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VOL. XXXII. "CARED DOETH YR ENCILION." 1922.

Catraeth, and Hirlas Owain.

A STUDY, WITH CRITICAL TEXTS, TRANSLATIONS,
AND NOTES.

BY PROFESSOR T. GWYNN JONES, M.A.

University College of Wales, Aberystwyth.

A STUDY of the earlier literary material written in the territory of Powys reveals certain characteristics implying the existence of a tradition differing in some important respects from the traditions of Gwynedd and Deheubarth. The Llywarch Hen fragments, with which it is not proposed to deal in this paper, exhibit individualism in metre and matter, and their character suggests that they are the debris of what may have been an extensive literature, largely concerned with the struggle in the upper Severn Valley. The style of this poetry is simple and it has some qualities which, at least until we revise some of our standards, may justly be called great. Llywarch's address to the last of his sons,¹ of whom he is said to have had twenty-four, is, for instance, quite equal to what the Spartan mother is supposed to have said to her son.

¹ "Cyndylan, cadw dithau y rhiw
er a del yma hediw—
cudab am unmab, nid gwiw!"

What he said to another son,¹ who was a scholar and no warrior, is perhaps less generous, but should be useful as a corrective. In “Englyniion y Beddau”, too, there are many single lines—let us hope that the literary appreciators will never discover them!—which are as terse, and as pathetic as Simonides’ famous lines.² In fact, the terseness and wisdom of Llywarch Hen are quite admirable. Unluckily, only scraps of what may have been a body of good literature—that is, good sense and true feeling, simply and tersely expressed,—have come down to us. At a later period, “Hirlas Owain”, a poem attributed to Prince Owain Cyveiliog, is notable, and stands by itself among the poems of the twelfth century war poets. It is not, it is true, without much in common with them—the stock epithets of the period, savage and sanguinary, but quite as honest as our own expressions, borrowed from competitive commerce. The stock epithet, of course, is found everywhere, even in Homer, and tribal communities, having to fight for their existence, will produce such literature, if they produce any at all. Their heroes will all be lions, wolves, eagles and kites, &c., and the most proficient in the spilling of enemy blood will be the greatest for them. And they will admit the fact, often quite gruesomely, while it is our custom to speak of such realities in other terms—sometimes those of theology. But the Powys bards are not sanguinary only. They show some constructive ability, feeling and dramatic qualities. And the “Hirlas” Poem, at any rate, is without a doubt inspired by the “Gododin”, a poem tradition-

¹ “Neud wyt ti ysgolhaig, nid wyt ffelaig,
unben ni’th elwir yn nyd rhaid,—
och! Gyndilig, na buost gwraig!”

² ὃ ξείν’ ἀγγέλλειν Δακεδαίμονίοις ὅτι τῆδε
κείμεθα, τοῖς κείνων ῥήμασι πειθόμενοι.

ally attributed to Aneirin, said to have been a Northern bard of the sixth century.

As the aim of the present study is mostly literary, it is not necessary to attempt anything like a historical inquiry concerning, for instance, the site of Catraeth, or the date of the events said to have happened there. Whatever may be the truth with regard to those matters—and I am not in anyway inclined to belittle their interest—it is a fact that the “*Gododin*” mirrors for us a life differing in many points from that of the twelfth century in Wales. The fact that Owain Cyveiliog, in writing the “*Hirlas*” poem, continually borrows from the “*Gododin*” proves—and there are plenty of other proofs—that it was old material then, and that bardic composition was largely a matter of utilizing earlier material. The term “*newid gwawd*”, frequently employed, as, for instance, in the contention between Dafyd ap Gwilym and Gruffud Gryg, must have meant such a practice, and we have the charge made even in the 16th Century, by Sion Tudur, in his scathing satire on the habits of the bards of his own day. And, in fact, the theory of literary composition in England in the 18th Century was that it was to be mostly a matter of aping classical writers. Now, the “*Gododin*” itself may have been subjected to this practice. In fact, a note in “*Llyfr Aneirin*”, at the end of the “*Gododin*” proper, clearly indicates that the stanzas were used by minstrels in contention. But even if we grant that the “*Gododin*” may have been manipulated, it will be evident at once to any competent critic that it cannot, in the form preserved in “*Llyfr Aneirin*”, have been the manipulation of a twelfth century bard. Although Owain Cyveiliog clearly borrows from it, the difference between his poem and the “*Gododin*” can be detected.

The "Gododin", as known to us, at least, is not a connected poem. It is rather a series of detached lays, or stanzas. With a few possible exceptions, these stanzas are concerned with the same event, an important one in the history, it may be gathered, of the Northern Brythons, and an outline of the chief incidents may be extracted.

The court of Mynyddawc Mwynvawr would appear to have been the centre of the life shadowily depicted in these stanzas. The district where the events occurred must have been a fertile one, and the inhabitants wealthy, comparatively civilized, and nominally Christian. Great halls are mentioned, enclosed steadings, the ploughing of lands, reaping and hunting, and the rearing of horses and cattle. The folk were acquainted with wine, mead, bragget, ale, honey; ornaments of gold, silver and amber, materials of various colours—white, red, black, green, blue, yellow, grey, dun, purple, pale, &c.,—armour and weapons of iron, steel and lead, including shields adorned with gold, blue-enamelled armour, white-enamelled spears, swords with gold-adorned sheaths, tearing-pronged weapons, darts and shafts of ash and holly; probably defensive armour of ringed lead, and enamelled helmets. Military terms are used which are, at least, not common in the war poetry of the twelfth century bards, even though those bards are manifestly employing an archaic vocabulary.

The leaders are a fighting aristocracy, and there are probably Scandinavian elements, in their names and habits. They are feeders of the wolves and foxes and of all birds of prey, kites and eagles especially. Their valour is great, but there is one notable characteristic about their deeds—they are hardly ever outside the range of human possibility. Compared with, say, the Charlemagne poems, they afford a striking and not unpleasant

contrast. They don't split warrior and steed in two with one blow. They don't kill thousands in their individual rage. And they don't count God as their obedient ally, though they hope for heaven in the end.

Perhaps the height of reckless human valour commemorated in these simple stanzas is that of the man who caught wolves with his bare hand, "without a club", and even the names of the witnesses are given. When another went out with "the green dawn"—the phrase of a man who had seen the first, faint flush of dawn with a poet's eye,—there was always a shout, but it was not his—he was violent, but silent. Marchlew, himself as fleet as any steed, mounted upon his wildly-bred horse, and fighting with the haste of a band of predatory reapers on the edge of the wild, is a picture that takes us back to a distant past. Heilyn, who loved a sword to a fault, carrying the wounded in his arms between the two hosts; the son of Syvno, who sold his own soul for the flattery of men; Breichyawl, who fell because he would not flee,—these are not the colourless heroes of the twelfth century bards generally. There are stewards carrying the sacred flame, when the host was in dire peril, a practice unknown to the twelfth century bards; and another broken band is described, coming over a headland, bringing with them sacrifice for a bonfire, while their houses are all wrecked, and the head of their leader is being pecked at by ravens. Priests are not mentioned, not even in connection with the sacrifice, but there are several references to churches and altars. Hyveid, the friend of minstrels, preferred the dangers of wild life to wedding feasts and altars. In Gwaednerth, who compelled slaves from all regions to the fight, we recognize a quite modern type of hero. It is possible the text means that he actually dragged them by the hair. Kynon, who "pressed

his side against enemy spears"—an admirable line, of its kind—is also convincing in other ways. Budvan, lying dead under the dew at Rhydon, is an instance of "the pathos of war". Keredig, the friend of all arts, strikes one as a real person, particularly because of the delicate suggestion of artistic interest in the description of his shield, "gold-webbed with the maze of a battle field". Marro's son, a youth, splendidly equipped—the description is really excellent—preferred being left dead on the field to being "graved with solemn rites", a suggestion of a borderland of Christianity and Paganism. Gwrvell-ing's warriors sang, even in the toughest fight, when led by him, an intimate touch for the like of which one would search in vain in the twelfth century poems. And throughout the stanzas, we have the pride, the pomp, the fury and raw savagery of war, as savage then as now. We find here withering contempt, which sounds quite modern, for the man who advanced reasons against fighting. Here, he merely said that wine would overthrow the army, which it did. The poet seems to admit the force of the advice, but as it was not spoken by many, he thinks it was folly. And yet, there is a curse on that wine and that mead, "yellow, ensnaring, sweet", which, it is poetically said, was really the enemy against which the warriors were fighting when they fell. We find here warm regard for friends and relatives, keen love of active, dangerous life in the open—similes tell us briefly what the author, or authors, were accustomed to see, the hunting of wolves, boars and foxes and the baiting of eagles. Love of song and story is also indicated, minstrels were highly honoured, especially at the New Year's Day celebrations. There is a sense of the beauty of wine in vessels of glass and gold, and of the brave appearance of mounted warriors, with their bright trapp-

ings. There is a suggestion that the battle was the result of the quarrels of women, but otherwise, women are barely mentioned. The implied contempt for wedding celebrations is notable. There is no trace of chivalry in the stanzas, no suggestion of the conventional love theme, but there is a touch of pity for bereaved mothers, even of the enemy, and a great sense of the dark power which seems always to be hurling men to destruction—

Kyd elwynt i lanneu i benydyaw,
dadl diheu anghen i eu treidyaw”.

There is a thrill of truth in this, and, compared with the matter and medium of the twelfth century war bards, it is superior, and expressed naturally and with true art. The simple greatness of such lines as the following is beyond praise:—

“Gosgord Vynydawc, enwawc en reid,
gwerth eu gwled o ved vu eu heneid”.

“Kyd yven ved gloew wrth leu babir,
kyd bei da e vlas, e gas, bu hir!”

Trychant trwy beiryant en catäu,
ac wedi elwch, tawelwch vu!”

The aim here has been to give an idea of the story of the Gododin by arranging the stanzas in some kind of order, suggested by their contents—an opening lament, the greatness of the court of Mynydawc and the brilliance of his followers; the battle, with the brief, bald catalogue of its days, and laments for some of the fallen. For this purpose, only the fairly intelligible stanzas have been used. Others, which are simply a different arrangement of ideas and stock epithets, have not been included. The essence of the whole material is comprehended in the selection made. Text emendations have been made here and there, and the notes deal with the same.

It is observable that the earliest version of some of

the stanzas is found in *Gorchan Maelderw*. If these be compared with versions in the *Gododin* proper, it will be found that the scribe has modernized the orthography, and done it badly. Probably, we should have cause to thank him if he had not interfered with the orthography at all. But even his own original must have been modernized. Both the *Gododin* and the *Gorchan Maelderw* versions have been used here in attempting to provide an intelligible text.

As pointed out already, it is clear, from the note at the end of the *Gododin* fragment, that the material was used by bards and raconteurs in contests (*ymrysonau*). This probably means that these stanzas, as well as "The Grave Stanzas" and the "Triads," were employed as the bases of prose narrations, into which, here and there, the metrical material was thrown¹. Thus the real narrative, with its wealth of detail, is wanting, and we have lost a vast body of legend which was known to our forefathers. We can only picture and faintly imagine how such material must have gripped a race of fighters and hunters, with a love of free life in the open, of colour, and of the music of words,—a love not yet quite dead, in spite of the imposition of the culture and religion of others. If the native culture had been allowed free development, this material might have been preserved. In any case, there would have been re-creations, attempts to revivify remnants of the lost romance, a valuable addition to the literary heritage of a people whose attachment to literary endeavour has been pathetically persistent, but too frequently ineffective through force of circumstances.

At first, the translation of these two poems was

¹ Cp. *Fled Brierend* in Gaelic, for instance, and *Branwen*, &c., in Welsh. I have heard a similar thing done by some of the clever story-tellers still to be found in the Hiraethog hills.

made into prose, and was as literal as it could be made. Critically read, it appeared to be inadequate in effect. Some kind of metrical form seemed to be necessary. Still, an attempt has been made to translate rather than to produce what one might judge to be similarity of effect. In only one or two instances have two or three somewhat tiresome stock epithets been reduced to a single equivalent.

The *Gododin*, then, is a fragment, but in some of its lines there yet runs that wine, "sweet, ensnaring," sparkling yet, in "vessels of gold," as we may enable the light to strike upon it, after patiently endeavouring to scrape away some of the incrustations of centuries. And with the gleam of it, as it were, the thick mist seems gradually to open, and a life, far away, slowly becomes dimly visible and faintly audible:—

"Far away, and of fairy wile,
like the hum of bees in the heather,
on old Hiraethog, when the stagnant air
lies tearless in the gold net of July,
dreaming of lightning's liberty and motion
and thunder's music, in enraptured awe".

The similarity of the "*Hirlas*" poem to the "*Gododin*" will be readily seen. Not only are there expressions borrowed bodily from the earlier poem, but there are also structural resemblances, which show us the way in which the twelfth century bard understood his model. In this composition, the bard is evidently celebrating the achievement of some actual expedition, in which there may have been a number of incidents, one of them being the taking of a fortress and the rescue of a prisoner. This brings into the mind of the bard a detail of the *Catraeth* story, and the comparison between the feat accomplished by the warriors of Owain Cyveiliog and that attempted by "*Gosgord Vynydawc*" is instructive, for it suggests that

the object of the earlier expedition was likewise the liberation of someone from captivity. It is also stated in this poem that the followers of Mynydawc failed in their attempt, and that they were slaughtered, in consequence of their having slept:—

“Cosgorð Vynydawc, am eu cysgeid,
casgawð ei hadrawð, cas vlawð vleinieid.”

There is no distinct reference in the *Gododîn* stanzas to the falling asleep of the host, unless we have the echo of some such matter of detail in the following lines, among others:—

“Gŵr a aeth Gatraeth gan dyð,
neu, llewes ef vedgwyn veinoethyð”.

As a poem, the “Hirlas” possesses unity and a certain dramatic quality, but it lacks the more intimate elements of the “Gododîn”. Like most Celtic poetry, it betrays, in the midst of its barbaric violence, a half-expressed feeling for nature, in lines which possess a haunting quality:—

“Gordîn gwynt gwaedvan uch glan glasvyr,
gordwy clau tonnau Talgarth ystyr”.
“Neud, oed lawn o haul hirvryn a phant”.

One recognizes the poet and the artist in such things. In spite of the many stock epithets of the poem, there is stark realism in some of its lines, and a stately movement throughout, which, of course, it would be impossible to reproduce in any translation. It pictures for us, or rather enables us to picture for ourselves, as no other contemporary poem does, the night carousal after a bitter fight; a camp on the hill-side; a huge fire, with a red glare; rough tables lit up with rushlights; a band of grim-faced, blood-bespattered men, each in his place; the passing round of the mead; the sonorous words of bard or

prince, and the solemnity of certain moments, with the abrupt transition to hilarity :—

“ Dywallaw di'r corn, can nis puchant,
Hirlas, yn llawen, yn llaw Vorgant ”.

One may wonder why such a scene was not pictured with greater detail, but we are apt to forget, or rather fail to realize that the circumstances would give to such lines as the following a delirious effect :—

“ Cigleu ym Maelawr gawr vawr vuan,
a garw disgyr gwŷr, a gŷyth erwan,
ae ymgynnull am drull, dra mawrdan,
fal y bu ym Mangor, am ongyr dân.”

Such poems, to be quite fair to their writers, have to be read with the exercise of some imagination. Most interesting, also, in the middle of it all, is the half-expressed sense of the hollowness of conventional flattery :—

“ Menestr, mawr a waith yd oleithir
gwŷr ni olaith llaith—oni llochir ? ”

Finally, the association of war and religion cannot fail to strike anyone who can still think of the last few years of human experience. Men change but very little—they only change their terms.

The “*Catraeth*” text is, of course, based upon that of the *Book of Aneirin*, but later transcripts have also been considered. For the “*Hirlas*” poem, the versions of the *Red Book of Hergest* and the *Myvyrian Archaeology* have been used.

CATRAETH.

- Neud, wyf evynnawc blin,
 ni dialaf orðin ;
 ni chwadaf chwerthin
 a dan droed ronin¹ ;
 5 ystynnawc vy nglin
 yn ty deyerin
 cadwyn heyernin
 am ben vy neulin,
 o ved, o vuelin.
 10 o Gatraeth werin !
- Mi, na vi, Neirin,—
 ys gŵyr Taliesin
 oveg kyvrennin,—
 neu cheint Ododîn
 15 kyn gwawr dyd dilin.
- Kyvwyrein kedwyr, kyvarvuant,
 i gyd yn un vryd yd gyrchasant ;
 byrr eu hoedl, hir eu hoed ar eu carant ;
 seith gymeint o Loegrwys a ladasant ;
 20 o gyvrysed gwaged, gŵyth a wnaethant,—²
 llawer mam ae deigr ar e hamrant.
- Ni wnaethpwyd neuad mor orchynnan,
 mor vawr, mor orvawr, i gyvlavan ;
 dyrlydut, medut, Moryen, cân³ ;
 25 ni thraethei na wnelei Kynon kalan ;⁴
 un seirchyawc, saffwyawc, sôn edlydan,
 seinyessit e gleðyf ym mhen garthan ;
 noc ag esgyg carreg, vyr, vawr gyhadvan,⁵
 ni mwy gysgogit Wit vab Peithan.

¹ *ronin*, a fetter made of horsehair.

² May also be read "O gyvrysed, gwaged gwyðw a wnaethant", which is perhaps the most natural, but cp. with the tradition of the causes of the battles of Camlan and Arderyð.

³ There can hardly be a doubt that the reading should be *cân*.

⁴ There seem to be instances in the *Gododîn* stanzas of the rhyming

CATRAETH.

Shackled and sore am I,
vengeance no more is mine,
no more may I laugh a laugh,
fettered of feet, I pine :
stretched are my limbs
in an earthen keep,
with an iron chain
round my knees, I weep,
I, who once drank deep
with the host at Catraeth slain !
I, Neirin, yet, not I alone,—
for Taliesin knows
the like of these my woes,—
I, once of Gododin sang the lay,
before the dawn of ruin's day.

A hosting there was, and they met,
and forth they all went, of one mind ;
short-lived were they, but long
is the grief among their kind ;
of Lloegrians, seven times more they slew ;
because of women's strife of words
they drew and drove the angry swords,
and many a mother's tearful eyes
the ruin rue !

Never a hall was so laughter-filled,
so wide and so great, for the trial of blood :
Moryen, the song thou didst merit was thine,
Kynon ne'er promised but what he made good ;
harnessed, long-speared, and of far-spreading shout,
there was one whose blades rang in the echoing cave,
and no more than yields a broad rock to the wave
would Wit, son of Peithan, swerve in the rout !

of single vowels and diphthongs,—a common practice in later material, not hitherto pointed out,—but they are here, perhaps, too uncertain to justify a rule. *Kalan* is therefore probably the correct reading.

⁵ *vavr y chyhadvan*. The line has two syllables too many. One might read *craiy*, and *mur*, but the reading adopted here is more poetical, perhaps.

- 30 Ni vaeth¹ neuad *ŵr* mor dianaf,
 lew mor hael, baran llew llwybr vwyaf,
 â Chynon hael vron, adon decaf,
 dinas i dias ar lled eithaf ;
 dôr, angor byðin, buð eiliasaf ;
- 35 or sawl a weleis ac a welaf ym myd
 yn ymdwyn arf gryd, gwryð gwryaf,
 ef lladei oswyd â llafn llymaf,
 mal brwyn yd gwyðynt rac e adaf ;
 mab Clydno clod hir, canaf iti, yôr,
- 40 clod heb ôr, heb eithaf.

- Ni vaeth neuad *ŵr* mor diesic²
 â Chynon lary vron, Geinyon wledic ;
 nid ef eistedei yn nhâl lleithic,
 y neb a wanei, nid adwenit !
- 45 llym waewawr ; calch drei ; tyllei vyðinawr,
 racvuan e veirch rac rygïawr ;
 yn nyð gŵyth, adwyth oed e lafnawr,
 pan gryseyi Gynon gan wyrð wawr.

- Ni vaeth neuad *ŵr* mor annovawc,
 50 ony bei Voryen, eil Caradawc ;³
 ni diengis yn nhrwm, llwrw mynawc,
 dywal dywalach no mab Fferawc ;
 ffer e law, fflaglei fflowys varehawe ;⁴
 glew dias, dinas i lu ofnawc ;
- 55 rac Byðin Ododin, bu gwasgarawc
 e gylehwy, dan e gymwy, bu adevawc ;⁵
 dyð gŵyth, bu ystwyt, bwyth atveilyawc ;
 dyrlyðei vedgyrn eillt Mynyðawc.

¹ "Vaethpwyth" is probably due to a copyist, who may have been puzzled by "ni vaeth", or perhaps it may have been suggested by line 22, where "wnaethpwyd" seems to be justified. In any case "Ni wnaethpwyd neuad mor dianaf . . . â Chynon" cannot be right.

² Cp. l. 22.

³ One might read "Moryen eil Caradawc", and translate "Moryen son of Caradawc". But *eil*=son is doubtful, and Caradawc in another

No hall ever fed one so faultless and free,
as Kynon, a broad-tracked lion was he,
 mildest of manners and noblest of race,
 rampart of battle, and stand,
 anchor of armies, who gave with grace :
of all I ever shall see, or have seen,
 bearing arms in the strife of the strong,
he slashed at foes with the blade most keen,
 that they fell by his hand like reeds ;
 famed Clydno's son, I sing the song
 of thy ever glorious deeds.

