whereby not onlie the maladie and hurt of the dissention that

oftened happened between the Princes of the countrie, which they ruled, is now taken awaie, but also an uniformitie of government established, whereby all controversies are examined, heard, and decided within the countrie: so that now the countrie of Wales (I dare boldly affirm it) is in as good order for quietness & obedience as anie country in Europe: for if the rulers & teachers be good & doo their duties, the people are willing to learn, readie to obeie, & loath to offend or displeas.

“Surely those lawes have brought Wales to great civilitie for that evill government that was here in ould time,” wrote another Elizabethan,¹ “for it is as safe travailing for a stranger here in Wales as in any part of Christendome, whereas in old time it is said robberies & murthers were very common.” In another passage² he is even more emphatic. “No other country in England so flourished in one hundred yeares as Wales hath don, sithence the government of H. 7 to this tyme, insomuch that if o’ ffathers weare nowe lyvinge they would thinke it som straunge cuntrey inhabited with a forran Nation, so altered is the cuntrey & cuntreymen, the people changed in hertt wthin and the land altered in hewe wthout, from evill to good, and from badd to better.”

Another witness, who knew the country intimately and who was by no means too favourably inclined to the “Welshery”, may be cited. In 1575, Gerard, the Vice-President of the Court of the Council of the Marches, and afterwards Lord Chancellor of Ireland, prepared a memorandum for Elizabeth’s ministers, entitled “A Discourse on the State of Wales.” He is emphatic in his testimony to the good order prevailing in the Principality. “At this daie”, he wrote :

¹ George Owen’s “Dialogue of the Government of Wales” (1595), reprinted in Part iii of *Owen’s Pembrokeshire*, pp. 91-92.

² *Ibid.*, p. 58.

“It is to be affirmed that in Wales universallie are as civile people & obedient to lawe as are in England. Throughowte Wales in every respect Justice embrased and with as indifferent trialles executed as in England, during the tyme of her Majestes Reigne, except 3^e or 4^{or} petty Corners, Noe treason hard of, very seldome murder, in vi years togeather, vnneth on Robbery (committed by the highe waye) harde of. Stealinge of cattell is the chief evill that generall moste annoyeth the countrey.”

An even more authoritative and striking testimony to the miraculous change which had been effected in Wales was borne by the preamble to the statute 21 Jac. i, c. 10. The laws of Wales, it is said, were for the most part agreeable to those of England, and were obeyed “with great alacrity”, and the greatness of the “quiet” which prevailed was used as an argument against “any further change or innovation”.

It is only necessary to refer to Sir John Wynn’s *History of the Gwydir Family*, and to Lord Herbert of Cherbury’s fragment of *Autobiography*, to realise the revolution which had occurred in the social condition of Wales in the course of less than half-a-century. Sir John Wynn’s description of the state of Carnarvonshire and Denbighshire after the close of the Wars of the Roses—the endless bloody quarrels which were carried on from generation to generation, the private wars that went on unchecked by any government, and the consequent insecurity of life and property—shows that the arm of the law was powerless and that the whole country had sunk into hopeless anarchy. Sooner than live in constant hostility with his hereditary enemies in Carnarvonshire, Sir John’s great-grandfather migrated to the wilds of Denbighshire, where he dwelt surrounded by outlaws. It was better, he said, to live in obscurity in the valley of the Conway than to be at continual strife with his kinsmen and neighbours in his native

county of Carnarvon. Lord Herbert's great-grandfather, Sir Richard Herbert of Montgomery, who died in 1539, was "a great suppressor of rebels, thieves, and outlaws"; and his son by his second wife, Edward Herbert, who continued his work in Mid-Wales, is said to have been "noted to be a great enemy to the outlaws and thieves of his time, who robbed in great numbers in the mountains of Montgomeryshire, for the suppressing of whom he went both day and night to the places where they were." The traditions of the Wynn and Herbert families are amply confirmed by references in the State Papers, and by the poems of contemporary Welsh bards. It will be the aim of this paper to describe the steps by which this startling change in the condition of Wales, and in the character of the people, was effected in so short a time. Whatever view be taken of the wisdom of the general policy of Henry VIII, it cannot be denied that in the case of Wales the statesmanship of those who conceived and carried out a novel and audacious experiment was triumphantly vindicated.

There is one curious feature which distinguishes the Union of Wales with England from that of Scotland and that of Ireland. It is notorious that the Act of Union of 1801 was never popular in Ireland. It was passed through the Irish Parliament with difficulty, and it has remained a festering sore in the political and social life of the people. Nor was the Scottish Act of Union popular at the time in Scotland. Burton has shown how, for one or two generations, it was bitterly resented by nearly all classes. Smollett, in the middle of the eighteenth century, and Sir Walter Scott, in the early years of the last century, detested it. Scotland became reconciled to the Union

¹ Lord Herbert's *Autobiography*, Ward and Lock's edition, pp. 14-15.

only when it became prosperous. It was the effect of the commercial clauses that made incorporation with the "predominant partner" tolerable. "The sacrifice of a nationality", observes Lecky,¹ "is a measure which naturally produces such intense and such enduring discontent that it never should be exacted unless it can be accompanied by some political or material advantages that are so great, and at the same time so evident, as to prove a corrective."

The Union of Wales with England was never unpopular in Wales. There are, indeed, indications that the English Parliament and English ministers were somewhat doubtful of its wisdom and uncertain of its effect. In Wales itself it was heartily welcomed, and in the course of the four centuries that have since elapsed there has never been a petition, or an application, or a demand from the people of Wales for its repeal. If tradition is to be relied on, the Union was a boon that was granted to Wales at the request of certain enlightened Welshmen of that age. Lord Herbert of Cherbury, in his *History of the Reign of Henry VIII*, sets out at length a curious address, or petition, which is said to have been despatched to the King. It is not known who the author or authors of the petition may have been. As it was, probably, found by Lord Herbert among his family papers, it may be conjectured that either his grandfather, Edward Herbert, or his great-grandfather, Sir Richard Herbert of Montgomery, was in some way concerned in it. Nicholas, in his *Annals of the Counties of Wales*, presumably on the authority of Theophilus Jones, the historian of Breconshire, states that its author was Sir John Price, or Prys, of Brecon:—

¹ *History of England*, vol. ii, p. 303.

“May it please your Highness,

“We, on the part of your Highnesses subjects, inhabiting that portion of the island which our invaders first called Wales, most humbly prostrate at your Highnesses feet, do crave to be received and adopted into the same laws, and privileges, which your other subjects enjoy: Neither shall it hinder us (we hope) that we have lived so long under our own. For as they were both enacted by authority of our ancient law-givers, and obeyed for many successions of ages, we trust your Highness will pardon us, if we thought it neither easy nor safe so suddenly to relinquish them. We shall not presume yet to compare them with these now used, and less shall we contest how good and equal in themselves they are. Only if the defeace of them and our liberty against the Romans, Saxons, and Danes for so many hundred years, and lastly against the Normans, as long as they pretended no title but the sword, was thought just and honourable, we presume it will not be infamous now. So that we crave pardon, Sir, if we say it was fit for the honour of your dominions that some part of it should never be conquered. We then in the name of whatsoever in your Highnesses possession hath in any age held out against all invaders, do here voluntarily resign and humble ourselves to that sovrignty, which we acknowledge so well invested in your Highness. Nor is this the first time; we have always attended on occasion to unite ourselves to the greater and better parts of the island.

“But as the kings of this realm, weary of their attempts in person against us did formerly give not only our country to those who could conquer it, but permitted them *jura regalia* within their several precincts; so it was impossible to come to an agreement, while so many that undertook this work usurped martial and absolute power and jurisdiction in all they acquired without establishing any equal justice. And that all offenders flying from one lordship marcher (for so they were termed) to another did both avoid the punishment of the law, and easily commit those robberies which formerly tainted the honour of our parts. So that until the rigorous laws not only of the several conquerors of England, but the attempters on our parts, were brought to an equal moderation, no union, how much soever affected by us, could ensue.

“Therefore, and not sooner, we submitted ourselves to Edward the first, a prince who made both many and equal laws than any before him, therefore we defended his son

Edward the second, when not only the English forsook him, but ourselves might have recovered our former liberty, had we desired it. Therefore we got victories for Edward the third, and stood firm during all the dissensions of this realm to his grandchild and successor Richard the second. Only if some amongst us resisted Henry the fourth, your Highness may better suppose the reason than we tell it, though divers foreigners openly refusing to treat with him as a sovereign and lawful prince, have sufficiently published it. We did not yet decline a due obedience to Henry the fifth, though in doubtful times, we cannot deny but many refractory persons have appeared. Howsoever, we never joined ourselves with the English rebels or took occasion thereby to recover our liberty, though in Richard the second's time, and during all the civil wars betwixt Lancaster and York, much occasion was given. For adhering to the House of York, which we conceived the better title, we conserved our devotion still to the Crown, until your Highnesses father's time, who (bearing his name and blood from us) was the more cheerfully assisted by our predecessors in his title to the crown, which your Highness doth presently enjoy. And thus, Sir, if we gave anciently proof of a generous courage in defending our laws and country, we have given no less proof of a loyal fidelity since we first rendered ourselves. In so much that we may truly affirm, that after our acceptance of the condition given us by Edward the first, we have omitted no occasion of performing the duty of loving subjects. Neither is there anything that comforts us more than that all those controversies about succession (which so long wasted this land) are determined in your Highnesses person, in whom we acknowledge both Houses to be happily united.

“To your Highness therefore we offer all obedience, desiring only that we may be defended against the insults of our malignant censurers. For we are not the offspring of the runaway Britains (as they term us) but natives of a country which, besides defending itself, received all those who came to us for succours. Give us then, Sir, permission to say that they wrong us much who pretend our country was not inhabited before them, or that it failed in a due piety, when it was so hospitable to all that fled thither for refuge: Which also will be more credible when it shall be remembered that even our highest mountains furnish good beef and mutton, not only to all the inhabitants, but supply England in great quantity. We humbly

beseech your Highness therefore that this note may be taken from us. As for our language, though it seems harsh, it is that yet which was spoken anciently, not only in this island but in France; some dialects whereof therefore remain still amongst the Bas-Bretons there, and here in Cornwall. Neither will any man doubt it when he shall find those words of the ancient Gaulish language repeated by the Latin authors, to signify the same thing amongst us to-day: Nor shall it be a disparagement (we hope) that it is spoken so much in the throat, since the Florentine and Spaniard affect this pronunciation, as believing words that sound so deep proceed from the heart. So that if we have retained this language longer than the more northern inhabitants of this island (whose speech appears manifestly to be a kind of English, and consequently introduced by the Saxons) we hope it will be no imputation to us: your Highness will have but the more tongues to serve you: It shall not hinder us to study English, when it were but to learn how we might the better serve and obey your Highness: To whose laws we most humbly desire again to be adopted, and doubt not, but if in all countries the mountains have afforded as eminent wits and spirits as any other part, ours also by your Highnesses good favour and employment may receive that esteem."

The reason for the instantaneous and permanent popularity of the Union in Wales lay in the fact that it did not entail any "sacrifice of nationality", as was to some extent the case with Scotland and Ireland. Wales became, for the first time, a coherent and organised country; before that time it was not even a geographical expression. It might have been expected that Welshmen, whose devotion to their mother-tongue has always been profound and passionate, would have resented its supersession as the official language of the Principality by English. The reference in the preamble of the Act of Union to the Welsh tongue is not flattering or even true, and there can be little doubt that neither King Henry nor his ministers regarded with any great measure of forbearance the prolongation of its life. On the other hand, we

need not suppose that the ostracism of the vernacular tongue was as complete in official circles as it afterwards became. The Justices of the Peace who were entrusted with the task of administering the law were probably nearly all Welsh-speaking Welshmen, for the gentry of Wales only abandoned "the old fair treasure of their native speech" in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.¹ Gerard mentions the fact that one of his judicial colleagues on the Court of the Marches knew Welsh, and Elizabeth's ministers early became impressed with the desirability of having Welsh-speaking judges in Wales. Sir John Price, the champion and inspirer of the Act of Union, was the author of the first book ever printed in Welsh.² Queen Elizabeth, acting under the advice of Sir William Cecil, himself the third in descent from a genuine old Welsh family—the Seisyllts of Allt-yr-ynys—was a patron of Welsh letters. Early in her reign the Scriptures were ordered to be translated into Welsh. "If it please God once to send them the Bible in their owne language, according to the godlie lawes alreadie established," wrote Dr. Powel, in his Preface to the *History of Cambria*, "the countrie of Wales will be comparable to anie countrie in England." Within a few years his pious wish was fulfilled. Bishop Morgan's Welsh Bible appeared in 1588, and it (for it became the foundation of the Authorised Version of 1622) has remained ever since the canon of Welsh prose. Dr. Johnson, in his *Tour in the Hebrides*,³ stated that in his time (1773) "there were lately some who thought it reason-

¹ Lord Herbert of Cherbury, for example, was sent to the wilds of Denbighshire in order that he might learn Welsh in his boyhood.

² *Oll Synwyr pen pob Cymero*, printed in London, 1546. For an excellent account of Sir John and the proofs of his authorship of the first Welsh book, see J. H. Davies's edition of *Oll Synwyr* in the Guild of Graduates Series (Jarvis and Foster, Bangor).

³ At p. 85.

able to refuse them (the Highlanders) a version of the Holy Scriptures that they might have no monument of their native tongue". Maurice Kyffin, in the reign of Elizabeth, mentions that he had lately come across a cleric in an Eisteddfod, who uttered similar "devilish" sentiments about Welsh.¹ But, fortunately, the statesmen of Elizabeth took a more generous and enlightened view of the part which the language should play in the national life of Wales.

Similarly, it might have been expected that Welshmen would have preferred to cling to the old laws and customs of the country than to adopt a strange system of land tenure and a law of inheritance to which they were averse. But though the Welsh peasant has never quite grasped the conditions of English land tenure or appreciated the justice or utility of the law of primogeniture, there never has been any feeling of hostility to the Union because it was accompanied by these changes. Never, indeed, was there such a violent change effected with so little resistance. The Welsh are essentially a conservative race, who are keenly sensitive to the living influence of the past. Yet they passively allowed King Henry to break with Rome, to dissolve the monasteries, and to alter the religious services, to place the Welsh language under an official ban, to extirpate the old Welsh laws and customs, and to revolutionise the whole social and political condition of the country, without a protest or a murmur. The reason for this tame acceptance of their Sovereign's will was twofold. First, there was the passionate loyalty to the Welsh dynasty, a far more potent force with Welshmen of the sixteenth century than we are sometimes disposed to credit. "All the waters of Wye will not wash away your

¹ At p. xiv in the "Preface to the Reader" in his *Deffyniad Ffydd Eglwys Loegr*, Guild of Graduates Reprints, 1908 (Jarvis and Foster).

Majesty's Welsh blood", exclaimed Fluellen to Henry V. What was a jest to the playwright was sober earnest to the countrymen of the Tudors. Secondly, these changes were accompanied by those "material and political advantages" which are said to act as a "corrective" in such cases. Wales, even more than England, had suffered from "lack of governance" in the fifteenth century:—

"Ni a roem yr awr yma
Dreth aur am lywodraeth dda,"¹

wearily exclaimed Llawdden, in the midst of the unrest of the Wars of the Roses. "Good government" was what Wales wanted, and it was a source of peculiar pride to Welshmen that they obtained it from a Welsh dynasty.

George Owen, who understood Wales and Welshmen as few men have done, comments on the paradox of a conservative people accepting, with cordial readiness, the gravest changes in their estate. In his *Dialogue on the Government of Wales*² he makes Bartholl draw his interlocutor's attention to this singular fact.

"*Bar*: I much marvaile how upon the first alteration of the government of Wales (when King Henry VIII utterlie abolished the Welsh lawes and brought in the English lawes) the counties received the same quietlie and wthout great grudging and some rebellion: for new government and alteration of auntient lawes is not easily receaved into any common wealth wthout tumultes, and innovation in government is accounted very dangerous in a common wealth. And yet I heare not of you y^e Wales repined at altering their Lawes or inducing a new government."

"*Demetus*: So it is dangerous to alter any thing in a well governed

¹ "We would give this hour a gold tax for good government."

² P. 91, Part iii, of *Owen's Pembrokeshire*. Cf. also *Ibid.*, p. 53: "Wheras before the sayd statute of Henry VIII wee in Wales had no such officers (as J.P.'s), nor any oⁿ man almost of o^r Nation that bare any authoritye in the comen-wealth. But such officers as wee had in Wales were for the most part straungers of other cuntries lyving on the spoyle of the poor afflicted Welshmen."

Commonwealth such as Wales then was not. But to such as live in bondage and slaverie, innovacions and alteracions from Crueltie to Justice are sweet and pleasant: and then we y^e poore Welshmen y^t were cruellie oppressed by o^r governors, I mean the Strangers that were Stewards Justices Sherifes and others, who had law to judg as pleased them, and not to justifie as we deserved, were very glad of those new lawes, and embraced the same wth joyfull hartes: and this caused those Lawes to be received so quietlie, wheras in times past many a bloudie battaile was fought before they received the cruell English Lawes and Lawgivers wherewth they were oppressed."

WALES AFTER THE CONQUEST.

Before the reign of Henry VIII the Principality of Wales was much smaller and less important than it has since become. After the fall of Llewelyn, in 1282, the Principality was annexed to the English Crown, and divided into the "three ancient shires of North Wales", viz., Anglesey, Carnarvon, and Merioneth. Flint, which was at one time a parcel of the palatine county of Chester, was finally annexed to Wales in the reign of Edward II. Carmarthen and Cardigan, alone of the districts of South Wales, became shire-ground in the time of Edward I, with their own sheriffs and courts. The rest of Wales was called "The Marches", which was governed by one hundred and forty-three Lords Marchers. These included the ancient Welsh principality of Powys, though in one respect it seems to have differed from the ordinary Lordship Marcher. George Owen, in the *Treatise of Lordshippes Marchers in Wales*,¹ gives an account, which is worth recalling here, though some doubt is cast on his entire accuracy by his most recent and scholarly editor:—²

¹ *Owen's Pembrokeshire*, Part iii, pp. 154-5.

² See note 4 on p. 156 of *Owen's Pembrokeshire*, Part iii, and Egerton Phillimore's note on p. 246.

“The auncient lord thereof, Griffith y^e sone of Meredith ap Blethin, seeing y^e kings of England and y^e other English lords to prepare themselves to make a conquest of Wales, in discretion and pollicye, submitted himself to Henry y^e first, & yelded to hold all his country of Powys, of y^e kings of England in chief, as y^e English Lords Marchers did, & to do y^e king y^e like service . . . Thereupon he was suffered by y^e king to enjoye all his auncient inheritance in Wales . . . and was by Henry y^e first created Lord of Powys, and made baron of y^e Parliament of England, whose heir female, afterwards named Hawis Gadarne, fell to be y^e kings ward . . . who bestowed her in marriage upon a valiant gentleman of y^e kinges named John Charlton. . . . So that, differing in this from many parts of Wales, where the Lords Marchers granted new manors to their followers irrespctive of the old cantref or commote division, in this lordship of Powys, and y^e rest of y^e auncient members hereof, y^e commotes remain intier and whole in bounds, and retayne y^e auncient names without alteration to this day.”

A Court Baron was held in each commote, but there was no Manor “holden of yt”, no division into knight’s fees, carucates, or ploughlands, or oxlands.¹

Though the ancient Gwynedd, as well as Cardigan and Carmarthen, were held by the Crown after the death of Llewelyn, their internal organisation was in this respect similar to that of Powys. “The like shall you find in all y^e principalitye y^e lands in y^e countreys of Anglesey, Carnarvon, Merioneth, Flint, Carmarthen, and Cardigan.”

The distinctive mark of a Lordship Marcher was the castle, for it was the badge and symbol that the neighbouring lands had been won by conquest. “There is scarce a castle in Wales, being in number 143 castles, but is knowne att this day to have been builded by some English lord or other.”² *Brevis domini regis non currit in Wallia* was true of all the Lordships Marchers except the county palatine of Pembroke, “which was counted part of England, and, therefore, called Little England beyond

¹ *Owen’s Pembrokeshire*, Part iii, p. 157.

² *Ibid.*, p. 171.

Wales. Neither was there any sheriff or other officers of y^e king to execute any of y^e kinges writs or precepts in Wales Therefore these lordes themselves were forced of necessity to execute lawes of soverayne governours over their tenants and people in those strange countreys and lordships subdued by them.”¹

Naturally, as there were one hundred and forty-three Lords Marchers exercising semi-regal authority in various parts of Wales, great diversity of law and practice prevailed.

“The said Lords Marchers, being English lords, executed y^e English lawes for y^e most part within their lordships, and brought y^e most part of y^e lands of y^e said lordships to be English tenure, and passed y^e same according to y^e lawes of England, viz., by fine &c., and such parts as they left to y^e auncient inhabitants of y^e country to possesse, being for y^e most part y^e barrenest soiles, was permitted by some lordes to be holden by y^e old Welsh custome as to passe y^e same by surrender in court, which they called in their country language *kof llys*² and *ystyn yalen*,³ whereof this word of *ystynol* was derived, and where such custome was permitted, there is noe deed to be found of any lands of that nature before They brought in y^e execution of y^e English lawes in every Lordship Marcher in Wales, saving that they permitted unto y^e auncient tenants certeyn poynts of y^e old Welsh lawes, which were nothing noysome to y^e lords nor repugnant to y^e lawes of England . . . under y^e name of customes, among which was graunted y^e use of Gavelkind for parting y^e lands by surrender in court, and not by fine, feoffment, and livery of seisin and attournement which were ceremonies were never known nor required by y^e auncient lawes of Wales. . . . This was used onelie amongst y^e Welshmen that were permitted to enjoye their auncient lands in some Lordships Marchers, for y^e lordes were not able to bring with them sufficient number of people to inhabit y^e whole countreys they subdued; but where the Lords parted y^e

¹ *Owen's Pembrokeshire*, Part iii, p. 139.

² *Cof Llys*, the record of the court.

³ *Estyn ialen*, the delivery of the rod, the usual symbol in English copyholds.

Englishmen yt came with them, and gave them lands, the said Welsh customes were not used, but they held all their lands according to the lawes of England, and y^e eldest sonne had y^e whole inheritance, and for this cause, in many lordships there was a Welsh court for y^e Welshmen by themselves, where their Welsh customes were observed, and y^e Englishmen had another court apart for themselves: and in common speech among them, y^e one part is yet to this day called y^e Englishrie and y^e other part y^e Welshrie. Examples whereof you shall find in Gower; in Coity Anglicana and Coity Wallia; and Avan Anglicana and Avan Wallicana; English Talgarth and Welsh Talgarth; and in Narberth . . . Alsoe in Forinseca Kidwelly Anglicana and Comota Kidwelly Wallicana, and Llanstephan Dominium Wallicanum and Llanstephan Dominium Anglicanum, and in many other lordships in Wales: where you shall commonly find y^e land in y^e one to be of y^e Welsh tenure and auntientlie was partible betweene brothers and surrendered in court, and in y^e other of English tenure, and always passed by feoffment and other conveyances att y^e common law before Wales was shire ground.”¹

In other lordships again, though gavelkind prevailed, land would pass by feoffment, and not by surrender, and these were called “lands of English tenure and Welch dole”. But “many lordes did utterly extirpat both Welsh lawes and Welsh dole, and wrought all as in England: and these matters and customes were permitted or denied in every lordship as pleased y^e first conquerors thereof”.

Cells of St. John of Jerusalem did not originally have the same privileges as Lords Marchers by conquest, but gradually by grant and custom they attained a like position. “To hold *in capite* in Wales in auncient time was sufficient to make a Lord Marcher, and of necessity the Lord thereof was forced to take upon him y^e regall authority of a Lord Marcher.”