No hall ever fed one so warlike as he,
 Kynon, true lord of Keinion's domain ;
'twas not at the end of the bench that he sat,
 who was pierced by his blade was not pierced again
keen-weaponed, bright-bucklered, host-gapping was he,
 his steeds over fleet in the front of each fray,
and his blades were death in the hour of rage,
 when Kynon went forth with the greening of day.

No hall ever fed one of valour untamed
 like unto Caradawc, save Moryen alone :
through the fight, in the noble one's wake, there lived
 not a man more fierce than the fierce one's son ;
at the heels of the fleeing, his rash hand flamed,
 he the soul of the fight, the waverers' stay ;
on Gododin's front, his shield was strewn,
'tis known, as, surrounded, he cut out his way ;
 swift in wrath, and of deadly stroke,
 and Mynyddawc's mead
 was the dower of his deed.

stanza is said to have been the son of Brân, and "Mab Fferawc" here probably means "the son of the violent one".

⁴ One is tempted to read "Powys vachawc", but the consonance ff: ff: ff cannot be overlooked.

⁵ *adeuawc* may simply mean "it was admitted". *Edeiniawc*, *adwyawc* are also possible.

Issawc,¹ anvonawc o barth Deheu,
 60 tebig môr lliant e devoden,
 o wyled a llaryed, a chein yved med,
 men yth glawd e offer, e bwyth, maden!
 ni bu hyll dihyll na geu diheu;²
 seinyesit e gledyf ym mhen mameu,
 65 mur greid, oed moleid ef, mab Gwydneu.

Bu gwir, mal y medut, Gatlew,³
 ni deliis meirch neb Marchlew;
 hëesit waewawr y glëw
 yar llemeinic llwybr dew,—
 70 kan ni vacket am vyrn, am borth,
 oed dywal gledyval ymborth;—⁴
 hëesit onn o bedryollt e law
 yar veinyell vygedorth;⁵
 yd rannei yryngdud rewîn,
 75 yd ladei â llafn vreith o eithin;
 val pan ved medel ar breiðin⁶
 y gwnaei Varchlew waetlin.

Nid ef borthi gwarth gorsed
 Senyllt, ae lestri llawn med;
 80 godolei gledyf, i gareð⁷
 godolei lemein i ryvel;
 dyfforthsei lynwysawr¹ oe vreich
 rac byðin Ododin a Bryneich;
 gnawd en e neuad vythmeirch,

¹ *Isaac* is a doubtful form. Internal rhyme is secured by *Issawc*. *Iðawc* (cp. *Breudwyd Rhonabwy*) would perhaps be preferable to both.

² *Ni bu hyll dihyll na heu diheu*. In *Gorchan Maelðerw*, we have the line *Nyt oed hyll ydelllyll en emwaret*, and in *Hirlas Euein*, along with other evidence of the influence of the *Gododin*, we find *Nid ym hyu dihyll nam hen deheu*. For one meaning of *ellyll*, cp. *Dafyd ap Gwilym Yna y mae f'enaid glan A'm ellyll yma allan*. The reading adopted here may at least be defended palaeographically and otherwise.

³ The reading in *Gorchan Maelðerw* is *Geu ath diwedus tut leo na deliis meirch neb march lew*, but the stanza is shorter than here.

⁴ *oed cadarn e gledyual ynyorth*, (*Gorchan Maelðerw*), from which I take *oed*. *ynyorth* might be read *ying ngwrth*.

⁵ *Gorchan Maelðerw* reads: *vein erch rygedorth*, an immaterial difference in colour.

Issæc, a knight from the Southern land,
 whose rush was swift as the ocean's flow ;
 bright in the mead-round, modest and bland,
 whom his weapon gashed returned not the blow :
 he held not unfair to be fair, untrue to be true ;
 the ring of his sword filled mothers' heads ;
 son of Gwyðneu, rampart of strife,
 glorious in life !

Catlew, 'twas true that no steed
 ever matched Marchlew in speed !
 the darts of the hero were sown
 from a charger's back,
 fleetest, and of wide track,
 for, nurtured not where bales abound
 or gates surround,
 'twas fierce in the bearing of blows ;—
 from the back of the yellow-flanked, smoking horse,
 his ashén darts from his grasp he throws ;
 ruin he spread among his foes,
 and slew with a speckled shaft of gorse :
 as a stealthy band on the border mows,
 so Marchlew mowed down bleeding rows.

On Senyllt's court, he brought no shame,
 with over-flowing mead-horns rife ;
 he loved a sword nigh unto blame,
 he worshipped leaping into strife :
 before Gododin's host, before
 Bernicia, he the wounded bore ;
 fleet steeds were in his steading fed,

⁶ *Vreithin* in the *Gododin* text. Anwyl translates it "unsettled weather", which suits well enough, but as the idea is that of violent haste, *preidin* is suggested, especially as there are other references to such practices—*nid erdit e dir kyrei dyffeith*, etc.

⁷ *hyd gareð* would be a better reading.

⁸ *llynwysawr*. Anwyl translates "pestilences", probably following the meaning given in some of the MS. Vocabularies, which are largely guesses. But cp. *llynor*=abscess, and *llyncoes*=spavin. Also l. 120, where the meaning seems to be fixed.

- 85 gwyar a gwrymseirch :
keingyell hiryell oe law,
ae yn e lid, brysyaw ;
gwán ac ymhŷrdwan, hyrdbeit ;
diserth a serth,¹ ar dro,
90 gwŷr nid oedyn trych, traed ffo !—
Heilyn, achubyad pob bro.

- Yveis win a med ym Mordei ;
mawr meint e wehyr
yng nghyvarvod gwŷr,
95 bwyd i eryr erysmygei ;
pan grysyei Gydywal, cyrdwyrëei awr,
gan wyrð wawr, kyn ni dodei ;²
aesawr dellt ambellt a adawei,
pareu rhym rhwygyad, dygymynnei ;
100 i gad blaen bragad, briwei mab Syvno.—
sywedyð ae gwyðei,—
a werthwys e eneid
er wyneb grybwylleid,
â llafn lliveid lladei ;
105 lledesit âg Athrwys ac Affrei ;
er amod, arvod arvaethei :
ernygei gelaned
o wŷr gwychr gwned,
ym blaen Gwyned gwanei.
110 Yveis i win a med ym Mordei,
can yveis, disgynneis ffin flaw tud,
neud didrachywed *gw* colwed drud !³
pan esgynnei bawb, ti disgynnud ;
dybu gwae arnat, gwerth na thechud !⁴
115 present *gyradrawd* oed Vreichyawl glud.⁵

¹ *diserch a serch* clearly *ch* for *th*.

² *keui dodei*.

³ *didrachywed*. The meaning is uncertain. Anwyl translates it "uncongenial", taking it to be, probably, from *cy* and *gweð*. There are two forms which have perhaps been confounded. In Cyndelw Brydyð Mawr, *Poetry of the Gogynfeird*, p. 51a, 49, we have—*Grannyon trychyon trachywed eitun*, where the rhyme syllable is *-ed*, not *-ed*. I take this to be *tra chived*. Other instances in the Gogyn-

there were dark-blue trappings, stained with red ;
 his hand threw spears like shafts of light ;
 in rage, he rushed, with lounging might,
 he pierced and thrust, and stopped each shock ;
 o'er level land and rugged rock,
 men not cut down turned round and fled
 from Heilyn, stormer of each stead !

In Mordei, I drank of his wine and mead :
 he, greatest of deed
 in the meeting of men,
 who piled up the eagle's store ;
 with the green of dawn, when Kydywal set out.
 though he gave it not, there was raised a shout ;
 shields all scattered he left, and torn,
 lances and tearing-pronged spears he broke,
 Syvno's son, in the front was his stroke,
 for, as wise men told,
 his soul he sold
 for the love of flattering words ;
 he cleaved with sharpened swords,
 with Athrwy's and Affrei he fought :
 for a pledge, his toil he planned,
 and valiant men fell by his hand,
 in the forefront of Gwyned he wrought.

In Mordei, I drank the wine and mead,
 then sped to the post of the pride of his race,—
 pitiless the heart of the brave, in need :
 when all held back, thou would'st keep thy place :
 it was woe to thee
 that thou would'st not flee,
 and the tale of the world is Breichyawl the bold.

feird are in -eð—*New Kemeis llyn dreis drachywed*, P. G., 127 : *edryw-ant trachwant trachywed an knawd, yt yn kny daear yn y diwed*, P. G., 144 ; *cystegwr bydin drin drachywed*, P. G., 185. In these instances the word appears to mean *violence, vengeance*. See also line 345.

⁴ *Ys deupo gwaeant*. *Deupo* is probably due to the occurrence of the form in other lines, where it is grammatically used.

⁵ *present adrawd*. I adopt the *Gorchau Maelderw* reading, which gives the regular length of line.

- O Vreithell Gatraeth pan adrodir,
 maon, dychiorant : eu hoed, bu hir ;
 edyrn diedyrn, amygyn dir¹
 â Meibyon Godebawc, gwerin enwir :²
- 120 dyfforthynt lynnwysawr, gelorawr hir ;
 bu tru a dlynghetven, angen gywir,
 a dyngwyt i Dudwlech a Chywlech Hir !
 kyd yvem ved gloew wrth leu babir,
 kyd bei da e vlas, e gas, bu hir !
- 125 Dyfforthes meiri molud nyved.³
 rac trin riallu, trin orthorred,
 tebic tân teryd ban gynened ;
 Diw Mawrth, gwisgasant eu cein duded ;
 Diw Merchyr, perideint eu calchdöed ;
- 130 Divyeu, cenhadu a amoded ;
 Diw Gwener, calaned a gyvrived ;
 Diw Sadwrn, bu daswrn oe cydweithred,⁴
 Diw Sul, llafneu rhud a atranned ;
 Diw Lhun, hyd ben clun, gwaetlin gweled ;
- 135 neus adrawd Gododin, gwedi lluded hir,
 rac pebyll Madawc pan atgoryed,
 " Namyn *un* gŵr o gant *ni* ueled !"⁵
- Kaeawc, kynhorawc, bleid ym maran,
 gwevrwr goduwawr,⁶ torchawr am rann :
- 140 bu gwevrwr gwerthwawr, gwerth gwin o vamm⁷
 ef gwrthodes gwrys gwyar disgrein ;
 kyd dyffei Wyned a Gogleb i'w rann,
 o gusul Mab Sgyrran, sgwydawr anghyvan.

¹ *Edyrn diedyrn*. The meaning is doubtful. Cp. *Nyd* [*neud*?] *yn ardwyl adwyl edyrn*, Poetry of the Gogynfeirdd, 119a, 4; *Edyrn trin ved-gyrrn*, P.G., 169b, 37; *neud Edyrn teyrn hyd lan tueð draw*, P.G., 181b, 35; *och fi . . . fod poen edyrn aruad*, P.G., 183b, 21-22; *ochain edyrn bron ucheneidiau*, P.G., 189a, 12-13; *neud tra edyrn chwyrn chwerveð gwenwynig afreolus ðig oi farwoled*, P.G., 190b 6-7. In these instances *Edyrn* seems to be the name of a man with an unfortunate history.

² *amwyrn â*, to fight against.

³ I adopt the *Gorchan Maelðern* version, as in other lines of this stanza. For the meaning of *Meiwr*, see Ifor Williams' admirable note, *Bull. Bd. of Celt. Stud.* 1. 1. Cp. also *meinoethyð*, l. 384.

When the tale is told of Catraeth's fate,
 folk shall fall, and their grief be great :
 nobles ignoble strove for the land
 with the sons of Godebawc, a faithful band ;
 and the long biers bore the wounded throng ;
 'twas a woeful lot, thou relentless Fate,
 that was sworn to Tudwlch and Kywlech the Tall !
 though we drank bright mead in the rusblit hall,
 if its taste was sweet, its hate is long !

The praise of the sacred one, stewards bore
 in aid of the broken fight of fame ;
 kindled, 'twas like a consuming flame ;
 on Tuesday, their brilliant raiment they wore ;
 on Wednesday, they dressed the enamelled shield ;
 on Thursday, sworn messengers sped ;
 on Friday, they counted their dead ;
 on Saturday, work of their hands,
 heaped masses covered the field ;
 on Sunday, red blades wers again sent round :
 knee-deep, on Monday, the red blood ran ;
 Gododin tells, long-wearied and wan,
 when back came the host
 to Mynydawc's post,
 " out of each hundred, but one is found " !

Torqued, of the forefront, a wolf in the line,
 flecked amber-beads wreathed o'er his temples shine,
 precious were they as the wassail wine ;
 the shock he withstood
 as he wallowed in blood ;
 though Gwyned, full well,
 and the North to him fell,
 by the counsel of Skyrran's son,
 only broken shields were won.

⁴ *diwern, Gododin. didurnn, Gorchan Maelôerw.* The first is uncertain, the second somewhat meaningless.

⁵ *yny delhet.* lit. when there was a coming ?

⁶ *gwerrawr godiwawr.* Several conjectures might be made, for instance:—*goduwawr*=flecked with dark: *modrwyawr, godreawr, gyð-frwyawr.* Or one might read: *Gweer am eu gyðreawr, torchawr am ran.*

⁷ *gwerth gwin o vann.* One would like to read: *gweith gwyn ofan* =a silversmith's work.

Kaeawe, kynniwyd kywlad Erwyd.
 145 ruthr eryr yn ebyr pan llithiwyd :
 e amod a vu nod a gadwyd,
 gwell a wnaeth, e arvaeth ni gilywyd :
 rac bydin Ododin, *a* dechwyd,¹
 hydr gymell, ar Vreithell Vanawyd,
 150 ni nodi nac ysgeth nac ysgwyd,
 ni elli ryanet, ryvaethpwyd,²
 rac ergyt Catvannan, cadwyd.

Kaeawe, cynhorawe, men yd elhei,
 diffun, ym blaen bun,³ med a dalhei :
 155 twll tâl e rodawr ene klywei awr,
 ni rodei nawd, meint dilynei :
 ni chilyei o gamawn ene verei waed,
 mal brwyn, kymynnei wŷr : ni thechei :
 neus adrawd Gododin ar llawr Mordei,
 160 rac pehyll Madawe, pan atgoryei,
 namyn un gŵr o gant, ni delhei.

Kaeawe, kynhorawe, arawe yng ngawr,
 kyn no diwed gŵr gwrd yng ngwryawr⁴ :
 kynrau yn raewan rac bydinawr,
 165 kwydei pum pymwut rac e lafnawr :
 o wŷr Deifr a Bryneich, dychiawr
 ugem cant yn niwant yn unawr :
 kynt e gig i vleid nogyt i neithyawr :
 kynt e vud i vrân nogyt i allawr ;
 170 kyn noe argyvrein, e waet i lawr,
 gwerth med yng nghynted gan lliwedawr,—
 Hyveid Hir, etmygir tra vo kerdawr.

Disgynsit yn nhrwm, yng nghysevin,
 gwerth med yng nghynted, a gwirawd win ;
 175 hēesit e lafnawr rwng dwy ydin,
 arderchawe vachawe rac Gododin,
 Eithinyn voleid, mur greid, tarw trin.

¹ *odechwyd*. The mutation cannot have been produced, at this period, by an unexpressed relative *a*.

² *ny ellir anet ry vaethpwyd*.

³ *bun*. Cp. Mod. Ir. *buanaim*, vl. *buanaadh*, I cut, mow, reap, cogn. with Old Is. *benaim*. For the meaning of *med a dalhei*, cp. *talasant en med*, *Hirlas Euein*, l. 37.

⁴ *eg gwryawr*=*gwryawr*? Cp. *Gruffut grym wriaucr*, *Poetry of the*

Torqued, hewer of Erwyd's borderland,
with the rush of an eagle caught in the tide,
his pledge was an aim that was kept,—
and more did he, in his unchecked might ;
in Gododin's host, when into flight
on Manawydd's field, it was driven and swept,
neither spear nor shield
any cover could yield,
for none ever born or bred
from the stroke of Catvannan fled !

Torqued, of the forefront, wherever he went,
panting in the van, the mead-prize was his due ;
where'er he heard the call, with buckler gapped and bent,
quarter he gave not, endlessly he slew ;
from strife he never turned, when he poured out blood,
like reeds he cut down men, and stubbornly he stood :
Gododin tells on Mordei's ground,
when back came the host
to Mynyddawc's post,
“ out of each hundred, but one is found ” !

Torqued, of the forefront, armed for the fray,
ere the mighty one fell with his noble peers,
prince in the onset, he led the way,
and five times fifty fell by his spears ;
of the men of Bernicia and Deira, in one hour,
a hundred score were hurled
to the nether world ;
readier his gift for the beast
than for a wedding feast ;
sooner for ravens he wrought
than of the altars he thought,
for the prize of mead in the warrior's hall,—
the glory of minstrels, Hyveid the Tall !

Into the strife he went, in the foremost line.
for the prize of mead in the hall, and wine ;
between two armies, his darts were sown,
a splendid horseman, Gododin's own :
Eithynyn the bright,
stay of valour and might.

*Gwroled*¹ Gogleð, gŵr ae goruc,
 llary vron, hael Adonwy esillud² :
 180 nid ymda daear, nid ymding mam,
 mor eirian gadarn. haearn gaduc :
 o nerth y klebyf clær ym hamuc,
 o garchar anwar daear ym due,
 o gyfle angheu, o anghar dud,
 185 Keneu vab Llywarch, dihavarch drud.

Vy nghâr, yng *ngwir*car ni 'n gogyffrawd,
 o neb, ony bei gŵyn dragon durawd :
 ni didolit yng nghynted o ved gwirawd.
 ef gwnaei ar Beithing beithin arvodyawe ;
 190 ef disgrein yng nghad, disgrein yn aelawd :
 neus adrawd Gododin gwedi ffosawd,
 " pan vei no lleivyen³ llymach nebawd ?"

Erdyledawe kamu kyman ovri.
 twrf tân a tharan a ryverthi :
 195 gwrhwt arderchawe varchawe mysgi,
 rudvedel ryvel a eiduni :
 gŵr gwneð, divudyawe *dyryn*ni⁴ i gad,
 or meint gwlad yd glywi :
 ysgwyt ar ysgwyd, hud arrolli woew,⁵
 200 mal *yred* gwin gloew o wydr lestri ;⁶
 aryant am e ved. eur dylvi.
 gwinvaeth oed Waetnerth vab *Eliiri*.⁷

Erdyledaf canu i Gynon⁸
 a chyn bu divant dyleith Aeron,

¹ *Gwroled*. Possibly also *gorwroled*.

² *hael adon ny esillud*. *ny* as a contraction of *yn y* is common at a later period, but here the sense seems to be against it. The name *Adonwy* appears elsewhere in the poem.

³ *no lleivyen*

⁴ *dimyngyei*, which may have been *dillyngci* or *divyngyei*, but the next line seems to support *dyrynnei*.

CATRAETH AND HIRLAS OWAIN.

(*Cymmrodor*, vol. xxxii, p. 25).

OMISSION.—After line 10. p. 25, “Keneu, son of Llywarch, matchless and great” read the following, (representing lines 186—192 of the Welsh Text) on p. 24.

My friend, nought ever distressed us indeed
but woe for the dragon of steel at whose door
there never was stinting of seasoned mead;
he who mowed down Picts like reeds in the glades,
he who wallowed in battle, 'mid limbs and gore;
Gododin asks when the hewing is o'er—
“Whence is that which is sharper than blades?”

To face p. 24.



Pride of the North, he who did the deed,
generous and brave, of Adonwy's seed;
earth bears not, and mother ne'er bare
the like of him, steel-clad, mighty and fair:

with the might

of a sword that was bright.

he verily came and sought me,
from a vile earthen prison he brought me,
from the place of death, from enemies' hate,
Keneu, son of Llywarch, matchless and great.

'Tis a duty to sing of the famed battlefield,
of the tumult of fire, of thunder and flood;
of the valour unmatched of the splendid knight
whose lust was alone the red harvest of blood;
from all of the regions which heard the call,
he summoned the slaves to the fight;
with his shield on his arm, stayed the lances all,
unmoved as when draining the glass globelets bright,
or mead silver-served,
though gold he deserved,
the son of Elivri, Gwaednerth the bold.

'Tis our duty of Kynon to sing;
ere Aeron's mainstay was no more,

⁵ *ae ysgwyt ysgwyt ar y ysgwyd, hut arolli wayw.* *Ysgwyt* has evidently been repeated, and the line is too long even then.

⁶ *mal gwin gloew o wydyr lestri.* The line is two syllables short.

⁷ *rab Llyvri.* The line is a syllable short, and *Llyvri* does not seem to be attested elsewhere. *Elivri* is a name frequently found in the Gogynfeird.

⁸ *Erdyledam canu icinon kiguereu in gwanth.* The stanza is from *Gorchan MaelDeru*. The last three words might be read "cywrein yng ngawd", but they make the line too long. Probably they represent the beginning of a line of which the end is missing.

- 205 ryveid e loffen eryron llwyt,¹
 en annwyd, goreu vwyd ysglyvyon ;
 ar neges Mynydawc, mynawe maon.
 ef dodes e du ar waew galon ;
 ar Gatraeth, oed ffraeth eurdorchogyon,
 210 hwy, gwenynt, lledynt seivogyon,
 odnch eu temyr. treis ganaon ;
 oed odid ym mid, o barth Vrython,
 Gododin o bell well no Chynon.

- Blaen Echeching, gaer glaer Eugei,
 215 Gweiryð, gwŷr gwanar ae dilynei :
 blaen ar e blwy^{veu}, dygollovei²
 vual yn e wynnawr Vordei :
 blaen gwirawd vragawd ef dybydei :
 blaen eur a phorffor, kein as mygei :
 220 blaen edystrawd pasc ae gwaredei :
 blaen arwyre gawr, budvawr dei,
 arth en llwrw byðin, hwyr y techei.³

Arwr y ðwy ysgwyt a dan e dalvrith,
 ac eil tith orwyðan.

- 225 bu trydar yn aevre, bu tân,
 bu ehud e waewawr, bu ruan ;⁴
 bu vwyd brein, bu vud i vrân :
 a chyn edewit yn Rhydon⁵
 gan wlith, eryr tith tiryon.
 230 ac o du gwasgar gwaneg, tu bron,
 beird byd, barnant *wr* o galon ;⁶
 bu aberth e gerth, e gynghyr,⁷
 divröed e gynreïn gan vyr,⁸

¹ *riuesit i loffen ar pen erirhon luit.* The line is two syllables too long, and makes no sense. *beryron* is also a possible reading.

² *blaen ar e bludue dygollouit.* The rhyme attests the emendation *dygollouei*.

³ *en llwrw byth.* As we have *en llwrw byðin* elsewhere, this is probably another example of the stock phrase.

⁴ *bu ruan.*

his hand used to feed the grey kites,
 in his rage for the beasts he made store :
 for the sake of Mynydawc, the monarch of men,
 'gainst enemy spears, he pressed his side ;
 reckless at Catraeth, the gold-torqued ones cried ;
 piercing and hewing the ranks that stood,
 hard by their own homes, like fury's brood :
 in the deadly strife, in the Brython van,
 there was not than Kynon a mightier man.

First of Eochu's tribe, of Eugei's gleaming walls,—

Gweiryð, whom followed men who were wont to lead,
 foremost among his folk, in his great and wealthy halls,
 ever he liberally filled the horns with foaming mead :
 the best of bragget he brewed and brought.
 the best of purple gave, and gold,
 the first of chargers, sleek and bold.
 converse with him was ever sought :
 first in raising the shout, and of honoured sway,
 a bear on a host's track, who never gave way.

The lord of two shields, with the speckled casque,
 and the run of a rushing steed,
 there were fury and fire on the hill of strife,
 and his spears were showered with speed ;
 there were food and gain for raven and kite,
 and though he was left, at Rhydon, bedewed,—
 who had moved like an eagle of stately flight,—
 by the side of the hill, where the wild waves dart,
 the bards of the world call him valiant of heart :
 his faith and his counsels were given in vain,
 and his chieftains driven forth by the main :

⁵ Possibly *Rhyðan*. Cp. *Botryðan*=*Bod Rhyðan*, in the Vale of Clwyd.

⁶ *wyr o gallon*, which might stand, but the sing. *wyr* would seem to be better.

⁷ *diebyrth*.

⁸ *gan wyr*. The context suggests relation to the tradition of chieftains whose lands were inundated by the sea.

- a chyn e olo a dan Eleirch Vre,
 235 ydoed wryd yn e arch :
 gorolches e gren e seirch,
 Budvan vab Bleidan dihavarch.
- Cam e adaw heb gof, camp ehelaeth,
 nid adawei adwy er adwryaeth :
 240 nid edewis e lys, *clesurriaeth*,¹
 Diw Calan Ionawr, *heb* e arvaeth ;²
 nid erdid e dir, kyvei diffeith,
 drachas yn nias, dreic ehelaeth ;
 dragon yng ngwyar gwedi gwinvaeth,
 245 Gwenabwy vab Gwên, gynnen Gatraeth.
- Keredic, caradwy e glod,
 achubei, gwarchadwei nod
 lledvegin, ys tawel, kyn dyvod
 e dyd, gowychyd, e wybod :
 250 ys, denpo, kâr kyrð kyvnod,
 i wlad nef, adef adnabod.
- Keredic, caradwy gynran,
 keimiad yng nghad govaran,
 ysgwyt eurgrwydrad cadlan,³
 255 gwaewawr uswyd anghyvan,
 kledyval dywal, diwan,
 mal gŵr, cadwei wyalvan :
 kyn kystud daear, kyn affan,
 o daffar, diffynnei e vann,
 260 ys denpo kynnwys yng nghyman
 can drindawt yn undawt gyvan.
- Pan grysyei Garadawe i gad,
 mal baed coed, trychwn trychyad ;
 tarw bydin yn nhrin gymynyad,⁴
 265 ef llithyei wydgwn oe anghad—

¹ *nyt edewis e lys les kerdoryon prydein*. As it stands in the text, the line is irregular—12 syllables, instead of 9, no endrhyme, no internal rhyme with the following line. Probably “kerdoryon Prydein” is a gloss, and *les* is a portion of the original term. The rhyme syllable supplies *-aeth*, hence *clesurriaeth*, (cp. Ir. *cles*), on which “kerdoryon Prydein” would be a gloss. ³ *ene aruaeth*.

² *eurgrwydyr cadlan*. The line is a syllable short in the text: *eurgrwydrad* seems to supply the missing syllable and the sense.

and ere they laid him still
 at the foot of Eleirch Hill,
 in his coffin there was valour indeed :
 and his trappings o'er and o'er
 were stained with his own gore,
 Budvan, son of Bleidvan, doughtiest of deed !

'Twere wrong to forget him, a matchless lord,
 who yielded not his post to a faithless horde :
 no minstrel was sent empty-handed away
 from his halls, when they welcomed New Year's Day ;
 his lands were not ploughed, even though they be wild,
 he was bitter in battle, yet generous and mild :
 in the contest of Catraeth, when the wine feast was o'er,
 Gwenabwy, son of Gwên, was a dragon in gore !

Keredic, beloved was he,
 all posts he took and defended :
 gentle and true, in all that he knew,
 was he, ere his day was ended :
 and he, the friend of noble arts,
 may heaven be his, home of all parts.

Keredic ! most loveable lord,
 a champion in bold advance,
 with his gold-webbed shield,
 mazed like a battlefield,
 and his broken and splintered lance :
 with a mighty, ferocious thrust,
 like a man, he kept his trust :
 ere the custody of earth, ere the fading away,
 stubbornly he stood at his post :
 and may it be his to dwell with the host
 of the Three in One, always.

When Caradawc set forth to the fight,
 there was one who tore
 through thirty and more
 like a forest boar.
 like a raging bull in his might ;
 he who baited wild dogs with his hand.

⁴ *en trin gomynyat*. Perhaps *gorynyat*. If so, the form is good evidence of scribal modification—the *m* was kept because of the form *cymynyat*.

ys vyn tyst, Ewein vab Eulad,
 a Gwryen a Gwynn a Gwryad :
 o Gatraeth, o gymynad,
 o Vryn Hyðwn, kyn caffad,
 270 gwedi med gloew ar anghad,
 ni weles Vrân e dad.¹

Greðf gŵr, oed gwas,
 gwrhyt am ðias ;
 meirch mwth, myngvras,
 275 a dan vordwyd mygrwas :
 ysgwyd ysgafn llydan,
 ar bedrein mein vuan ;
 kledyvawr glas, glân,
 ethy eur, a phân.

280 Ni bu, ef ni bi²
 cas e rof â thi,
 gwell y gwneif â thi
 ar wawd dy voli.

Kynt e waed i lawr
 285 nogyt i neithyawr ;
 kynt en vwyd i vrein
 noc i argyvrein ;
 ku kyveillt, Ewein,
 kwl e vod a dan vrein !

290 amorth ym pob bro³
 llad un mab Marro.

Anawr gynhorvan
 huan arwyrein,
 gwledic, — cwd gyvgein ?—
 295 nef ynys Brydein ;
 gawr ryd rac yr hin,⁴
 arth yn llwrw byðin ;⁵
 bual oed orwyn
 yng nghynted Eïdyn,
 300 i rihyd rhodes⁶
 ef o ryodres

¹ ni weles vrân.² ny bi ef a vi.³ marth ym po.⁴ garw ryt rac rynn.⁵ aes e lwrw budyn.

as I know by the word of Eulad's son,
and Gwryen and Gwryad and Gwynn, 'twas done :
from the cleaving at Catraeth wrought,
from the hill of Hyðwn, though he was brought,
after draughts of the bright mead store,
Brân saw his father no more.

A man in might, a youth in age,
lusting for the battle's rage,
rough-maned horses, lithe of limb,
gallant youth, were under him ;
and a buckler, light and wide,
hung upon the charger's side ;
gleaming blades of blue steel wrought,
golden spurs and ermine coat.

There was not, no more may be,
'twixt us any rivalry,
best to me is that I may
ever praise thee in my lay.

Readier ran his blood to earth
than he to the wedding mirth ;
sooner would he feed the kites
than be graved with solemn rites ;
Ewein, most beloved friend,
woe that birds his body rend !
sorrow saddens each domain
that Marro's only son is slain !

Sheltering leader of the lines,
like the rising sun he shines :
monarch—where was his compeer ?—
of the heaven of Britain's isle :
like storm-flood on a ford he spake,
or prowling bear in army's wake ;
in Eïdyn's halls with pageant brave,
white foaming cups to Kings he gave,

⁶ *e rihyd ryodres*. As there is no rhyme with *ryodres*, some words are probably missing.

- yd rei* ved medwawd,¹
yd vei win gwirawd:²
 oed ervid vedel,
 305 *yvei* win govel;
 aerveid yn arwed
 aergynnif vedel;³
 aer a dan glaer,
 kenynt, kyvei taer!⁴
- 310 Aer seirchyawc,
 aer edein yawc;
 neud oed drēi ysgwyd⁵
 gan waewawr plynuwyd:
 kwȳðyn gyvoedyon
 315 yng nghad, blynnwydion:⁶
 diesig e dias,
 divevl, as talas:
 hudit e wylltyas⁷
 kan bu clawr glas
 320 bed Gwrvellling Vreisc.⁸

- Teithi, etmygant.
 tri llwry Novant:
 trywyr chatvarchawc⁹
 Eidynt, eur rchawc:
 325 tri llu llurugawc,
 tri eur dēyrn dorchawc:
 tri marchawc dywal,
 tri chat gyhaval:
 tri chyvneit, kyvvar,
 330 chwerv ffysgynt esgar:
 tri yn nhrin, yn nhrwm,
 tri lleif, lledynt blwm,¹⁰

¹ *e* ved medwawt.

² *yrei* win.

³ aer gennin.

⁴ keuit aer.

⁵ nyt oed diryf y ysgwyf.

⁶ *eg* cat blynnwyf. The words "tri llew lledynt blwm", l. 332. and other expressions in the poem. suggest that *plynnwyd*, *plymlwyd*, *plymneid*, *plymneit*, etc., simply mean *plymrwyd*, armour made of

the intoxicating mead they filled,
 and drank the sparkling wines, distilled ;
 and there his mowers of the line
 were wont to drink their honeyed wine :
 and he the battle-bold, who led,
 in battle-toil, the reapers red ;
 and led along by him, the bright,
 they sang, though 'twere the toughest fight !
 battle-decked and pinion-borne,
 verily, his shield was shorn
 by the leaded darts, and torn :
 and his fellows, fighting, felled
 lead-speared warriors, while he yelled
 hoarsely in the whirl, and then
 blamelessly he paid his men.

But his angry flame was quenched,
 for the greensward hides his dust,
 he, Gwrvelling, the robust !

Folk marvelled at the qualities
 of Novant's sons, three blades were these,
 three knights of Eïdyn, wearing gold,
 three torqued and armonred, leaders bold ;
 of equal leap and equal might,
 who put the foe to bitter flight :
 whose blows cut through the very lead,

ringed lead. One would not be surprised at finding a Latin origin for the form. In the Gogynfeird, it has evidently lost its exact significance, and simply means battle, conflict.

⁷ *ewyllyas*.

⁸ Should probably read Gwrvelling *Uras*. See note on line 25.

⁹ *tri si*.

¹⁰ *llew lledynt blwm*. An old Scandinavian feat was to cut through a bar of lead with a sword. Such feats were also practised among the Irish in the time of Brian Borumha. This, among other things, is evidence of Scandinavian influence in the Gododin. See note on l. 315.

- tri* yng nghad gynghwmi;¹
 tri theyrn maon
 335 a dyvu o Vrython.
 Kynri a Chynon
 kynrein o Aeron;
 gogyverchi yn hon
 Deifr diverogyon;
 "A dyvu o Vrython
 340 w'r well no Chynon,
 sarff seri alon?"

- Arf anghynnull,
 anghyvan dull,²
 anghysgoged;
 345 trachywed vawr,
 treiglesit llawr
 Lloegrwys giwed;
 hëesit eis
 yng nghynnor Seis,³
 350 yng nghad vereu:
 goruc w'yr llydw
 a gwraged gwedw
 kyn noe anghen;
 Greid vab Hoewgri
 355 ae ysberi
 i beri creu

- Angor dewr daen,
 sarff seri raen,
 sengi wryngaen
 360 ym mlaen bydin;
 arth arwynawl,
 drwsyad dreisyawl,⁴
 sengi waewawr
 yn nyd cadyawr
 365 yng nghlawd gwernin;
 ail Nedic nâr,
 neus goruc drwy vâr
 gwled i adar

¹ *eur e gat gyngrwn.* *cynghrwm* might also be read.

² *agkyman.*

who from the tumult never fled ;
three rulers of the Brython they,
of Kynri and Kynon, Aeron's stay :
the dripping folk of Deira cry :
" was ever, of the Brython band,
than Kynon any one more high,
scaled serpent, born of Aeron's land ? "

With scattered arms,
and shattered lines,
 whilst he unyielding stood,
with vengeance great,
he hurled to earth
 the Lloegrian hosts in blood ;
his shafts were sown
on the Saxon front
 in the battle of the spears :
ere his own death came,
he had laid men low,
 and widowed wives in tears,
the son of Hoewgri, Greid,
whose blades drew blood, ere he died.

Anchor of mighty spread,
serpent of galling scales,
who trod on the blue steed bands,
 in the front of hosts ;
a bear in his fury, he,
wrecker of trappings, he,
who trod on the points of spears
in the day of ruin and wrath,
 in the ditch of the alder posts ;
like Nedic the bold,
he made in his rage
a feast for the birds,

³ *yg kynnor eis.*

⁴ *dreissyawr.*

- drwy drydar drin ;
 370 kywir ith elwir oth enwir weithred,
 rhacaf rhwyvyadur, mur cadviled,¹
 Merin vab Madyein, mad ith aned.
- Gŵr a aeth Gatraeth gan wawr,
 wyneb ud yn ysgorva sgwydawr ;²
 375 kreir kyrchynt, kynhullynt reawr ;³
 yng nghynwan, mal taran twrf aesawr ;⁴
 gŵr gorvynt, gŵr edvynt, gŵr llawr,
 ef, rhwygei a chethrei â chethrawr ;
 oduch lled, lladei â llafnawr,
 380 yng nghystud hëyrn, dur arbennawr :
 ym Mordei ystyngai dyledawr,—
 rhag Erthgi, erthychei vydinawr.

- Gŵr a aeth Gatraeth gan dyd,
 neu, llewes ef vedgwyn veinoethyd :
 385 bu truan, *gyclavan* gyvluyd,⁵
 e neges or drachwres drengchidyd :
 ni chrysiwys Gatraeth
 mawr mor ehelaeth
 e arvaeth uch arwyd ;⁶
 390 ni bu mor gyvor
 o Eidyn ysgor
 a esgarei oswyd ;
 Tudwlech Hir, ech e dir ae drevyd.
 ef, lladei Saeson *hyd* seithved dyd ;⁷
 395 perhëid e wryd, enwir vyd,⁸
 ae govein gan e gein gyweithyd :
 pan dyvu Dudwlech dud nerthyd,
 oed gwaedlan gwyalvan vab Kilyd.

¹ *racaf*, possibly for *rac-haf*. In the *Gorchan Maelðerw* version the reading is *rector*.

² *wyneb udyu*.

³ *crei kyrchynt*. See *Hanes Gruffud ap Kynan*., ed. Arthur Jones, p. 126, *trwy aruoll y greiryau*.

⁴ *en gynnau*.

through war's grim shock ;
 firm art thou called for thy deeds of right,
 foremost of rulers, and warriors' might,
 Merin, son of Madyein, of high-born stock.

A man went to Catraeth with the dawn of day,
 with the look of a prince in the armed array ;
 relics were sought,
 and the steeds were brought,
 and the shields thundered out in the foremost fray :
 and the proud and the gentle and the mean,
 he ripped and stabbed with many a spear
 above the plain, with steel blades keen,
 he hewed down heads, in his iron gear ;
 at Mordei he humbled the proud, and hosts
 from Erthgi fled panting with fear.

A man went to Catraeth with the dawn of day,
 who was wont to sup mead at the dead of night ;
 dire, through the slaughtering of the host,
 was his quest in the deadly fight :
 and to Catraeth field, not a chieftain went,
 with a purpose as great as he,
 nor a great one so great from Eidyn fort,
 who scattered the enemy ;
 through Tudwleh the Tall
 did the Saxons fall,
 by his steads, till the seventh dire day,
 and his valour, in song,
 and his memory, long
 with his noble stock shall stay,
 for when succour came to Tudwleh's lot,
 the post of Kilyd's son was a gore-sodden spot !

⁵ *bu truan gyuatcan*, which might be retained, and translated:
 "Dire, amid the lamenting of the host, was his quest", etc.

⁶ *uch arwyd*. The rhyme attests *erwyd*.

⁷ A syllable short.

⁸ *en wrwyd*, which, of course, cannot mean *yn ūr fyδ*.

- Gŵr a aeth Gatraeth gan dyd,
 400 neus goreu o gadeu gwilyd ;
 hwy, gwnaethant, yn geugant, gelorwyd
 â llafnawr llawn amawd, cyn bu dyd ;¹
 goreu hwn, kyn kystlwn kerennyd,
 enneint kreu ac anghen oe hennyd ;
 405 rhag bydin Ododin pan vu dyd,
 goruc deu bwylyat, neirthyat gwychyd !

- “Tafloyw ac ysgeth, tavlei wydrin ;²
 med rhag tēyrned, tavlei vydin,”
 meint e gyngor ; men na lleveir lliaws,³
 410 atvei anaws, ynvyd ae dyweit ;⁴
 rhag rhuthr bwyall a chledyf lliveid,⁵
 handit gwell y gwelir llavar lleif.⁶

- Ni mad want ysgwyd⁷
 ar *ganwelw* canllwyd ;⁸
 415 ni mad dodes vordwyd
 ar vreichir meinllwyd ;
 gell e baladr, gell,
 gellach e obell ;
 y mae, dewr, yn e gell⁹
 420 yn enoi angell bwch,—
 buð oe law, idaw poed pell !¹⁰

Da dyweid Adonwy, adwen,—¹¹
 “ Im adawsut weith eil Bradwen ;¹²
 gwneht, lladut, llogut,

¹ *em bedyd*, for *cin bu dyd*.

² *tavlet wydrin*.

³ *menit y gynghor men na lleveri*. The endrhyme vocalism is *-ei-*, with variation of consonants.

⁴ *ae vei anaws nyt edewyt*. Endrhyme vocalism *-ei-*.

⁵ *rac ruthyr bwylyadeu a chledyvar lliveit*. Two syllables too long. It is notable that *bwyall* does not occur in the poem, unless here.

⁶ *handit gwelir llavar lleir*. Probably bungled through *gwell* and *gwelir* in conjunction.

A man went to Catraeth with the day,
of his battles he made a shame ;
the others, in truth, with their hard thrust swords,
filled biers, ere their last hour came ;
but he, though kinship doth bind,
caused a bath of blood, and death to his kind,
when the host of Gododin fiercely fought,
he, the heroes' succour, had a second thought !

“ Javelin and lance would the glass o'erthrow,
and the kingly mead would a host lay low,”
such was his speech, but, by others not made,
contrary it were, none would heed the word ;
'gainst the rush of axe and sharpened blade,
best will be found the speech of the sword !

He pierced not a shield
from the back of a steed in the field ;
no long-limbed steed
did he mount in the need :
dusty was his bill,
dustier his saddle still ;
and the hero, fast confined,
gnaws the fore-leg of a hind,—
may he never fortune find !

Well, I wot, Adonwy spake :
“ Thou didst promise me to make
such a fight as Bradwen would ;
thou wouldst do, and slay, and burn,

⁷ *ny mat wanpwy't ysgwy't.* The *pwy't* of *gwanpwy't* makes the line too long. *Mad* is probably repeated unnecessarily in line 415.

⁸ *ar gynwal carnwy't.* *Ar Gynwal carnwy't.* = on Cynval of the scabs. = scabby Cynval, might be suggested.