The greatest of the Lordships Marchers were the County Palatine of Pembroke and the lordship of Glamorgan,

¹ *Owen's Pembrokeshire*, Part iii, pp. 144-7.

which were organised on the same lines as English counties. The county of Pembroke was, however, less extensive than the English-speaking part of modern Pembrokeshire. It did not include Lamphey, Haverfordwest, Walwyn's Castle, Slebech, and Narberth. Dewisland was under the Bishop, and Kemmes was a separate lordship.¹ It had one limitation which did not apply to any other Lordship Marcher—the king's writ ran through its territory. The lordship of Glamorgan was also smaller than the modern county. The lordship of Gower was outside its boundaries as well as the "Blainau", the hill districts where the Welsh dwelt under their own chiefs and enjoyed their own laws and customs. The Lordship, from the time when Robert of Gloucester married Fitzhamon's daughter, became an appanage of the great western earldom. The Lordship proper, the *Corpus Comitatus*, consisted of thirty-six knight's fees which did suit to the castle of Cardiff, where the sheriff held his monthly court, and the Chancellor on the day following for "matters of conscience". The "members" consisted of the twelve chief lordships, which had like regal jurisdiction, except that a writ of error lay to the Chancery of Glamorgan, and that the suitors, and not the presiding officer, were judges. The possessions of the Cathedral of Llandaff and of the religious houses were also held of the Lord, who even claimed to have the gift of the bishopric.²

The towns were few, small, and of little importance. They sprang up around the baronial castle, and partook more of the character of English garrisons than of centres

¹ Tout's "Welsh Shires", *Y Cymmrodor*, vol. ix, pt. ii.

² Tout, *supra*, and see an instructive and learned article by Dr. Henry Owen, "English Law in Wales and the Marches," *Y Cymmrodor*, vol. xiv. As to the claim to the gift of the see, *vide* J. E. Morris's *Welsh Wars of Edward I.*

of trade and commerce. "Although most of the inhabitants of those towns are become now more Welsh in language and manner of living", wrote George Owen, in his *Treatise of the Lordshippes Marchers*, "yet doe manye retayne y^c English names, and most places about those townes doe give great libertyes to Englishmen of those townes."¹ Some years earlier, in 1587, John Penry, the first Welsh Nonconformist, said that "there is never a market town in Wales where English is not as rife as Welsh". They held their liberties by charter from their lords, and were governed by mayors and bailiffs, or by stewards.

The existence of so many Lords Marchers, armed with such absolute authority,² was a source of grave danger both to the King's power and to the good condition of the people of Wales. So powerful, indeed, did the Lords Marchers become, that, to an extent hardly appreciated by English historians, they turned the scale in every political crisis in England,³ and made and unmade dynasties at their caprice. Edward I was strong enough to maintain some semblance of authority over them. The first statute of Westminster (3 Edw. I, c. 17) enacted that the King who is sovereign Lord over all shall do right there (*i.e.*, in the Marches) unto such as will complain, and after the death of Llewelyn, he showed that he did not intend them to be mere idle words. He actively inter-

¹ *Owen's Pembrokeshire*, Part iii, p. 168. Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 103.

² For the powers of the Lords Marchers, see Dr. Owen's article on "English Law in Wales and the Marches," *Y Cymmrodor*, vol. xiv.

³ Morris, *Welsh Wars of Edward I*, p. 221. "Such a position [as Lord of Glamorgan] influenced the Clare's status as a feudal baron of England. A baron who owed to the King the service of more than four hundred and fifty knights, in addition to being Lord of Glamorgan, simply held the balance of power in any crisis against the Crown."

ferred in the dispute which had arisen between the Earl of Gloucester as Lord of Glamorgan and the Earl of Hereford, and decided it as judge, as if the two earls were only ordinary subjects.¹ Edward III, who had in early life experienced the dangers that might arise to the English throne from the over-grown power of the Mortimers and the other Lords Marchers, enacted (28 Edw. III, c. 2) that "all the Lords of the Marches of Wales shall be perpetually attending and annexed to the Crown of England, as they and their ancestors have been at all times past, and not to the Principality of Wales". He, like his grandfather, was determined to show that the King had more than a mere semblance of authority over his subjects in the Marches. In 1331 he sent commissioners to inquire into the acts of Richard de Peshale and Alinia, his wife, the daughter and heiress of William de Breos, the Lord of Gower.² But such occasional exercises of feudal suzerainty were not sufficient to keep the authority of the Lords Marchers within bounds. Mr. Justice Stephen aptly compares their position to that of "the small rajahs to whom much of the territory of the Panjab and North West Provinces still belong". Twenty-one of them sat in Parliament in virtue of their Welsh lordships in the reigns of the first three Edwards, although, so destructive had been their wars, in the time of George Owen, "onlie Abergavenny att this day still continueth his place and name, and in y^e line and blood of y^e first conqueror thereof".⁴ In the meantime they had played their

¹ For a detailed and interesting account of Edward's attempt to curb the powers and privileges of the Lords Marchers by taking advantage of the feud between the two Earls, see c. vi of J. E. Morris's *Welsh Wars of Edward I.*

² Clark's *Cartae et alia Munimenta de Glamorgan*, i, 279-282.

³ *History of Criminal Law.*

⁴ "Treatise of Lordshipps Marchers in Wales," *Owen's Pemb.*, iii, p. 170.

vigorous and decisive part in the affairs of England. The House of York derived its chief support from Wales and the Marches,¹ where, as heirs to the Mortimers, they were not only the most powerful of the Lords Marchers, but as the descendants of Gladys Ddu, the daughter of Llewelyn the Great, they were regarded with singular affection by Welsh bards and people. Henry Bolingbroke was not only Duke of Lancaster, and in that capacity a Lord Marcher, but as Earl of Hereford he owned vast possessions in a district which was largely Welsh,² and which was claimed to be under the jurisdiction of the Court of the Marches in late Stuart times. Warwick the King-maker was head of the great Marcher house of Neville; the Duke of Buckingham was Lord of Brecknock as well as chief justice and chamberlain of South and North Wales, and his undoing was largely due to his failure to enlist the co-operation of Rhys ap Thomas in his adventure;³ and the later phases of the Wars of the Roses were to some extent a contest for supremacy in Wales and the Marches of the Yorkish and Lancastrian Earls of Pembroke. In truth, the Wars of the Roses were to an unsuspected degree a March quarrel. The political motive for their outbreak has always been regarded as inadequate. The ambition of Richard of York, and the fiery spirit of his son Edward, may account for the part they played; but why should they have succeeded in embroiling all England in their rivalry with the House of Lancaster? The key to the mystery lies in the politics of the Welsh Marches. There

¹ See, *e.g.*, the Petition to Hen. VIII, *supra*.

² For a detailed and curious account of the English conquest of West Herefordshire see Mr. Egerton Phillimore in *Owen's Pembr.*, Part iii, pp. 264-276.

³ See Gairdner's *Richard III*, p. 219.

the Barons had been accustomed to private wars. After the rebellion of Glendower the country had never settled down; the King's authority was shadowy, unreal, and seldom enforced; each Lord Marcher did what seemed good in his own eyes. Henry of Lancaster and Richard of York were rivals in the Marches, and the Wars of the Roses were only March wars on a larger scale. The majority of the persons who were prominently engaged in them were Marcher lords, or they held similar positions on the Scottish march. The troops employed were very largely drawn from the marches of Wales. The scale was finally turned when Welshmen withdrew from their traditional loyalty to the House of York and transferred their allegiance to Lancaster. Had Prince Edward been spared after Tewkesbury, the course of English history would have been different. By his death Henry Tudor, "*hil Gadwaladr, paladr p r*", "of the line of Cadwaladr of the beautiful shaft", became the representative of the House of Lancaster. Howel Aerddren, in his "Ode to Patrick", sang—¹

"Thy descent was purer than Baron or Duke's, for it fell
from a Briton,

"The Welsh will all flock to thee,—subdue thou England and
despoil her men."

The chance of avenging the Conquest of 1282 and of placing a Welshman of the royal line on the English throne was sufficient to rally all Welshmen to the Lancastrian standard. Hitherto they had been fighting for feudal lord or baron; for a Mortimer, for a Neville, or a Fitz-alan. At Bosworth they fought for a kinsman of

¹ Aberystwyth MSS. I am indebted for this and other citations from the fifteenth century poets to an excellent unpublished paper by Mr. W. Garmon Jones, of Liverpool University, on "*Wales in the Fifteenth Century*".

Glyndwr, a prince descended from the royal stock of North and South Wales. The force of the popular enthusiasm carried the Welsh chiefs and the Lords Marchers on its sweeping tide. Buckingham plotted against Richard, and fled to his tenants at Brecon when pursued by the wrath of the King. Rhys ap Thomas of Dinevor, whose grandfather, Griffith ap Nicholas, had fallen for the White Rose at Mortimer's Cross, cast aside the prejudices of his youth and cordially espoused the cause of Henry Tudor. No one can read the account of the landing of Henry at Milford Haven, of his progress through Wales gathering adherents, and of his crowning triumph at Bosworth Field, without being impressed with the fact that without the enthusiasm of his countrymen such an adventure would have been impossible. It is estimated that the total number of men whom Henry commanded at Bosworth was only five thousand.¹ He had had no time to collect troops in England, even had he been able to levy any adherents. The fortnight that had elapsed since his landing had mainly been spent in Wales. Lord Stanley, though married to Henry's mother, took no part in the battle. Sir William Stanley's desertion, which turned the fortune of the day, brought the Welshmen of North Wales to the support of their countryman. Sir William's subsequent career shows that he was no keen partisan of the Tudor. It is no wild conjecture that his desertion of Richard was due to the temper of his Welsh followers. For months before the Welsh bards had been exhorting their countrymen to fight

¹ Gairdner's *Richard III*, p. 235. Of these, according to Polydore Virgil, five hundred had joined at Newport (Salop) under Sir Gilbert Talbot. What means Henry employed to gather Welsh troops may be inferred from a very curious letter which he sent to his kinsman John ap Meredith on his landing at Milford Haven, and which is given in Wynne's *History of the Gwydir Family*, pp. 55-6.

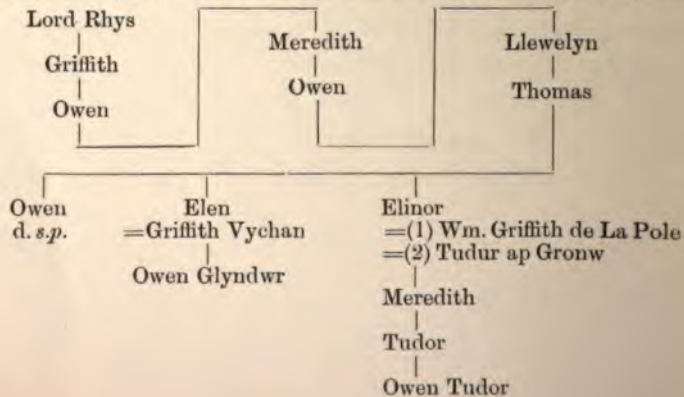
for the Tudor. In their mystical "*brudiau*", or rhyming prophecies, they had predicted the victory of Henry. He was the grandson of Owen Tudor, and was not Owen of the Red Hand to return from over seas to deliver his countrymen—

"Tame the Saxon, forgive not one single traitor.
When the Bull comes from the far land of battle,
Let the far-splitting spear shed the blood of the Saxon on the
stubble."

Such was the spirit of the exhortations which were addressed by the bards to their eager countrymen. In England Henry Tudor might be accepted as the representative of the Red Rose. To Welshmen he was one of their own race. One of the three standards¹ under which he fought at Bosworth was the Red Dragon of Wales. Englishmen might regard his marriage with Elizabeth Plantagenet as the union of the two roses. Welshmen regarded it as the union of the descendant of the Lord Rhys of Dinevor with the heiress of Llewelyn the Great.²

¹ The first banner was emblazoned with the figure of St. George, the second with the Red Dragon of Cadwaladr, "a red fiery dragon beaten upon white and green sarcanet" (Hall, 423), and the third with the dun cow of the Tudors.

² The following table shows the Tudor descent from Lord Rhys:—



Henry himself was careful to foster this idea. He refused to base his title to the English throne only or mainly on his Lancastrian descent, or his Yorkish marriage, or his Parliamentary title. He claimed the crown of England by right of conquest. Alone of English sovereigns he was crowned on the field of battle. His first act on entering London was an assertion of his title by conquest. "He went first into St. Paul's Church, where, not meaning that the people should forget too soon that he came in by battle", said Bacon,¹ "he made offertory of his standards, and had orizons and *Te Deum* sung." Henry's insistence on his title by conquest has puzzled English historians, from Bacon downwards, who have chosen to regard his accession as the natural and inevitable outcome of the Wars of the Roses. Henry himself never forgot his Welsh blood, or the services which his countrymen rendered to him at the crisis of his fortunes. After ascending the throne he sent a commission to Wales to inquire into and publish his Welsh descent.² This is said to have been due to his sensitiveness to the charge that he was of a mean and ignoble lineage. It is more probable that he wished to proclaim to the world that he was descended from the Welsh princely line, and to conciliate the Welsh by showing that a scion of the house of Cadwaladr sat on the English throne. Mr. Pollard³ has revived an old legend that the Tudors "were a Welsh family of modest means and doubtful antecedents. They claimed, it is true, descent from Cadwaladr, and their

¹ Bacon's *Henry VII*, Spedding's edition, vol. vi, p. 32.

² For the pedigree of the Tudors, as found by the Commissioners, see Powell's *History of Cambria*.

³ Pollard's *Henry VIII*, p. 5. Hall makes King Richard, in his address to his troops at Bosworth, call him "an unknown Welshman, whose father I never knew, nor him personally saw".

pedigree was as long and quite as veracious as most Welsh genealogies." It is, perhaps, little to the purpose to trace in detail the Tudor line. Suffice it to say that the Tudors were descended, though not in the male line, from the old Welsh princes, that their antecedents were not doubtful, and that whatever Mr. Pollard may think of Welsh genealogies, those who have constantly to use and test them have arrived at a very different conclusion as to their trustworthiness, until they reach the dim and distant centuries of the Christian era. What is of interest is that Henry should have been anxious to proclaim his Welsh descent. He called his eldest son Arthur after the Cymric national hero. A foreign writer, writing in 1500, said of the Welsh that "they may now be said to have recovered their former independence, for the most wise and fortunate Henry VII is a Welshman".¹ Henry VII did not feel secure on his throne for many years. Bacon remarks that he never slaked in his hostility to the House of York. When the impostors, Lambert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck, invaded the realm, it was to Wales that he largely turned for support.² England had become to a large extent a settled country. Even the destructive Wars of the Roses had hardly affected the common people. So little interest was there felt in the quarrel that in the decisive and final battle of the war only some ten thousand combatants were engaged. But Wales was in different case. It was given up to the pursuit of arms as a profession. The restrictive acts of Henry IV, passed during and after the rebellion of Glendower, had remained a dead letter. They were only meant to apply

¹ *An Italian Relation of the Island of England*, published by the Camden Society.

² See the account given in the *Cambrian Register* of Sir Rhys ap Thomas's conduct during the Simnel insurrection.

to the old possessions of the Prince of Snowdon, and few will now be found to deny that they were *ultra vires*. The domains of the Lords Marchers were untouched by them. It is difficult to estimate whether the "ancient counties" or the districts under the Lords Marchers were the most disturbed and distracted in the fifteenth century. In the previous century Dafydd ap Gwilym, and even Iolo Goch, who became the bard of Glyndwr, sang of a peaceful and industrious Wales. The rebellion of Glyndwr, the French Wars, and the Civil Wars that followed, had thrown the whole country into confusion and anarchy. The *History of the Gwydir Family* describes what took place in Carnarvon, which was "shire ground". In the time of Henry VIII Bishop Rowland Lee complained that Cardigan and Merioneth, though shire-ground, were not less disturbed than the Marches. In the anarchy that prevailed each Lord Marcher had become a semi-independent kinglet, who maintained a large retinue of armed followers. A malefactor had only to fly over the border of his lordship to be welcomed with open arms by a neighbouring Lord Marcher. "The government and royall jurisdiction of y^e said Lords Marchers (which was in most places executed most injuriouslie by bad partiall and covetous ministers) was found to be most noysome and rather a cause to urge ye subjects to rebell than to preserve and keep in quietness y^e country people." In England, Henry VII dealt vigorously with great nobles who kept too many retainers. In Wales he did nothing. He allowed Rhys ap Thomas to become the most powerful man that South Wales had produced since the Lord Rhys. Sir Rhys's whole force was always at the King's command, whether it was to put down a pretender or to aid his sovereign over seas.

¹ *Description of Wales*, p. 20.

Henry VII never forgot that Wales was the most martial portion of his realm; he tried to attach it to himself by appeals to its racial pride; and "gave in charge to his soone Prynce Henry that he showld have a spetiall care for the benefitt of his owne Nation and Countrymen the Welshmen".¹

THE COURT OF THE COUNCIL OF THE MARCHES.

The first attempt to bring Wales into better order was made in the reign of Edward IV. True to the Yorkist policy of "governance", Edward determined to establish a Court in the Marches of Wales which would put down lawlessness with a strong hand, and, by bringing near to the people something in the nature of a centralised government, help to remove some of the evils under which the land was groaning. That the people of Wales, then as now, were amenable to good government is apparent from the complaints of the bards who, martial though they were, showed that they were yearning for the dawn of better days. "*Ni fyn un dyn ofni Duw*", "there is none that will fear God", was the bitter complaint of Dafydd Llwyd ap Llewelyn. The story of the foundation of the Court of the Council of the Marches was sketched by Dr. Powel in his *History of Cambria* in 1584. Dr. Powel was in touch with Sir Henry Sidney and the other officials of the Court, and his account must have been derived from intimate contact with those that had made a study of its history. At all events it is certain that recent investigations have not materially corrected any statements made by the old historian, or added appreciably to our information.²

¹ George Owen's *Dialogue in Owen's Pembrokeshire*, Part iii, p. 39.

² The first attempt in recent times to investigate the story of "The Court of the President and Council of Wales and the Marches" was

“King Edward the Fourth”, said Powel—

“using much the faithfull service of the Welshmen meant the reformation of the estate of Wales, and the establishment of a court within that Principalitie, and therefore he sent the bishop of Worcester, and the Earle of Rivers, with the prince of Wales, to the countrie, to the end he might understand how to proceed in his proposed reformation. But the trowbles and disquietnesse of his owne subjects, and the shortness of his time sufficed him to doo little or nothing in that behalfe.”¹

It is now ascertained that the Prince’s Court in the Marches was first constituted about the year 1471. But Edward IV does not appear to have done much more than establish the Court at Ludlow. Of real power the Court seems to have had little. The youth of the Prince, the novelty of the undertaking, and the indifference of the King, combined to make it of little importance in the “estate of Wales”.

Henry VII, like his predecessor, “using much the faithfull service of the Welshmen”, put into effect the design of the Yorkist king. In 1493 he sent Prince Arthur to hold his court at Ludlow, but it was only in 1501 that he began to develop his policy. In that year he sent a remarkable man, William Smyth, Bishop of Lincoln, to Ludlow as the first real Lord President of the Court of the Council of the Marches. “This Bushope”, said Gerard in his “Discourse” already cited, “is the first Lord President of Walles found in the Recordes,

made by the late Judge David Lewis, whose valuable paper appeared in volume xii of the *Cymmrodor* Magazine. This was supplemented by the extremely interesting “Further Notes” of Mr. Lleufer Thomas in the subsequent volume. Dr. Henry Owen’s “English Law in Wales and the Marches”, which has already been cited, (vol. xiv of the *Cymmrodor*), also dealt with the same subject. Still later, Miss Skele has dealt exhaustively with the whole history of the Court in her learned and careful work, entitled, *The Council in the Marches of Wales*.

¹ Powel’s *Historie of Cambria*, p. 389.

who was sent by Henry VII in the seventeenth year of his rayne to be Lord President of Prince Arthur's Counsaile in the Principalite of Walles and Marches of the same. And so continewed Lord President untill the 4th yare of Henry VIII. He was the founder of Brasenose College, Oxford." The only record of the powers of the Council is to be found in Gerard's "Discourse".² "They had instructions geven them which was in effect to execute Justice vpon all felons and prayers of Cattell in thenglishe adjoyning Counties upon all felonies there or in any parte of Wales comitted, to suppress and ponishe by ffyne and ymprisonment Rowtes, Riottes, vnlawfull assemblies, assaults, affraies, extorc'ons, and exac'cons and to heare the complaintes as well of all poor welshe personnes oppressed or wronged in any cause as to those enhabitinge in thenglish Counties adjoyninge. They had authoritie by Comission of Oyer and terminer and speciall gaole deliverie throughowte Wales and in those Englishe counties adjoyninge."

Dr. Powel adds that among "other wise and expert counsellors" the King appointed "Sir Richard Poole, his kinsman, which was his cheefe chamberlaine". Sir Richard Pole, the father of Cardinal Pole, was the lineal descendant of the Princes of Powys,³ and would therefore

¹ His portrait is in the Hall of Brasenose, where he is described as "primus Wallie praeses".

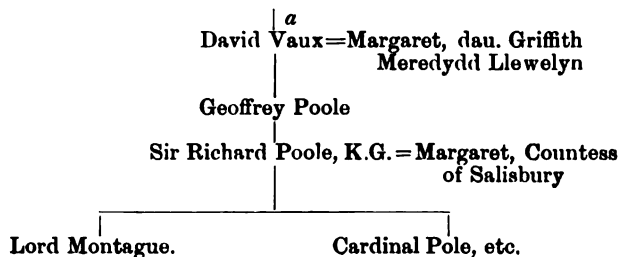
² *State Papers, Dom.*, Eliz., vol. 107, No. 21.

³ As late as 1534 Martin de Cornoca reported that the whole of Wales was devoted to the house of Pole. *State Papers*, vol. vii, 1040. The genealogy of the Poles is thus given in the *Book of Golden Grove*, L 1647, now in the Record Office:—

Owen Cyfeiliog
|
Owen
|
Sir Gilbert Poole, g.-g.-grandfather of
|
a

have peculiar authority over the Welsh of Mid-Wales. Bishop Smith, true to Henry's policy of conciliating the Welsh, did not resort to coercive measures. He rather endeavoured to win the affection of his master's turbulent kinsmen by dispensing hospitality on a lavish scale at the Prince's Court, and by making the Welsh chiefs and the Lords Marchers feel that Arthur was not the representative of an alien authority, but was in reality the Prince of Wales. That his administration was at least partially successful is evident from the increasing loyalty of Wales. "And soe the Government of Wales was continued under y^e Lords Marchers until y^e time of Henry VII", wrote George Owen, "in whose time y^e Welshmen willinglie submitted themselves in hart to his highness being paternallie of their auncient princes of y^e British line, in such sort that they who in former times were termede soe disobedient to y^e crowne of England (and against whom y^e kings of England promulged such unnaturall and extreame lawes, as never did any prince did y^e like against his subjects) grewe so quiett that King Henry VIII in his tyme did well perceave y^t y^e people and countrey of Wales might be governed by lawes as y^e subjects of England, and not by thraldome and crueltye used by y^e Lords Marchers."

George Owen, however, was speaking after the event. There were still many difficulties to be overcome, still many ghosts to be laid, before Wales was to be granted the boon



of equal treatment with England. With the death of Prince Arthur, in 1502, King Henry seems to have lost his interest in the Court of the Marches. Young Henry was created Prince of Wales in 1503, but he never visited Wales or held his Court in the Marches. Bishop Smith, however, remained at his post till Henry VII's death in 1509. He continued, nominally, as President till his own death in 1514, but the latter years of his life were almost entirely spent in his diocese of Lincoln.