⁹ *y mae dy wr.*

¹⁰ *poet ymbell.* Consonance and sense suggest *pell.*

¹¹ *da y doeth, God^oðin ; da dyrot, Gorchan Mael^{de}rw.*

¹² *wen heli bratwen.*

- 425 **n**o Moryen ni waeth wnelut!
 ni delyeist nac eithaf na chynnor;
 ys gwn, drwy berveð dy bennor,¹
 ni weleist ymorchwyð marchogyon
 ry lledyn, ni rodyn nawð Saeson :³
- 430 ni weleis or môr bwy 'r môr
 varchawc a vei waeth, no gŵr."⁴
- Gweleis dull o bentir a döyn,⁵
 aberth am goelcerth a ymdygyn ;⁶
 gweleis dei oc eu tref rygwydyn⁷
- 435 o eir Nwython, rygodesyn :⁸
 gweleis wŷr tyllvawr, gan wawr a döyn,⁹
 a phen Dyvnwal Vrych, brein ae enöyn !¹⁰
- Gwŷr a aeth Gatraeth gan wawr,
 dygymyrrwys hoen eu hanyanawr !¹¹
- 440 med evynt, melyn, melys, maglawr,
 blwydyn bu llewyn llawer kerðawr :
 kochach kleddyvawr na phurawr eu gwaïn,¹²
 gwyn-galch rain a phedryollt bennawr,¹³
 rhag Gosgordd Mynyðawc Mwynvawr.
- 445 Gwŷr a aeth Gatraeth, buant enwawe,
 gwin a med o eur vu eu gwirawd ;
 blwydyn yn erbyn urdyn ðevawd,

¹ *ysgwn drem dibennor, Gorch. Mael. : ysgwn tref dy beuvel, Gododîn.*
 Both seem to justify the emendation. Cp. Dr. Davies, *sub. voc. fiscella : pennor i lestair i anifeiliaid i grafu coed ieuainc.*

² *ymorchwyd maur marchogion.*

³ *wy lledin.*

⁴ *a vei waeth no od gur.* This and 430 are from *Gorch. Mael.*

⁵ There are two versions of this stanza. My version is made up from the two.

⁶ *aberthach koel kerth.* *Aberth a choelcerth* is also possible.

⁷ *gweleis oed kenevin ar dref redegein.*

⁸ *a gwyr nwythyon rygollessyn.*

⁹ *gweleis gwyr dullyawr gan awr adevyn.* *Gan awr* could mean with a shout.¹

more than Moryen in thy turn!
 thou wert not at post or picket,
 and I know that, through thy wicket,
 thou didst never look to see
 how the riders, swift and brave,
 slew, and quarter never gave;
 ne'er was seen, from sea to sea,
 than thyself a sorrier slave!"

I saw an array from the headland who came,
 bearing sacrifice for the sacred flame;
 their homes on their land, I saw all wrecked,
 at the bid of Nwythou, whose wrath they had drawn;
 I saw deep-gashed men, who came with the dawn,
 and the head of Dyrnwal Vrych the ravens pecked!

Men went to Catraeth, went with the dawn,
 and mirth made shorter their passions' sway!
 mead they drank, ensnaring, yellow, sweet,
 for a whole year's length, many a minstrel was gay;
 redder were their blades than their sheaths' pure gold,
 white-enamelled shafts, with double barb, they bore,
 in the train of Mynydawc of noble store.

Men went to Catraeth, famous and bold,
 wine was their drink, and mead out of gold;
 for a whole year's length, they had honour and fee,

¹⁰ *a phenn dyvynral a breych brein ae enoyn.* The consonance *brein*; *breich* in this reading suggests that the original reading may not have been Dyrnwal Vrych, and the equation with the seventh century Dornhall Brecc may therefore have been later.

¹¹ *dygymyrrus eu hoed.* The consonantism *hoen*; *haryanawr* favours *hoen*, as does the sense.

¹² *koch eu kledycawr na phurawr eu llain.* The conjunction of the two gutturals in the comparative of *koch*, perhaps, accounts for the form here, unless we may suppose that there was formerly contraction in such cases. Cp. dialectal *rhoth* for *rhodoð*, *cath* for *cafod*, etc.

¹³ *gwyngalch a phedryollt bennawr.* The line is a syllable short, and wants internal rhyme with the post-rhyme portion of the preceding line.

trywyr a thriugeint a thrychant eurdorchawc;
 or sawl yd grysiasant uch gormant wirawd.
 450 ni diengis namyn tri, o wrhydri ffosawd—
 deu gatgi Aeron a Chynon daerawd,—
 a minneu om gwaetffren, gwerth vy ngwenawd.

Gwŷr a aeth Gatraeth, yng nghad, yng ngawr,
 nerth meirch a gwrmseirch ac ysgwydawr;
 455 peleidr ar gychwyn a llym waewawr;
 a llurugeu claer, a chledyvawr;
 rhagorei, tyllei trwy vydinawr,
 kwydei bum pymwnt rhag e lafnawr,
 Rhuvawn Hir, ef rodei eur i allawr,
 460 a ched a choelwein cein i gerdawr.

Gwŷr a aeth Gatraeth, medvaeth, medwn,¹
 ffyrf, ffrowyslam, cam nas kymhwyllwn;²
 e am lafnawr coch, gorvawr, gwrmwyn,³
 dwys, dengyn, yd ymledyn, aergwn;
 465 ar deulu Bryneich, beich barnaswn,
 diliw, dyn yn yw nys adawswn,
 kyveillt a golleis,—difleis oedwn,—
 rhugl yn ymwrthryn Rhyu Rhiadwn:⁴
 ni mynnwys gwrawl gwadawl chwegrwn,
 470 maban i Gian, o Vaen Gwyngwn.

Gwŷr a aeth Ododin, chwerthin ognaw,
 chwerw yn nhrin, â llain yn ymdullyaw;
 byrr vlyned yn hed, yeynt yndaw,—⁵
 Mab Botgat, gweith gwynyeith, gwreith e law!⁶
 475 kyd elwynt i lannen i benydyaw,
 a hen a ieuenc a hydr a llaw,
 dadl diheu anghen i eu treidyaw.⁷

¹ *ueduaeth uedwn*. One might read *ueduaeth uedwon*, and accept a proest rhyme.

² *ffyrff ffrythlawen oed cam nas kymhwyllwn*. The internal rhyme and sense suggest the emendation.

³ One would like to read something like *e am yefu llawr coch, gor-*

three score, golden torqued, three hundred and three ;
of those who went forth in the madness of mead,
there escaped only three, by the power of deed,—
Aeron's two war-hounds, and Kynon the strong,—
and I, in my blood, by the power of my song.

Men went to Catraeth, to war and great deeds,
with shields, dark-blue armour, and mighty steeds :
lances a-quiver, and keen darts to throw,
armour a-gleam and long swords, all a-glow ;
there was one who excelled, gapped his way through the
horde,
five fifties he felled as he wielded his sword,
Rhuvawn the Tall, who decked altars with gold,
and gave largesse to minstrels of valne untold.

Men went to Catraeth, wine-nurtured, I tell,
firm, fleet of foot, not to mourn them were wrong ;
with the reddened blades, blue-hafted and long,
thickly and stubbornly, the war-hounds fought :
on the tribe of Bernicia, a curse would I lay,
not the ghost of a man would I suffer to stay :
a friend had I lost, though myself yet sound,
in the wild defence of Rhiadwn's Mound :
for the hero would not yield
six paces of the field,
son of Kïan he, of the Rock of the White Hound.

Men went to Catraeth, a laughter-loud crew,
bitterly in battle with blades to hew :
for a short year's length, in peace they had dwelt,
but the hand of Botgat's son caused work of dire woe !
to shrines to do penance, though they might go,
the old ones, the young ones, the mighty and low,
the goal of their march was the door of death !

vaur grymwrn, which would give better meaning, unless we can take *germwrn* to be for *germδwn*.

⁴ *rym riadwn*.

⁵ *en hed yd ynt enduw*.

⁶ *gwnaeth gwynnyeth*.

⁷ *y en treidaw*.

Gwŷr a aeth Gatraeth, oed ffraeth eu llu
 glasved eu hancwyn, a gwenwyn vu!
 480 trychant trwy beiryant yn catän,
 a gwedi elwch, tawelwch vu ;
 kyd elwynt i lanneu i benydu
 dadl diheu anghen i eu treidn.¹

O winveith a medveith yd grysiasant,
 485 gwŷr yn rheid, moleid, eneid dichwant ;
 gloew dull e am drull yd gytraethant,
 â gwin a med a mall, amucant !²
 o Osgord Vynydawc, handwyf atveilyawc.
 a rhwy a golleis om gwir garant ;
 490 o drychau rhiallu yd grysiasant,
 tru, namyu un gŵr, nid atgorsant !

Gwŷr a grysiasant, buant gytvaeth,
 blwydyn, oduch med, mawr eu harvaeth ;
 mor dru eu hadrawd, angawr hiraeth !
 495 gwenwyn eu hadlam, nid mab mam ae maeth!
 mor hir *an* hedlid ac *an* hetgyllaeth³
 yn ôl gwŷr pybyr tymyr gwinvaeth ;
 Gwlyged Gododin yn erbyn ffraeth,
 anwyn Mynydawc, enwawc y gwnaeth,
 500 a phrid er prynu Breithell Gatraeth !

Gwŷr a grysiasant, buant gydneid,
 hoedlvyrion, medwon uch med hidleid :
 gosgord Vynydawc, enwawc yn rheid,
 gwerth eu gwled o ved vu eu heneid !
 505 Caradawc a Madawc. Pyll ac Ieuan,
 Gwgawn a Gwiawn, Gwynn a Chynvan,
 Peredur, arveu dur, Gwawrdur ac Aedan,
 achmbyeid yng ngawr, sgwydawl anghyvan ;⁴
 a chyd lledesid, hwy, lladasan.—⁵
 510 neb i eu tymyr nid atgorsan.

¹ *y eu treidn.* Cp. with the form *treidaw*, l. 477. Cp. also with *croccaw* and *cyrchaw*, in *Llyfr Taliessin*.

² *gwin a med a mall a amucant.*

Men went to Catraeth, a jovial train,
 new mead their boon, and it now made their bane !
 three hundred, all harnessed, fought with a will,
 and after the loud shout, all was still !
 to shrines to do penance, though they might go,
 the goal of their march was the door of death !

From mead-feast and wine-feast they went,
 men, eager-souled, in the day of need ;
 brightly arrayed, round the horn they drank,—
 'twas the wine, mead and malt they fought when they
 of Mynydawc's train. [sank!
 alone I remain,
 and all my faithful friends are slain ;
 of three hundred men who marched to the attack,
 alas ! only one came back !

Men marched forth, mates at the mess, and one :
 for a year above mead, their aim grew great :
 how sad is their tale, longing insatiate !
 their boon was their bane, brewed by no mother's son !
 and long shall we go
 in anger and woe
 for the valorous men of the wine-stored land,
 Gwlyged of Gododin, he famously brewed
 Mynydawc's boon for the joyous band,
 a pledge for the stake of Catraeth strand.

Men marched forth, together they fell,
 short-lived, drunk with the passion of mead ;
 Mynydawc's train, of the famous deed,
 the price of their prize of mead was their soul !
 Gwgawn and Gwiawn, Pyll, Caradawc,
 Gwym and Kynvan, Yeuan, Madawc,
 Gwardur, Peredur, and Aedan, steel-true,
 foremost in battle, spent in the strain,
 yet, though in the toil they were slain, they slew,—
 never a man saw his dwelling again !

³ *eu hedlit ac eu hetgyllaeth.*

⁴ *achubyat.*

⁵ *a chet lledessynt.*

- Truan yw gennyf, gwedi lluded,
 godel gloes angheu trwy anghyffred,
 ac eil trwm, truan gennyf vu gweled¹
 digwydaw an gwŷr ni, ben o draed ;
 515 ac ucheneid hir, ac eilywed,
 yn ôl gwŷr pybyr tymyr tudwed,
 Rhuvawn a Gwgawn, Gwiawn a Gwlygeid,
 gwŷr gorsaf, gwryaf, gwrð yng nghaled;
 deupo i'w heneid, trwy wedi trined,²
 520 kynnwys yng ngwlad nef, adef afneued.

 HIRLAS OWAIN.

- Gwawr pan dwyre, gawr a doded,
 galon yn anfon anfuð dlynged ;
 geleurud an gwŷr, gwedi lluded trwm,
 tremid gofwy mur Maelawr Drefred!
- 5 Deon a yrreis i *gyhuðed*,³
 diarswyd ar vrwydr, arveu goched,—
 a rygodwy glew, gogeled rhagdaw,
 gnawd yw o'i dygnaw ðevnyð coded.
- Menestr,—a'm gorthaw, a'm adawed!—⁴
 10 estyn *di* y corn er cyd yved,—⁵
 hiraethlawn, na'm llys—lliw ton nawfed,⁶
 hirlas ei arwyð, aur ei duded.
- Dywallaw, venestr, gan vodhæd,⁷
 y corn yn llaw Rhys, yn llys llyw ced,
 15 llys Owain, ar brain, ry borthed eiryoed.⁸
 porth mil o gyvoed, pyrth egored.⁹

¹ *gennyf ry gwelet.*
² *eu heneit wy wedy trinet.*
³ *dygyhyssed* (*di=i* and *cygyheused*?). One might also suggest *digyhyhed*.

⁴ In the R.B. and Myv. Arch. texts, this line is the first of the fourth stanza, and reads: *Menestyr am gorthaw nam adawed.*
⁵ *estyn y korn.*
⁶ *hiraethlawn am llyw lliw ton nawfed*, which is unintelligible. *Na'm llys*, 'refuse me not', gives the meaning exactly.

After weariness long, it were dire to me
to meet death's pangs in affliction dread,
and equally dire was it thus to see
our men cast down and all of them dead!
and long I sigh and in misery weep
for the valiant masters of meadow and keep,
Rhuwawn and Gwgawn, noblest and best.
Gwiawn and Gwlyged, firm in each quest,
may their souls find place
through the Triune grace,
in the fullness of heaven, the abode of the blest!

THE HIRLAS POEM.

A shout was raised, with the first break of day,
defiance vain, sent by the enemy;
our men were red-speared, after heavy toil,
and o'er the walls of Maelor camp, death stared.

And I sent men, in daring deeds unmatched,
and fearless, to the test of blood-red blades,—
let him, who anger a brave man, beware,
for from such anger, woe is wont to come.

May that, which makes me silent, leave me now,—
cup-bearer, for our drinking, bring the horn,
marked with long streaks of blue, and ringed with gold,
which soothes the pangs of longing, and whose flow
is foaming like the crest of the ninth wave.

Cup-bearer, fill the horn full joyously,
and give to Rhys in this court of largesse,
the court of Owain of the golden gifts,
the stay of thousands, called the open door'd.

⁷ In the R.B. and M.A. texts, this line is the first of the third stanza. As the fourth is evidently of an introductory character, these lines should follow.

⁸ *llys Eweïn ar brait yt ryborthed eirioed.* Internal rhyme attests *prain*.

⁹ *porth mil a glywi pyrth egored.* *a glywi* must be a scribal error: *o gywod* gives sense and internal rhyme with the end of the previous line.

Dyðwg o vragawd wirawd orgred¹
 ar llaw Wgan draws, dros ei weithred,—
 canawon Gronwy, gwrð gynired gŵyth,²
 20 canawon hydwyth, hydr eu gweithred,
 gwŷr a obryn tâl ymhob caled,
 gwŷr yng ngawr, gwerthfawr, gwrð ymwared,
 bugelyð Hafren, balch *yng nghlywed*³
 hugunad cyru med, mawr afneued.⁴

25 Dywallaw y corn ar Gynvelyn,⁵
 anrhydedus *rud* o ved gorewyn ;
 ac or mynni hoedl hyd un vlwydyn,
 na didawl ei barth, can nid perthyn!⁶
 a dyðwg i Ruffud, waewrüd elyn,
 30 gwın a gwydr goleu yn ei gylchyn,
 dragon Arwystli, arwystl tervyn,
 dragon Owein hael o hil Cynvyn,
 dragon nyw dechren, ac nyw dychryn, cad,⁷
 cyflavan argrad, cymwy erlyn ;⁸
 35 cedwyr yd aethant er clod obryn,
 cyfoedion arwawc, arveu Edwyn,⁹
 talasant eu med, mal gwŷr Belyn gynt,
 teg ry yvynt, or yvo undyn!¹⁰

Dywallaw'r corn,—canyſ amcan cennyf
 40 yd ymgyryf glyw gloew ymddidan,—¹¹

¹ *a dytwc.* The *a* makes the line too long.

² Note the use of the pl. *kanawon*, though only Gwgan is named in the stanza as it stands in the R.B. and M.A. texts. Rhys is however mentioned in the third R.B. and M.A. stanza, which I have placed fourth, so that Rhys and Gwgan are "Kanawon Gronwy".

³ *balch eu clywet*, for *en clywet*.

⁴ *a wna newed*, M.A.

⁵ The M.A. stanza beginning with this line ends with "Talasant eu med etc.," so that it must refer at least to two warriors. Gruffud is named in line 29. The other name is Cynvelyn, line 25, and *argyn-*

Bring a full draught of bragget to the hand
of Gwgan, for the honour of his deeds ;
scions of Gronwy both, mighty in war,
like nimble whelps, in action without ruth,
who merit boon in every bitter test ;
men in attack, worthiest, a mighty help,
shepherds of Havren, proud when there is heard
the sound of mead-horns, great and bountiful.

And for Kynvelyn, do thou fill the horn,
an honourable guerdon of bright mead ;
and yet another year if thou wouldst live,
bear not his portion hence, meet were it not ;
also to Gruffiud of the crimson lance,
bring thou the wine, sparkling within the glass,—
the dragon of Arwystli, border-ward,
who starts not war, who is by war not startled,
sternest in stand, affliction in pursuit ;
warriors are they who went for glory forth,
fellows in feast and fight, like Edwyn's folk ;
their mead they won, like Belyn's men of old,
deservedly they drink, if any may !

Fill thou the horn, for now I would that he,
the lord of brilliant talk, should with me drink,

velyn is not an adjective defining *corn*. Note also that *ar* is used with other names—" *dydwy . . . ar llaw Wgan* " etc.

⁶ *na didawl i barch*. The consonance attests *parth*.

⁷ *dragon iw dechreu*.

⁸ *cynyw*, M.A.

⁹ *kyveton*, M.A.

¹⁰ *teg i hydreynt tra vo undyn*. The line is thus unintelligible unless we give *Hydrefa* the meaning of life in the world to come, as in the couplet—" *Awn i nef i hendrefa dan law Duw dyna le da*."

¹¹ *yt ymgyrryw*. This seems impossible unless we suppose a form *cyfrfod*. Cyndelw has *amgyrrwyf*, which seems to be from *angaru*.

- ar llaw Ednywein, llyw̄ gyflavan,¹
 lluch a dan ysgwyd ysgawn, lydan :
 ar llaw Ednyved llawr, diogan lew,
 ergyrwaew trylew, trai ei darian :
 45 tervysg diffysg dan, diofn anian.
 twrf hynt toredwynt uch teg advan,²
 teleirw yng nghyngrein, yng nghyfrang brwydr,³
 tal ysgwyd eurgrwydr, torrynt ymwan;⁴
 tryliw eu peleidr gwedi penwan,
 50 trylwyn yn amwyn amwiw garthan.

- Ciglen ym Maelawr gawr vavr vuan.
 a garw disgyr gwŷr, a gŷyth erwan,
 ac ymgynnull am drull, dra *maur*dan,⁵
 fal y bu ym Mangor, am ongyr dân,
 55 pan vaeth dau dēyrn, uch cyrn, cyfran,⁶
 pan vu gyfedach vorach Vorfran.

- Dywallaw'r corn, canys myfyr gennyf
 men yd amug an *tud* an tymyr,—⁷
 Selyf diarswyd, orsaf Gwygyr,
 60 gogeled a'i cawd, calon eryr!—
 ac nnnab Madawg, enwawg Dudur hael,
 hawl fleidieid, lleidieid, lluch ar ysgyr :
 dan arwreid, dan lew yn en cyngyr,
 dan arial dywal, dan fab Ynyr,
 65 dan ryd yn nyd cad eu cyfergyr,
 argor diachor, camp diechyr :⁸
 arvod llewod gwrð gwrthwan ceddwr.
 aerfunieid, cunieid coch en hongyr :⁹

¹ *Ar llaw deheu ein llyw gyflavan.* *ein* cannot be the modern inaccurate spelling *ein*=our, which proves faulty copying. Line 45 reads *tervysg diffysg dan*, so that we want two names in this stanza again. *Deheu ein* may be a bungle for *Edneuein*=Ednywain, the second name being Ednyved.

² *torrynt torredwynt.*

³ *ynghyvran brwydr.* The rhyming of *-n* and *-ng* is common.

give to Ednywain, leader in deeds of death,
 a lightning under buckler broad and wide,
 and to Ednyved of the blameless hand,
 unerring spear-thrust, and the battered shield ;
 unmoved in conflict, two of dauntless mind ;
 with cries like tearing winds o'er pleasant heights,
 who stand like headlands in the shock of war,
 who in encounter shatter gold-decked shields,
 whose spears come from the thrusting all dyed red,
 who round the post of honour rushed, alert.

At Maelor there was heard a short, loud shout,
 and rancous cries of men, and angry stabs,
 and then, around the feast, and the great fire,
 as 'twas at Bangor, round the ash-tree blaze,
 when two kings fed the host with bounteous horns,
 when high-born Morvran's noble feast was given.

Fill thou the horn, for now I think again
 of how our folk defended there our lands—
 Selyv the fearless, rampart of Gwygyr he
 with eagle-heart, who anger him, beware !
 and Madawc's only son, Tudur, the brave,
 like wolves were they, like lightning among twigs,
 a noble pair, in purpose lion-like,
 two sons of Ynyr, fierce in might are they,
 whose ranks are rapid in the day of strife,
 a band unswerved, feat of undaunted ones :
 gashing like lions, grim in the thrusting of men,
 lusting for action, with red ashen shafts,

⁴ *torrynt yu vuan*—makes the line too long *torrynt yu van* might be suggested.

⁵ *am drull am dramwyan.*

⁶ *pan wnaeth dau deyrn heb cyrn cyrrdan.*

⁷ *men yt amygant met an tymyr.*

⁸ *kyeargor*—too long.

⁹ *aer vnoieid lunieid*, M A. The consonance attests *kunieid* for *lunieid*.

- treis eryr yn llyr, llaw ehengyr;¹
 70 trei eu dwy aesawr, dau un ystyr;²
 gordin gwynt gwædvan uch glan glasvyr;³
 gordwy cleu tomen Talgarth ystyr.

- Dywallaw, venestr, na vynn angen,
 corn can anrhyded yng nghyfedeu,
 75 hirlas buelin uchel vreiniu,
 ariant a'i gortho, nid gortheneu;⁴
 a dydwg Dudur, eryr aereu,
 gwirawd gysefin o'r gwin gwineu;
 oni daw i mewn o'r med goreu;⁵
 80 gwirawd ran o ban, dy ben vadeu!
 ar llaw Voreidig, llochiad cerdeu,
 cyrd cenynt ei glod, cyn oer adneu⁶
 dierchyr vrodyr, vryd uchel deu⁷
 diarchar arial, a dan daleu,
 85 cedwyr a'm gorug gwasanaetheu,
 nid ynt hyll dihyll na geu diheu;⁸
 cynifeid, gyrrhieid, fleinieid fleidieu,
 cynfaran creulan, creulyd veru,
 meib glyw Mochnannwys o Bowys beu;⁹
 90 oed glewaf gwned arnadunt, deu;¹⁰
 achubieid pob rheid, rhud eu harveu,
 echedwynt rhag terfysg eu tervyneu;
 moliant yw eu rhan, y rhei gynneu,—¹¹
 marwnad bid, neud bu newid y den!¹²
 95 Och Grist! mor wyf drist o'r anaeleu
 o goll Moreidig, mawr ei eisieu!

¹ or met gorau oll, M.A., evidently modern.

² kertyn hyn i glod, M.A. Kerdenhin might be suggested, but the meaning is uncertain.

³ dieithr vrodyr. Initial consonance attests dierchyr.

⁴ Nid ym hyn dihyll nam hen deheu. This line is borrowed bodily from Y Gododîn. See note on Gododîn, line 63.

⁵ glew glyw Mochnannwys.

⁶ o glew gwnet, M.A.

⁷ y rei gwynnu. Evidently y rhai gynneu=those just mentioned.

ferce as an eagle caught in the rushing tide,
 their shields all torn, in purpose, one are they ;
 like loud-voiced winds above the blue sea strand,
 like the wild rage of storied Talgarth's waves.

Cup-bearer, shun thy death, fill up the horn,
 the horn of honour filled in many a feast,
 the blue-streaked drinking-horn, of high renown,
 ringed round with silver, not of slender store.
 and bring for Tudur, eagle of the fight,
 the draught accustomed of the dark-red wine :
 thy head be forfeit, if thou bring not in
 a portion of the best mead out of stoup ;
 bring for Moreidig, patron of all arts,
 whom minstrels praised, before the deadly day ;
 two fearless brothers, a high-minded pair,
 of daring vigour and of noble brows,
 warriors are they who gave me services,
 who held not unfair, fair, or untrue, true ;
 in storm, in stand, wolf-like they ever led,
 first-ranked in the field of blood with dripping spears,
 the sons of Mochnant's lord, of Powys land,
 the valour of the bravest, such was theirs,
 foremost in every need, with weapons red,
 they kept against all strife their boundaries,
 praise is their portion, they whom I have named,—
 lament is mine, for that they are no more !
 ah, Christ ! how sad am I that he is lost,
 Moreidig, and how great the want of him !

⁸ *marwnad vu neud mi newid y dau.*

⁹ *treiserwyr yn ffwyr ffaw ehegyr.* This might stand, but for the uncertainty of *ehegyr*, unless we read the *g* as *ng* (*chang + gyrr*), and *treis erŵyr*.

¹⁰ *dan un ystyr.* Obviously *dau*.

¹¹ *Gorru gwynt gwaetvan.* Initial consonance (*Cymeriad Cyng-haneðol*) and sense attest *gordîn*.

¹² *Hirlas buelin breint uchel hen ariant ai gortho nid gortheneu*
 Irregular.

Dywallaw di'r corn, can nis puchant,¹
 hirlas yn llawen yn llaw Vorgant,
 gwŷr a dyly gwawd gwahan voliant,
 100 a reglyd defnyd diodefiant ;²
 gwenwyniad, *gwyniad*, gwân edrywant,³
 llafn llyfn *ei* deutu, llym *ei* amgant.

Dywallaw, venestr, o lestr ariant,
 celemmig edmig, can urðuniant ;
 105 ar llawr Gwestun vawr, gweleis irdant—
 ardwy Goronwy, oed gweith i gant!
 cedwyr, cyfarvaeth yd ymwnaethant.
 cad ymerbynieid, eneid diehwant ;
 cyfarvu ysgwn âg ysgarant *taer*,⁴
 110 llas maer, llosged caer ger môr lliant ;
 Mwynvawr garcharawr a gyrcasant,—
 Meurig vab Gruffud, grym darogant ;
 neud oed gochwys pawb pan atgorsant,
 neud oed lawn o heul hirtfryn a phant !

115 Dywallaw di'r corn i'r cynifeid,
 canawon Owein, cynrein eydneid,
 wynt a dyrllydant lleoed honneid,⁵
 glud, men yd ant, gloew hëyrn ar neid ;
 Madawg a Meilir, gwŷr gordyfneid treis,
 120 trosaf gyferwyr gyferbynieid ;⁶
 tarianogion torf, terfysg dysgeid,
 trinheion fâon, traws ardweid.

Cigleu, am dâl med, myned *pleid* Gatraeth⁷
 kywir eu harvaeth, arveu lliveid,
 125 cosgord Vynyðawe, am eu cysgeid,
 casgawd *ei* hadrawd, cas vlawd vleinieid !⁸

¹ *can nim puchant.*

² This line is evidently misplaced in the texts.

³ *gwenwyn yn atwyn gwan edrywant.*

⁴ *ysgarant aer.*

⁵ *dyrllydant yn lle honneid.*

Fill thou the horn, as they desire it not,
fill, joyously, for Morgant's hand, the horn,—
a man whose due is separate praise in song,
whose merit is the prize of suffering ;
baneful and gnawing is his piercing thrust,
with blade smooth-surfaced, keen and double-edged.

Out of the silver vessel, do thou fill
an honourable pledge, with reverence,—
on Gwestun field, a marvel I beheld,
Goronwy's feats would match a hundred men !
warriors of one intent together wrought,
battle-resisting, men of eager souls ;
with enemies, he, the exalted leader, met,—
their lord was slain, the sea side fort was burnt,
and they a Mwynvawr forth from prison brought,—
Meurig the son of Gruffud, of fame foretold ;
each warrior foamed with sweat when they returned,
and hill and valley bathed in sunlight lay !

Cup-bearer, for the hewers, fill the horn,
the hounds of Owain, chieftains of one step,
high places they deserve ; with vehemence,
wherever they may be, the bright irons leap ;
Madawc and Meilyr, men inured to strife,
most high opposers of iniquity ;
shield-bearers of a host, dexterous in fight,
men born for battle, bitterest at bay.

As I have heard, there went to Catraeth once
an army, for the prize of mead they went ;
true was their purpose, and their weapons keen,
but the escort of Mynyddawe, having slept,
its tale was dire, the hateful fall of men !

⁶ *tros gyverawr.*

⁷ *myned dreig Kattraeth.* The next line demands a plural, or collective, for *dreig* : *pleid* gives it, as well as perfect rhyme.

⁸ *Kawsant y hadrawd*—a senseless modern blunder. Initial consonance and internal rhyme establish *casgawd*.

ni waeth wnaeth vy nghedwyr yng *ngreid* Vaelor,—¹
dillwng carcharor, dullest voleid!

Dywallaw, venestr, ved hidleid, melys,
130 er *gwŷr gwaew gŷwrys*, gochwys yn rheid,²
o gyru buelin balch, oreureid :
cynifer anhun a byrth *cunieid*
er gobryn gobrwy, *gwerth eu* heneid,³
nis gwŷr namyn Duw, ac *nis* dyweid.⁴

135 Gŵr ni dâl, ni dwnng, ni byd gwrth gwir,⁵
Daniel, draig cannerth, mor verth hywir!
Menestr, mawr a weith yd oleithir⁶
gwŷr ni oleith lleith,—oni llochir?—
menestr, med ancwyrn an cydrodir,

140 gwrð-dan gloew goleu, gwrðloew babir;
menestr, gwelut wŷth yn Llidwm dir,—
y gwŷr a barchaf, wynt a berchir!
Menestr, gwelut ti galchdöed cynghrein
ynghylchyn Owein, gylchwy enwir,
145 pan breidiwyd Cawres trwy daerwres dir,
preid estwng orflwng, a orfolir.

Menestr, o'n didawl, ni'n didolir,⁷
boed ym Mharadwys yn cynhwysir,
can ben tēyrned, poed hir an trwyded,⁸
150 yuy mae gweled gwaranred gwir!

—OWEIN CYVEILIAWC.

¹ *ynghalet Vaelor*. The line is too long, and lacks rhyme, which *greid* gives.

² *ergyrwawc gwrys*. Line too short.

³ In the texts these lines are evidently misplaced. If they are reversed, we get sense out of them. 132 reads in the texts: *yr gobryn*

they did not what my men of Maelor did—
to make a prisoner free, a glorious deed.

Cup-bearer, pour thou out the sweet, strained mead,
for those, quick-speared, and toil-worn in the fight,
pour out of proud, gold-circled drinking horns.
What toils are borne by men, to win reward,
for which the price they pay is their own souls.
there is but God who knows, or who can tell.

A man who pays no tribute, takes no oath,
who never will be found against the right,
Daniel, dragon of might, how true is he!
Cup-bearer, flattered many a time are they
whom death ne'er flatters, shall they not be praised ?

Cup-bearer, bring the cordial to us all,
by the great bright fire's light and torches' gleam ;
cup-bearer, thou sawest wrath at Llidwm field,
the men I honour, honoured they shall be!
cup-bearer, thou didst see the shattered mail
there, around Owain of the far-famed shield,
when Cawres by untold exertion fell,
and furious looting, ever to be sung.

Though parted now, apart we shall not be,
may we be unto Paradise received,
may we be welcomed by the King of Kings,
where the security of trnth is seen !

gobruy neuhenaid, which is clearly inspired by *gwerth eu gwled o ved ru eu heneid* in *Y Gododîn*.

⁴ *namyn Duw ac ai dywaid.*

⁵ *ni byt wrth wir.*

⁶ *yd ioleithir.*

⁷ *nam didawl nim didolir.*

⁸ *eu trwyted.*

The Story of Newcastle-Emlyn and Atpar to 1531, with Concluding Survey.

BY THE REV. GRUFFYDD EVANS, B.D.,

Vicar of Newcastle-Emlyn.

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Lists of jurors 1288, 1299, 1327, of Loyal Tenants 1343; The Prince's Commissioners 1302; Customs of Cearth Mill; Conveyancing of land in the Commote; Place-names in Depositions 6 Ch. I.; The fisheries of Emlyn uwch Cuch; Boundaries of the Parish of Newcastle Emlyn; "Gwynionydd" and "Eilir."

FOREWORD.

AT the mouth of the river Teifi, which separates Cardiganshire from the County of Pembroke and Carmarthenshire, are situated two ancient and historic towns. On the left bank and in the Lordship Marcher of Cemeis is the town of St. Dogmael's with the remains of its once flourishing Abbey¹; on the right bank is the better known town of Aberteifi or Cardigan with its sites of Dingeraint, Nor-

¹ A good deal of information about the domestic life of this Abbey and also of Cardigan Priory will be found in the *Episcopal Registers of St. Davids*, Cymmrodorion Record Series, No. 6. For the general history, see *Benedictine Abbey of St. Mary at St. Dogmael's*, by H. M. Vaughan, *Cymmrodor*, xxvii, 1-25. Also E. M. Prichard's *St. Dogmael's*, and *History of Cardigan Priory*.

man Castle, Priory, and also the interesting fifteenth century chancel of the parish church of St. Mary. About ten miles higher up the Dyffryn of the Teifi, and right on the river's edge stand two other mediæval towns, Newcastle Emlyn and Atpar,—the former on a bank which thrusts itself across the lowland and around which the river winds in three graceful curves; the latter on the sharp ascent leading along Bryndiodde¹ to the uplands of South Cardiganshire. Between these little towns the placid river bursts into sudden energy, and tumbling with a roar over the *dreiva*² and the salmon-leap rushes alongside the castle mound and under the town bridge to run in three "bruces"³ into the great pool called Pwll Daf William, whence it emerges to flow nearly in a direct course back to the other side of the valley. The river accentuates the fact that the two towns belong to different lordships as well as different counties; but the bridge, which literally joins their buildings together, symbolises another fact, viz., that spite of their physical and political separation, they are most closely related in their social and economic life. Though they have long lost the right to the name and the privileges connoted by the name, historically they are boroughs; never it is true endowed with charters of incorporation, but still boroughs, created in the one case by a "grant of our lord the Prince" and

² This place-name does not appear in any of the local records examined by the present writer. Sir John Rhys, it seems, once suggested that its original form may have been Bryngoddeu. *Goddeu*= unreclaimed waste, forest land (Sir J. Morris Jones, in *Cymmrodor*, xxviii, 28, note). The Bryn is quite near the mediæval forest and the farm names Cwr y Coed and Y Fforest still survive.

³ The *dreiva* is a dam which turns the waters into what was formerly a mill-leet. This mill, now converted into an electric power-station, was not the mediæval mill: that was at the mouth of the Arad.

⁴ From the *dreiva* to the bridge where the river normally flows along a rocky channel, the runs are known as *frydiau*—Ffrwd wen, Ffrwd wen ganol, etc.; from the bridge to the Pwll where the streams run over *gro* they are called *brws* or *bryws*—Y Brws fach, y Brws ganol, Y Brws. Another example of the word is found in Cilgerran. Below the castle where the Plyscog joins the Teifi, a sandbank (Y (G)raean) appears during low water. The main stream flows to the right of this bank; the shallows on the left running over *gro* are called by the older people Y Bryws, by the younger, Y Prince—an example of how popular attempts at derivation create legends. If William Owen Pughe's *prws* is accepted the word may represent the exact opposite of *frwd*, viz., the spreading-out, and therefore, shallow-running water.



Newcastle Emllyn and Alpar: River Teifi, Pwll Dafu William, and the "Briwses" in flood.

To face p. 60.

in the other by a grant of the overlord, the Bishop of St. Davids.

The purpose of this essay is to tell the story of these two little towns to the year 1531, as far as the writer can ascertain it, and as it is impossible to tell the story of the towns apart from the larger history of the district in which they are situated a great deal of what may be considered extraneous matter must be introduced,—enough in fact to constitute an outline of the history of the Comote of Emlyn uwch Cuch. Dearth of material relating to the towns has made it difficult to carry the work nearer our own time than 1531, although a Concluding Survey will suggest the lines along which further enquiry might proceed. Until the contents of the Stackpole Archives are collated and published, it will be futile to attempt dealing with the Tudor and the Stuart Periods in a way other than is done in the text and notes of this essay. All the records of the Borough of Atpar perished in a destructive fire about 1752; but the material still preserved in the well-ordered Cilgwyn Archives will do much to cover the history of that town during the eighteenth century and somewhat earlier.

The present writer desires to acknowledge his indebtedness to those named in the notes scattered throughout the work; to Mr. C. H. Ll. Fitzwilliams, of Cilgwyn, for permission to examine the Estate Records; to Dr. T. W. W. Powell, Atpar; Dr. D. G. Lloyd, Glyn Nest; Mr. D. Roy Evans and Messrs. D. and E. George, solicitors, for permission to consult books, indentures and various papers; to the Rev. T. D. Thomas, B.A., formerly Vicar of Llangorwen, now of Llanllwch, for copying documents at the National Library; to his own sister, Miss Evans, for work done on his behalf at the Swansea Public Library; to the authorities of that Library as well as to those of the National Library and of the Library at St. David's College, Lampeter; above all to Sir John Williams, Bart., G.C.V.O., who generously allowed him to make use of his valuable collection of original material relating to the New castle of Emlyn.

“ 'Tis enough for me to have broken the ice; and I have gained my ends if I have set others about the same work, whether it be to write more or amend what I have written.” (Preface to Camden's *Britannia*.)

INTRODUCTORY SURVEY.

Conjectures about the origin of the name Emlyn¹ have led to the supposition that one of our towns occupies the site of a Roman Station; but, though it is alleged that Roman remains have been found in the neighbouring parish of Penboyr², no competent authority has reported the discovery of any vestiges of a Roman road or station, of pottery or coins in the vicinity of Atpar and Newcastle Emlyn. The finding of a Greek coin³ of the first century B.C. near the site of the Castle bake-house does not in any

¹ The popular derivations of this place-name are based upon the assumption that it arose in connection with either a British din or a Roman Station on the site of the Castle, that this was called Emlyn and that the name gradually spread itself over the district. The indefatigable "Gwynionydd" in his *Hanes Castellnewydd yn Emlyn* (5-6) gives a collection of theories as to the origin of the name itself. Three of these may be referred to here:—(i) *Elmin* (elms) because this was the site of Loventium, a word deriving from the root of llwyfen (elm). (ii) Ymlyn (cf. ynglyn and englyn) which is generally accepted even now by the "more intelligent". (iii) From the fancy that the river in its windings forms the letter M—an explanation as old as the time of E. Lhuyd, for he dissents from it (*Parochialia, Arch. Camb. Supplement*, iii, 75). A glance at the map will show the absurdity of this suggestion, and will confirm the perfect description in *Inventory of Ancient Monuments, Carmarthenshire*, p. 220,—“The course of the river at this point is that of the reversed letter S—thus 2”. The present writer has failed to discover a place-name in the Cantref which would assist in deciding the spot to which the name Emlyn was first given. The earliest historical references connect it with the uplands of the Commote of Is Cuch. Thus in the *Liber Landavensis*, pp. 56, 62, 124, 255, Lann teliau Cilretin is en emelinn, inemblin, inemliun. The *De Situ*, supposed to be a thirteenth century copy of an eleventh century document, has “Clydei filia Brachan est in Emelin” *Cymmrodor*, xix, 18-27.) In the documents relating to both Cilgerran and Emlyn uwch Cuch the name is generally Emelin in the fourteenth century. The topographical writers usually quote Lhuyd’s suggestion that the name derives from Emilius, and this “Roman” is connected with the site of the New castle. The writer of the notes in *Arch. Camb.*, iii, v 346-7 refers to the Emilius stone in Pool Park, Denbighshire, removed thence from Bedd Emlyn. The name does not occur in the lists given in *Cymmrodor*, ix, 152-183, xxi, 105, xxiv, 80-5. Possibly one of the Northerners who settled in these parts during the Cunedda period bore the name and the name of his stronghold got extended over the whole Cantref which was under his sway. (Cf. Mariannus, Merium, after whom Meirionydd is called.) It may be suggested that the stronghold was on the uplands above Cwm Cuch. Established here it would be the natural centre of an extension towards Llangeler, Cilgerran and Llanfyrnach. As is evidenced by the “Dyfed” branches of the Mabinogi, the region of the Cuch was something more than a Goedelic play-ground long before the

way justify the idea that it was brought there during the Roman occupation of Britain. Lead mines were apparently worked in the parish of Cenarth in the sixteenth century⁴, but there is no evidence that the men of the Roman period knew aught about the existence of lead in the district, and there are no traces of other mines in the neighbourhood, neither is there a single reference to them in any of the records. It would seem that this part of the Teifi Valley did not lie in the line of the activities of Roman soldiers or merchants⁵.

coming of the Brythons into these parts. The inclusion and the retention of Llanfyrnach in the Cantref of Emlyn can be explained if the early centre of the Cantref was near Cwm Cuch, say, in the Parish of Clydey (see note, p. 64). The Brythonic invader probably seized and enlarged a small Goidelic stronghold in this locality.