There was no break of continuity in the tenure of the Presidency. Bishop Smith was succeeded by Bishop Blyth of Lichfield, and Bishop Vescie or Voysey of Exeter. Henry VIII, in spite of his father's "charge", up to 1525 had paid little attention to the affairs of Wales. He had never visited the country, the Statute Book was bare even of mention of the affairs of the Principality, the Court of Ludlow became a mere shadow and a name. The King during the first years of his reign seems to have been content with playing the royal part in the national pageant. As he was willing to allow his foreign and domestic policy to be directed by Wolsey, so he was content to allow "Father Rhys", as he familiarly called Sir Rhys ap Thomas, practically to rule South Wales. Sir Rhys not only held the enormous Dinevor estates, but he was Chief Justice and Chamberlain of South Wales. The rest of Wales and the Marches were administered in haphazard fashion as in the days of his father. As long as Sir Rhys lived, the power of the Court of Ludlow over South Wales was of the most shadowy character. But in 1525 Sir Rhys ap Thomas died, and with him died the old *régime*. There is nothing so remarkable in the history of Henry VIII as the growth of his mind, of his power, and of his statesmanlike vigor, almost every year after the first dozen joyous, careless years of his reign. It was, no doubt,

the death of Sir Rhys that first directed his attention to Wales. He probably knew but little of the internal condition of the country. There are no records in the earlier *State Papers* of his reign dealing with the Principality. But by 1525 the masterful and jealous character of the King had begun to assert itself. Several years after, Sir Thomas More addressed a prophetic warning to Cromwell about the character of the master from whose service More was then retiring. "Master Cromwell", he said, "you are now entered into the service of a most noble, wise, and liberal prince; if you will follow my poor advice, you shall in your counsel-giving to his Grace ever tell him what he ought to do, but never what he is able to do. For if a lion knew his own strength, hard were it for any man to rule him."¹ Ever since the fall of Buckingham, Henry was learning what he could do. He realised that a despot must ever cut the heads of the tallest poppies. Wolsey he trusted fully almost to his death; More at one time he loved. All that we know of his bearing towards Sir Rhys ap Thomas goes to show that he looked upon him as a faithful and necessary minister for the government of Wales. But, with Sir Rhys's death, Henry's strong, vigorous mind began to address itself to the question of Wales. His first act was characteristic. He refused to continue Sir Rhys's grandson—a young man who was married to a daughter of the Duke of Norfolk—in his offices, but appointed Lord Ferrers of Chartley, afterwards the first Viscount Hereford, as his successor. He paid a visit in person to Ludlow, accompanied by his daughter Mary, who was unofficially styled the Princess of Wales. At Ludlow Mary remained till 1528, when she was recalled in disgrace owing to the King's divorce proceedings against

¹ Rooper, *Life of Sir T. More* (ed. 1729), p. 69.

her ill-fated mother, Catherine of Arragon. It may be that the King's only intention in and after 1525 was to curb the overweening power of the Dinevor family. But there is one reference in the *State Papers* which suggests that already, after the installation of the Princess Mary at Ludlow, the King was forming other and greater designs. In a letter dated 9 January 1526, Lord Ferrers wrote to the Lord President of the Council at Ludlow, that—

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

The writer concludes: “And now both shires saith plainly that they will not pay one groat at this present Candlemas next coming, nor never after, if any man do appear otherwise than they have been accustomed, but they had liever ryn into the woods.”¹

It would be interesting to know more of the circumstances attending this complaint. No reference is to be found to it later, and it would therefore seem that a stop was put to the attempt of the Ludlow Court to exercise original jurisdiction over the old counties and the marches of Wales. But the fact that the attempt was made, soon after the King's visit to Ludlow, is, perhaps, indicative of the ulterior object which the King had even then vaguely formed, but which was only destined to bring forth fruit after many days. Lord Ferrers was not only Chamberlain of South Wales, he was also a great Lord Marcher, and his letter breathes a spirit of jealousy of the Ludlow

¹ *State Papers*, Henry VIII.

Court's interference in the Marches as well as in the Counties of Carmarthen and Cardigan. If Henry had formed any such design, he was constrained by the rapid course of great events in England to forego it for the time. After the little flash of energy displayed in 1526, the Court of the Marches sank once more into lethargy. In 1528, when the uncertain position of the Princess Mary had no doubt affected the authority of her Council, a petition was sent to Ludlow by the bailiff and burgesses of Brecon complaining that justice was not kept, that the King's tenants were impoverished, and his revenues decayed. The reply of the Council, while it indicates that the state of things was better than it had been, did not attempt to deny the facts mentioned in the petition.

With the insurrection of Rhys ap Griffith at Carmarthen, in 1529, it is not proposed to deal here.¹ The story is long and complicated. It served to bring home to the King the disorderly condition of the Principality. It shewed, too, that the Council of Ludlow was too weak to deal with such cases of turbulence. Lord Ferrers, as a Lord Marcher, may have disliked to enhance the reputation of the Council. It is certain at least that, for whatever reason, the young chief was sent to answer for his misdemeanours before the Star Chamber in London. That the Council at Ludlow continued to be impotent in the face of the growing anarchy in Wales is shown by a letter of one Thomas Phillips to Cromwell, in 1531. It is interesting because, with the exception of the letters concerning Rhys ap Griffith's insurrections, it is the first intimation the English Government had of the real state of things in Wales. In it he pleads that such a Council be established in the Marches, that the best officer in

¹ For an account of Rhys ap Griffith's "affray", see the writer's article in *I' Cymnrodor*, vol. xvi.

Wales should quake if found in default.¹ A still more important letter, because it pointed out one of the defects of the existing system, was sent to Cromwell, in 1533, by Sir Edward Croft, an official of the Council, and Vice-Chamberlain of South Wales. Wales, he said, was "far out of order", and many murders in Oswestry and Powys had gone unpunished, because the President, being a cleric, had no power to inflict the penalty of death. He wished "some man to be sent down to us to use the sword of justice where he shall see cause, throughout the Principality. Otherwise the Welsh will wax so wild, it will not be easy to bring them to order again."² In the same year Thomas Croft wrote that "more than a hundred have been slain in the Marches of Wales since the Bishop of Exeter was President there, and not one of them punished".³

The prayers of Phillips and of the Crofts were speedily answered. In 1534 a man was sent to succeed the Bishop of Exeter as Lord President of the Council, who left the stamp of his personality upon it and its work, and who made the terror of his name felt through all the Marches of Wales. Rowland Lee, Bishop of Lichfield, only held the office of President for nine years, no long period in the life of a nation, but so dominant was his character and so unresting his energy that he will ever be regarded as the most famous in the list of Presidents, and as the administrator who left an abiding impress on the history of Wales. Gerard, in his second "Discourse", describes him as "stowte of nature, readie witted, roughe in speeche, not affable to any of the walshrie, an extreme severe ponisher of offenders, desirous to gayne (as he did in deede) credit with the king and comendac'on for his service".⁴ Froude states that he was "the last survivor of

¹ *State Papers*, Henry VIII, vol. v, 991.

² *Ibid.*, vol. vi, 210.

³ *Ibid.*, 946.

⁴ *State Papers, Dom.*, Eliz., vol. 107, No. 10.

the old martial prelates, fitter for harness than for bishop's robes, for a court of justice than a court of theology, more at home at the head of his troopers chasing cattle-stealers in the gorges of Llangollen than hunting heretics to the stake, or chasing formulas in the arduous defiles of controversy".¹ He had come to the fore as Henry's agent in the divorce controversy and in the suppression of the smaller monasteries. It was believed that it was he that performed the marriage ceremony between the King and Anne Boleyn. Though he took the King's side against the Pope, he was far removed from Protestantism. One of Cromwell's correspondents calls him "an earthly beast, a mole, and an enemy to all godly learning into the office of his damnation—a papist, an idolater, and a fleshly priest".² The stout Bishop laid no claim to superior sanctity, or even to any rigid, ceremonious observance of the duties of his ecclesiastical position. "I was never hitherto in the pulpit", he wrote to Cromwell as late as 1534. But if he neglected his diocese and his priestly functions, he spent the revenues of his see in carrying out the duties of his secular office. He was not deterred by the old canonical rule that a cleric should not shed blood. His extant letters to Cromwell, giving authentic information to the government, betray his qualities and their defects. His breezy personality, after the course of nearly four centuries, lives in and through them. He is thoroughly human, especially in his love for open-air sport. We find him sending to his patron a present of partridges, doubtless the prize of his own skill. In one letter he records that he has "just killed a great buck". In another he begs Cromwell to send to him "a warrant for a stag in the forest of Wyer".

¹ *History of England*, vol. iii, 229.

² *State Papers*, Hen. VIII.

Rowland Lee soon set to show the robbers and thieves of the borders that he was not afraid to inflict the death penalty. In July 1534 we find him writing:—

“The Walshe above Schroysbury be very besy, and as I am informed doo bryne divers howses and doo grett disspeles whiche cannot be withowte the consente of sum hedes, whose hedes if I may knewe justly the trenges I shall make ake and folew your preceptes, not thayreof to fayle, god beyng my good lorde.”¹

By the following year he was able to report that the “Welshmen of Shrewsbury” had been brought “into a reasonable staye touching such robberyes and other malefacts as were there used”, and that he had “hanged four of the best blood in the county of Shropshire”.² In December 1535 his activities ranged from Presteign and Hereford to Chepstow and Monmouth. In the following month he describes with great gusto the hanging of thieves at Ludlow on market day. “If he (*i.e.* the thief) be taken, he playeth his pageant.” He feels that his stern policy of repression has made him a marked man, but he does not shrink from the dangers attendant upon his position. “Although the thieves have hangid me by imaginacion, yet I truste to be even with them shorteley in very dede.” In June 1536 he was in Montgomeryshire, where was gathered together “a certain cluster or company of thieves and murderers” whom he was resolved to put down. No doubt the rigour of his administration and the summariness of his methods have been exaggerated, both by contemporaries and by posterity. But the times were rude, and justice was at best but roughly administered. We may discount, with Froude, the statement that seventy-two thousand malefactors suffered the extreme penalty of the law in the reign of Henry VIII, but even so careful a

¹ *State Papers*, Hen. VIII, vol. vii, No. 940.

² Nov. 6, 1535: *State Papers*, vol vii, p. 529, No. 1393.

writer as Stubbs speaks of Henry's "holocausts" of victims.¹ Similarly we may discredit the loose statement of Ellis Griffith, a contemporary soldier, who wrote an account of his own times, that under the Bishop's rule five thousand men were hanged in the Marches of Wales within the space of six years.² When one remembers that the population of Wales was only about one-sixteenth of that of England, and that these victims were said to have fallen in less than a sixth of Henry's reign, the proportion of Welsh malefactors becomes incredible. None the less, it is perfectly evident that thieves and murderers were hanged in batches, without regard to persons, and without very much respect for the forms of law. Lee was enjoined by Cromwell that "indifferent justice must be ministered to poor and rich according to their demerits". This injunction he faithfully obeyed, and for the first time since the death of Llewelyn the law began to be respected in Wales and the Marches. Gerard, in his "Discourse", written thirty-two years after the Bishop's death, gives unstinted praise to his administration :—

"They spent their holle tyme in travellinge yeerlie eythr through Wales or a great parte of the same in causes towching Civill government, and by that travell knewe the people and founde their disposicon, favored and preferred to auctoritie and office in their countreys suche howe meane of lyvinge soever they were, as they founde diligente and willinge to serve in discoveringe and tryinge owte of offences and offenders. They likewise deforced and discountenanced others, of howe greate callinge and possessions soever they were, beinge of contrarie disposicon. This stoute bushoppes dealinge and the terror that the vertue of learninge workethe

¹ Stubbs's *Med. and Mod. History*, p. 304.

² Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans, in his Introduction (p. x) to the Mostyn MSS., published by the Historical MSS. Commission, gives this among other tempting extracts from the writings of the *Soldier of Calais*. It is a pity that at least the portion dealing with contemporary events is not published and translated.

in the subjecte when he perceiveth that he is governed under a lerned magistrate, within iiij or iiiij yeres generallie so terrified theyme. as the verie feare of punishment rather than the desire or love that the people hadd to chaunge their walshrie wroughte first in theym the obedience theye nowe bee grown into. Then was this Counsell and there proceedinges as moche feared, revered and hadd in estimacion of the walshrie as at this daye the Starre Chamber of the English.¹

Without subscribing to every word of this eulogy of the Bishop and his co-adjutors—putting a good deal of it down to the natural tendency of the official to magnify his office or the institution to which he belongs, and the attraction which anything in the shape of “strong and resolute government” has for a certain type of mind—it bears witness to the indelible mark left by Rowland Lee on the administration of Wales. Firm government, rigorous administration of justice, and absolute fearlessness in enforcing law and order were indispensable to Wales of that period; and those boons she obtained from Rowland Lee.

The condition of Wales, or of those parts of Wales visited by him, as described by the Lord President in his letters to Cromwell, was deplorable. In a letter, written in the first year of his presidency, he gives a graphic illustration of the state of the country. In the lordship of Magor alone there were at the time living unpunished, under the protection of Sir Walter Herbert, five malefactors who had committed wilful murder, eighteen who had committed murder, and twenty thieves and outlaws who had committed every variety of crime.² The evils of *Arthel* and *Commortha* were rife. Both customs had an honest and legitimate origin. They had become more than a peril to the state; they were a

¹ *State Papers, Dom.*, Eliz., vol. 107, No. 10.

² Wright's *History of Ludlow*, 383.

festering sore in the body politic. To *Arthel* or *Arddel* a man was to vouch or become surety for him or for his good behaviour. It was a recognised and indeed highly necessary procedure under the laws of Howel Dda.¹ It gradually grew to be a gross abuse. The Lords Marchers "avouched" murderers and outlaws, and so surrounded themselves with a bodyguard of lawless ruffians. So deeply-rooted and wide-spread was this evil that even the new Lord President found it impossible to eradicate it without having recourse to legislation. Section 13 of 26 Henry VIII, c. 6, which was passed in 1534, soon after Rowland Lee came to the Marches, was doubtless enacted owing to the representations of the Bishop.

"And where heretofore upon divers Murthers, Robberies and Felonies perpetrated and done, as well within the Lordships Marchers of Wales as in other places in Wales without the same Lordships, the offenders divers Times flee and escape from the same Lordship or other Place where such offence was committed, and have repaired and resorted into another Lordship Marcher, and there by the aid Comfort and Favour of the said Lord of the same Lordship, or his Officer or Officers, have been abiding and resiant, into which Lordships the same Lords Marchers have and do pretend a Custom and Privilege that none of the King's Ministers may enter to pursue apprehend and attach any such offender,"

it is enacted that the officers of the Council of the Marches shall have authority to follow the offender and bring him back to the jurisdiction of the lord where the offence was committed.²

The practice of *Commortha* (*cymhorth*=help) had its origin in the practice of co-ration—a custom which has to some extent survived even to our own times in rural Wales. "*Cymmorthas* are assemblies of people to

¹ Wade Evans, *Welsh Mediaeval Law*, at pp. 88, 234, and 325; Owen's *Ancient Laws of Wales*, pp. 935-6.

² Bowen's *Statutes of Wales*, p. 62.

assist a neighbour in any work.”¹ It was easy for the lawless Lords Marchers to take advantage of the old custom to further their own interests, or to make it a cloak to conceal an illegal assembly, or, sometimes, to extort an illegal exaction. So great had the evil become that by section 6 of the Statute already referred to it was enacted

“that no person or persons from henceforth, without licence of the said Comm^{ms} in writing, shall within Wales or the Marches of the same, or in any Shires adjoining to the same, require, procure, gather, or levy any Commorth, Bydale, Tenant’s Ale, or other Collection or Exaction of Goods, Chattels, Money, or any other Thing, under colour of marrying, or suffering of their Children saying or singing their first Masses or Gospels, of any Priests or Clerks, or for Redemption of any Murther, or any other Felony, or for any other Manner of Cause, by what Name or Names soever they shall be called and that no Person or Persons shall hereafter at any Time cast any Thing into any Court within Wales, or in the Lordships Marchers of the same, by the Mean or Name of an Arthel, by Reason whereof the Court may be letted, disturbed, or discontinued for that Time, upon Pain of one whole year’s imprisonment.”

In spite of this statutory prohibition, so inveterate was the custom,² that one George Matthew of Glamorgan obtained, in 1536, greatly to the Lord President’s annoyance, the King’s licence to hold *Commortha*. “He is so befriended”, commented Lee in a letter to Cromwell, “that it will run through all Wales to his advantage to the amount of one hundred marks.”

We find echoes, too, in Lee’s letters of the vendetta, which Sir John Wynne described in fuller detail in his *History of the Gwydir Family*, between the Trevors and

¹ Pennant’s *Tour in Wales*, iii, 353. There was one exception in the Statute to the prohibition of *commortha*, viz., in the case of the loss of property by fire.

² Though it was forbidden to gather a *Commorth* “under colour of marrying”, it is curious to find that the practice (under the name of “*taith*” or “*neithior*”) has survived down to our own days.

Kyffins of Oswestry. John Trevor was summoned before the Council for assisting to burn a man's house in Chirkland. Through negligence, or worse, he contrived to escape. He fled "to the wood" with an outlaw named Robert ap Morice. Lee begs Cromwell to see that no pardon is made out to them.¹

The abduction of heiresses, which is always a sign of social anarchy, was not uncommon, and was tolerated by public opinion.² Bishop Lee gives an account of the abduction of a widow named Joan ap Hoell from the church at Llanwarne by one Roger Morgan. In the following month the abductor was tried before a jury at Gloucester, and, to the Bishop's intense chagrin, was acquitted.³ "When it came to the trial of the Morgans", wrote Lee to Cromwell, "the rest of the gentlemen could not be found in the town by the sheriff, so were fain to take such as remained, who against the evidence acquitted the Morgans . . . Mr. Justice Porte will confess the premises to be true, as I willed him and his associate at the assizes, Mr. Montague, to cess good fines upon the gentlemen that departed of their disobedience."⁴ The unwillingness or fear of juries to do their duty honestly in such trials was notorious. "Though at the late Assizes [at Chester] many bills, well supported, were put into the 'greate enqueste' [grand jury], yet contrary to their duty they have found murders to be manslaughters and riots to be misbehaviours."⁵ The Bishop promptly committed the grand jury to prison "for their lightness". He added, to

¹ *State Papers*, Henry VIII, vol. x, 453.

² "This is a vice common to Wales, and for its reformation we caused the trial to be made, but all the honest persons we had appointed absented themselves." Lee to Cromwell, 28 February 1538.

³ *State Papers*, Henry VIII, vol. xiii, Pt. i, p. 128, No. 37.

⁴ Lee to Cromwell, *Ibid.*, vol. xiii, Pt. i, 371.

⁵ *State Papers*, vol. xiii, Pt. i, 1411.

defend himself against a possible charge of harshness, that if the country was to be kept in order, punishment must be inflicted, for by the common law things so far out of order could never be redressed.

Another story, which is given in some detail in the *State Papers*, presents a vivid illustration of the condition of Wales at the time. It relates to a scapegrace scion of a great Norman-Welsh family, Robert Stradling of Glamorganshire. His confession, taken at Bewdley on 28 September 1535, is thus summarised :—

“About two years ago took part with his father-in-law, Watkyn Lougher, who disputed certain lands with Charles Turbill. Confesses to having kept one Lewes of North Wales and one Griffith of Caermarthenshire, who robbed and murdered Piers Dere, for five or six weeks in his house, and they gave him one royal of Dere’s. Killed Gitto Jenkyn, who quarrelled with him while coursing at the White Crosse, on the said lands in variance. Was outlawed, and to escape the search, boarded with six persons a balinge of Pastowe in the haven near the Abbey of Neath, and made the mariners put to sea for three weeks. Did no harm to anyone. Landed at Milford Haven, and went to Waterford in the latter end of April. Hearing that proclamations were made in Wales against him returned.”¹

Lee was no believer in any policy but that of repression. The common law was insufficient, and exceptional measures had to be taken. “If one thief shall try another, all we have begun is foredone.”² He tells with glee how he hanged a dead thief on a gallows for a warning, and how three hundred people followed to see the carriage of the thief in a sack, “the manner whereof had not been before”. “All thieves in Wales quake for fear, and there is but one thief, of name Hugh Duraunt, whom we trust to have

¹ *State Papers*, Henry VIII, vol. ix, 465. In the end Lee recommended him for the King’s pardon, because he was “a proper man and a good archer and willing to pay a reasonable fine”. *Ibid.*, ix, 126, 150.

² *Ibid.*, x, 454 ; 12 March 1536.

shortly. Wales is brought to that state that one thief taketh another, and one cow keepeth another, as Lewis my servant shall inform you.”¹ Holding such views of the inadequacy of the ordinary law, and of the necessity of stern and repressive administration, unhampered by the limitations of the common law, the Lord President cannot be regarded as the inspirer, or even a supporter, of the legislation of 1535 and 1542. The spirit and policy of the Bishop are reflected rather in the legislation of 1534, which strengthened the arm of the government in the repression of crime, and enlarged its powers to maintain law and order. It is beyond question that the Bishop had no hand in any constructive legislation which had for its object the association of the people of Wales with the government of their country.

By 26 Henry VIII, c. 4, it was enacted that as

“Divers adherents friends and kinsfolk to murderers and felons have resorted to jurors, and have suborned them to acquit divers murderers felons and accessories openly and notoriously known, contrary to equity and justice,”

power should be vested in the Lord President to send the recalcitrant jurors to prison²—a power which Bishop Lee was prompt to use, as we have seen, four years later at Chester. By another enactment of the same year (26 Henry VIII, c. 6, s. 6) the Justices of Gaol Delivery and of the Peace in any English shire next to the district in Wales where a crime had been committed were empowered to try and punish the offender.³

Lee, so far from wishing to extend the common law of England to Wales, was rather disposed, as has already been seen, to suspend it altogether. Ellis Griffith expressly states that the Statute, 26 Henry VIII, c. 6, was

¹ *State Papers*, x, 31. ² Bowen's *Statutes of Wales*, 58. ³ *Ibid.*, 51-2.

passed at the instigation of Bishop Rowland. Its preamble describes, in sonorous English, the condition of Wales as viewed by him :—

“Forasmuch as the People of Wales and the Marches of the same, not dreading the good and wholesome Laws and Statutes of this Realm, have of longtime continued and persevered in Perpetration and Commission of divers and manifold Thefts, Murthers, Rebellions, Wilful Burnings of Houses and other scelerous Deeds and abominable Malefacts, to the high Displeasure of God, Inquietation of the King’s well-disposed Subjects, and Disturbance of the Public Weal, which Malefacts and scelerous Deeds be so rooted and fixed in the same people, that they be not like to cease, unless some sharp Correction and Punishment for Redress and Amputation of the Premisses be provided, according to the demerits of the Offenders,”¹

it is therefore enacted that all persons, when duly summoned, should appear at the courts within the Lordships Marchers upon penalty of a fine; if any officers in the Lordships Marchers illegally imprisoned any person, the Council of the Marches should have power to levy a fine of not less than 6s. 8d. for every day of wrongful imprisonment; no weapons should be brought within two miles of any court, fair, town, church, or other assembly; no person, without the licence of the Council, should levy *commorth*, etc.; *arthel* should be discontinued; felonies committed in Wales should be triable in the next adjoining English county; and the officers of all Lordships Marchers should aid in securing culprits fleeing from one lordship to another upon penalty of a fine.

Another enactment of the same year throws a significant light on the unruly condition of the Welsh Border. By 28 Henry VIII, c. 11, Welshmen were punished for attempting any assaults or affrays upon the inhabitants of Herefordshire, Shropshire, or Gloucestershire, who had been “beaten, mayhemed, grievously wounded, and some-

¹ Bowen’s *Statutes of Wales*, pp. 54-62.

times murdered", by one year's imprisonment "without redemption".¹

So far we may conclude, even if we had not the positive contemporary evidence of Ellis Griffith to the same effect, that the legislation relating to Wales was due to the initiative of the new Lord President. It was designed to deal directly and practically with the state of lawless anarchy which prevailed in Wales and the Marches. Its only object was to repress crime, and to punish offenders against the law. It showed no gleam of recognition of the fact that the condition of Wales was due to any other cause than the inherent viciousness of its inhabitants. "malefacts and scelerous deeds" were so "rooted and fixed" in the people that only the most vigorous discipline could eradicate the evil. The laws to which Wales was subject were "good and wholesome", and all that was required was their more effective administration. Such, therefore, we may take it, was the policy of Bishop Rowland Lee, a strong man, a resolute administrator, imbued with a contemptuous pity for the "Welshery", honestly desirous of dragging them into a better conduct and condition, but a ruler who lacked the higher qualities of statesmanship, not endowed with sufficient imagination to penetrate into the root and origin of the evils under which the country was suffering, or to "know what shall chance in time coming", and bereft of that sympathy with the subject people without which even justice loses all its healing grace.

GRANT OF A CONSTITUTION.

In 1535 we notice a new spirit animating the policy of the English Government in Wales, a spirit wholly alien to the rough, practical, and unimaginative temper of the

¹ Bowen's *Statutes of Wales*, p. 63.

Lord President. Henceforward, in the legislation dealing with Wales there are evidences of a larger grasp, a more daring statesmanship, a more adventurous spirit to "make or mar". The first Act of 1535 (27 Henry VIII, c. 5) empowered the Lord Chancellor to appoint Justices of the Peace for the eight ancient counties of the Principality. The justices were authorised to hold their sessions and the sheriffs to execute their processes. At first blush this would appear to be only the characteristic Tudor remedy for the "indifferent ministration" of justice, but in reality it constituted a very real and even daring advance. To allow the law to be administered by Justices of the Peace was to allow it to be administered by men of Welsh descent and of Welsh sympathies. Up to that time, as George Owen points out, there was hardly a single Welshman entrusted with authority in Wales. The "men on the spot" were filled with dismal forebodings as to the result that would ensue from the Government's rash proceedings. It may be that Bishop Rowland Lee was not consulted by the Government as to the administration of the law in the eight ancient counties, but he had an opportunity in 1536 of expressing his views as to the competence of the "Welshery" to be associated with the government of their own country. In that year John Scudamore, Sheriff of Hereford, wanted to know if he was to consider as shire-ground certain Marches of Wales annexed to his shire.¹ Scudamore, however, was suspect. He was a descendant of Owen Glyndwr, and was "dwelling nigh the Welshery and kynned and alyed in the same". So far from trusting the Sheriff, Lee asked Cromwell that Scudamore should be put out of the commission.² "There are", the Lord President gravely informed the Secretary of State, "very few Welsh in Wales above Brecknock who have £10 in land,

¹ *State Papers*, Henry VIII, vol. xii, 1338.

² *Ibid.*, xi, 1255.

and their discretion is less than their land." By this time still further changes were in the air. The Act of 1535 had decreed that the rest of what is now called Wales should be turned into shire-ground. The good Bishop is full of gloomy predictions as to "the bearing of thieves" if the Statute goes forward. Cardigan and Merioneth, he points out, are as disorderly as the worst parts of Wales, although they are shire-ground.¹ Even in the ancient counties themselves the Government's decision to appoint justices of the peace was viewed with dismay. Among the State Papers there is to be found a document entitled: "Articles proving that it shall be hurtful to the commonwealth of the three shires in North Wales, viz., Anglesey, Carnarvon, and Merioneth, to have justices of the peace therein." The justices will be dangerous, partiality will increase, the inhabitants are poor and quarrelsome, and most of the gentlemen are "bearers of thieves and misruled persons".² Sir Richard Bulkeley, of Anglesey, was of the same opinion, and begged Cromwell to stop the Lord Chancellor from appointing any Justices of the Peace within the three shires of North Wales.

The second Act of 1535 (27 Henry VIII, c. 7) abolished all the old cruel and barbarous forest customs, which enabled the Lords Marchers to punish persons who were travelling through a forest without a token, and without being "yearly tributors", with a "grievous fine or reward", and if twenty-four feet out of the highway, with forfeiture of their money or the loss of one of their hands.³

The preamble to the "Act for making of Justices of Peace in Wales" (27 Henry VIII, c. 5) stated that it was passed "to the intent that one Order of ministering of his Laws should be had observed and used in the same as in

¹ *State Papers*, x, 453.

² *Ibid.*, xi, 525.

³ Bowen's *Statutes of Wales*, pp. 69-72.

other places of this Realm of England is had and used". Henceforth that was the aim of English statesmanship. Henry VIII and his ministers had a wholesome belief in the merits of English institutions. They had come to the conclusion that what was good for England was also good for Wales. They refused to credit "the Welshery" with a double dose of original sin. Shortsighted administrators and timorous officials warned them in vain of the folly of applying institutions, which might work well in orderly and civilised England, to a disturbed and lawless country like Wales. They refused to believe that Welsh gentlemen, when entrusted with the powers of Justices of the Peace, would prove more corrupt, more partial, or more negligent than their fellows in England. They showed a robust faith even in Welsh juries, in spite of Rowland Lee's sardonic comment that to set a Welshman to judge a Welshman was to set a thief to try a thief. At a time when the Lord President was only at the beginning of his task of repression, when courier after courier brought news of the disorderly and anarchical condition of the Principality, and when every official was calling for a more rigorous administration of the existing law, the English Parliament passed one of the most liberal and the most courageous Act which has ever been laid to the credit of the British legislature. 27 Hen. VIII, c. 26, which finally incorporated Wales with England, is described as "An Act for Laws and justice to be ministered in Wales in like form as it is in this Realm". The preamble ran as follows:—

"Albeit the Dominion Principality and Country of Wales justly and righteously is, and ever hath been incorporated annexed united and subject to and under the Imperial Crown of this Realm as a very Member and Joint of the same, whereof the King's most Royal Majesty of Meer Droit, and very Right, is very Head King Lord and Ruler; yet notwithstanding

because that in the same Country, Principality, and Dominion divers Rights Usages Laws and Customs be far discrepant from the Laws and Customs of this Realm, and also because that the People of the same Dominion have and do daily use a speech nothing like, nor consonate to the natural Mother Tongue used within this Realm, some rude and ignorant People have made distinction and Diversity between the King's Subjects of this Realm, and his Subjects of the said Dominion and Principality of Wales, whereby great Discord Variance Division Murmur and Sedition hath grown between his said Subjects. His Highness therefore of a singular Zeal Love and Favour that he beareth towards his Subjects of his said Dominion of Wales, minding and intending to reduce them to the perfect Order Notice and Knowledge of his Laws of this his Realm, and utterly to extirp all and singular the sinister Usages and Customs differing from the same, and to bring the said Subjects of this his Realm and of his said Dominion of Wales to an amicable Concord and Unity, hath ordained, enacted, and established"

that Wales should be henceforth "incorporated united and annexed" to England, and that all natives of Wales should enjoy and inherit "all and singular Freedoms Liberties Rights Privileges and Laws" of his subjects.

All laws, including the law of inheritance, "without division or partition", were to be henceforth after the form of England.¹ Forty-four of the Lordships Marcher were united to English shires; certain others were united to the existing Welsh shires; still others were to be "severed and divided into certain particular counties or

¹ This provision of p. 2 seems to be inconsistent with that of s. 35, which enacted that lands "to be departed and departable among issues and heirs male shall still so continue". "The intention evidently was", says Mr. Ivor Bowen in the Introduction to the *Statutes of Wales*, at p. 59, "that persons who retired upon any right under the ancient Welsh system of tenure were called upon to prove that it existed before the time of legal memory. The apparent variance was, however, remedied by the complete abolition of Welsh customs and rules of descent in 1542." But even after 1542 the Welsh custom of inheritance died hard. (See, *e.g.*, 7 and 8 Will. III, c. 38.)

shires", which were then for the first time created, viz. : Monmouth, Brecknock, Radnor, Montgomery, and Denbigh. The boundaries of certain of the Welsh and Border counties were altered, and the Lord Chancellor was empowered to appoint Justices of the Peace for the four newly-created Welsh counties. The Justices and all officials were to use only English in discharging their duties, upon pain of forfeiting their offices.

"No Person or Persons that use the Welsh Speech or Language shall have or enjoy any Manner Office or Fees within this Realm of England Wales or other the King's Dominion, upon pain of forfeiting the same Offices or Fees, unless he or they use and exercise the English Speech or Language."¹

The Lord Chancellor was authorised to appoint Commissioners to divide the shires of Carmarthen, Pembroke, Cardigan, Monmouth, Brecknock, Radnor, Montgomery,

¹ Though s. 20 has never been abolished, and it would therefore appear to be illegal to conduct proceedings in a law court in Welsh, it has, perhaps, never been rigorously enforced, and of late years it has become practically obsolete. Of one Edward Davies, Gerard wrote to Walsingham, in 1575: "He hath been the Queen's Attorney in the marches and is well learned and can speke the Welche Tonge, but no Welche man. Note that it were verie conveniente that one of the Justices of assizes did understande the Welche tonge, for now the justice of assise must vse some interpreter. And therefore many tymes the evidence is tolde according to the mynde of the Interpreter whereby the evidence is expounded contrarie to that w^{ch} is saide by the examynate, and so the Judge gyveth a wronge charge." The practical "convenience" of a Judge being acquainted with Welsh has long been recognised in the appointment of County Court Judges in Wales. The present writer has, on more than one occasion, examined and cross-examined witnesses in Welsh without the intervention of an interpreter, and Mr. Justice Phillimore once invited counsel to address a jury at Lampeter in Welsh—an invitation which was, however, declined. The one real grievance which Welsh litigants labour under at present is that they have to pay the interpreter's fee for translating their evidence into English. Such a charge should surely be borne by the State.

Glamorgan, and Denbigh into hundreds, and another Commission to inquire "all and singular Laws, Usages and Customs used within the same Dominion and Country of Wales", and such as may be thought by the King and Council "requisite and necessary" should remain.¹ For the first time Parliamentary representation was given to Wales²—one knight to sit for each of the shires, except Monmouth, which had two representatives, and one burgess for each shire town, except the shire town of Merioneth, which was exempted from the privilege. "Such fees as other Knights and Burgesses of the Parliament have been allowed" were to be paid to the new members; so that the representatives of Wales are the only members of Parliament for whose payment express statutory provision has been made.³ The rights and privileges of the Lords Marchers were swept away, except that they were to continue to hold Courts Baron, Courts Leet, and Law-days, and to retain certain privileges, such as treasure-trove.

With the usual confidence of Tudor Parliaments in the sovereign, power was granted to the King for three years after the dissolution of Parliament to suspend or repeal the Act. It is a tribute to the success of the Act that the King never used the authority entrusted to him by Parliament. As has already been seen, neither good Bishop Lee, nor the other officials, were greatly enamoured of the liberal policy embodied in the Act, and they advised the King to postpone the appointment of Justices of the Peace. But, as far as is known, not even the Lord

¹ No records of these Commissions are extant, though s. 3 of the Act of 1542 would seem to imply that, at least, the first set of Commissioners did their work.

² Except in two of Edward II's Parliaments, in 1322 and 1327.

³ By 35 Henry VIII, c. 11, provision was made for the payment of 4*s.* to every knight of the shire, and 2*s.* a day "unto every Citizen Burgess" from Wales by the Sheriffs and Mayors.

President went to the length of advising the King to repeal the Act. In the following year (1536) a short Act was passed giving power to the King during the next three years to determine the limits of the Welsh shires, and to name the shire towns (28 Henry VIII, c. 3). For some reason or other—partly no doubt owing to the lack of sympathy with the policy felt and expressed by Bishop Lee and the other officials—it was found impossible to get the work done within the prescribed time. In 1539 it was found necessary to extend the time for another three years (31 Henry VIII, c. 11), and it was only in 1542 that the last of the three Acts which created modern Wales was passed.

34 and 35 Henry VIII, c. 26, "An Act for certain ordinances in the King's Dominion and Principality of Wales," marked the passing away of the old order and the old school of statesmanship. It did away, finally and completely, with the Lordships Marchers, and with the abuses which were associated with their existence. It gave to Wales the geographical limits which she still retains, and if the institutions which it called into being have now disappeared, they existed, one for a century and a half, and another for well-nigh three centuries, and left an indelible impress on the development of the Welsh people. It made the "resolute Government" of Bishop Lee unnecessary and anomalous, and Wales neither saw nor required his like again. The stout Bishop's friends and coadjutors did not live to see the end of their order. Mr. Justice Englefield, "for lernnige and discreete modest behavoor comparable with any in the Realme",¹ had died in 1537. Bishop Rowland had felt his loss keenly, and begged Cromwell to replace him with "someone of lerning and experience. I

¹ Gerard's *Discourse*.

shall do my part while my rude carcass shall endure. Remember the commonwealth of these parts, which if I have not help will decay again". In 1539 Sir Richard Herbert died—"the best of his name I know" said Lee. "I have as great a loss of him as though I had lost one of my arms, in Governing Powes, Kery, Kedewen, and Cloonesland". Next year he lost Sir William Sulyard and Mr. Justice Porte. Nor did the good Bishop himself long survive his colleagues. The toil, which he said had "brought many honest men to their death", was soon to bring his own "rude carcass" to the dust. About the end of January 1543 he died at the College of St. Chad's, Shrewsbury, of which his brother was Dean, and was buried in St. Chad's Church. He died at the zenith of his fame, when his work was done. He had upheld the arm of law and order in a time of anarchy. He had carried the terror of his name to the wilds of Melenith and Arwystli. He had meted out justice without favour, if without mercy. By the success of his stern administration he had made it possible for the far-sighted statesmen of Henry VIII to apply to Wales the healing policy of trust and confidence. Had he failed, the concessions of 1535 and 1542 might have been made impossible, because they would almost certainly have been misunderstood. He had bridged over the transition period between chaos and ordered liberty. He died at a fortunate juncture for his after-fame. He disliked and distrusted the policy of which the Act of 1542 was the climax, the coping-stone.¹ His distrust of "the Welshery" was

¹ The Bishop was asked in 1540 to set the Commissioners to work on the delimitation of Denbighshire and to give his opinion as to the expediency of the change. He sourly replied that he was not privy of any such commission, and trusted that his opinion would not be required, "for I am not of that perfectness to know what shall chance in time coming".

ineradicable, and he was too old to learn the lesson which not even the genius of Burke or the eloquence of Bright has sufficed to make clear to the world: that force is no remedy, and repression is "ill husbandry". He had done what he could to postpone the day when Wales would be on a political equality with England. Had he survived, it may well be doubted if he would not have retarded rather than expedited the development of Wales into a law-abiding and contented portion of the realm. His rough and ready methods, however admirable in times of anarchy, would have provoked hostility to the law in the brighter days that were about to dawn on Wales. His rude justice would have inevitably brought him into conflict with those who were to be responsible for the government of the new Wales. He had little faith in Justices of the Peace or in jurors, and doubtless he would have used the supervising powers of the Court of the Marches to the utmost in order to restrain what, to him, would appear the partiality of justices or the corruption of juries. His Court at Ludlow was modelled on the example of the Star Chamber. For at least a century after his death it was, if not popular, at least not actively unpopular in Wales. Down to the reign of James I it undoubtedly did valuable work in the Principality. This it was able to do because it was neither meddlesome nor mischievous. It worked harmoniously with the ordinary courts, and it did not interfere unduly or capriciously with the discretion of Justices of the Peace and other officers of the law. But with a suspicious and sceptical Lord President at Ludlow, things would have fared very differently, and Bishop Rowland would probably have involved the Court of the Marches in as much unpopularity as afterwards brought about the downfall of its exemplar and prototype, the Star Chamber.

The Act of 1542 consists of one hundred and thirty sections. It recites that it was passed "at the humble

suit and petition" of the people of Wales, but no record of the petition is extant.¹ By dividing Wales into twelve counties, Monmouthshire, which was and has continued to be Welsh in blood, sympathy, and language, was excluded from the geographical area of the Principality.² The twelve counties of Wales were to consist of the eight ancient counties, and the four new shires created by the Act of 1535. The division of the shires into hundreds by the Commission appointed under the previous Act was confirmed. By section 4, statutory recognition was accorded to the Court of the Council of the Marches:—

"There shall be and remain a President and Council in the said Dominion and Principality of Wales, and the Marches of the same, with all Officers, Clerks, and Incidents to the same in Manner and Form as hath been heretofore used and accustomed; which President and Council shall have Power and Authority to hear and determine, by their Wisdoms and Discretions, such causes and matters as be or hereafter shall be assigned to them by the King's Majesty, as heretofore hath been accustomed and used."

It is true that in previous Statutes, such as 26 Henry VIII, c. 4, and 26 Henry VIII, c. 6, the Court and the Lord President had been mentioned, and to some extent therefore their existence and powers had been regularised. But the Councils of the North and of the West (the former of which had been created by the King after the sup-

¹ It may be that the petition referred to is the one already cited from Lord Herbert's *Life of Henry VIII*. But the wording of the petition would seem to preclude that possibility, and to make it certain that that petition was presented to the King before 1535.

² It is curious with what persistence the people of Wales have clung to Monmouthshire as a Welsh county. George Owen, in his *Dialogue* (*Owen's Pembrokeshire*, Part iii, p. 39), speaks of Wales as having been divided into thirteen counties. Shakespeare makes Fluellen speak of Monmouth as a Welsh town. Stephen Hughes, in the preface to one of his publications printed in the reign of Charles II, refers (as is commonly done in Wales still) to the thirteen counties of Wales. Of recent years, for the purposes of educational administration, Monmouthshire has been recognised as forming part of Wales.

pression of the Pilgrimage of Grace in 1536) had been mentioned, together with the Ludlow Court, in the Subsidy Act of 1540 (32 Henry VIII, c. 50, which was not enrolled in Chancery). But they were simply mentioned as being a source of expense to the King, though the existence of the Ludlow Court is justified on the ground that poor and rich thereby "have undelayed Justice daylye administered unto them". But the direct and regular recognition in the Statute of the Court of the Marches, which had been called into existence by the exercise of the King's prerogative, placed it in a different category from the Council of the North and the Star Chamber. It fell, with the other prerogative Courts, before the reforming energy of the Long Parliament, but, while the others fell to rise no more, the Court of the Marches was revived at the Restoration. It had, however, survived its real usefulness, and at the Revolution of 1688 it finally passed out of existence.

Side by side, however, with the Court of the Marches, there was created a new system of Courts, called "the King's Great Sessions in Wales". The twelve counties of Wales were divided into the four circuits of Chester, Carnarvon, Carmarthen, and Brecknock, and the Sessions were directed to be held twice a year in each of the twelve counties. The Justice of Chester, with a salary of £100 a year, was to hold his Sessions in Flint, Denbigh, and Montgomery; the Justice of Carnarvon, with a salary of £50, in Anglesey, Carnarvon, and Merioneth; the Justice of Carmarthen, with a salary of £50, in Cardigan, Pembroke, and Carmarthen; and the Justice of Brecknock, with a salary of £50, in Brecknock, Radnor, and Glamorgan.¹

¹ In 1575 another Justice was added to each circuit, by 18 Eliz., c. 8. Burke, in his speech on Economical Reform, denounced the extravagance of a system which permitted eight judges to Wales, while twelve were able to cope with the legal work of England.

Each Session was to last six days. The Justices were to hold pleas of the Crown, pleas of Assizes, and all other pleas and actions, real, personal, and mixed, and to minister common justice to all the King's subjects according to the laws of England. An appeal lay from the Great Sessions to the Court of the Marches in pleas personal, and in pleas real or mixed to the English Justices of the King's Bench. Though the Court of the Marches had a concurrent as well as an appellate jurisdiction, there does not seem to have been any great conflict between the two courts. This is contrary to what might have been expected, especially when it is remembered with what jealousy the Courts of Westminster viewed the Court of the Marches. The Common Law Courts of Westminster were actuated by the natural hostility of fixed and ordinary courts to exceptional and prerogative courts. It is true, as has already been pointed out, that the Court of the Marches, differing in this from the Council of the North, did receive statutory recognition in 1542. But the jurisdiction of the Ludlow Court was wider and more comprehensive than that of its sister body, which had no appellate jurisdiction, and which could not punish treason. But while the Westminster Courts were unremitting in their hostility, and never rested till they had shorn it of much of its power, dignity, and jurisdiction, it is significant that there is no evidence of a similar jealousy and apprehension being felt by the Courts of Great Sessions. This is all the more remarkable as we find Lord Ferrers, as early as 1526, when the Ludlow Court was nothing like as powerful as it afterwards became, complaining of the extension of its jurisdiction to Carmarthen and Cardigan.

The reason for this somewhat curious fact is not far to seek. In the first place, the Justices of the Great Sessions were members of the Court of the Marches. The Chief

Justice of Chester was often the Vice-President of the Court, and was looked upon as its principal legal member. Moreover, the litigious work of the Principality could not be disposed of in the twelve days a year, which was the time fixed by the Statute for the hearing of cases in Great Sessions, and therefore there was always legitimate work for the Court of Ludlow to transact. "Generallye it is the very place of refuge for the poore oppressed of this Countrey of Wales to flye unto"—so George Owen, in 1594, makes Demetus say, in his *Dialogue on the Government of Wales*¹—"and for this cause it is as greatly frequented with suytes as any one Court at Westminster whatsoever, the more for that it is the best cheape Court in England for fees, and there is great speed made in tryall of all causes". It had the defect of its qualities. The very cheapness of the processes increased the number of vexatious and trivial suits and of attorneys, and in time this led to the undue extension of the Court's jurisdiction. But, on the whole, at least during the sixteenth century, the Court of the Marches performed a useful and necessary part in the trial of actions. Even as late as 1641 the Court found an ardent apologist, who defended it with force and point.² Of the Courts of Great Sessions, it need only be said that they did their work, to the general satisfaction of litigants and public, till 1830, when they were abolished, and the two circuits of North and South Wales were added to the English Assize system.³

Sheriffs for each of the twelve counties were to be appointed yearly by the Crown out of three names which

¹ *Owen's Pembrokeshire*, Part iii, p. 23 *seq.*

² "Provisions for a court to be established in Wales", *Bridgewater Papers*, Welsh Council, p. 19.

³ An excellent account of the events which led to the abolition of the Courts of Great Sessions will be found in Rhys and Jones's *Welsh People*, pp. 387-391.

were to be submitted by the President of the Council. The sheriffs were to hold their county and hundred courts monthly, and over their actions the President and the Council kept strict observation. Nearly all the Welsh sheriffs were members of the Council, and they were bound to execute all lawful commands of the Lord President and the Council. If we may trust the *Dialogue* of George Owen, which contains the best description we have of the functions of the Council of the Marches and its relations with the other local Courts and officials of Wales, sheriffs had tried, by placing a wrong construction on sections 73 and 74 of the Act of 1542, to erect new Hundred Courts for the purpose of extortion. The Council had fined sheriffs for such practices, and in Brecknockshire, at least, the evil had been nipped in the bud. But, up to the last days of the Council, its relations with the sheriffs were not cordial, and during the presidency of the Earl of Bridgwater (1631) there were instances where the sheriffs flatly refused to carry out the Council's orders.

By section 53 it was enacted that Justices of the Peace and of the Quorum, and one *custos rotulorum*, should be appointed for each county by the Lord Chancellor, on the advice of the President and the Council. By section 55 the number of such justices was limited to eight for each county—no doubt on account of the difficulty which was experienced, or feared, of finding a greater number of men of substance, position, and education to fill such posts. The limitation on the number of Justices was not removed till 1693 (5 William and Mary, c. 4). The Justices of the Peace were to hold their Sessions four times a year. The Lord President was, in practice, the Lord Lieutenant for the twelve counties of Wales, and most of the high officials of the Council were on the commission of the peace for each of the Welsh counties.