² The well-written *Hanes Phwyfi Llangeler a Phenboyr*, by D. E. Jones (pp. 50-1, 55) notes about six discoveries of "Roman remains" in these parishes; but the *Inventory of Ancient Monuments, Carmarthenshire*, merely refers to Lewis' *Top. Dict.* and the pot of gold coins said to have been discovered near Penboyr Church in 1833. Apparently no Roman remains have been discovered in the parish of Cenarth. Penboyr appears in the mediæval records as Penbeir. Beir as a possible archaic plural of bar (Cf. Nant Bargod in the parish) would well represent the natural features of the locality. With Penbeir, Penboyr cf. Tre Drëyr, Trefdroyer (*Liber Regis*) now Troedyraur.

³ Some 18 to 20 years ago, the mound over the ruins of the bakehouse collapsed suddenly, and part of the rubbish fell into the leet only a few feet away. In the rubbish fallen into the water, Mr.

Phil Lewis, Blue Bell, then a boy, found a Greek silver coin. Dr. Mortimer Wheeler, of the National Museum of Wales, having examined a rubbing of the coin, now in the possession of Mrs. James, Tirdre, Newcastle Emlyn, describes it thus:—"The coin of which you send a rubbing is apparently a tetradrachm of Thasos in Thrace and probably dates from the first half of the first century B.C. It bears on the obverse a head of Dionysus wreathed, and on the reverse ΗΡΑΚΛΗΟΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ, Herakles



standing. In exergue ΘΑΣΙΩΝ. The weight of the coin should be about 260-263 grains". Another coin found in Newcastle Emlyn (now in the possession of Col. Fitzwilliams) is a large sized copper coin of one ore (Charles XI Sweden) dated 1669.

⁴ Letters and Papers, 30 H. viii. 1542. Vol. xiii. No. 1154.

⁵ "The Goidels of Dyved . . . were practically left alone by the Romans". Prof. Gruffydd's *Mabinogion, Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*, 1912-3, p. 39. There are no known Roman roads west of Carmarthen—Ilanio, Dr. Mortimer Wheeler in *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*, 1920-21, map p. 41.

Had the Romans of, say, the third century of our era visited the hill-country overlooking what is now Newcastle Emlyn and Atpar, they would probably have found themselves among a hybrid population—the offspring of inter-marriages between the Iberians and the Goidels¹, who occupied the uplands traversed, for instance, by the road from Pen-yr-herber to Cynwil-Elfet. The various mounds and meini hirion² seen on this highland are probably the works of these early people, and the dinas³ on Penbuarth Farm just above the left “horn” of the Arad⁴ stream in Carmarthenshire, and the dinas⁵ on the ridge above Cwmdu Ceri in Cardiganshire represent the sites of their protected enclosures or towns. Wherever the “Dinas Emlyn” of Sir Walter Scott’s “Dying Bard”⁶ may have been situated, we can be sure that it was not on the site of the Castle, as is popularly believed. The dinas names just mentioned indicate the nearest approach to the valley of the Teifi made by the early permanent settlements in this part of the country.

Sometime before the end of the fifth century Brythonic communities had established themselves in the *dyffryn* right on the banks of the river, as is evidenced by the early Christian foundations of Llandyssul, Bangor Teifi, Henllan, Llandyfriog on the Cardiganshire side, and of Cenarth, Maenordeifi and Cilgerran on the other side. These ancient churches took their names from the saint by whose direct efforts or through whose influence they

¹ The Goidels were the dominant power in Pembrokeshire at a later period. The patron saints of Llanfyrnach and Clydey were of the Brychan family—Goidels.

² Excluding the mound in Cenarth, there are no fewer than fifteen tumuli and seven meini hirion in Emlyn uwch Cuch. The uplands of Penboyr and Llangeler form part of a large district which has about thirty earthworks. *Inventory of Ancient Monuments, Carmarthenshire*.

³ The occupants of the farm speak of Ca gwair y ddinas.

⁴ A tributary of the Teifi forming the boundary between the parish of Penboyr and the old parish of Cenarth. The aber is near the G.W.R. Station. The large brook, for it is nothing more, evidently takes its name from the long-handled plough, the form of which it resembles. The mediæval corn mill was situated at the aber. *Min. Acc.*, 1423-4. 1166/12.

⁵ This figures in Allen Raine’s *Heart of Wales*; or rather an imaginary mediæval castle on the site. The present farm takes its name from the dinas.

⁶ “Gwynionydd” gives a Welsh version in his *Hanes*, pp. 18, 19—“Y Bardd yn marw.”—“Din Emlyn galara, mae'r eiliad gerllaw.”

were first founded, and it is significant that the parish churches of Penboyr, Cenarth and Cilgerran are "dedicated" to the same saint, viz., Llawddog, the son of Dingat ap Nudd Hael, and the brother of the saints who gave their names to Llandyfriog and Llandygwydd¹. These facts read in the light of what is known about the history of these very early Christian foundations² suggest that from the fifth century the dominant tribes in the lower Teifi Valley were Brythons,—the descendants of the northerner Nudd Hael,—who settled here during the great movement associated with the name of Cunedda Wledig.

Not long after these Brythonic tribes became fairly settled, the country was divided for administrative and fiscal purposes into Commotes and Cantrefs³. Thus the large tract which stretches from the upper confines of the parish of Llangeler to the lower reaches of the parish of Cilgerran, and back from the Teifi to Llanfyrnach became the Cantref of Emlyn embracing the two Commotes of Emlyn is Cuch and Emlyn uwch Cuch⁴. Whatever the origin and meaning of the name Emlyn, it was never applied to lands on the right side of the river Teifi. Atpar is not in the Cantref of Emlyn, but in that of Iscoed and in that part of it known as Gwynionydd-Iscoed⁵. It

¹ According to Rees' *Welsh Saints*: Tyssul lived during the period 500-542, and Llawddog, Tygwydd, Tyfriog, 566-600.

² Introduction to Baring Gould and Fisher's *Lives of the British Saints*. Wade Evans' *Medieval Welsh Laws*, p. 343.

³ The process may have been of long growth, but was systematised and perfected by the Dyfnwal Moelmu of the Cunedda Period. (*Welsh People*, pp. 130-131.)

⁴ The Rural Deanery of Emlyn is coterminous with the Cantref.

⁵ No one in this neighbourhood would think of the parishes of Troedyraur, Llanfair Treligen and Llandyfriog as being in a Commote other than Gwynionydd or Gwinionydd. But the map in Lloyd's *History of Wales*, vol. ii, places these parishes in Iscoed and makes the Gwylan to be the boundary line between Iscoed and Gwynionydd. In response to a letter of enquiry, Dr. Lloyd kindly furnished the following evidence:—(i) Tryfriog, the patron of Llandyfriog, is said in the *Bonedd* to be "yng Ngheredigion Iscoed" (*Myyr. Arch. (Deubigh)*, p. 431). (ii) Lewis Glyn Cothi calls Hywel ap Dafydd of Gwernan in the parish of Troedyraur (*recte* Tre Dröyr) "Dervel Iscoed" (p. 216). To this evidence may be added from the Episcopal Registers:—On February 19th, 1408, John, Earl of Somerset, Lord of Yscoyt, and on June 2nd, 1488, Margaret, Countess of Richmond, Lady of Iscoed, each presented a clergyman to the parish of Trefdreir. In the light of the evidence adduced by Dr. Lloyd, these

would help in many ways did we know when the llan of the saint became the church of a well-defined parish. The formation of the parish is closely connected with the extension, or it may be, the contraction of the area of land occupied by a family group or groups, that is, the ancient maenors. Thus the ancient parishes in Emlyn, especially those in Uwch Cuch, which have been less disturbed than those in Is Cuch, may have assumed their present proportions before the formation of the Commotes. Newcastle Emlyn lies in the upper part of the old parish of Cenarth¹ where it meers on the parishes of Penboyr and East Cilrhedyn. For many centuries, Atpar has formed part of the parish of Llandyfriog, to which it must have belonged originally, but, as will be shown further on, it was regarded as part of another parish during the fourteenth century—a legal and not a natural arrangement.

Well-attested history of the Cantref of Emlyn begins with the incoming of the Normans in the twelfth century. The Cantref was seized at a comparatively early date

entries in the Episcopal Registers mean more than that the Lord or the Lady of Iscoed was the patron of Troedyraur. Now Gwynionydd is divided into (i) Gwynionydd Uwch Cerdin ("Manner de Gwinionydh Ywch Cerdin": Court Roll, 2 May, 1711) and (ii) Gwynionydd is Cerdin ("Sir Thomas ap Eynon to Llangwnllo in Iskerden": *Episcopal Registers*, 7 Jan., 1399). There was however, another Gwynionydd,—in the Cantref of Iscoed, and known as Gwynionydd-Iscoed. The Court Roll was lost a few years ago and may yet be found. The chief-rents were owned by the Brigstocke family. The late Mr. W. George, solicitor, Newcastle Emlyn, was the steward; his son, Mr. D. George, and his head clerk, Mr. Gibbon, sometimes acted for the steward, and they are perfectly clear about the title of the lordship—Gwynionydd-Iscoed.

¹ In what, after the passing of the Tudor Poor Law Acts, became known as the Hamlet of Emlyn, comprising the town and its lands, the demesne and Park Nest. The other hamlets were Cenarth, Gelligatti and Dolbryn (Par. Report 1832). The place-name Cenarth is generally derived from Cefn and Garth (Dent's *Giraldus' Itin.*, p. 105). (i) Now Cefncoed, the birthplace of Williams, Pantycelyn, appears as Kencoe and Cincoed; but Cefnarthan in the same district still retains the uncontracted cefn. From the earliest times the record-form Cenarth has cen, not cefn (*Liber Land.*, 255, 127⁹). (ii) Cen may mean *white* as in Cendefrion (*Cod. Dip.*, 534), and Cenarth may therefore=the white garth. (iii) Sir John Rhys, however, says that Cenarth is a semi-Brythonic form of Penarth, the cen=Irish ceann=end, head; and garth=enclosure, yard, headland, separate portion of a hill; hence Cenarth=an enclosed or fortified eminence (*Arch. Camb.*, v. 45, 22-3). The garth without doubt is that whereon stand the church, the schoolroom, and the vicarage.

(1110-1115) by the invaders from Pembroke under Gerald of Windsor¹. There can be little doubt that Gerald's men penetrated as far as what afterwards became Newcastle Emlyn and Atpar. They found it expedient, however, to build their stronghold in the lower Commote. Their hastily constructed fort was probably built on the garth near Cilgerran, then known as Cenarth Bychan². After securing the whole Cantref and consolidating their interests therein, the conquerors erected a permanent castle on the rock of Cilgerran, and after this date the name Cenarth Bychan disappears, and its place is taken naturally by the name "The Castle of Cilgerran". Confusion often arises in reading the records relating to Emlyn during the Mediæval Period. Soon after the Normans got possession of the Cantref of Emlyn, Cilgerran Castle became its administrative centre. About 125 years later, the two Commotes drifted into the hands of different lords. The "Newcastle in Emlyn" then became the centre of the Commote above the Cuch, the sway of Cilgerran being restricted to the Commote below the Cuch. Before the erection of the "Newcastle" the phrase "Emlyn and its castle" can only mean the Cantref of Emlyn and Cilgerran Castle; after the erection of the new stronghold, it has reference only to one or the other of the two Commotes; which of them has to be determined by the context and other considerations. Later on, "Emlyn" was more

¹ Lloyd's *Hist. of Wales*, ii, 425.

² Lloyd's *Hist.*, ii, 418, note 59 (Cf. *Arch. Camb.* v, 45, 23). Dr. Lloyd's identification of Cenarth Bychan with Cilgerran harmonises best with the story of the rape of Nest. There are however, other considerations. (i) In the claims of the Bishops of Landſſaf to certain churches in St. David's Diocese, Cenarth Mawr, Cenarth Bychan, and Llandeilo Cilrhedyn are named together as if they were churches in the same territorial division (*Cymmrodor* xi, Pt. ii, p. 132, Note 6, and the authorities cited there). (ii) There is a well-known garth near Cilgerran, also Cefn-coed-y-garth (Phillip's *Hist. of Cilgerran*, 142, 165, 256); also a Clungarth. The tradition is that a castell or amddiffynfa stood on the garth. In the records relating to the Lordship, the form of the name generally met with is Kilgaran, Kilgarran. (*Cymmrodorion Record Series*, No. 7, vol. ii); Kilgaron in the *Episcopal Registers* (1495); Flygarthan in the Taxatio with Kilgarron on the dorse; Cylgerddan in Bacon's *Liber Regis*. It may be suggested that the brook name was Garthan, and that Cilgerran is only a disguised Cil-gar[th]an. The softening of the th in Garthan would easily lead to its elimination. The early Norman Conquerors possibly found a difficulty in pronouncing the spirants th, dh in this combination.

freely applied to the Upper Commote¹ and the Lower Commote was generally described as the Lordship of Cilgerran with its Manor of Emlyn.

CHAPTER I.

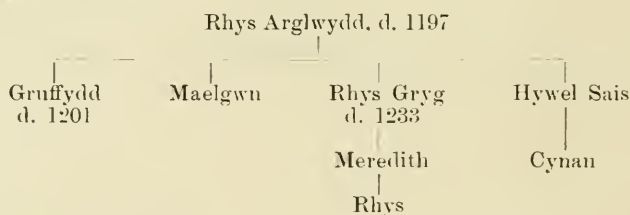
THE PERIOD OF PREPARATION.

EVENTS WHICH LED TO THE FOUNDING OF THE TOWNS.

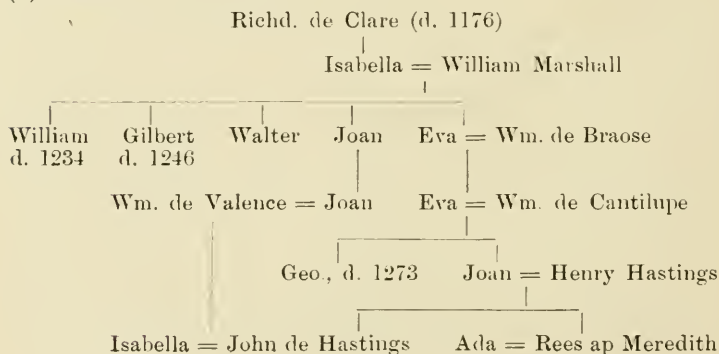
(i) *The Cantref regained and lost by the Welsh Lords.*

For about half-a-century (1115-1165) the Cantref remained in the undisturbed power of Gerald and his sons. Then came an abrupt change, and the next period is marked (1) by the recovery of Emlyn by the Welsh and (2) by the persistent efforts of the Earls of Pembroke (not the Carews) to make themselves masters of it. The strongest Welsh Prince in South Wales at the time was the celebrated Rhys Arglwydd, lord of Dinefor.² He and

¹ In the mouth of an ecclesiastic speaking of churches and parishes, Emlyn would still be a territory coterminous with the Cantref, that is, the Rural Deanery of Emlyn.

² DINEFOR PEDIGREE.

(ii) PEMBROKE PEDIGREE.



his vigorous sons fought hard to retain the lands they held and to recover those won by the foreigners, especially in the Tywi and the Teifi Valleys. We are now, however, concerned with the story only in as far as it relates to Emlyn, and with what relates to Emlyn only in as far as it serves to explain the partition of the Cantref and the formation of the Lordship of Emlyn uwch Cuch.

In 1165 Rhys drove Robert FitzStephen out of Cardigan and William FitzGerald out of Cilgerran and Emlyn¹, and Henry II.'s policy dictated that the Welsh lord should keep the territories on doing homage for them. For over 30 years Emlyn enjoyed the blessings of peace, and on one occasion King Henry visited its castle at Cilgerran²; but immediately upon the death of Rhys in 1197 his sons and grandsons began to fight among themselves for his lands. It seems that Cilgerran was intended for Maelgwn, but Gruffydd seized it, and as the sympathy of the other Welsh lords was with the more popular Gruffydd, Maelgwn appealed to the King. He obtained a charter in 1199 and a confirmation of it in 1200³. Gruffydd was ousted and died in 1201, but another powerful claimant had already appeared upon the scene in the person of William Marshall of Pembroke. He, also, appealed to the King, but whilst his claim to Ystlwyf and Elfelffire was allowed, his claim to Emlyn had to stand over⁴. When misfortune overtook Maelgwn in 1204⁵, William seized Cilgerran Castle, but failed to keep it. By the famous Partition of Aberdovey in 1216, the Confederacy of Welsh lords assigned Emlyn to Maelgwn, and there are proofs that he held it in 1220-1222⁶. Next year, however, William Marshall was strong enough to finally eject the Welsh lord, and the Cantref was given to a grandson of Rhys Arglwydd, viz., Cynan ap Howel Sais, who had rendered

¹ Most of the original notices in the Bruts, Annales, Rolls, etc., are found in *Cal. Cilgerran*, vol. ii, *Cymmrodorion Record Series*, No. 7; but as they are placed in their proper setting in Lloyd's *Hist.*, it will be more convenient to give the references in that work. Lloyd's *Wales*, ii, 519, 542.

² Phillips' *Cilgerran*, p. 85. Woodward's *Wales*, p. 445.

³ Charter Roll, 1 Jno., pt. 3; Cal. 636; also Cal. 44, April 10, 1200. note 40.

⁴ 16 April, 1200, Charter Roll; Cal. 47. Lloyd's *Hist.*, ii, 619, "Until we have delivered his land of Emelin to him."

⁵ Lloyd's *Hist.*, ii, 619.

⁶ Harl. MSS., 6280 f 80. Lloyd's *Hist.*, 663, note 47.

useful service in the King's army under the command of the Earl¹. Cynan was lord of Emlyn until 1240, when he was deposed by Walter Marshall, brother to Earl Gilbert, for fighting *contra pacem regis*². His estates, Emlyn amongst them, were forfeited, and in theory reverted to the Crown. But the King was far away and at that very time was busy with schemes for a war upon Louis IX. of France.

(ii) *The Partition of the Cantref.*

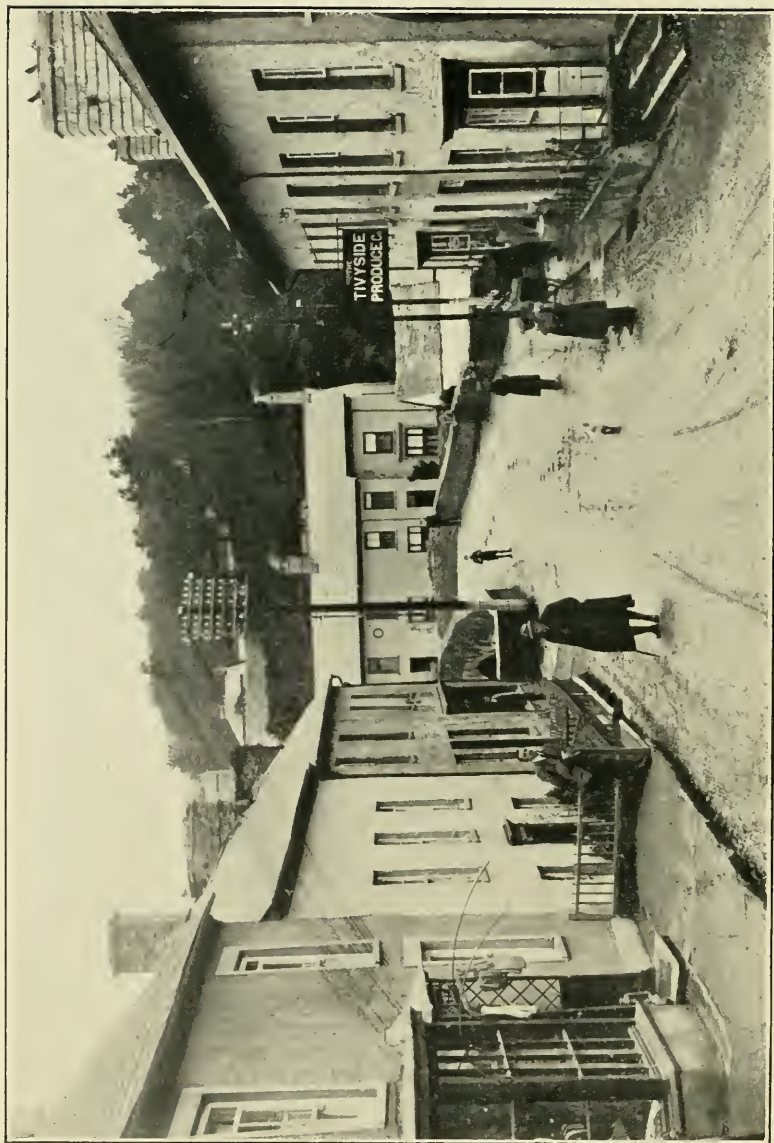
The Inquisitions³ which record the subsequent course of events are somewhat perplexing in detail. The salient features of the story, however, are clear enough. Gilbert's ambition was to retain the whole of the Cantref as a complete lordship under the direct sway of Pembroke; and had he fully succeeded in his designs the entire Cantref would no doubt be in the County of Pembroke, and not partly in Pembroke and partly in Carmarthenshire as at present. The causes which frustrated the immediate realisation of his plans are somewhat obscure. There may have been present in his mind the fear that the Crown might lay claim to the whole Cantref on the grounds of its re-conquest by the royal forces. It is not improbable, also, that as soon as Cynan was displaced, Meredith ap Rhys Gryg, another of the grandsons of Rhys Arglwydd, seized the Upper Commote which bordered upon his own territory, and was thought strong enough to fight for it. To attempt to eject the Welsh lord meant calling the royal attention to the conflict and the causes of it, which was the very last thing that Gilbert wanted. Where Rhys Arglwydd had succeeded, his grandson also might succeed. It was better to keep one of the Commotes and if possible maintain suzerain rights over the other than lose both. The upshot was that an arrangement was arrived at between Gilbert and Meredith⁴. It would seem as if Meredith had made the first move, possibly because he desired to win Gilbert's niece as well as keep the Upper Com-

¹ Lloyd's *Hist.*, ii, 661. Woodward (p. 367) gives the details.