A very salutary jurisdiction was exercised by the Council over the various borough courts of Wales. George Owen, in his *Dialogue*, complains that there were too many corporate towns in Wales having private courts of record for personal actions to any amount. "There are in Wales yet (1594)", he said, "a multitude of very meane villages scarce having six houses or cottages, and yet are allowed for Corporations and Boroughs." As the Council had an appellate jurisdiction in personal actions, it was able to mitigate the evils resulting from the multiplicity of obscure Borough Courts, and in time these Courts seem to have entirely disappeared.

By section 68 it was enacted that two Coroners should be elected in each shire as in England, and by section 70 the Justices of the Peace were empowered to appoint two Chief Constables for the hundred wherein they dwelt.

Though justice was to be generally administered according to the English law, it was thought expedient to enact in particular that the old Welsh law should be superseded in two points. By section 84 it was forbidden to put a murderer or a felon to his fine, and by section 100 private arrangements between parties in cases of murder and felony were made punishable by fine and imprisonment at the discretion of the President and the Council. By sections 91 and 128 gavelkind was abolished, and the English law of descent was specifically introduced into Wales.¹

Such, in its main outlines, was the policy, daringly conceived and consistently carried out, which in the result reduced Wales to a state of order and obedience to the law. It was an experiment, as novel as it was remarkable. English statesmen could point to no precedent for

¹ The full text of the Statute will be found in Bowen's *Statutes of Wales*, pp. 101-133.

such a policy, either in ancient or modern times. The case of Ireland was not parallel, for the "Welshery" were entrusted with responsibilities and endowed with privileges which were, for many generations, denied to the "Wild Irish".¹ It was not only a policy without precedent, it was contrary to all the traditions of English statesmanship and to the spirit of the age. It was launched at a time seemingly most inopportune. The whole fabric of society was still in the throes of the convulsion caused by the Reformation; the old faith, the old learning, the old science, were passing away, "like an unsubstantial pageant faded". "The paths trodden by the footsteps of ages were broken up; old things were passing away; and the faith and the life of ten centuries were dissolving like a dream."² The breach with Rome had become complete, and by dissolving the monasteries, Henry had, with regal insolence, brought home the real meaning of the revolution to every part of his realm. Nowhere was the change more unwelcome than in Wales, in those days the home of lost causes and impossible dreams. Whatever may have been its proximate cause, the change in religion and the divorce of the old Queen had much to do with the rebellion of Rhys ap Griffith at Carmarthen, in 1529. Young Rhys had paid the penalty with his head, but his fate was mourned for years after by his friends and countrymen. Soothsayers, in the troubled years that followed, used the murder of "the noble young Ris" as an incentive to urge other conspirators to their doom. The whole of Wales was seething with unrest and disaffection against the innovations. The shrine of Dewi Sant was despoiled by a heretic Bishop; the image of Derfel Gadarn was mocked as an idol; the holiest sanctuaries of the old faith

¹ See, e.g., Lecky's *Ireland*, pp. 1-4.

² Froude's *History of England*, c. i.

were handed over to the rude hands of secular persons who recked of nothing but their own worldly advancement. It requires no evidence to convince those who know the passionately religious and conservative spirit of the Welsh people that these changes were bitterly resented by them. The commons of the North of England rose against the ruthless King; for the first and only time the throne of Henry was put in jeopardy. At the time when the Pilgrimage of Grace was most formidable, Chapuys assured his Imperial master that Wales was ripe for revolt. Bishop Rowland Lee was convinced on other grounds that Wales was not ready for the grant of a constitution. He begged the King "not to allow the Statute to go forward". Yet it was at this dark and untoward hour that a constitution was given to Wales. Even the Parliament which granted it was sceptical of the result. It gave the King the power to repeal or suspend it. That power was never exercised. The grant of a free constitution was an instantaneous success. The same "wonderful issue"¹ attended it in Wales as has since attended it in Canada, in South Africa, in every part of the British dominions where it has been tried. "From that moment"—to adopt the eloquent words of Burke—"as by a charm, the tumults subsided, obedience was restored, peace, order, and civilisation followed in the train of liberty. When the day-star of the English constitution had arisen in their hearts, all was harmony within and without."

Almost alone of later commentators, Burke has ascribed the credit of this miraculous achievement to the right source. Gerard, in 1575, with the shortsightedness of an alien official, while recognising the effect, mistook the cause. He set down all the credit to the stern and

¹ Mr. Balfour's speech on the South African Confederation, 15 August 1909.

resolute policy of the "stout Bishop", who had so terrified the people that "within three or four years the fear of punishment wroughte firste in theym the obedience theye nowe have grown into". Subsequent writers have followed Gerard, and Bishop Rowland has come to be regarded as the pacifier and civiliser of Wales. But a calm and dispassionate review of the circumstances will set the Bishop's achievement in its right perspective. He was in office for less than nine years, and however vigorous his administration and ruthless his methods, it would require more than nine years of resolute government to change the habits and to transform the character of a whole people. Nor should it be forgotten that the Bishop's energies were limited to the border counties. His letters bear witness to his incessant activities in Cheshire and Shropshire, Montgomeryshire and Radnorshire, and occasionally Monmouthshire and Brecknockshire. With the rest of Wales he had little or nothing to do. We have no record that he ever visited Carnarthenshire, Pembrokeshire, and Cardiganshire in the south, or Merionethshire, Carnarvonshire, and Anglesea in the north. He himself states that Merioneth and Cardigan, though shire ground, were as disturbed and lawless as the borderland, and we know, from Sir John Wynn's lively narrative, that Carnarvonshire was as turbulent as any portion of Wales. Whatever effect the Bishop's administration may have had in the eastern counties, his influence can hardly have extended to the rest of the Principality, which he never even saw. But not only those parts under the Bishop's rule, but the whole of Wales, settled down to cultivate the arts of peace after the time of Henry VIII. We hear, it is true, of the "Gwylliaid Cochion Mawddwy" (the Red Bandits of Mawddwy) in the reign of Edward VI; one of the King's judges even was slain in one of the wild gorges of Merioneth while

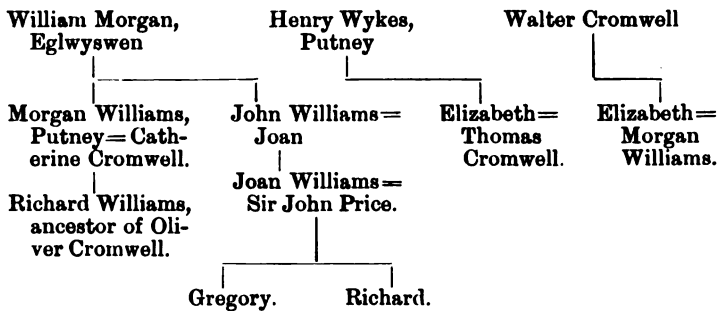
he was going circuit. In Gerard's time there were still three or four disturbed and lawless "petty corners", and George Owen specifically mentions the north-east part of Cardiganshire, and the wild districts of Arwystli, as being dangerous to the traveller. But on the whole, and speaking generally, Wales became peaceful and law-abiding in the second half of the sixteenth century. The fact that every part of the Principality showed the same tendency at the same time is proof that the influences at work were general and not particular, permanent and not transient. Wales was transfigured; the habits, customs, and even the character—"the Welshery"—of Welshmen were changed, not because of "the fear of punishment", but because the grant of free institutions had removed the causes which had led to the growth of the evils. Dr. David Powel, in his *History of Cambria*, passed a sounder judgment on the causes which led to the pacification of Wales. "There was never anie thing so beneficiall to the Common people of Wales", he declared, "as the uniting of the countrie to the crowne and kingdom of England," which had resulted in having "an uniformitie of government established." George Owen, also, at the end of Elizabeth's reign, asserted that Wales had been brought to "great civilisation", not by the coercion of a strong ruler, but by the beneficent effect of good and wholesome laws.

It is less important, though, perhaps, even more interesting, to inquire to whom the credit is due for initiating and carrying through the experiment of killing "Welshery" by trusting Welshmen. The Statute of 1542 refers to "petitions" from the people of Wales. One of these has already been given at length. Its author, as has already been said, was probably Sir John Price of Brecon. Sir John's close connection by marriage with Thomas Crom-

well' lends colour to the suggestion. If, as the Act relates, the impulse came from Wales, it must have come from some one who had the ear of Henry's ministers, and of all contemporary Welshmen Sir John Price stands out as the man who, by his influence in high quarters and by his confidence in the political capacity and natural generosity of the Welsh people, can with some certainty be named as the inspirer of the liberal policy of Henry VIII towards Wales.

To Thomas Cromwell, also, some of the credit must be ascribed. His character and career are even more mysterious than those of his master, but of his greatness there can be no question. He was Secretary of State in 1534, when Rowland Lee was sent to Ludlow. He was almost at the zenith of his power when the Act of Union was passed. He acquiesced in—perhaps even suggested—the appointment of Welshmen to be Justices of the Peace. Before he fell, in the summer of 1540, the Commission which was to prescribe the limits of the counties, to divide them into hundreds, and to appoint the county towns in Wales—to complete, in fine, the making of Modern Wales

¹ The following table, taken from J. H. Davies's edition of *In y Llyr hwnn*, shews the connection of Sir John Price with the Cromwells:—



In an earlier note, through inadvertence, Sir John Price's book was said to be entitled *Oll Synwyr pen pob Kymero*, instead of *In y Llyr hwnn*, and the mistake was only discovered when the sheet had been printed.

—had commenced its work. He may not have been the inspirer of the policy, but he was, at least, a willing and active instrument in carrying it out. Its very novelty and audacity would have appealed to that adventurous spirit, whose motto was "To make or mar".

But no estimate of the forces at work in the regeneration of Wales would be complete which failed to take into account the character and personality of the King. To one school of historians Henry VIII is the very type of a savage and bloodthirsty tyrant, the creature of caprice, the slave of passion, incapable of generous and far-sighted statesmanship. In their view, Henry was so bent on pursuing his personal quarrel with Rome, and on enriching himself at the expense of the Church, so taken up with the excitements of his changing amours, that he was either blind or indifferent to what was passing in the domain of higher statesmanship, and remained a mere passive and careless spectator of events which he had neither the will nor the capacity to direct and control. To the other school of historians, Henry is the dominant personality of his age, "every inch a king", "the majestic lord who broke the bonds of Rome" not from passion or caprice but from deep and far-sighted design. "The great factor in the whole complication", said Stubbs,¹ "is the strong, intelligent, self-willed force of the king; that alone seems to give purpose and consistency to the eventful policy of the period; Henry VIII is neither the puppet of parties, nor the victim of circumstances, nor the shifty politician, nor the capricious tyrant, but a man of light and leading, of power, force, and foresight, a man of opportunities, stratagems, and surprises, but not the less of iron will and determined purpose; purpose not at once realised or

¹ Stubbs, *Mediaeval and Modern History*, pp. 283, 306, etc.

systematised, but widening, deepening, and strengthening as the way opens before it." He regards Henry "as the main originator of the greatest and most critical changes of his reign", and asserts that "no minister, great or small, after the fall of Wolsey, can claim anything like an original share in determining the royal policy". Such a theory, it is true, necessitates the belief of great development of design and new purpose in the King as his reign proceeded, but the historian does not shrink from adopting that solution. "From the very beginning of his reign he is finding out what he can do." He ruled through his ministers and council, but "on the whole Henry was his own chief counsellor".

This estimate of the King's character accords with the course of the development of the Welsh policy of his reign. At first Wales was ignored. In 1525, when the death of Sir Rhys ap Thomas forced the affairs of the Principality upon his notice, the King was content merely to revive his father's policy by sending the Princess Mary to hold her court at Ludlow. As he became aware of the anarchy that prevailed, he resorted to stronger measures. He sent Rowland Lee to reduce the land to order. But with increasing knowledge came a greater grasp of the situation and a clearer perception of the dimensions of the problem. It may be that he was stirred to unusual effort by affection for the country from which the Tudors had sprung, and by a belated remembrance of his father's dying charge. He authorised, even if he did not suggest, the grant of a constitution to the distracted land. Had he been a mere passive and listless spectator of events, content to register the decrees of his ministers, the Welsh policy which was commenced in 1534 would have ended with the fall of Cromwell in 1540. By abandoning that policy, Henry would have followed the line of least resistance. The

Lord President was reluctant, if not hostile. The other officials in Wales viewed it with alarm and dismay. There was no member of his Council who cared enough about Wales, or who was endowed with sufficient insight and foresight, to urge upon the King the continuance of his progressive policy. It would have been easy for Henry, had he so wished, to exercise the powers conferred upon him by Parliament to suspend or repeal the Statute of 1535. The fact that the policy was neither subverted nor retarded after Cromwell's fall—that, indeed, it was continued, developed, and completed two years after his death—affords the strongest evidence that the King took an active, personal, and intelligent interest in its promotion. It has been said that Henry VIII was the greatest king that ever ruled over England, because he always had his own way. In his ecclesiastical policy, in his dealings with Scotland and Ireland, in his relations with the great powers of the Continent, he was invariably fortunate. No Pavia or Innsbrück checked his victorious career. But in no department of government was he more successful than in his dealings with the land of the Tudors; in no other direction did he display greater qualities of statesmanship. With unerring skill he diagnosed the evils from which the country was suffering. With supreme and serene courage he applied the remedy. His policy was one of inspired common sense, which no statesman, bereft of sympathy and imagination, could have conceived. The stage upon which he was called to display these great qualities was small, and on that account the real magnitude of his achievement has been overlooked. English historians have treated it in a superficial and perfunctory manner, when they have deigned to refer to it at all. The measure of the man is brought to an impartial test in his Welsh policy. Here at least he was

stirred by no selfish or ignoble motives, and there can be no question about his success. Wales became, and has ever since remained, a loyal, crimeless, and easily-governed portion of the British dominions. In spite of the changes which the influx of strangers has wrought in the social condition of the industrial districts of South Wales, the proud boast of the Welsh poet is still substantially true :

“Pa wlad wedi'r siarad sydd
Mor lân a Chymru lonydd ?”¹

The success of his policy in Wales has had its effect on British policy generally. In after-times it came to be regarded as a precedent and an inspiration, and on the principles upon which Henry VIII proceeded in his pacification of Wales has been based the mighty fabric of the British Empire.

¹ “What land, when all is said, so pure as peaceful Wales.”

THE LITERARY RELATIONSHIPS OF
DAFYDD AP GWILYM.¹

BY

PROFESSOR W. LEWIS JONES, M.A.

DAFYDD ap Gwilym occupies not only a unique place in the history of Welsh poetry, but is one of the most original singers who appeared in Europe before the Revival of Learning. He stands well-nigh without a kinsman among the poets of the Middle Ages—a lyric singer, whose “native wood-notes wild” are the utterance of a singularly individual and strong poetic impulse, and whose “first, fine, careless rapture” has never been quite recaptured by any Welsh poet who followed him. Despite the limitations imposed upon him by the rigorous structure of the *cywydd*, Dafydd’s poetical gift was pre-eminently lyrical, and his supremacy among the Welsh bards of his own and subsequent times lies in the consummate skill with which he has subdued so difficult a metrical form as the *cywydd* to every mood of the lyric muse. Among the mediæval poets of Europe the famous German Minnesinger, Walther von der Vogelweide, is perhaps his nearest congener as a lyric singer, and in those of their poems which show the clear influence of the songs of the Troubadours there are many close resemblances between the Welsh poet and the German. But deriving much though Dafydd ap Gwilym did, as we

¹ Read before the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion at 20, Hanover Square, 28 May 1908; Chairman, Sir Francis Edwards, Bart., M.P.

shall see, from the conventional love-poetry of the Troubadours, he was too ingenuous and wayward a child of Nature to order his expression of the most elemental of human passions according to any literary precedent or to the requirements of any artificial poetical "code". Moreover, it is less in his love-songs than in his nature-poems that Dafydd's prime poetic gift most distinctively appears. Indeed, his lyrics of Nature—among which his poems on birds stand out as signal examples—are so unlike anything else in the whole range of mediæval literature as to constitute, in their kind, the most original contribution of the native genius of Wales to the world's poetry.

But, however original a poet's natural gift and manner of utterance may seem to be, he is, after all, the child of his age, and must of necessity owe much to the literary culture which was his birth-right. Dafydd's own countrymen, in particular, have been too much in the habit of regarding him as an untutored genius, and of scouting the suggestion that his poetry may have owed anything to external influences. The truth, however, is that Dafydd ap Gwilym was, for his time, a considerable scholar, and that, in his poetry, he drew largely both upon such books as were accessible to him and upon all the poetical lore and precept that came his way. My object in this paper is to trace some of the more obvious of his relationships with his predecessors in the art of poetry, and, more particularly, with the Provençal Troubadours. Several critics have already written a good deal about Dafydd's relation to the Welsh bards who preceded him, and of his indebtedness to those classical writers, chiefly Latin, who were popular in the Middle Ages. A very full and suggestive account of Dafydd's indebtedness to Latin literature appears in the 1905-06 volume of this Society's *Transactions*, from the pen of

Dr. Hartwell Jones; and his article derives additional interest from the parallels he draws between Dafydd and the mediæval Italian poets. I need, therefore, say but little upon this branch of my subject.

Historically, Dafydd ap Gwilym ushers in what is usually styled the third, and the most brilliant, period in the history of early Welsh poetry. Flourishing in the fourteenth century, he is the first great figure, and the most inspired singer, among the Welsh bards of the Renaissance. To begin with, his poems, or the collection of *cywyddau* that go under his name—for it is now well known that all the poems attributed to him in the printed editions cannot be authentic works of his¹—stand in striking contrast, both in subject-matter and in form, to the poetry of his bardic predecessors in Wales. He is, beyond any question, our first great master of the *cywydd*. The editors of the 1789 edition of his poems even call him the inventor of the *cywydd*. It may be as difficult to prove this as it apparently is to account for the development of the *cywydd* form from the earlier measures used in Welsh poetry. The most obvious, as it may very well be the correct, explanation of the origin of the *cywydd* is that the last two lines of an *englyn* suggested to Dafydd, or some one else, the possibilities of a poem composed entirely of a succession of such rhyming couplets. It is scarcely credible that foreign influence had much, if anything, to do with it, for the main principles of the measure—*cynghanedd* and the variation of accent in each line of the couplet—appear to have been developed in Wales on entirely independent lines. It should not, however, be forgotten that the most popular poems in mediæval French were composed

¹ The determination of the authenticity of the various poems printed in the 1789 edition is one of the tasks that imperatively demand the attention of our Welsh scholars to-day.

in short rhyming couplets, and that, therefore, the idea of combining short couplets in Welsh in the form of an extended poem may have been derived, to some extent, from the French.¹ What is of greater importance is that the odes of Dafydd ap Gwilym are our earliest finished examples of the *cywydd* form, and that it was he who gave the *cywydd* its vogue and sanction as the most popular bardic measure containing *cynghanedd* from his day down to our own. His own contemporaries and their successors, from Gruffydd Gryg and Iolo Goch down to Tudur Aled and William Llŷn, turned out *cywyddau* by the hundred, and "the golden age of Welsh poetry", as it has been called, is emphatically the age of the *cywydd*. But Dafydd ap Gwilym surpasses all his brother bards in his easy mastery of his metrical instrument. He sings of Love and of Nature with such compelling force and fervour as to make the closely-knit lines of the *cywydd* musical with the strains of an apparently unpremeditated art.

But, far more than in form, Dafydd's poetry stands out in contrast to that of his Welsh predecessors in its subject-matter. The second well-marked period in the history of Welsh poetry extends, roughly, from the beginning of the twelfth century down to the death of Llywelyn ap Gruffydd in 1282, and may be called the age of the Princes. The twelfth century was in Wales, as elsewhere, the beginning

¹ Mr. W. J. Gruffydd, the Welsh Lecturer at Cardiff University College, has some suggestive remarks on this point in a paper on "The Connection between Welsh and Continental Literature in the 14th and 15th Centuries" (p. 34), published in *The Transactions of the Guild of Graduates*, 1907-8. I had the pleasure of hearing his paper read at Bangor a few weeks before I was to read the present paper in London. As his paper, so far as it deals with D. ap Gwilym, traverses so much of the same ground as my own, I ought to say that the present paper had been written many months before, and for another purpose than a Cymmrodorion address.

of a period of remarkable literary activity, and, with the growth of the power of the Welsh princes, bards found both stimulating themes to sing of and conditions eminently favourable to the cultivation of their art. Moreover, some of the princes—Hywel ab Owain Gwynedd and Owain Cyfeiliog, for example—were among the most famous bards of this period, and remind us of those Courts of Southern France where the Troubadour's art became the study and the pastime even of kings. And, like Provence, Wales became, during the period of the Princes, a veritable "nest of singing birds". A mere list of the bards who are recorded to have sung from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries fills nearly four pages of Stephens's *Literature of the Kymry*. But, even apart from the difficulties of its language, the poetry of this period, as a whole, presents singularly few features of interest for us now. The bulk of it consists of eulogies and elegies of nobles and high-born dames of the day. Occasionally a fresh note is struck in some spirited lyric of Love, such as Hywel ab Owain's celebrated "Can y Dewis", or a brief lay of Nature, such as Gwalchmai's "Delight". But most of the bards found that their duty and profit alike lay in chanting the praises of their princes and their patrons. It is curious to note how, in an age of Romance, purely romantic subjects appear to have had no charm whatever for the Welsh bards. It is not to her poets that Wales owes her one supreme contribution to the greatest of the mediæval romantic cycles, but to her prose writers. We have, indeed, occasional allusions to the chief characters of Arthurian fable in bardic compositions, but to most of the bards, as to Dafydd ap Gwilym himself, Arthur and Guinevere, Peredur and Gwalchmai, Melwas and Medrawt are but names dimly syllabled on "the shores of old romance".

Although Dafydd, like the rest, is comparatively indifferent to romantic fable, the themes of his poetry introduce us to a world all but unknown to his predecessors. In him we find a poet alive, as no other Welsh bard who preceded him was, to the romance of Love and of Nature, and one whose relations with Morfudd constitute themselves a romantic episode not unworthy of a place side by side with the attachments celebrated in verse by the greatest of the Provençal Troubadours. And it is by reason of this, more than all, that Dafydd is entitled to be called an innovator, and the harbinger of a new epoch in the poetry of his country. Many of the new elements he brought into Welsh poetry were, as I have said, due to his native genius alone. His "eye to see" and his "daring to follow" Nature were God's gifts. No foreign poet could have taught him this, or those felicities of imagery and phrase which are the finest gems of Welsh poetic diction. But other, though intrinsically less important, features in his poetry are directly traceable both to his Latin culture and to his familiarity with the stock themes of the early lyric poetry of France, especially that of the Troubadours. Thus it is that in Dafydd's odes we detect the first considerable foreign influence upon the poetry of Wales. They bring Wales, for the first time, so far as poetry is concerned, into touch with the main currents of European literature.

The modern lyric poetry of Europe is the creation of the "early Renaissance" of the twelfth century, and the cradle of that lyric poetry was Provence. As Hallam long ago pointed out, "the songs of Provence became the source from which poetry for many centuries derived a great portion of its habitual language". But there were other forces at work besides the influence of the Troubadours of Provence which made for the growth of lyric, or lighter,

forms of poetry—and one or two of these have to be briefly noted in any account of Dafydd's literary relationships. The first is the Latin literature, ancient and mediæval, which the bard found to his hand. There can be no sort of doubt that Dafydd ap Gwilym knew Latin. Apart from the evidence furnished by his poems, it is obvious that a man brought up, as he was, in a courtly environment, would not lack knowledge of the language which was the chief instrument of culture in his time. And there were certain Latin books which no educated man of the time could be ignorant of. Chief among them were the works of Ovid. Virgil and Horace, also, were largely read, but, for the love-poets and the aspiring lyrists of the central Middle Age, Ovid was the supreme source of inspiration and suggestion. As I have already said, Dr. Hartwell Jones has so fully illustrated Dafydd's obligations to Latin writers as to make it unnecessary for me here to expatiate upon that side of his literary relationships. I need only say that Dafydd frequently refers to "Llyfr Ofydd"—Ovid's book—and that by it he means, more than all, Ovid's "Art of Love".¹ But why the first editors of Dafydd's works should have called him "the Ovid of Wales", it is difficult to discover. No two poets could well be more different in their exposition of the art of love. The Welsh bard is no morbid analyst of various phases of the passion, but is one whose gallantries seem to take their place naturally in the free life of a man who, largely in protest against the cloistral hypocrisies of his time, elected to fleet his days carelessly as a child of

¹ Mr. W. J. Gruffydd, in the paper already mentioned, maintains that by *Llyfr Ofydd*, Dafydd "understood a particular book, and that book was Chrestien de Troyes's French translation called the *Commandements d' Ovide*". He gives a suggestive parallel quotation to prove his point.

Nature and the open air. Moreover, no love adventure ever seems to have so engrossed Dafydd's interest as to be incapable of suddenly undergoing a change

“into something rich and strange,”

which found exquisite expression in song. At the same time, there is no mistaking the actual, downright directness of Dafydd's courting of his various mistresses; his odes breathe, all too palpably, the ardour of keen and resolute pursuit. They who would idealise Morfudd, and make of her a phantom representative of her sex, or a Beatrice of the Welsh highways, or a symbolical figure typifying the bard's country groaning under a foreign yoke, have, in my opinion, quite missed the secret of Dafydd's love-poetry. His love-songs, to any unsophisticated reader, bear every mark of being the records of very real, and often enough very lively, episodes in the career of an exceedingly impressionable and reckless gallant. Never were more overt and sincere poetical offerings tendered at the shrine of Venus. These candid, fervid, and forthright utterances of passion are very different indeed from the highly artificial and exotic love-poems of Ovid.

It is obvious, however, that Dafydd ap Gwilym was acquainted with Latin literature written at a very much later time than Ovid's, and it is difficult to believe that he was ignorant of those Latin poems which were the direct product of that early Renaissance of which he was himself the child. No history of mediæval lyric poetry can leave out of account the Latin songs of the Wandering Students of the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries—songs which, from the very circumstances and habits of these students, found their way into every civilised European land. These songs, says the most distinguished

English student and translator of them—the late Mr. J. Addington Symonds—on the one hand, express that delight in life and physical enjoyment which was a main characteristic of the Renaissance; on the other, they proclaim the corruption of Papal Rome, which was the motive-force of the Reformation.¹ This statement might stand as a definition of the two main themes of Dafydd ap Gwilym's poetry.

The two chief collections of these Latin songs of the Wandering Students are a volume published at Stuttgart in 1847, under the title of *Carmina Burana*, and—what is better known in England—a volume, edited by Thomas Wright in 1841, of the *Latin Poems commonly attributed to Walter Mapes* (or Walter Map). Of the two, the *Carmina Burana*, as Symonds points out, “are richer in poems which form a prelude to the Renaissance”. I can only touch very briefly here upon points in these Latin songs which bear resemblance to characteristic features of Dafydd ap Gwilym's poetry. First of all, Nature is sung of in terms of surprising freshness in these Latin lyrics. “As a background to their love-songs”, writes Symonds, “we always find the woods and fields of May, abundant flowers and gushing rivulets, lime trees and pines and olive trees, through which soft winds are blowing” (p. 35). Again, “the quality of love expressed is far from being either platonic or chivalrous. It is love of the sensuous, impulsive, appetitive kind, to which we give the name of Pagan Meanwhile, nothing indicates the character or moral quality of either man or woman. The student and the girl are always *vis-à-vis*, fixed characters in this lyrical love-drama. He calls her Phyllis, Flora, Lydia, Glycerion, Cæcilia.” Here, at any rate, is some plausible

¹ *Wine, Women and Song*, by J. A. Symonds, p. 7. (New edition in “King's Classics”, Chatto and Windus, 1907.)

evidence that Morfudd and Dyddgu may have been, for Dafydd, but fancy names. Once more, Symonds notes "the particularity with which the personal charms of women are described"—"one girl has long tawny tresses, another, masses of dark hair". Witness Dafydd describing Morfudd :

"Y fun dawel wallt-felen,
Eurwyd y baich ar dy ben,"

["The gentle maiden with yellow hair—of gold is the burden on thy head."]

and

"Dyddgu a'r gwallt gloywddu, glân."

["Dyddgu, with her clean, shining black tresses."]

Had I time, I might quote several poems from Symonds' translations which bear a remarkable similarity to Dafydd ap Gwilym's odes; but I have too much ground to cover to allow me to do so.¹

The Latin songs I have just referred to differ from the songs of the Provençal Troubadours in being far less artificial, and more true to the facts of what we might call commonplace or vulgar amours. There is yet another class of mediæval lyrics which, derived largely from the poetry of the Troubadours and inheriting something from the frank songs of the Wandering Students, show close affinities with the poetry of Dafydd ap Gwilym. They are the songs of the German Minnesingers. The Minnesingers were direct inheritors of the lyrical poetry of Provence, and among them there arose one who, as I have already hinted, alone challenges Dafydd ap Gwilym's supremacy among the mediæval lyrists—Walther von der Vogelweide. It can hardly be possible that Dafydd knew anything at all of

¹ Those who care to work out the parallels further will find the necessary matter to their hand in the recent reprint of Symonds' work in the "King's Classics".

the works of his German predecessor. They both drew, unconsciously, from the same Provençal sources. But the resemblance between them, in a few poems, is very remarkable, and serves to illustrate how close were the ties that united the commonwealth of poetry in those stirring and experimenting times. Allow me to quote one or two translated extracts from Walther's poems which will at once recall familiar passages in Dafydd ap Gwilym's works:—

“Under the linden
On the heath,
There our double bed we made;
There might you find
Fair as well as
Broken flowers and grass,
In front of the forest in a valley—
Tandaradei!
Sweetly sang the nightingale.

“I wandered
To the field;
Thither was my beloved come.
There was I so taken—
Blessed Lady! that I shall evermore be happy.
Did he kiss me. O, a thousand times
Tandaradei!
See how red my mouth is!”¹

Again, “Winter has done us all manner of harm; heather and forest have both lost their colour, but many a voice will soon sound there again. Would that I might sleep away all the hours of Winter! for, watching and waiting, I grow angry that its power should spread far and wide. God knows it must soon give place to May, and

¹ In spite of the fact that the speaker in this poem is a woman, the note struck in it is curiously similar to that of many a song of Dafydd's. The translation here quoted is from an article by Mr. Edmund Gosse (mentioned in Cowell's well-known Cymmrodorian paper on Dafydd) in the *Cornhill Magazine*, vol. xxxiii.

then we shall have flowers again where now we have frost." Listen to Dafydd's lament, "O Golli yr Hâf":—

"Weithian o'n gwlad yr aethost,
A daeth bâr hyd daear dost;
Mae pob llwyn ar dwyn a dôl
Ysdyddiau yn gystuddiol

"Gaeaf sy'n lladd y gwial
A dŷg o goedyd y dail;
A'i chwithig wynt yn chwythu,
A'i ruad arth, a'i rew du."

Eto, fe ddaw'r Haf i

"roi dail a gwial ar goed,
A'th degwch i berth dew-goed
A doldir yn llawn deildai,
A thrydar mân adar Mai."

[“At length (O Summer), thou has left our land, and sorely afflicted lies the earth; every holt on hill and dale hath for days lain forlorn. Winter is killing the boughs, and robbing the trees of their leaves; its cross winds are blowing, with their bear-like roar and their black frost.” But, Summer will once more return “to give back to the woodland its foliage and its boughs, and to the thick-leaved bushes their beauty, when the meadow-land shall be covered with leafy mansions, and the little birds of May shall be chirping.”]

But, after full account is taken of these and other resemblances between them, Walther is a poet of a more serious order than Dafydd—though whether he gains thereby is a question which depends on the “taste and fancy” of the critic.¹

It is high time, however, that I should come to my main theme—Dafydd's relation to the Troubadours. Dafydd ap

¹ Had I space, I could quote many more parallels between the poems of Walther and those of Dafydd. The curious student of such things will find excellent translations of Walther's poems in a volume of *Selected Poems of W. v. d. Vogelwaide*, by W. Alison Phillips (Smith, Elder and Co.); and in *The Minnesingers* (vol. i), by J. Bithell (Longmans, 1909). The latter work is of great interest in its bearing upon the development of mediæval lyric poetry.

Gwilym, we read in *The Welsh People*,¹ "may be regarded as a Welsh troubadour, whose lyric muse was devoted to singing what the French called the *amour courtois*". "But what", your patriotic Welsh critic may ask, "could this 'wild Welshman', who wandered about the Principality in search of indiscriminate amours, know of Provence, or of the courtly singers who paid their tribute of high-flown verse to the *grandes dames* of the Midi? Dafydd lived in regions too remote, and was withal too spontaneous and original a poet, to be affected by or to copy the elaborate effusions of the Provençals."

But the fact is that neither Wales in the Middle Ages was so far removed from Continental culture, nor Dafydd himself so destitute of linguistic knowledge or of literary curiosity as to make it impossible for the poetry of the Troubadours to have influenced him. Welshmen, long before Dafydd's time, had taken part in the Crusades. In his own day they swelled the ranks of Edward III's armies in France. Throughout the Middle Ages there was an unbroken intercourse between Wales and Rome. Knights-errant and travelling scholars, mendicant friars and vagrant minstrels, kept up a constant social and intellectual commerce between Wales and the Continent. Moreover, there is ample evidence that during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries several famous Troubadours were brought into close association with the English Court, and that some of them even visited Britain. The marriage of Eleanor of Aquitaine with Henry II, in 1152, brought a large part of southern France under the dominion of the English crown, while in the next century, the marriage of another Eleanor, the daughter of a count of Provence, with Henry III, actually drew a crowd of Provençals to the

¹ First ed., p. 505.

court of the English king. The celebrated Troubadour, Bernart of Ventadorn—whose songs, as we shall see, bear many points of resemblance to those of Dafydd ap Gwilym—was a *protégé* of Eleanor of Aquitaine's, and almost certainly visited England in her train. Another well-known Troubadour, Bertram of Born, was closely connected with Henry II's court, while Peire Vidal and Arnaut Daniel—both celebrated names in the history of Provençal poetry—were for a time in the entourage of the Troubadour king, Richard I.

For two centuries the Troubadours were the master-singers of Europe. The poet-princes and the other high-born bards of Wales must have been well aware of their repute and of the themes upon which they sang. The great host of German Minnesingers drew their inspiration, and took their models, from the courtly poetry of Provence. Through various channels, and most of all through wandering minstrels of every grade and kind, the influence of Provençal poetry gradually pervaded all Western Europe, until, as Hallam says, "the songs of Provence became the source from which poetry for many centuries derived a great portion of its habitual language". Thus Dante and Petrarch, Chaucer and François Villon, Walther von der Vogelweide and Dafydd ap Gwilym, were, in their several ways and countries, direct inheritors of the art of the Troubadours.¹

Dafydd ap Gwilym can hardly have had any very close acquaintance with the language and the actual poems of the Troubadours. But the resemblances that exist

¹ "Chaucer's well drew from the Arno, and the Arno rose in Provence. Another line of inheritance gave us even more; French was for centuries the upper-class language of England, and it was a French leavened with Troubadour poetry."—Smith's *The Troubadours at Home*, vol. ii, p. 376.

between many of his odes and Provençal songs are too remarkable to let us believe that the Troubadours, no less than the particular kinds of poetry which they cultivated, were not well known to him by report. He knew enough Latin and, probably, enough French to acquire a distant acquaintance, at least, with the most potent international factor in the development of the poetic art of his time.¹ Thus, while it would be rash to claim Dafydd as a direct, or conscious, imitator of the Troubadours, no critical treatment of his poetry can well leave out of account those features in it which, explain them as we may, reflect the very impress of "Provençal song" and of the "sunburnt mirth" of the South.

The late Professor Cowell,² of Cambridge, was the first to suggest the possible indebtedness of Dafydd to the poets of Provence. "The resemblance between Ap Gwilym's

¹ After the Norman Conquest there was established a close connection between the Norman Lords and South Wales. "Robert, earl of Gloucester, acquired, early in the twelfth century, the lordship of Glamorgan by marriage with Mabel, daughter of Robert Fitzhamon, conqueror of Glamorgan. Robert, like his father, was a liberal and a diplomatic patron of letters. It was to him that William of Malmesbury, the greatest historian of his time, dedicated his *History*. . . . On his estates at Torigni was born Robert de Monte, abbot of Mont St. Michel, a chronicler of renown, and a lover and student of Breton legends. Above all, it was under his immediate patronage that Geoffrey of Monmouth compiled his romantic *History of the Kings of Britain*." [I have ventured, here, to quote from a chapter of my own on "The Arthurian Legend" in *The Cambridge History of English Literature*, vol. i.] The literary traditions of Glamorgan, thus fostered by the Normans, are too well-known to need any comment. What is certain is that during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, if not later, there must have been constant intercourse at the courts of the great lords of South Wales between Norman-French *trouvères* and Welsh bards, and that these bards, out of the very necessity of their position in their lords' courts, must have had a knowledge of the French then spoken by the nobility and sung by the poets.

² In an article in *Y Cymmrodor*, vol. ii (1878).

poems and the chansons of the Troubadours," he writes, "will strike anyone who compares the two. Ap Gwilym is a greater poet than any troubadour, and his lyre has some deeper notes than theirs; but the essence of their music is the same. A portion of his odes are so like Provençal chansons in their subject and matter, that one might almost believe they were direct imitations. These are the somewhat wearisome semi-metaphysical disquisitions on the nature and lineage of love, the golden hair of Morfydd, 'Yr Hiraeth' (The Longing), etc. These are the staple of Provençal poetry; but in Ap Gwilym they are only a very small portion." "In Dante and Petrarch", Cowell continues, "we have the very apotheosis of the Provençal idea. The poetry of Provence, at its best, was feeble and artificial; it was a delicate hot-house plant nursed by court patronage and shielded from all the rough winds of real life, and striking its roots into a soil of fancy and sentiment, so that its shoots always betray the original weakness of the stock,

Invalidique patrum referunt jejunia nati.

But in Italy the transplanted shoot found a more fertile soil, and struck its roots down deep into the very heart of human nature and reality; and though Dante's 'Beatrice' and Petrarch's 'Laura' were originally the reflections of Provençal poetry, the genius of Dante and Petrarch have created them anew and made them symbols of beauty for all time. And so Ab Gwilym seems to me to have similarly borrowed the Provençal idea, and then reproduced it as a new creation by his own genius. We can thus trace in him a new line of Provençal influence, derived, I suppose, through France or Italy."

"Lord-service, lady-service, and God-service were the

three great offices of the troubadour."¹ In two of these offices, at least, Dafydd ap Gwilym was pre-eminent, and, if we accept as authentic certain pious poems alleged to have been composed during his declining years, he made a belated attempt to qualify himself in the third. His odes in praise of his patron, Ivor the Generous, will bear comparison with the best Welsh examples of bardic "lord-service", and those who are familiar with the history of Welsh poetry up to his time will know that Dafydd had no need to turn to Provence for instruction in the art of courtly panegyric. It is in the poems dedicated to the service of ladies that he appears most of all to borrow the gay singing-ropes of a Provençal troubadour. The entire series of odes addressed to Morfudd are based upon a relationship which finds its nearest analogue in the *amour courtois* which evoked from the Troubadours their service of song. But Dafydd's passion for Morfudd, if she really existed, had little of the chivalric courtliness, or of the idealism which usually characterised the homage paid to the great dames of the courts of Provence by their minstrel lovers. The Welsh bard's fashion of making love to Morfudd, as to his other mistresses, is marked above everything by a frank admiration of her person and by open

¹ *The Troubadours at Home*, by Justin H. Smith, vol. i, p. 76. This charming work contains by far the best account of the Troubadours and their poetry available in English, and I have made copious use of it in this paper. Another English work which gives much biographical and other information concerning them, together with brief translated specimens of their poetry, is Miss Ida Farnell's *Lives of the Troubadours* (Nutt, 1896). A French treatise which furnishes an exhaustive account of the origins and of the influence of their poetry is Jeanroy's *Les Origines de la Poésie Lyrique en France au Moyen Age* (2nd ed., Paris, 1904). The best known and most accessible repertoires of Provençal poetry are Bartsch's *Chrestomathie Provençale* (6th Ed. revised by Koschwitz; Marburg, 1904), and Appel's *Provenzalische Chrestomathie* (Leipzig, 1895).

confession of a desire to have her as his own. His affinity with the Troubadours, however, appears less in the general character of the Morfudd episode than in the various types of love-song which he adopted, and in frequent resemblances of phrase and sentiment. Nor is it his love-poetry alone that reminds us of the Troubadours. His satirical tirades against priests and his verse-bouts with bardic rivals are in the direct line of literary tradition from the *sirventes* and the *tensos* of the Provençals.

Of the many types of poems¹ common among the Troubadours, four, in particular, might almost have served as models for a large proportion of the odes of Dafydd ap Gwilym. They are the *canson*, the *sirventes*, the *tenso*, and the *alba*.² The *canson*, or *chanson*, was the name given to the more elaborate form of love-song in which the poet usually either hymned his lady's praises, or complained of her obduracy, or of other obstacles which left him a prey to the unrequited pains of love. The *sirventes*, or service-

¹ For a full account of the various kinds of Provençal poems see Smith, *Troubadours at Home*, vol. ii, pp. 449-451. In the elaboration of verse-forms the Welsh bards, their "twenty-four measures" notwithstanding, were altogether outstripped by the Troubadours. "The 'Law of Love'"—the treatise on poetical writing compiled in the thirteenth century by the College of The Gay Science at Toulouse—"describes thirty-four different ways of rhyming, each with a name of its own, and seventy-two kinds of stanzas, all of them labelled in a similar way."—Smith, *Troubadours at Home*, ii, p. 286.

² These four, it should be noted, are not the only Provençal types with which one can find parallels among Dafydd's poems. Several of *cywyddau* recall, for example, the *pastorela*, or *pastourelle*, in which a gallant of high degree makes love to a maiden of inferior rank, and where the maid's fear of her father and mother is a stock convention. Again, there is the *chanson de femme mal mariée*, in which the poet declares his love for a woman married to an old man. Akin to this type are the lampoons on husbands, where the husbands are always portrayed as grotesque and ill-favoured. Compare with these Dafydd's *cywyddau tuchan* against "Eiddig" and the "Bwa Bach".

poem, took mainly the form of a war-song or an eulogy of a great lord's prowess and personal virtue; but the title also covered elegies (*planh*), and even satires. The *tenso* was a debate between two poets, and the *alba* (Fr. *aube*, *aubade*) a dialogue between two lovers at the break of day. Every reader of Dafydd will at once recognise how closely related these Provençal forms are to a large number of his poems.

Of all the Troubadours Dafydd's nearest poetical kinsman is, unquestionably, Bernart of Ventadorn (*flor.* 1148-1195). "Full of life himself and of a temper essentially happy", writes Smith,¹ "it was the blithe and hearty side of creation that appealed to Bernart. 'All that is', he cried—'All that is gives itself up to joy, and chants and sings aloud, fields and parks and gardens, valley, plain, and wood.' Sadness he often felt and could express with vivid figures—the withering foliage, the cold and stormy days, the ship tossing in the waves, the fish struggling on the hook, the victim consumed by flames; but his songs of joy and exultation were more spontaneous and more original, and in this mood his thoughts dwelt lovingly on the gentle spring-time, the clear, bright weather, the soft green of the fields, the tender verdure of the boughs, the swelling buds, the blossoms opening behind the leaves, the many-coloured flowers, and the gay little birds—long silent—that began to sing again in the trees. But all this was only the background, and upon it he painted the feelings and the thoughts of the lover in hues the truest, the freshest, the most varied that a poet has ever used. Here, transmuted into thought and sentiment, we find again the colour and perfume of the rose, the music of the nightingale, and the genial splendour of the May-day sky."

¹ *The Troubadours at Home*, vol. ii, p. 179.

This is how Bernart sings to Bel Vezer, viscountess of Ventadorn :—

“Whene'er green leaves and grass appear,
And budding flowers from branches spring,
And nightingales do strong and clear
Uplift their voice and 'gin to sing—
Joy do they bring me, joy the flowers' sweet grace,
Joy my own heart, but most my lady's face ;
And I am girt with joy on every side,
But she is joy who doth all else o'er-ride.

“It marvels me that I can be,
And ne'er my love to her reveal,
For when my lady's eyes I see,
Their beauty all my senses steal ;
Almost to her from very love I run,
And, but for fear, already were it done ;
Ne'er was one seen of form and hue so fair,
Thus slow her faithful vassal's love to share.

“To find her all alone, what bliss !
Asleep, or else but seeming so,
Then would I steal of her a kiss,
Since ne'er could ask it one so low ;
Betwixt us few the deeds of love, pardy !
Time speedeth onwards, all our best days flee ;
By secret signs could we sweet converse hold,
And cunning use, instead of action bold.”¹

To the same Bel Vezer, Bernart addresses another chanson, which opens with the striking stanza :—

“Whene'er the lark's glad wings I see
Beat sunward 'gainst the radiant sky
Till, lost in joy so sweet and free,
She drops, forgetful how to fly—
Ah, when I view such happiness
My bosom feels so deep an ache,
Meseems for pain and sore distress
My longing heart will straightway break.”²

This reminds us of Dafydd ap Gwilym's frequent

¹ Farnell, *Lives of the Troubadours*, p. 29.

² *The Troubadours at Home*, ii, p. 162.

allusions to the sky-lark—"the bird of restless voice, that soars unto sheer breathlessness with an ode to the heights of heaven".¹ Like Dafydd, Bernart loves the birds; and to him, as to the Welsh poet, the nightingale is the master love-singer among them. "The nightingale rejoices by flower and bough", sings Bernart, "and such a longing seizes me that I can but sing; yet I know not of what or of whom [to sing], for I am in love neither with myself nor with another." "The sweet song of the nightingale awakes me at night when I sleep—I awake overwhelmed with joy but made thoughtful and anxious by love."² The nightingale, like so many other birds, serves Dafydd ap Gwilym as a love-messenger, and though no Troubadour is so intimately familiar with the birds as he, more than one of them anticipate him in invoking birds to convey messages of love to their mistresses. Thus, Pierre of Auvergne, who flourished about 1150-1200, sends the nightingale to his mistress with an affectionate greeting, and bids him bring back what message he can:—

"Now unto my lady's dwelling
Hie thee, nightingale, away,
Tidings of her lover telling,
Waiting what herself will say;
Make thee 'ware
How she doth fare;
Then, her shelter spurning,
Do not be
On any plea
Let from thy returning."³

¹ "Yr ehedydd, aflonydd ei lais,
Yn myned mewn lludded llwyr
A chywydd i entrych awyr."

² These extracts are taken from Smith, *The Troubadours at Home*, vol. ii, p. 415.

³ *The Troubadours at Home*, i, p. 315. Another Troubadour, Marcabrun, sends the sparrow with a message to his lady-love. During the twelfth and fourteenth centuries "there was", says Jeanroy,

Another Troubadour whose love-songs closely resemble Dafydd ap Gwilym's in sentiment and expression is Arnaut of Marvail, or Maruehl. Arnaut sings to his mistress, the Lady Alazais:—

“Fair to me is April, bearing
Winds that o'er me softly blow,
Nightingales their music airing
While the stars serenely glow ;
All the birds, as they have power,
While the dews of morning wait,
Sing of joy in sky or bower,
Each consorting with his mate.

“And as all the world is wearing
New delight while new leaves grow,
'Twould be vain to try forswearing
Love which makes my joys o'erflow ;
Both by habit and by dower
Gladness is my rightful state,
And when clouds no longer lower
Quick my heart throws off its weight.