² Chancery I, Misc., File 47, No. 18; and Inquis. 27 Ed. I, No. 108. Phillips' *Cilgerran*, 240, and Lloyd's *Hist.*, ii, 661.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Lloyd's *Hist.* 710-1. Confirmed by royal grant in 1257: Charter Roll, 41 H. III; m, i; Cal. 475.



Newcastle Emlyn and Atpar: Motte and Bailey, in the background, above site of "Old Salutation" (facing).

To face p. 71.

mote. Anyhow, in consideration of the payment of a certain sum, and of holding the Commote "of homage and service to Gilbert Marshall and his heirs," Meredith got both the lands and the lady without fighting. One record¹ states that Meredith agreed to pay 700 marks for the Commote, but that on his marriage to the Earl's niece 400 marks were remitted. By this compact the Earls of Pembroke were to be the chief overlords of both Commotes. But in spite of all, Gilbert's well-laid schemes were defeated,—in part by events which could not have been foreseen.

This agreement, made about 1240, is the turning-point in the history of Emlyn and especially of the Upper Commote. Emlyn uwch Cuch became in due course irrevocably separated from Emlyn is Cuch, and Pembroke lost the right, if right it can be called, to the homage and services of its lords. The trend of its history was turned in the direction of the King's Exchequer at Carmarthen and finally, after the lapse of centuries, the Commote was merged by Act of Parliament into the shire of Carmarthen, and with other lordships marcher helped to swell out its former scanty bounds.

(iii) *The erection of the Newcastle of Emlyn.*

The first movement in the preparation of the way for the founding of both Newcastle Emlyn and Atpar was the partition of the Cantref. The second followed on the heels of the partition. Having obtained possession of the Commote, Meredith's next step was to erect a castle as its administrative centre. Apparently, the twelfth century invaders had thrown up a motte and bailey in what afterwards became Atpar, and the mound survives to this day on a commanding situation overlooking the town bridge². This site, however, even if it were desirable, was not in Emlyn uwch Cuch, but on the right bank of the Teifi in territory held by the Bishops of St. David's as overlords. Nature had provided the site for a castle such as Meredith

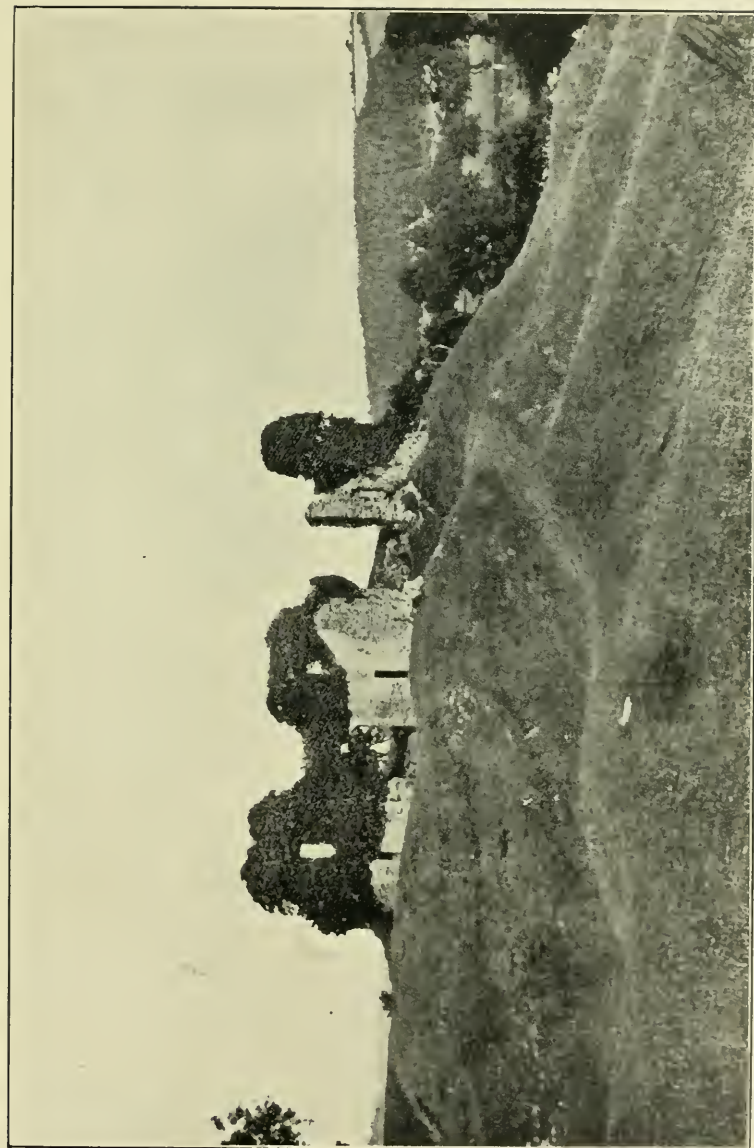
¹ Inquis., 27 Ed I, No. 108; 1299.

² The motte and bailey in Atpar and the mound opposite Cenarth Church may, however, represent the sites of forts raised by the men of Atpar in the former case and by the early English tenants in Cenarth in the other. The persistence of the phrase "Castell Cenarth" is suggestive, though in the locality the Castell is supposed to have stood behind the Church.

wished to build, and that in his own lordship. It is the remarkable rocky promontory, spoken of in the Introduction, which thrusts its head into the second and the smallest of the three curves made by the Teifi at this point in its course. The plateau is protected on three of its sides by the river, and the unprotected neck or approach was easily strengthened by ditches and earthworks. Meredith selected the farthest end of the plateau for the structure of his castle, which, owing partly to the cramped character of the situation, and partly to the need for a speedy completion, was singularly poor and unpretentious as compared with the "old castle" of Emlyn at Cilgerran. The real strength of the fort lay in its situation, its ditches and fine earthworks—horn-shaped in front of the gate and forming a parallelogram beyond the great ditch over which was the bridge. This is the *Novum castrum*, the *Castell Nowid*, the *Novum castrum de Emelyn supra Cuth* of the records. With Carmarthen so far behind him and Cantref Mawr coming in between, Meredith's chief danger arose from Cardigan and Cilgerran. It might, therefore, be supposed that from the military point of view his position would have been infinitely stronger had he erected his castle in the village of Cenarth rather than nearly three miles higher up the river. But, as we learn from Giraldus¹, who had visited and described Cenarth fifty-two years before, the only suitable eminence in Cenarth was crowned by the church of Llawddog, and it was too late in the day to desecrate the shrines of the saints. Besides, it was against the feeling and the traditional conduct of Welshmen.

During the efforts of the national party headed by Llewelyn the Great, Meredith adhered to the English, though he trifled with the other side and even swore fealty to Llewelyn. The story of the battle between Patrick de Canton and the Welsh near Cilgerran does not belong to Emlyn uwch Cuch, but Meredith's activities on the side of the defeated royal forces brought him into serious and well-deserved trouble. He fell into the hands of Llewelyn, and having been tried by his peers in Arwystli (1259) was convicted of treason against his Welsh overlord and thrown into prison at Criccieth Castle. He was released at Christmas, but only on giving pledges—his eldest son

¹ *Itinerary*, Dent's, p. 105.



Newcastle Emlyn : View of Exterior Walls and Earthworks.

and his two Castles of Dinefor and Newcastle with their two Commotes, viz., Maenor Deilo and Emlyn uwch Cuch¹. One of the Inquisitions² states that Meredith lived at his Newcastle in Emlyn till his death. The statement can only mean that he lived here periodically to the end of his days. He died in 1271, not in his Castle of Emlyn but in that of Dryslwyn.

(iv) *The forfeiture of the Commote and Castle to the King.*

The next lord of Emlyn uwch Cuch was the well-known Rhys ap Meredith. Unlike his father who had tried to face both ways, Rhys remained staunch on the English side throughout the struggle between Edward I. and Llewelyn ap Gruffydd. After the death of the Welsh Prince in 1282, Rhys was rewarded by the King who created him an English knight and bestowed upon him portions of the forfeited estates of Rhys Fychan of Ystrat Tywi. But he had cherished greater expectations and was dissatisfied. Besides, he was hated by some of the English lords, especially by Roger Tibetot, the justiciar, who thwarted him in all directions. At last, exasperated beyond endurance by petty interferences and persecutions, Rhys raised the standard of revolt (1287), and in June by a series of rapid movements took the Castles of Llandovery, Dinefor, Carregcennen, and burnt the towns of Swansea, Oystermouth, Carmarthen, and Llanbadarn-fawr³. The royal forces were in the field by the end of July, and Dryslwyn Castle which belonged to Rhys was captured. They next attacked the Newcastle of Emlyn and reduced it, not, however, before Rhys had escaped. Roger Mortimer⁴ was put in charge of the royal garrison. On November 3rd Rhys suddenly appeared before the Newcastle, overthrew the royal force, and made Mortimer prisoner. As soon as the loss of Emlyn uwch Cuch became known, the King once again appealed to his great

¹ Lloyd's *Hist.* ii, 725-6; May 20, 1259; also Woodward's, pp. 451-2. ² 27 Ed. I, No. 108. ³ *Annales Camb.*, 1287.

⁴ Keeper of W. Wales, Ap. 1279. He was followed by Bogo de Knowille in Jan. 1280, and by Robert de Tibetot in June, 1281, as Justices. The latter held the office for 20 years. *Trans. Hon. Society of Cymmrodorion*, 1916-7, p. 162.

lords. A fresh army assembled and Roger Tibetot was ordered to advance upon the Newcastle¹.

Two documents have been preserved which furnish a number of illuminating details with respect to the siege. The first is the "Account of Roger T'ypetot for the munition of the Castle of Dinevor and for the capture and munition of the New Castle in Emlyn."² From this we learn that the military engine for pounding the castle walls came from Dryslwyn. Three Welsh knights with their barded horses at 12*d.* a day each, 18 Welsh knights with their disbarded horses at 6*d.* a day each, together with 463 Welsh foot at 2*d.* a day each, guarded the "Engine of Dryslwyn" on the way to the Newcastle of Emlyn. Sixteen horses and some oxen were employed in carrying lead and stones for the engine. The wages of the smiths and carpenters who erected the huge engine, and of the two "engine men" are mentioned; so also are the boards, iron, coal, oil, bacon and other small necessities expended in connection with the working of this piece of mediæval artillery. Apparently, the actual leader of the besiegers was William de Breus Turnor. It took them from Sunday, 28 December, 1287, to 20 January, 1288, to accomplish their task. No other details relating to the siege are given. It is, however, stated that five Welsh barded knights and 20 disbarded knights stayed in the neighbourhood for four days after the capture of the castle. It is clear that the stronghold was not defended by Rhys in person, for 15 Welsh foot were engaged from December 26, 1287, to January 22, 1288, in searching for him. Other men were employed in the same kind of duty in Llangadog and Ystrat Tywi, showing that the authorities had no definite knowledge of the whereabouts of the rebellious Welsh lord. Though they were unaware of it, Rhys had escaped the country and had found his way to Ireland. The castle could not have suffered very much damage during the two sieges, for Eynon ab Wylim—a name to be kept in mind in this story—was entrusted with the work of munitioning it for the King. From another record³, the evidence for which was taken at Maynorvorion, Llangeler, on November 26, 1309, we glean a few

¹ Woodward's *Hist.*, p. 559.

² Pipe Roll, 16 Ed. I, m. 28; 1287-8.

³ Inq. A.Q.D., 3 Ed. II, 37.

facts relating to the stormy days which followed the return of Rhys in April, 1292, to renew the struggle. That he should have ventured on the enterprise at all indicates the strength of the feeling against the English, and he must have been fairly assured of the probability of success before leaving the safety of his Irish retreat. The few soldiers guarding the Newcastle for the King became disheartened when they heard of the gathering storm, and because they had no food and munitions despairingly abandoned their charge. A local official, David ab Moriz, the bailiff of Emlyn and a gwrda of the Commote, had more pluck. Together with his sons and kindred, he entered the abandoned stronghold, fortified it and kept it faithfully until his death on the Eve of Whitsun. In July, Roger Tibetot met the rebels, overwhelmed them in a fierce engagement in which 4,000 Welsh were slain, and took Rhys prisoner. He was given short shrift. Having been tried for treason, he was hanged and his body afterwards was drawn at the tails of horses to a dishonourable end.

Meanwhile, David Vychan or Vaughan, the son of David ab Moriz, held the Newcastle in the place of his father, and the record says that he remained there until Thursday, 2 June, 1295, when the "illustrious King," Edward I., passed by the Castle, commended him for his fidelity and granted him the bailiwick of the Commote as his reward¹.

(v) *The settlement of the Bishops' claim to Cenarth Mawr.*

As far as chronological order is concerned, the narrative which follows should have been placed before that relating to the partition of the Cantref and the erection of the Newcastle. The adoption of such a course would, however, have broken up the sequence of political events and have necessitated some degree of repetition. The tract stretching along the right bank of the Teifi from the river Ceri² to the borders of the parish of Llandyssul and comprising the civil parishes of Llandyfriog, Henllan and

¹ Inq. A Q.D., 3 Ed. 11, 37.

² River names ending in *i* are Pre-Celtic, and cannot be derived from any known Indo-European roots. Anwyl, *Arch. Camb.* vi, iii, 28.

Bangor Teifi, formed "Dyffryn Teifi"—one of the episcopal estates of St. David's¹. How and when the Bishops acquired this and other estates in the Teifi Valley like Llandygwydd and Llanddewibrefi is not known. It is enough for the purposes of our story that the Bishops were in possession of these estates before the Norman Conquest of Wales. Now, during the long controversy between the Bishops of Landaff and St. David's (958-1136) the former laid claim to Cenarth Mawr, Cenarth Bychan and Llandeilo Cilrhedyn, but no one can be sure as to what the claim involved². At the beginning of the twelfth century, Cenarth Mawr was owned by the Bishops of St. David's, and in this case, as will be seen presently, ownership involved not "ecclesiastical rights" merely, but also, if the phrase be allowed in this connection, full seigniorial rights. In other words, the Bishops were the owners of Cenarth Mawr in the sense in which they were owners of the estate of Dyffryn Teifi. The Normans who seized the Cantref of Emlyn, and Cenarth Mawr as part of it, kept the whole in their grip regardless of the point whether the former possessors were ecclesiastics or laymen. Further, it has been remarked that the Bishops of St. David's at the time of the Conquest—Wilfrith (1096-1115), Bernard (1115-47), and David Fitzgerald (1147-76)—were "more noted for parting with than for reclaiming the possessions of their See."³ Thus for the time the estate of Cenarth Mawr, probably coterminous with the present civil parish, was lost to the Church and enjoyed by the Normans who held Emlyn.

The following is somewhat conjectural, but it offers an intelligible explanation of the few facts preserved. Fifty years later, when Rhys Arglwydd wrested Emlyn and parts of Ceredigion from the Normans, he naturally held the lands as the Normans had held them; and David Fitzgerald, besides being on his mother's side a near relative of the Welsh lord, was too busy in helping his own family to attempt the recovery of Cenarth Mawr for the Church. Moreover, a new spirit had arisen. The Welsh lords were

¹ Black Book of St. David's. *Cymmrodorion Record Series*, No. 5, xx-xxiv; 36, 38, 219, 221.

² Bevan's *St. David's*, pp. 56-8 and *Cymmrodor*, xi, pt. 2, p. 132.

³ *Cymmrodor*, xi, pt. 2, p. 132, note 6. and Bevan's *St. David's*, p. 67.

now emulating the Normans in conferring parochial revenues and privileges upon the monasteries which had sprung up on all sides. A great friend of the Cistercians, Rhys Arglwydd became a liberal patron of the Abbeys of Whitland and Strata Florida. He seems to have granted the revenues of the church of Cenarth Mawr to the only Nunnery in the Diocese of St. David's, viz., that of Llanllyr¹, which was subject to Strata Florida. He also gave to Whitland Abbey a portion of the land of one named Meredith of Kylredin, to wit, the Grange of Maenorvorion in the parish of Llangeler².

By the beginning of the thirteenth century, the Church had become sufficiently strong to assert its claims to the land which had been lost during the turmoil of the Conquest. A new type of reforming bishop had succeeded at St. David's. Bishop Iorwerth (1215-1230), formerly Abbot of Talley, applied himself vigorously to regain the estates. In 1220 he proceeded against Maelgwn ap Rhys

¹ Bevan's *St. David's*, pp. 90, 95. The Nunnery is first mentioned about 1200, but apparently it had existed for some years prior to that date. Bevan hesitates to say how and when it acquired the benefice of Cenarth.

² Charter Roll, 16 John, 1214, m. 3. Dr. J. E. Lloyd's *History of Wales*, ii, 597. The Grange lies between the rivers Shedi and Tyweli in the parish of Llangeler. *Hanes Plwyfi Llangeler a Phenboyr*, by D. E. Jones, contains a deal of information respecting the Grange (pp. 69-73, 104). The present writer had independently reached the conclusion that the second element in Maenorvorion is to be explained in the light of "Gwely Oyrion Redewyth," "Gwely Oyrion Cuelyn" into which part of the tir gwelyawc of Henllan was divided at the time of the Black Book Survey (p. 215); hence the *Maenor of the grandsons of* Bevan (p. 88), who had met the form Maynornoria which he failed to identify, states that by an agreement between Bishop Gower and the Abbot of Whitland in 1338, two-thirds of the great tithes and the whole of the lesser tithes and oblations of the Abbey estates were to go to the incumbents of the parishes whence the revenue was drawn, but that in the case of the Chapels of St. Mary, Whitland, and Maynornoria the oblations were to be reserved for the monastery. The Chapel of this maenor is Capel Mair, Llangeler. Part of the rent paid in kind by the tenants consisted of Gieir Ynid or simply Ynid, i.e., poultry paid at the initium of Lent. In most of the records Llangeler appears as Merthir Keler. Merthir = Martyrium, the shrine in which the relics of the saint were preserved. Celer is said by Rees (*Welsh Saints*, p. 306) to have lived during the period 664-700. An account of the legend about the famous fountain of Llangeler and the great fair held there annually from June 21 to the Feast of St. Peter will be found in Lhuyd's *Parochialia*. *Arch. Camb. Supplement*, iii, p. 76.

Arglwydd in the Ecclesiastical Courts for the return of the lands of Llandovery, Cenarth Mawr and other estates. In the end, both Maelgwn and his son, another Maelgwn, were forced to acknowledge the "full rights of the Church" in the lands of Cenarth Mawr, and in this case it is clear that the full rights meant absolute ownership of what may be called the old Maenor of Cenarth¹. Though the White Nuns of Llanllyr had apparently enjoyed the emoluments of the parish for about a quarter of a century, the Bishop now appropriated the revenues of the Church of Cenarth, together with those of Llywel and St. Dogwell's, to the use of St. David's Cathedral². He may, however, have allowed the Nuns to retain some portion. In the absence of evidence, no one can say what happened subsequently. All we know is that, at a later date, the Bishops held the right of presentation to the Church of Cenarth³, while the Nuns of Llanllyr apparently enjoyed the tithes of the parish, and that at the end of the century the Maenor, as we have ventured to call it, was not in the possession of the Church but of the lords of Emlyn uwch Cuch. It is not improbable that an arrangement, of which all record is lost, was made between the Earl of Pembroke and Meredith ap Rhys Gryg on the one hand, and Bishop Anselm le Gros (1230-48) on the other. For had the Bishops continued to hold Cenarth Mawr as they held "Dyffryn Teifi," it is somewhat difficult to see how Meredith could have built his "Newcastle," and how the town of Newcastle Emlyn could have come into existence in the way and at the time it did. The settlement of the Bishops' claim and the securing of the whole of Emlyn uwch Cuch under one chief lord were necessary steps in preparing the way for the founding of the towns.

¹ Harl. MSS 6280, f 80. Also *Trans. Hon. Society of Cymmrodorion*, 1911-12, 146-7. As is evidenced by the name Maynorvorion, the Commote was originally divided into maenors.

² Bevan's *St. David's*, p. 110.

³ "Episcopal Registers of St. Davids"; (*Cymmrodorion Record Series*, No. 6, under May 16, 1487.) Cenarth is in the Bishop's collation.

CHAPTER II.