“Helen were not worth comparing,
Gardens no such beauty show :
Teeth of pearl—the truth declaring,
Blooming cheeks—a neck of snow,
Tresses like a golden shower,
Courtly charms, for baseness hate—
God, who bade her thus o'ertower
All the rest, her way make straight!

“an entire series of poems which formed a sort of ‘cycle of birds’. It is well known that a bird is charged to convey messages of love in many pieces, both ancient and modern”. See Jeanroy, *Les origines de la poésie lyrique en France au moyen âge*, p. 133. Cf. “The nightingale, indeed, plays a conspicuous part in all this (mediæval love) poetry. His song is the symbol of amorous passion, and he himself is appealed to as the confidant and adviser of lovers, the go-between who bears messages from heart to heart.” (E. K. Chambers, *Early English Lyrics*, 1907, p. 270.) This little volume, in addition to others already mentioned, contains much that is suggestive on the history of the mediæval lyric.

“Kindness may she do me, sparing
 Courtship long and favor slow,
 Give a kiss to cheer my daring—
 More, if more I earn, bestow ;
 Then the path where pleasures flower
 We shall tread nor slow nor late—
 Ah, such hopes my heart o’erpower
 When her charms I contemplate.”¹

These verses are pitched in the very key of the Welsh bard’s invocations to Morfudd, as are also the following lines addressed by Arnaut to the Countess of Burlatz:—

“ Ah ! sweetest lady, might it chance,
 Whate’er the hour or circumstance,
 That, once in life thy faithful slave
 That rapture know, he long does crave,
 Of clasping thee within his arms,
 And gazing on thy peerless charms,
 Kissing thine eyes, thy red lips sweet,
 That mine in one long kiss should meet,
 Till that I swoon with great delight—
 Too much I’ve spoke, yet, such my plight,
 Once, only once I needs must say,
 What long upon my heart does weigh.
 And speaking thus all speech I leave,
 With drowy lids one sigh I heave,
 And sighing sink into repose.
 Then wandering my spirit goes,
 Makes, Lady, eager search for thee,
 With whom it ever fain would be ;
 Quick finds the joy, for which I yearn,
 When day and night for thee I burn,
 And freely thy dear love possesses,
 And freely thy dear self caresses.
 Ah ! might I ever sleep like this,
 No kindly lot were such rare bliss.
 ’Tis better thus sleep life away
 Than waking grieve the live-long day ;
 And Rodocesta, nor Biblis,
 Blancaflor, nor Semiramis,

¹ *The Troubadours at Home*, i, p. 169.

Tibes, nor Seida, nor Elena,
 Antigone, nor else Ismena,
 Nor Isold, with the hair of gold,
 Did never know such joy untold,
 When with their lovers they have been,
 As mine is then with thee I ween.
 Whereon my lips a sigh does part,
 And I do waken with a start,
 Open my eyes and gaze around,
 To see if thou perchance be found
 Hard by ; but, Lady, woe is me !
 For nowhere thy loved form I see."¹

A favourite form of love-song with the Troubadours, and one which is akin to the class of poems called *tensos* or "disputations", is the love-dialogue,² and several of these Provençal debates between lovers are very similar to what we find in Dafydd.³ Here is one by Aimeric of Peguillan (1205-1270) :—

"Lady, for thee I dwell in grievous pain.
 'Sir, thou'et unwise, small thanks from me thou'llt gain.'
 Lady, pardy, let me not love in vain.
 'Sir, all thy prayers unheeded will remain.'
 Good lady, mine is love that cannot wane.
 'Sir, more than all men else I thee disdain.'
 Lady, for this, grief o'er my heart doth reign.
 'I, sir, am merry nor from joy refrain.'

¹ Farnell, *Lives of the Troubadours*, p. 72.

² Love-dialogues are, of course, very ancient in their origin. Cp. the well-known *Oaristus* (Idyll xxvii) of Theocritus.

³ "There are several very celebrated Provençal poems of this kind, as, for instance, the dialogue between Raimbaut d'Orange and his mistress Beatrix, Countess of Die ; and that between Peyrols and Love, who reproaches him for having deserted his service ; and that between Raimbaut de Vaqueisas and a Genoese lady, who remains obdurate to his flatteries. Ab Gwilym has several dialogues of this kind. I need only mention here the dialogue with a maiden (No. clxxx), that under a maiden's window (No. clii), the wonderful dialogue between the bard and his shadow (No. clxxi), and that with the cuckoo (No. ccx), as well as that with the same bird (No. lxx), when it tells him that Morfudd is married."—Cowell, *I' Cymmrodor*, vol. ii, p. 106.

"Lady sans mercy, I must go my way.
 'Sir, pritheo go, it boots not to delay.'
 Lady, not I, Love holds me 'neath his sway.
 'Against my will, good sir, he bids thee stay.'
 Lady, cruel answers my fond words repay.
 'Sir, worse than all I hate thee, by my fay.'
 Then, lady, wilt thou ne'er my grief allay?
 'Sir, verily 'twill be as thou dost say.'¹

Dafydd's love-dialogues are of a sprightlier, and often, it must be confessed, of a grosser quality than this specimen, but they are identical with it in their form. Compare, for example, the following translation of one of his best-known dialogues:—

Bard. Now, tell me, maiden, an thou be not dumb!
Maid. Do I not tell thee? What more would'st thou? Come!
B. Is there of loving thee, fair maid, no gain?
M. No, none at all, thou fool! Thou lov'st in vain.
B. Shall I then only have what I have had?
M. That, only! To ask more would prove thee mad.
B. But tell me—one word does it, yea or nay—
 Am I, or am I not, to have thee, pray?
M. Marry, so I retain my senses, no!
 I'll swear not what might happen, should they go.
B. Why question thus, and wedlock's joys delay?
M. Tempt me no further, hateful one! Away!
B. I'll seize thee, willy nilly, Olwen fair!
M. Marry, I'll shriek for rescue, an thou dare!
B. Come—let us straight a priest's due sanction crave!
M. Vain is thy thought to cozen me, thou knave!
B. But what at last am I to hope for? Say!
M. An assignation on a summer's day.
B. Alas! unfeeling maid, I'll wive the while.
M. And I a husband, friend, will to me wile!²

From the love-dialogue one naturally passes to the *tenso*, a dispute, in which two poets engage in what often

¹ Farnell, *Lives of the Troubadours*, p. 215.

² Ode clxxx. Although it is hopeless, in my opinion, to attempt to put Dafydd into English verse, I have here ventured an experiment in rhyme.

becomes a fierce and vituperative debate. The original model of the *tenso* is the pastoral singing-match of classical poetry, in which two rival poets, in the guise of shepherds,

et cantare pares, et respondere parati,

endeavoured to out-do each other in clever banter or in praising their several mistresses. The Provençal *tenso*, however, became something much more elaborate than the conventional singing-match as we find it in Theocritus or Virgil. A closer parallel to the pastoral singing-match is what was known to the Troubadours as the *joc partit* or *partimen*. "In the *tenso* the poets spoke their real sentiments and ideas, and very likely each wrote a whole poem. The *partimen* was to the *tenso* like the tournament to the battle. One poet proposed a debatable question, and allowed the other disputant to choose his side; they then composed stanzas in turn."¹ Dafydd ap Gwilym's poetical debates, or *cywyddau ymryson*, with Gruffydd Gryg are quite in the style of the Provençal *tensos*. The bard probably engaged in many such bouts during his lifetime, and in one of his odes,² in reply to Gruffydd Gryg, he tells us that he once exercised his powers of bardic repartee upon one Rhys Meigen, with such effect that his rival died of the shock. The poem that did the execution is included in the printed editions of his works.³

Yet another type of Provençal poem which has its counterpart in several odes of Dafydd is the *sirventes*. "The direct antithesis of the *canson* was the *sirvente*, a poem of praise or censure; public or private; personal, moral, or religious, or political; entirely free as regards

¹ *The Troubadours at Home*, ii, p. 449. Some of the best known Provençal *tensos* are those which passed between Bernart de Ventadorn and Peirol, and between Bertram de Born and Amfos II, the poet-king of Arragon.

² No. cxxv.

³ No. ccxxx.

form."¹ *Sirventes* was thus a term of wide application, and would cover both panegyrics and elegies, satires and devotional poems. But the particular species of *sirventes* to which some of Dafydd's poems bear most resemblance was the satire, or poetical tirade, directed especially against priests. A Troubadour who indulged in some signally scathing denunciation of priests and friars was Peire Cardinal (*flor.* 1210-1230). One of his poems starts with the following vehement diatribe:—

“Vultures fierce and kites, I ween,
Scent not rotting flesh so well
As the priests and friars keen
Scent the rich where'er they dwell;
Soon the rich man's love they gain,
Then if sickness, grief or pain
Fall on him, great gifts they win,
Robbing thus his kith and kin.

“Priests and Frenchmen ever seek
All ill to praise for love of gold;
By usurers and traitors eke
Is this world of ours controll'd;
Lies and fraud to men they've taught,
And confusion 'mongst them brought;
Order none can be discerned
That this lesson has not learned.”²

“The priests”, he complains in another poem, “call

¹ Smith, *The Troubadours at Home*, ii, p. 449. “In replying to a *sirvente*, a poet was bound to use the same form. Special forms of the *sirvente* were the Lament (*Planh*), which was original with the Troubadours, and the crusading-song. A piece specially composed for a *joglar* might be called *sirventes joglaresc*. The *sirvente* was originally composed, it is now held, by a *sirvent*, *i.e.*, a paid soldier of adventure, as the *joglar* was a paid entertainer. This is probably the correct explanation of the name, a point much debated. As Jeanroy says, about every event of importance to the Midi from 1150 until almost 1300 left its mark in the *sirventes* of the time.” Smith, it will be seen, coins an English word “*sirvente*” from the original *sirventes*.

² Farnell, *Lives of the Troubadours*, p. 218.

themselves shepherds, but are in truth murderers; by their clothing they have the semblance of holiness, yet therein they mind me of Sir Isengrim, who upon a day would enter into a sheepfold, but for fear of the dogs put on sheep's clothing, wherewith he beguiled the sheep, and thereon swallowed up all such as pleased him." Passages such as these breathe the fervour of a genuine moral indignation, and Cardinal, the greatest satirist among the Troubadours, was a reformer who waged deliberate war against the religious and social abuses of his day. Dafydd ap Gwilym had little, if any, of the moral passion which inspired Cardinal, or Langland, to denounce the black sheep of the Church. His was more the temper of Boccaccio and Chaucer, and monks and friars were to him objects of good-humoured contempt rather than of any profound moral antipathy. His amours brought him into constant conflict with envious priests, and it is in frank defence of his own "natural religion" that he taunts them with their hypocrisies and lies. The maid who is exhorted to leave her nunnery and to "win a soul" by making him happy in the dingle "does nothing worse than what they do at Rome or at St. James's (of Compostella)".¹ There is "a religion of the greenwood and of the cuckoo" as well as "the religion of the monks of Rome".² "God is not so cruel as old men affirm: it is the priests, reading their mouldy sheepskins, who tell us lies."³ So he bids the priests do their worst. Let them curse him with bell, book, and candle, if they will; he will take his chance of salvation with the best of them. "God will never damn a good man's soul for love of wife or maid. Three things there be loved all the world over—woman and sunshine and health. Yea, in heaven the fairest flower found, save God himself, is woman."⁴ There could be no truce

¹ Ode x.² *Ibid.*³ Ode cxlix.⁴ *Ibid.*

between priests and one who gave free utterance to such bold heresies as these.¹

There remains to be noticed one other, and not the least remarkable, point of resemblance between Dafydd and the Troubadours. Two of his best-known odes² are clear imitations of the Provençal *alba*, or morning-song. The *alba* was a song turning entirely upon the leave-taking of

¹ It is worth noting, in connection with the "sirvente", that Professor Cowell (*Y Cymmrodor*, ii, p. 107) discovers in a Provençal poem that would come under this name some lines which furnish what he calls "a curious parallel" to a passage in one of Dafydd's odes. "It may be", says Cowell, "accidental in itself, but I mention it because it so singularly illustrates the comparison which I have tried to institute between them. In Poem xcix Ab Gwilym describes Bwa-bach as sailing to France with a detachment of three hundred men, under the command of Rhys Gwgan, to join the army of Edward III, and he utters his wishes that he may be drowned on his voyage or killed by a French archer. I quote the lines in Mr. Arthur J. Johnes's translation:—

'Soon shalt thou pay the debt I owe
To jealousy, the poet's foe.
Like bird of ocean he shall whirl
From wave to wave and shoal to shoal,
As the wild surges fiercely curl
Around the shores, O sordid soul!
May Hwynyn, demon of the sea,
Thy headsman on the voyage be!
And thou, cross-bowman, true and good,
Thou shooter with the faultless wood,
Send me an arrow through his brain,
(Who of his fate will e'er complain?)—
Haste with thy stirrup-fashioned bow,
And lay the hideous varlet low!'"

Guillaume Adhémar has a similar poem, in which he implores Alphonse IX, the king of Léon (who died in 1230), to start on a crusade. "If king Alphonse, the best count in Christendom, would but raise an army against the Saracens, and carry with him the jealous husband who keeps my lady a close prisoner, there is no sin of which he should not get the pardon!"

² Nos. lxx and xcvi.

two lovers warned of the approach of dawn. Sometimes it was a friend—the Watcher—who gave the warning; sometimes it was the rising sun—sometimes the skylark, “the world’s morning sentinel”, as Dafydd calls him. The *Tagelieder*, or day-songs, of the German Minnesingers are modelled on the Provençal *alba*,¹ while “in the dialogue between Romeo and Juliet beginning :

‘Wilt thou be gone? It is not yet near day;
It was the nightingale and not the lark,’

we find the old lovers’ dialogues of the *albas* in its most ideal form.”² A striking parallel to these two lines from *Romeo and Juliet* is quoted by Jeanroy from an old French *aube* :

*Il n'est mie jors, saverouze au cors gent,
Si m'aît amors, l'aloette nos mant.*

“It is not yet near day, my sweet one; love be my help, the lark lies.”³ The entire dialogue in the beginning of

¹ “The ‘Tagelied’ is really an old national form of verse, but in Minnesong it shows the influence of Romance models very markedly. Thus the figure of the Warder, who plays so important a part in nearly all the later songs of this class, appears first in the Provençal ‘alba’, from which it was probably introduced into German Minnesong by Wolfram von Eschenbach.” Nicholson, *Old German Love-Songs* (Fisher Unwin, 1907), p. xliii. Translated specimens of German *tagelieder* will be found in Bithell’s *The Minnesingers*, vol. i (cf. pp. 16, 195, and 196), a work already referred to. In his Appendix (p. 203) Mr. Bithell has an excellent note on the *Tagelied*.

² Farnell, *Lives of the Troubadours*, p. 77.

³ See Jeanroy, *Les origines de la poésie lyrique*, etc., p. 68. In one of his notes (p. 70) on the *aube* Jeanroy quotes from a Chinese poem, dating back beyond the seventh century of our era, a curious parallel to these medieval morning-songs. The extract, given in a Latin translation, is a dialogue between a king and his queen at break of day. The queen hears the cock crow, and the king replies that “it was not the cock, but the hum of flies”. “In the east the dawn appears”, the queen rejoins, “and there is already the stir of men in royal halls.” “Nay”, says the king, “it is not the dawn, but the light of the rising moon.” “But the hum of flies on the wing grows

Act III, Sc. 5, of *Romeo and Juliet*, reproduces the conventional features of the primitive *alba*. Romeo, after protesting that—

"It *was* the lark, the herald of the morn,
No nightingale,"

points out how—

"Jocund day
Stands tiptoe on the misty mountain tops."

Juliet rejoins—

"Yond light is not day-light, I know it, I ;
It is some meteor that the sun exhales,"

and Romeo is "content, so she will have it so" :—

"I'll say yon grey is not the morning's eye,
'Tis but the pale reflex of Cynthia's brow."

In one of his odes¹ Dafydd ap Gwilym tells how Morfudd and he were together at break of day, and how the fear of the husband—Eiddig, "the jealous one"—fell upon him as he watched the light increasing. Morfudd seeks to quiet him with the assurance that, were day near, they would have heard the cock crow. "But I see the daylight", the bard cries, "peeping under the door." "That", Morfudd rejoins, "is the newly-risen moon, and the stars that shoot their beams between the pillars." "Nay rather, my fair one, 'tis the sun in his splendour—pardee, 'tis a good hour of the day!" "How fickle are thy ways! Take thy choice, and depart!" In another poem² the mistress it is who first becomes restive and points to the advancing

louder", the queen protests, and insists that her consort should rise lest he should "incur the reproach of others on her account." Compare with this Ode lix in Dafydd's poems. The *alba*, it should be said, was by no means indigenous to Provence, but was a popular form of song common to many countries, and hence not very extensively cultivated by the Troubadours. See Smith, *Troubadours at Home*, vol. ii, p. 451.

¹ Ode xcvi.

² Ode lix.

morning light, and it is the bard's turn to pretend that what they see is "the moon and its attendant stars". "We should rest well", the lady replies, "were that the truth; but why croaks the crow up above?" The bard's further protestations are cut short by a peremptory command to "cease from his shifts", and to make good his escape before some spy should waylay him. These dialogues, like that in *Romeo and Juliet*, are but variations on the theme of the Provençal *alba*, and reproduce the stock devices of the dawning light, the warning bird, and the nearness of the jealous husband. Compare the following lines from the famous morning-song of Giraut de Borneil:—"Fair comrade, whether you sleep or wake, sleep no more; sleep no more, sweetly wake, for in the east I see the star waxed that brings the day, for well have I marked it; and soon will come the dawn." "Fair comrade, in singing I call you; sleep no more, for I hear sing the bird that goes looking for day through the copse, and I fear lest the jealous one assail you; and soon will come the dawn." "Fair comrade, come to the window and behold the stars of the sky; you will perceive whether I am a faithful messenger to you. If you do it not, yours will be the harm from it, and soon will come the dawn."

These parallels between Dafydd ap Gwilym and the Troubadours,² interesting though they may be to the student of comparative literature and of poetical "origins", only serve to show, when all is told, how much greater a poet the Welsh bard is than any Troubadour.

In genuine lyric rapture, in brilliant flashes of fancy,

¹ *The Troubadours at Home*, vol. ii, p. 443.

² Further parallels between Dafydd and the Troubadours and Minnesingers will be found in Stern's learned and exhaustive study of the Welsh bard's work printed in the *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie* (vii Band, 1 Heft, 1909), in the section entitled "Romanische Einflüsse", p. 238.

and, above all, in the profuse wealth of their imagery, his love-songs far surpass anything to be found in Provençal poetry, while his poems of Nature evince a quickness of perception, a power of vivid description, and a passionate delight in the wild life of the fields and the woods which are altogether foreign to the songs of the Troubadours. Not one of them has sung of Nature in strains which suggest even the barest lines of a serious comparison with the songs of Dafydd.¹ He had, in the words of the old Welsh Triad, "an eye to see Nature, a heart to feel Nature, and the daring to follow Nature". Provençal poetry was altogether too artificial and exotic a product to conform to this precept. Much of the poetry of the Kymry is no less artificial and conventional and monotonous than that of the Troubadours; and Dafydd stands in striking contrast even to his Welsh predecessors and contemporaries as a poet of Nature. But "what worlds away" he is from the Troubadours when he sings of Nature, as he saw and felt her in his careless rambles along the vales and the hills of his native country! For the Provençal poets, "the natural world", writes Smith, "had not yet opened its unending vistas of significance: and while the Troubadours were not without a keen sense of the beauties of nature, they were too much a part of nature themselves to study and enjoy her deeply, and their eyes, like their minds, lacked the generations of experience and culture absolutely needed to make them see the natural world artistically."² Dafydd ap Gwilym had no more "experience and culture" than they, but he did "see", and sing of, "the natural

¹ "It is noteworthy that while the Troubadours use more or less frequently a nature-picture as an introduction to a piece, only three—B. de Ventadorn, G. de Borneil, and P. Vidal—refer to nature in the body of a song; and these references are slight."—Smith, *Troubadours at Home*, vol. i, p. 446.

² *The Troubadours at Home*, vol. i, p. 194.

world artistically", simply because he followed Nature implicitly and trusted to her unaided tutorship for the measure and the quality of his art. Later poets have turned to Nature for a "message", a "religion", a "philosophy". Dafydd, as we have seen, knew of "a religion of the greenwood", and formed a most original conception of its rites and its creed. But his paramount distinction and charm as a poet of Nature consists in his absolutely unclouded vision, and in his direct expression of what he himself saw and heard, thought and felt. "I cannot keep silence", he cries in one poem, "any more than the nightingale on the tree, even though my song be unrequited." All true poetry of Nature obeys the same irresistible impulse; the poet

"sings because he must,
And pipes but as the linnets sing."

This brief survey of features common to the ancient poetry of Provence and of Wales would be incomplete without a passing reference to the literary fellowship which, quite unconsciously on either side, prevails between the two countries even to-day. Just as in Wales the best living bards continue to work in the tradition of Dafydd ap Gwilym, so in Provence are there "modern Troubadours" who were first inspired by the illustrious Mistral, who seek to revive the glories of their poetic prime. The *Felibrige*,³ or "League of the Poets", of

¹ "Ni thawaf, od af heb dâl
Mwy nag eos mewn gwial."

² See a most interesting article on "The Modern Troubadours" in the *Quarterly Review* for October, 1901.

³ "The designation 'Felibre', equivalent, in common parlance, to Troubadour, minstrel, poet, but originally signifying rather a bard in the Celtic sense, a singer and poet, but also a priest and a doctor of the divine law and the history of men, was found by Mistral in an

modern Provence, is an institution curiously resembling the Welsh Eisteddfod, and the *felibres* are as sedulous in cultivating the poetical forms of the medieval Troubadours and the language in which they sang as are the Eisteddfodic bards and the scholars of modern Wales in emulating and studying the works of the older Welsh poets. "When, in our day, Teodor Aubanéu (Aubanel) sings his famous 'Quan canto soun mau, encanto'—'Who sings his own sorrow, enchants'—he is but saying, out of the same Provençal heart, in the same Provençal tongue (a tongue of many dialects, but a single language, as a trailing wild-rose has many blooms), and in the same Provençal land, what Duke Guihem the Crusader sang in 1100, 'A song I'll fashion from my grief'; and it might be either Gaucelm Faidit of Malemort, the twelfth-century Joglar, or Théodore Aubanel of Avignon, the nineteenth-century Catullus of Provence, who writes—

'L'amour es la vido,
La vido es l'amour;
L'amour nous convido
A cuiè la flour.'

"Both groups of poets, old and new—the Rudels and Marcabrus, the Arnauts de Maruelh and Bernarts de

old Provençal caudice. Neither he nor other philologists, however, have yet definitely settled its derivation, though, among other specialists, Mistral himself thinks it possible, and Gaston Paris and d'Arbois de Jubainville are convinced, that the word is one of the many Celtic survivals in the Provençal language, composed of the ancient Erse *filea* and *ber*, and equivalent to chief-singer or arch-poet. As for the contemporary meaning of the word and its derivatives, *Felibre* is a poet who is a native of Provence, and composes in Provençal—a recognised term certainly preferable to the outworn 'troubadour' or 'trouvere'; *Felibrée*, a bardic gathering, the *Eisteddfod* or *Môd* of the Provençals. . . The *Felibrige* is the organised fellowship of the Felibres."—"The Modern Troubadours" (*Quarterly Review*, Oct. 1901).

Ventadorn, the Gaucelms and Guihems of to-day, and the Jasmins and Roumanilles, the Mistral and Aubanel of that dim, remote, golden age of song—to reverse the mere accident of nomenclature,—have a common inspiration, a manner in common, a heart and soul alike. ‘La cigalo di piboulo, La bouscarlo di bouisson, Lou grihet di ferigoulo, Tout canto sa cansoun’—‘The tree-locust in the poplar, the thrush in the wayside bush, the grasshopper in the wild thyme, each sings its own song’” Even so, in Wales, the bards who to-day achieve the highest artistic excellence in their compositions are those who have best learnt the great language and caught the clear accents of Dafydd ap Gwilym and his contemporaries. They cannot, indeed, well emulate Dafydd’s franker type of love-song; but they have no better teacher to turn to for inspiration in “daring to follow Nature”, or for instruction in diction and style. For to himself, of all the poets of his time, are justly applicable the words which he generously used of another,² “the law-book of the right language”—

“Llyfr cyfraith y iaith iawn.”

¹ “The Modern Troubadours” (*Quarterly Review*, Oct. 1901).

² Gruffydd Gryg. Although Dafydd composed *tenos* against Gruffydd, their rivalry did not prevent him from recognising that bard’s signal poetic gifts. See Dafydd’s elegy on G. Gryg (Ode cxxviii).

**Cymmrodorion Section of the National Eisteddfod
(Llangollen, 1908).**

WELSH VILLAGE SOCIETIES.¹

By LADY ST. DAVIDS.

It is a great privilege, I feel, to be invited to address the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion on the subject of Welsh Village Societies; and it will encourage the workers who have started our Village organisation to know that their plan of action has been brought for consideration to this centre of learning and culture.

Speaking as a Welsh villager, engaged in practical work, you will forgive me, I hope, for making a plain unlearned speech. Many of the most gifted men and women of Wales belong to the Cymmrodorion Society, and some will, I hope, take part in the discussion that is to follow—and to them we may look for light and leading—for a lecture is like real life, and real life is like romance in this, that “All is well that ends well”.

To fully appreciate the essential charm of a village, we must have lost our way, strayed from the high road down a trackless valley or over some desolate hill—must have been tired, hungry, thirsty—have felt dusk creeping around us, and then have caught a glimpse of a distant church spire or the friendly twinkle of a human habitation; or we must have been immured in a city, wearied by the

¹ Read at the Cymmrodorion Section of the National Eisteddfod of 1908 (Llangollen). Chairman, Sir Herbert Roberts, Bart., M.P.

endless rattle of the streets, oppressed by the exhausted atmosphere, troubled by the narrowness of the skies above us and the dreariness of the pavements stretching unendingly before us. Then, as we turn to life in a village, we can appreciate its quietness, its completeness; and these are its essential charm. It is simple with the simplicity of outline; in it you have the outline of the needs of human life. All that is essential is there—the church, the chapel, the school, the cottage and the larger house, perhaps a shop, probably an inn, certainly a post office, without doubt a graveyard. The fripperies, frills, and follies of life are not evident: it is embedded in the soil and open to the skies. There is a consolation in its quietness, there is a charm in its completeness, which a city lacks. A city is necessarily incomplete. The old agricultural labourer's wife unconsciously felt this when she was asked her opinion of London after her first and only visit to the Metropolis, for she replied she would like to see it again when it was *finished*.

Now, those who are born in villages—live the whole of their lives there—often appreciate them with quiet affection, and cling to them with pathetic devotion. Most people remember their native village as delightful; but we have to face the fact that the village, though always delightful, is often dull. Hence the villages are growing emptier, and the cities fuller, and both suffer.

How to keep the dear delights of the old-fashioned hamlets, and yet to give the dwellers therein the conscious pleasure that comes from the contrasts, the companionship, the very crash and crush of life, that is the question; and as a dweller in a village—in a Welsh village, I rejoice to say—I have dared to guess what it is that my fellow-villagers need. They need what I need—music, literature, art, gardens, companionship, enterprise—all “the things

that are more excellent", all the things that make man truly man, and, above all, the feeling that we are within, and are not left without, the moving pageant of progress. We need the sense of the eternal worth-while-ness of the things we do, a consciousness of the excellence that abides not only in the past, not only in the future, but in the everlasting now in which we live.

Therefore, I ask : Do we not limit ourselves unnecessarily in our villages ? Are we not by self-suggestion under a mistaken impression that elsewhere and otherhow there are possibilities and privileges which we might find, if we would, within our reach, perhaps within ourselves ?

The literature of villages is a great one. They have been sung of by poets, described under every aspect—historical, statistical, topographical, sociological, philological, ethnological. Mr. Gomme, writing of the history of villages, tells us that :—

"The village community is not a modern institution ; it must have begun far back in the history of the human race, and probably has been a phase of social existence through which all peoples who have progressed onwards from savagery to civilisation must have passed."

Later on, he tells us :—

"That the pre-Celtic inhabitants of this island, surviving, as Dr. Beddoe has proved, in the physical peculiarities of many localities in the British Isles, must have lent their aid in the fashioning of British institutions."

It is an attractive thought to us villagers that our community is of such historic importance.

Mr. P. H. Ditchfield, in his book on *English Villages*, speaks of the happy lot of those who live in the quiet hamlets, and who interest themselves in the history of their native place, and calls on these to be thankful that their lot is cast in peaceful days, when no persecutions, religious or political, disturb the tranquillity of village life.

On the other hand, writer after writer of recent years has pointed out that notwithstanding all the romance of the past, the sympathy of the historian, the recommendation of the hygienist, the conviction of the philosopher, the population of the country is diminishing, and historian, philanthropist, politician, alike recognise that this lessening of the rural population is a national danger.

One of the reasons constantly given for the exodus is that village life is dull. Thinkers of the most opposed political opinions join in this view. I propose to quote from one or two who from different standpoints have offered suggestions for practical effort towards the solution of the problem.

Mr. Rider Haggard, speaking on the good work of the Garden Cities, says :—

“Then there is the dullness of the country. We all know that the country is dull. People say, ‘We have only one life to live, let it be a gay one—let us go where we can get some pleasure.’ At any rate, whatever the causes, the results are these—there is this great flow from the countryside into the towns.”

He continues :—

“I think you will all agree with me that it is undesirable, for various reasons, that the country districts should be depopulated and the towns glutted.”

And Mr. Thomas Adams, speaking on the same subject, says :—

“The health and character of all civilised races are at present suffering great injury as a result of the unequal distribution of the population between town and country. . . . In the United Kingdom, the evils of over-crowding in the towns and the depopulation of the rural districts have reached an acute stage.”

Mr. George F. Millin, in his book on *The Village Problem*, says :—

"The fact that practically all over the country our village populations are dwindling, is one of the most momentous phenomena of our time. It is of course a change of the utmost gravity, and on many grounds, both personal and national, it is deeply to be deplored. Village life is too often a dull, sluggish, dead-and-alive existence, wanting in interest and stimulus and motive power."

Again and again, in his book on *The Toilers of the Field*, the late Richard Jefferies emphasises the dullness of the life of the labourer. He says there is absolutely no poetry and no colour in the life of the agricultural labourers.

In speaking of the village society which I have formed at home in Pembrokeshire, I wish to say at the outset that the direct aim of our Society is not to remedy dullness, for nothing could be drearier than to try to remedy dullness. The aim of the Society is that we should not be dull. The Village Society has not been started with the direct aim of keeping people in villages. It has not started with the intention of solving problems. On the contrary, we have started, not because there is any danger of our leaving our village, but because it is our purpose to remain; and the problem is solved only so far as we ignore it, for we say: Let us not seek entertainment, but be entertaining. Let us not lack music, but make music. Let us not yearn for literature, but read books. Let us not crave for companionship, but make friends. Let us not weary for beauty, but plant flowers and bring harmony and colour into our homes.

I felt very great hesitation in addressing this Honourable Association to-night on Village Societies, because such a society is so rustic, simple, and obvious. But on this very account I finally ventured to make it the subject of my address, because the welfare of our rural districts is a matter of true concern to the highest minds; and all who

render service of any sort, even in the humblest way, may, I believe, bring their small contribution, not altogether unworthily, to the great record of human effort that is garnered here, because your Association is not only a centre of learning, but also a fountain of sympathy to all Welsh people.

Our aim is that our village shall be better because we live in it, and that every one of us shall produce something within each year, to show what we can do; and if we can do nothing, then to learn to do some one thing within the year, and to bring a teacher, if need be, into our midst that we may learn. At the end of the year we will meet together to see what has been done.

One of the greatest gains of our work is this meeting together. Much admirable effort that is made is necessarily linked with the great forces that divide—political and denominational—and the more earnest men and women are, on those great issues, the more joyfully will they unite when a worthy opportunity for union comes. In short, the question I would ask of you to-night is: “Can we bring the spirit of the National Eisteddfod and Cymmrodorion Society into the local life of even the smallest Welsh village?” The history of every village will tell us of some proud and historic moment when those who seldom meet *did* meet, lifted out of their differences by the greatness of the occasion. Could these occasions not be multiplied without loss, if we plant in every village a purpose that those who differ most from one another might serve with equal devotion? There is a special piquant flavour in meeting the man we otherwise avoid; in entering into a friendly competition—to see, for instance, whose gooseberries will be largest, whose marrow most magnificent, whose home-made toy most attractive, whose toffee most translucent—with those whose views are diametrically opposed to our own, and who on

other occasions may perhaps pass us with supercilious or irresponsible looks.

The women who are not on bowing terms can practise their gracious social qualities when they come together to judge of home-made cakes, and, apart from personalities, award the prize to the best-baked loaf. We may find new undiscovered qualities in our most prickly neighbours. The chief reason why we dislike people is that we do not know them. When Charles Lamb on one occasion was begged by his hostess to stay to supper, and insisted on hurrying away, she said: "I want you to meet the three Mr. S.'s." He replied: "I hate the three Mr. S.'s!" "But you don't know the three Mr. S.'s," she said. "That is why," answered he.

If you try to start a Village Society you will be confronted by the statement that the people amongst whom you dwell are peculiar, and that, whatever may have been attained in other places, the conditions are not favourable in the one in which you propose to start. The best answer is the one that Dr. Temple, the late Archbishop of Canterbury, gave when Head Master of Rugby to the anxious mother who took her son to school and explained that he needed special care because he was so peculiar. "Madam, you did well to bring your son here", he replied; "I have four hundred and fifty boys here, and they are all peculiar."

It is true that Village Eisteddfodau take place in many a village, often most successfully; and where they exist they could form the nucleus of further development, no doubt. But the essence of our plan is that we ask the whole of our village to form a permanent organisation, and every one, man, woman, and child, to take some active part in benefiting the village perennially and permanently. Our annual fête and exhibition will be exhilarating and

delightful; but it is not our only object. We wish, in fact, to give "a local habitation and a name" to the spirit of culture and enterprise that exists in every place where Welsh people are gathered together. When these societies are established, those visiting a village who wish to get in touch with its intellectual and productive life—to study its history and resources—will be able to communicate with the Secretaries; these will act as a sort of "Enquire Within upon Everything", and be the living centre of the little community.

I will venture to tell you how we started our own society, for, small as our beginning has been, we may grow; and we have life before us, because we have life within us.

The inhabitants of three parishes, in the midst of which I live, meet annually for the purpose of supporting our District Nursing Association. I am glad to think that the crying need for nurses has brought men and women together in a generous endeavour to aid their fellows; and I believe that the great effort Wales must soon make to secure the nurses that the nation in Parliament has declared to be essential, will waken men and women to the possibility of uniting locally, for intellectual and artistic as well as physical needs, where hitherto there has not been this union. So it has been with us. Three villages, never hitherto united, have joined together to support a nurse, and at our last meeting I suggested that we should form a new bond of union—not because we ought to, as in the case of the Nursing Association, but because we chose to—and that every villager should be asked to join; that each of us should do something to show what our village could produce; and that at the end of a year we should meet and see what we had achieved. I proposed we should unite for the purpose of Music, Literature, Art, and Horticulture—words that at first strike us as too remote from the

realities of daily life, though the things they stand for are at our very doors. Is it not always so? Does not the obvious escape us—the miracle of morning, the surprise of sunlight, the joyous presence of the more excellent things that lie within the reach of us all?

Along our own main road there are two cottages; we pass them daily. One is the glory of the neighbourhood in the spring, for purple aubretia and white arabis have poured a cascade of foliage and blossom over the grey walls. Here was a direct instruction to us. We must be Rock Gardeners, and every road should some day prove what villagers could do who planted flowers and plucked away the weeds from their walls. Then the road told us yet another story, for the poorest cottage in our neighbourhood had recently been repaired by a labourer who had returned to his native village and had himself rebuilt the house, and had cultivated every inch of his minute front garden till it had all the fascination of a miniature, and was a model of what industry and individuality may do.

Needless to say that the first department we decided on was the Horticultural section. We are organising a friendly competition to produce the best annuals, the best geraniums in pots, the best bouquets, even the best button-holes, and the best two yards of rock plants edging walls. I cannot but think that if our society does not fulfil all our hopes for it, it will not have failed utterly if this alone should result—that weeds and thistles should be banished from every garden, and the villagers of Wales should pour forth flowers, as emblems of their ideal, over the grey bareness of their garden walls.

Our need for music is as great as our need for flowers, and our second section is our Musical department. It needs no words of mine to speak in your presence of

the glories of Welsh music, of her sweet singers, for we are here to listen to her bards, to rejoice in her harmonies. Green, the historian, tells us that at the darkest hour of her history, in the twelfth century—

“The silence of Wales was suddenly broken by a crowd of singers. The new poetry of the Twelfth Century burst forth, not from one Bard or another, but from the nation at large. ‘In every house’, says the shrewd Gerald du Barri, ‘strangers who arrived in the morning were entertained till eventide with the talk of maidens and the music of the harp.’”

Too often we think with regret of the good old times. We should look to them for inspiration, never with regret. If we value the ages that are old, we should remember that these are the good old times, these in which we live. The world is older now than it ever was before, and it depends on us whether it is and shall be wiser and better. Yet there are many villages, even in musical Wales, without choral societies, though there is no village in Wales where young throats and voices could not combine in a harmony of sound. We are told that it is pitiable to see how many young musicians are drawn to London, and there fail to make a living, and ask in their despair whether it is not a mistake to foster such a love of music in the people. There cannot be too many amateurs, in the true sense of “lovers of music”, but to live by music or art is only possible for a very few until we have a people more awakened to artistic needs and powers. When our villages are awakened to the things that are more excellent, the first thing we shall need is a master, to teach us how to sing and to lead our choral society; and in days to come many a young professional may find a happy even if humble living, if he will follow a simple life, pursuing his favourite occupation in some quiet corner of the land, and when this happens all the land will benefit.

Principal Reichel, in his interesting address on Welsh

National Music, reminds us that popular culture finds expression most of all in song; and we are glad to know that a Welsh Folk-Song Society has been formed, and when village societies have been organised, their musical members will doubtless learn to sing the fascinating old songs of their native land.

Many important societies have been founded to help to bring light and learning to the people—supreme among them in Wales are the National Eisteddfod Association and the Society of Cymmrodorion—and all who have worked for that end will agree that in order to attain it fully, the inspiration from without must be welcomed by the receptivity of living souls and minds, even in the most distant and lonely districts. Wales stands pre-eminent in having, all along the ages, centred her light where all may come within its radiance, and it is greatly due to this that Welsh people everywhere respond so readily to the more excellent things that life has to offer. So Village Societies, if established, will form a vital centre, where other organisations of practical value may find a welcome for their work. The Welsh Industries Association, which has accomplished such admirable results already, will help us in the home arts; and in agricultural districts, where there are at present no local manufactures, wood-carving, carpentry, and needlework may be encouraged with benefit to every home. There are many villages where hand-knitted stockings are rapidly going out of fashion; but none where old hands and young might not ply their busy and useful needles, and old feet and young not be the better for wearing their productions. The National Health Society and the Physical Education League send lecturers, or literature, which is certain to be useful; and in our library we shall have publications to make known the work of other societies, so that our

members may decide in which direction they will develop their gifts and opportunities.

Speaking of the work of these associations, let me tell you how much we are indebted to the example of the Kyrle Society. The Kyrle Society owes its origin to a letter written in 1876 by Miss Miranda Hill, calling attention to the dull commonplace lives of the poor, and suggesting that means taken to enliven and better those lives would be labour well spent. The name of Kyrle was taken from Pope's lines praising John Kyrle, the man of Ross; and in London, Glasgow, Bristol, and many provincial places Kyrle Societies have been formed to secure open spaces, to lay out gardens, to distribute books and magazines, and to organise voluntary choirs of singers to perform oratorios to the poor, and for many other fine purposes. As a girl I took part in entertainments in the East End of London under its auspices, and when starting our village societies in Pembrokeshire I asked the President and Committee if we might look to them for advice and sympathy. Their response has been most kind, and later on I hope many of us who are interested in this movement may meet and consider all good ways by which it may be wisely furthered.

I have spoken of a library. It may be quite a small one; but it should contain volumes telling us the story of our own neighbourhood—its history, geology, and legendary lore. And when we have our libraries we will read and mark and inwardly digest the wise words spoken by the late Mr. Tom Ellis, whose memory is cherished by all Welsh people. Speaking before this Society on "Domestic and Decorative Art in Wales", he said:—

"For what after all is a good book? It represents the most precious heritage of the ages; it contains the highest thoughts about God, Nature, and human things."

Mr. Tom Ellis spoke also of decorative art, praising the old Welsh furniture, lamenting the fact that in many a cottage and farmhouse the new and gimcrack was taking its place.

This need not be the case. Only a few months ago I was called to the bedside of an old dying woman, who asked me to buy her chest because she had polished it, she said, for sixty years, and she wanted to feel it would be cared for. "Take it away at once", she said, "for I can polish it no longer, and I like to think that you will have it, for you will polish it when I am gone." When we all begin to make things ourselves and to encourage each other's productions, we shall learn to appreciate good work, probably by contrast with the badness of our own.

William Morris, poet, artist, and craftsman, said: "Do not put anything into your homes that you do not know to be useful, or believe to be beautiful." What a simple recommendation, from which every home, however humble, might gain adornment! The value of amateur work is that it teaches the amateur to appreciate the well-done, the professional, the profounder work. One of the direct results will be a greater demand for home-made furniture. The carpenter is the most classic craftsman that we have. He is a handy man and full of resource. When we discover the delight of having things well made, the cheap and showy, but ill-designed furniture, made chiefly by machinery, will no longer attract us, and we shall encourage the local carpenters and cabinet-makers, often first-rate workers, to put forth their best efforts on our behalf.

To return to the story of our own society. After deciding to have a Horticultural Department, a Musical Society, and a Literary Society, the question arose: What are those to do who are not literary, artistic, musical, or

even horticultural? The answer is that there is one interest all share, one desire all have—to possess the best things in our homes we can possibly have; and, therefore, we have a department to develop home excellence, which all can join.

Finally, we have to consider the tiresome but necessary question of finance: funds—by which our material life is conditioned, but by conditions that we can control so long as we do not allow them to control us. We have decided that no one need pay anything to belong to our society; but every one shall make something, and give his handiwork. The value of the material is to be no more than one shilling for each article in one department, and there is no one in our village, or in any village, but can make something; or, if such man there be, we shall start a department to teach him, and we will give him the life of *Robinson Crusoe* to read. All our home-made articles are to be exhibited, and judged by competent judges; and prizes are to be given to the best; and all are to be sold at an amateur auction afterwards for the benefit of the society.

We started our village society about four or five months ago, and, without waiting for a year to elapse, we held an inaugural meeting and fête three weeks ago. Out of three parishes, numbering, in all, about twelve hundred inhabitants, about five hundred articles were sent up for exhibition. They included a great variety of objects, from butter to blouses, from trimmed hats to turnips, from home-made toys to home-made bread. We bought each other's goods at our most amusing auction, and all that was left—and that was very little on this occasion, so great was our demand for our neighbours' productions—we sent to the Welsh Mission in London. We made sufficient to enable us to start our Choral Society, and form a prize fund for next year.

Such are the small outer facts, but the inner ones are these: We have learnt the tastes and talents of our neighbours; we have been rightly surprised at their gifts—of the stable-boy who trimmed a tasteful hat, of the busy youths who carved picture frames, of the farmer's wife who made velveteen breeches, the boyish tailor of fifteen who produced a quaint and well-cut waistcoat, of the Pembrokeshire farmer's wife who produced a delicious Caerphilly cheese. More than this: we have now a never-ending topic of conversation. No longer the weather, so well-worn and changeable; no longer criticism of our neighbours, so chilling; no longer dwelling on our aches and pains, so cheerless; no longer a discussion of what we or others cannot do, cannot have, cannot bear; but endless discussion of all that we and others can make, and see, and do, invent, and construct.

And again, we learn something of the art of governing in our society. The art is a great one; all may learn its elements; but it takes a touch of genius to lead, and many a Britisher has this touch. The self-governing power of our country is its chief characteristic, and our little organisation encourages any one who has the gift of leadership and initiative, young or old, boy or girl, plough-boy or man of leisure, to come forward and to lead a section of workers into the field of action. The secretaries of the sections form the governing body, and anyone who likes may undertake to form a department, to become its secretary, and thereby to become one of the governing body of the society. If there are any Miltons amongst us, we want them not to be mute and inglorious, but to sing. If there are any village Hampdens in our midst, we want them to govern, and not immediately to set forth to do something else, somewhere else, but to remain to brighten and benefit the place in which they live.

We hope that if village societies are started, with high purpose, a cheery spirit, and an enterprising outlook, they may bring something of the gay romance of life to those who have the spirit but not the chance of adventure. We shall interchange ideas with others. Better still, we shall interchange human beings. We will send some clever competitors to other villages; we will ourselves offer hospitality to those who are sent to us. Instead of racking our brains questioning what to do when we desire to amuse or be amused, we will ride away to sing or play to distant villages, and have moonlight walks back again. When we travel, we will enquire where the secretaries of the Village Society live, and fly to look at the best rock plant, discuss the bards, or compare notes on local geology, as the case may be.

Then we will link ourselves with the national organisations of Wales, study the opportunities opened up by her higher education—in short, come to you as recruits in the great force of culture and progress you represent. We need not be daunted by difficulties. We will pass through the tunnels of difficulties only to get on and into daylight at the other end.

I have seen brave women walking long miles over the hills in pouring rain to our meetings. I have seen the bright faces of the dwellers in three parishes brought together in friendly companionship, neighbours who had never even met till we met for our common aim. I have seen four or five hundred folk assemble, of the kind that I was told were *most* peculiar people, who would never do any of these things, and with them have realised that we can obtain, where we are, from the men and women *we live amongst*, in short, from ourselves and from one another, many of the best things that life can offer, if we will unite to seek them, work to develop them, open glad eyes to

welcome them ; and once we have gained them we shall never lose "the things that are more excellent". They will grow with our growth, and make life lovelier till the end, and we shall be able to say with ever more earnest conviction as the years go by :—

"As we wax older on this earth,
 Till many a toy that charmed us seems
 Emptied of beauty, stripped of worth,
 And mean as dust and dead as dreams ;
 For gauds that perished, shows that passed,
 Some recompense the Fates have sent ;
 Thrice lovelier shine the things that last,
 The things that are more excellent.

"The grace of friendship—mind and heart
 Linked with their fellow heart and mind ;
 The gains of science, gifts of art ;
 The sense of oneness with our kind ;
 The thirst to know and understand
 A large and liberal discontent ;
 These are the goods in life's rich hand,
 The things that are more excellent.

"In faultless rhythm the ocean rolls,
 A rapturous silence thrills the skies ;
 And on this earth are lovely souls,
 That softly look with aidful eyes.
 Though dark, O God, Thy course and track,
 I think Thou must at least have meant
 That nought which lives should wholly lack
 The things that are more excellent."

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The
Transactions
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Society of Commorion.

SESSION 1906-07.

LONDON:
ISSUED BY THE SOCIETY,
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1908.

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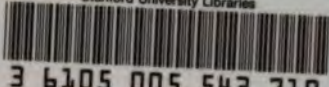
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