THE COMMOTE OF EMLYN UWCH UCH IMMEDIATELY
BEFORE THE CREATION OF THE BOROUGHS.(i) *The Constables.*

The Newcastle of Emlyn and the Commote were now in the hands of the King. For nearly a hundred years after the attainder of Rhys ap Meredith they were in the charge of Bailiffs and Constables responsible for the chief rents, etc., to the Chamberlain of West Wales at the Exchequer in Carmarthen. For convenience sake, it were better to give here a list of the names of the Constables from 1290 to 1382. It would seem that after 1287-8 David Moriz acted as bailiff under the King until 1290, and until 1293 under Roger Tibetot, who got the estates of Rhys ap Meredith for four years¹. On the death of his father in 1293, David Vychan occupied the post under Tibetot for one year, and under the Crown apparently from 1295 to 1311. From this date, Constables follow without break to the end of our period—1382. Sir Richard Wroth (1311-1314); Robert de Acton (1314-1316); Geoffrey de Bello Fago (1316-1319); William de Knovill (1319-132—); Sir Rhys ap Griffith (132—-1326); Hugh de Tyrpington (1327—); Thomas de Blauncfront (1331-1333); Gilbert Talbot (1333—); Hugh de Ferrars (on the death of Talbot—1346); Richard de la Bere (1346 Sept. 1380); Simon de Burley (March to Nov. 1382 as Constable).

(ii) *The Commote under David Vychan or Vaughan.*

Several records relating to the period of David Vaughan have been preserved. One² of them has an important bearing upon the history of Atpar; in fact it contains the first documentary notice of the place which we possess. In 1297, William de Camville and Walter de Pederton were commissioned to deal with the persons who had carried away the goods of Margery, late wife of Geoffrey Clement at Maerdref, Atpar and Emlyn. The jurors are those of the "Commotes of Gwynionith and

¹ Woodward's *Hist.*, p. 559.

² Pat. Roll, 25 Ed. 1, pt. ii, m 12; Cal. 317. July 8, 1297. Walter de Pederton was Constable of Carmarthen. *Rot. Parl.* 143-150.

Emlyn." Thus the name Atpar was in existence in 1297 and property therein was held by English people. Had it been a burgus at this date it would probably have been described as such.

Two years later, the granddaughter of Earl William Marshall, viz., Joan the wife of William de Valence, and also John de Hastings, who had married Isabella, their daughter, entered a claim in the King's Courts for the possession of the "Castle of Emlyn formerly belonging to Rees ap Meredith, hanged for treason." The King's justice in South Wales, Walter de Pederton, was ordered to investigate and decide the claim. The jurors from Emlyn, whose names are given¹, attended at Carmarthen where the case was tried. The substance of their evidence has already been incorporated into the text of our story. The only point which need be referred to here is that the King retained his hold upon the Commote on the grounds that Cynan ap Howel had done "homage to the King" and "service at Carmarthen," and that both Gilbert Marshall in 1223 and Roger Tibetot in 1288 had seized the lands with the King's army and in the King's name and for the King's use². Thus Gilbert Marshall's schemes with regard to the Upper Commote were frustrated; in truth they had been rendered nugatory long before by the course of political events; but spite of the fact that Cynan's forfeiture involved the whole Cantref, the Earls of Pembroke established their rights in the Commote of Emlyn is Cuch. The law only confirmed what the events of history had made good.

The Courts having finally decided that Emlyn uwch Cuch belonged to the Crown, considerable attention was directed to the improvement of its internal affairs, and as we shall see in the next chapter, to the re-organisation of the lands and their tenants in the vicinity of the castle. The castle itself was repaired and replenished with dead stores in 1300³, and judging from a few stray details, it would seem that a small body of English had settled near

¹ See *Miscellanea*; chap. viii, List of Jurors.

² Chancery Inquis. *Miscellan.*, File 47/18, m 2; Inquis. 27 Ed. I, 108. Also Phillips' *Cilgerran*, p. 240.

³ Close Roll, 28 Ed. I, m. 12; Cal. 337. The Castle was one of the royal prisons. Dinefor also. *Trans. Hon. Society of Cymmrodorion*, 1916-7, p. 173.

it. It is not at all unlikely that Edward I. on his visit to the Commote had left some of his followers behind in order to strengthen the garrison, although it need not be supposed that they were the first English in the place. We have already had evidence that Englishmen held property in both Atpar and Emlyn. Amongst those holding part of the demesne in 1300 was Sir Richard Wroth¹, who also held the mill of Cenarth and the fisheries. It would seem as if his interests at this date were looked after by a brother of his or a near relative—William Wroth². The significance of the "individual owners" of a later document should not be passed unnoticed; these were not Welsh, at any rate, they did not hold their lands by Welsh custom.

Hitherto, no information about the internal economy of the Commote has been forthcoming. Official returns of the rents and other profits accruing from the Commote begin to appear now. The first is a mere fragment relating to the demesne³; the next, that of 1301-2⁴, is full of detail. From this we learn that David Vaughan was "Constable of the Commote," and Madoc ap Gruffith the beadle. In the 1300 fragment we read that Kenewreyk ap Lewelin and David Vaughan "and their fellows" held parts of the demesne at 2s. a year. Richard Wroth appears in both accounts as having failed to pay his rent of 1s. for his parcel of the demesne, though he had paid his rent of 73s. 4d. "for holding the mill and weir of Kenarth at farm." Morgan ap Howel holding "land in the Commote by grant of Meredith ap Rees" paid 1d. yearly at Michaelmas; Willim and Griffith, sons and heirs of Anian ap Willim, held their lands of the King at 12d. a year⁵. In these two last instances, the land is called after the person who first obtained the grant. A certain

¹ At a later date Ricardus Wrothe was the custodian "terre de Gower in the king's hand at the time" (I.P.M., 15 Ed. II. 90; 27 Feb., 1322, Clark's *Cartae Glam.*, p. 617). Wrothe had probably rendered special service during the revolts of Rees ap Meredith, and as a reward got a grant of a part of the demesne of Emlyn. It will be noted that he paid the same rent as Anian ab Willim.

² *Black Book of St. Davids*. He was juror in 1328 (I.P.M., 1 Ed. III. 80), and appears among the loyal tenants in 1343.

³ *Min. Acc.*, 1158, No. 2.

⁴ *Min. Acc.*, 1218, No. 1.

⁵ This grant should be carefully noted.

Marglas paid 12*d.* yearly for the lord's protection, and 20 tenants paid for the pannage of their pigs—probably in the lord's forest which will be referred to further on. Unfortunately, in not one of the records are there hints which would enable us to locate the *tir gwelyawc* of the family-groups living in the Commote. The beadle collected the rents of these lands, and their descriptive names are reminiscent of the days when the old Welsh lords or the members of their *teulu* went on *cylch* and actually consumed the "rents" on the spot. The gwestva of £18 13*s.* 4*d.* was paid "by the community" at the four feasts of Christmas, Easter, St. John the Baptist, and Michaelmas; the potura (porthiant kais) of 106*s.* 8*d.* was paid by "several persons in the community" at Michaelmas; the old kylch march, the "drink or provender of the lord's horses,"—67*s.* 6*d.* was paid by "divers at Easter." There was also a fine or prise of 12 cattle claimed by the lord from the best cattle of the Commote for the purpose of his larder at Martinmas, a payment which had been commuted for 40*d.* for each beast, but was now in abeyance "until the Prince or his Council" came to "view the state of the district." The Prince's Commissioners¹ came in order to "view," and the prise is not heard of again. According to this record, there were at this date "bondsmen of our lord the King and bondsmen of the free-tenants of the Commote", and they are expressly mentioned as paying 20 pigs (each worth 8*d.*) for the pannage in the woods and forests. These, no doubt, are the 20 tenants (paying one pig each) named in the record of 1300. The sum total from the whole Commote amounted to £47 18*s.* 5*d.*

Another document of importance is the Roll of the Court of Emlyn for the year ending Michaelmas, 1303². It is chiefly interesting on account of the personal names it contains, and also for the statement that certain lands were rented by individuals at 8*d.*, 7*d.*, 6*d.*, 2*d.* a year. There were disagreements then as now, and when the value of money is considered, the fines at the Court of Emlyn were sometimes heavy. Iorwerth ap Llewelyn lost his case as against Traharn ap Gwasmyangel and had to pay 3*s.* Traharn must have been a much injured man,

¹ See *Miscellanea*, chap. viii, Commissioners, 1302.

² Court Roll, Portfolio, 215, No. 20.

for on account of his plaint Leukin Goch was fined 2s., Ieuan ap Iorwerth 2s., Wenthlian verch Iorwerth 2s. Angharad verch Saer had quarrelled with Gwladys verch Phillip, and it cost her 12d.; and Erdedev¹ verch Ken paid the like fine on account of the plaint of Mylsaunt. Other names which appear are Dyddgu Vachan, Nest, Tangwystel, and Eva; and also names like Flemeye, Protyn Brougham, Llewelyn Ffrome, Ieuan Moules, which suggest Welsh mothers and English or Flemish fathers. David ap Griffith was fined 3s. for trespassing in the lord's woods; and as illustrating how strictly the courts were conducted, Ieuan ap David had to pay 12d. for disturbing, and Ieuan, the clerk, 12d. for impeding the "lord's court." Ieuan apparently was a cleric, and "brother Aylloth," who withdrew his plaint against Madoc ap Madrun, seems to have been one of the monks from the Grange of Maynorvorion.

CHAPTER III.

THE FOUNDING OF THE BOROUGHS.

(i) *The Trevs.*

In 1188 Giraldus visited Cenarth² and in his Itinerary mentions the Church of Llawddog, the mill, the bridge, the productive fisheries and the orchard with the delight-

¹ The name appears also in Cilgerran. Calendar Vol. ii, *Cymmrodorion Record Series*, No. 7, p. 13.

² See p. 66, n. 1. The chief items of antiquarian interest are (i) The Gellydywyll Stone, now fixed near the south door of the Parish Church. It was removed thence in 1894 from Gellydywyll where it had been carried from Park y maen llwyd. According to Lewis Morris the stone in 1743 was 20 miles away at Maenclochog, Pemb. The inscription in rude letters of Hiberno-British form reads:—

CURCAGNI FILI ANDAGELLI

Arch. Camb., iv, vii, 141. v, xi, 81. v, xiii, 134. *Inventory of Ancient Monuments, Carmarthenshire*, p. 13. Lloyd's *Hist. of Wales*, i, 114. (2) Y Domen Fawr (circumference 450 feet, height 20 feet) on the field the other side of the road from the Church, has already been referred to (pp. 64, n. 2, 71, n. 2). (3) The bowl of the font in the Parish Church belongs to Llandisiliogogo. Used as a pig trough on Perthronen Farm, Talgarreg, the birthplace of the Rev. D. H. Davies, formerly Vicar of Cenarth, it was set by the Vicar in its present place when he rebuilt

ful garden. Cenarth seems to have been the centre of the whole Cantref before the coming of the Norman and the erection of the castle at Cilgerran; at any rate, more is known about it during this period than about any other part of Emlyn. The migrations of the famous "Seven Dybrgwyr of Llanddowror" of the Book of Llandav appear to have ended amidst the allurements of its charming scenery¹. Its very name suggests the presence of an early "fortified enclosure."² But in Giraldus' day its value lay in its "productive fisheries," which, if one may argue for once from the silence of a keen and observant author, were of greater importance than those of Cilgerran³. But Cenarth was not the only vill in the parish. There was another—a mere collection of rude cottages situated on the outer neck of the bank upon which the present Newcastle Emlyn stands. This was the home of the inferior tenants of the maerdref—the chieftain's demesne⁴. The building of the Castle about 1240 on the furthest point of the anvil-shaped bank brought about a great transformation in the character of the place. Very soon there sprang up a cluster of dwelling-houses near the stronghold itself—the homes of the newcomers, the lord's dependants, soldiers, artizans, a few English or probably Flemish traders from Pembrokeshire, and those who sought the lord's protection. Land was found for these partly on the demesne and partly on the recovered waste lying towards the river on the north. This collection of houses soon

the church in 1872. "Within the loops at the four points are human faces in relief and at one point where the loop is extra large there are two faces." *Baptismal Fonts*, by Prof. Tyrrell Green, *Trans. Hon. Society of Cymmrodorion* 1918-9: p. 47 for an engraving; p. 83 for the description. The fonts also of Troedyraur, Henllan, Bangor Teifi, Llanfair-Orllwyn are most interesting.

¹ *Liber Land.*, p. 129.

² See p. 66, n. 1.

³ Dent's *Edit.*, p. 105. For an account of these and other fisheries in the Teifi and the Tywi see "Some Ancient Fishery Records" in the *Salmon and Trout Magazine*, June, 1916, No. 13. The article, however, needs correction, e.g. Griffith ap Nicholas for Rees ap Griffith. Though he stayed at Cilgerran, Giraldus does not mention the fisheries there. See also, *Miscellanea*, chap. viii, Fisheries of Emlyn.

⁴ As a rule, holy wells are near ancient churches or chapels and these near the ancient vills. Ffynnon Llawddog, which within living memory used to be visited by ailing people, is situated at the mouth of Cwm Penbuarth, i.e. Cwm Arad. It may be that the earliest tref of the taigion was near this holy well—on part of the demesne.

acquired the name of Trefcastell¹. Growth was possible only by the extension of the Trefcastell towards the homes of the old Welsh tenants, and as this pentref would remain stationary and the Trefcastell alone could grow, the name in due course extended over the whole.

There was also an old Welsh tref on the Bishops' estate on the other side of the Teifi, and tradition gives it the name of Trehedyn². The name belongs to the same category as Tre Drëyr and Treligen³, which seem to be older than the parishes of St. Michael's Tre Drëyr and St. Mary's Treligen, and this is in favour of the antiquity of Trehedyn, though, as far as the records go, Trehedyn first appears in an Elizabethan document as the name of a messuage and somewhat later as the name of a part of the Borough of Atpar. Whatever doubt may be expressed as to the name, there can be no reasonable doubt about the existence of the tref, for the free-tenants of "Dyffrin Teifi" lived in Llandyfriog, Henllan and Bangor, and there must have been a body of inferior tenants to work the demesne. But, as we have already seen, Atpar¹ was the name of a well-known place in the thirteenth century. Originally, it was probably the name applied to the rich lands on the banks of the Teifi below the present town bridge, and on the slope to the old road to the Forest Farm; latterly it became extended over the whole tract,

¹ "Land of Treve Castel." *Min. Acc.* 1218/6. 1307-8.

² The earliest instance of the name in the local records occurs in Deedpoll 29 September, 1581, 23 Eliz., in which William ap Rees David Du grants to Mary Lloyd his messuages "Le Dole Goch, Kwr y Coed and Trehedyn in the parish of Landevriog." In Indenture, 8 James I, 20 June, we have "Y ty ar y cnwc in Trehedyn," and again in Indenture, 29 September, 1722 "Ty ar y cnwc in Trehedin," (*Cilgwyn Archives*). In the Elizabethan record Trehedyn is a messuage, an ancient burgage; in the later records it apparently represents that part of Atpar below which stood the Old Salutation.

³ See p. 93, n. 1.

⁴ The name is now generally spelt Adpar. The present writer has never heard a Welshman pronounce it thus in a breath-group of words. The form Adpar is comparatively modern: the records invariably give Atpar. The prevailing usage in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is illustrated by the following taken from documents in the *Cilgwyn Archives*:—"Borough of the Town of Atpar" (*Chief Rent Roll*, 1670-80); "Burgus de Attpar" (*Man. Roll*, 1709); "Attpar" (12 May, 1711); "Burg et villa de Attpar" (*Man. Roll*, 25 April, 1730); "Attpar villet Libert" (18 October, 1723); Borough and Corporation of Atpar" (1734); "The Ancient Corporation of Atpar

which, in the fourteenth century, was called the Manor of Atpar. The process by which Atpar as a name became so comprehensive is clear enough in the light of the facts. Now a comparison of the names of the tenants in the Forinseca of Cilgerran in 1292 with those of the Black Book Survey at Atpar in 1326 reveals the striking fact that whereas the number of English names in the former is singularly small, the number in the latter is relatively high and that at a time when Atpar was at a low ebb. When the castle was built in 1240 there could have been no displacement of the old Welsh tenants in Emlyn and on the Bishops' demesne¹, and there could have been no motive for such a displacement. Meredith ap Rhys represented Welsh traditions; the castle belongs to rather a late date and no burgus was founded at the time. The Welsh tenants, therefore, remained undisturbed on both sides of the river, and yet a distinct settlement of Anglo-Norman or English folk had taken place on the lands called Atpar and also near the castle in Emlyn. The tendency at the beginning was for the newcomers to keep themselves apart, and thus there were two small groups of dwelling-houses on the Cardiganshire side just as there were in Emlyn, and these were the outward and visible signs of two kinds of land tenure. The Welsh tenants continued to hold their lands according to the Welsh system; the

otherwise called Trehedin" (Pep. 16 October, 1740). The origin of the name is baffling. (i) The Bishop of St. David's at the time of the settlement of the Anglo-Normans was Thomas Wallensis (1248-1256). Previous to his election to St. David's, he was Archdeacon of Lincoln. Led by the notion that the place-name might have been brought here by Lincolnshire men who followed in the Bishop's train, the present writer has sought far afield for a name of similar sound. It is clear, however, that the Anglo-Norman settlers in Atpar came chiefly from Glamorganshire though the names of some show that they came originally from Lincolnshire. (ii) Dr. J. E. Lloyd suggested that the old Welsh word for *aftermath*, *second-crop*, viz. Atpawr, should be carefully examined. Atpawr would be perfectly descriptive of the rich pasture lands in the valley below the spot where apparently the old Welsh tref stood. In popular speech the word had probably undergone contraction even at this date, but we should have expected Atpôr (pawr, pôr-i) on the lips of Welshmen. We may, however, safely assume that it was the foreign settlers who were responsible for the form Atpar, which soon became the fixed record form.

¹ *Black Book Survey*, Intro., xx.

The following note taken from Indent. 29 September, 1722, is worthy of preservation, "Four acres of Welsh measure called Gwirglodd Aberkerri".

newcomers in both Atpar and Trefcastell held by individual ownership, like those already referred to as paying 8d., 7d., 6d., 2d. a year for their holdings. Such was the condition of things at the end of the thirteenth century; it was soon to undergo a momentous change.

(ii) *The Newtown of Emlyn.*

We know what took place in Emlyn; in the absence of direct evidence we can only assume that what took place in Emlyn took place also on the Bishops' demesne in Atpar. Between Michaelmas and Easter, 1303, the little trevs of Emlyn with their different kinds of land tenure were converted into one organised community, all the lands into burgage-tenements¹ and the tenants into burgesses privileged with some degree of self-government under a port reeve. In the Minister's Accounts of William Rogate, 1303-4², it is expressly stated that the town had been created by the "grant of our lord, the Prince," and that it had not been arrented before Michaelmas, 1303. And just as the castle was called the "Newcastle of Emlyn," so the newly organised community was called the "Newtown of Emlyn"—to distinguish them from the old castle and the old town of Emlyn in Cilgerran. The facts of the Black Survey of Atpar in 1326 can only be explained on the supposition that that borough also was founded about the same time as the Newtown by a grant of its lord, David Martyn, Bishop of St. David's (1296-1328)³.

Several problems arise in connection with the founding of these towns. We can deal with two only:—(1)

¹ The present writer has seen but two specific references to burgages in Newcastle Emlyn:—(i) Indent. 26 Sept., 3 Ch. i, 1627, Sir Henry Jones of Abermarlais, in consideration of 20 marks, grants to Thomas Lloyd of Kilgwyn all that messuage or tenement or burgage situate in the "Village or Town of Emlyn" in the occupation of Jno. Griffiths, to be holden of the Chief Lord of the fee thereof, by rents and services accustomed. (This seems to be the site of the Old Graig Chapel.) (ii) In Exchequer Dep., 16 June 1630, No. 1, we have "Certain lands and house being a burgage in the Villedge of Emlyn called Twy yn y loan". References to the Atpar burgages are common enough.

² *Min. Acc.* 1218/2.

³ That is, if Dyffryn Teifi was a lordship marcher, otherwise the grant must have been made by the Prince.

Why the conversion of the lands into town-lands had been so long delayed? and (2) What led to it at this date?

(1) During the 60 years of the castle's existence there would be a natural tendency towards the assimilation of the old order to the conditions obtaining around other castles like those of Cardigan and Cilgerran. An increase of revenue would have accrued to the Welsh lords of the Newcastle had they been in a position to turn the lands in its vicinity into town-lands. Besides, the increase in the population near the castle and dependent upon it, would have strengthened their hands as against an invader. But, however much it would have been to their advantage, they probably dared not meddle with the traditions of their Welsh tenants, and without a change in the system of land-tenure the town could not be formed.

(2) It was the consistent policy of Edward I. to encourage the creation of towns in Wales, partly as a check upon the "unruly Welsh" and as guarantees of orderly government, and partly as centres from which English culture would stream forth into the country around. Atpar was in the Bishops' estate of "Dyffryn Teifi," but the bishop at the time when arrangements for the creation of the boroughs were being made was Beck (1280-1296), whose ideal was in principle the same as the King's, viz., the establishment of colleges where the clergy could be the more easily controlled, which shows that the secular Welsh clergy of the period played an influential part in keeping alive the national spirit of their people. After the quelling of the third Welsh revolt, that of Madog ap Llewelyn¹, the "illustrious King," Edward I., marched with a part of his army through the Commote which had occasioned so much trouble during the risings of Rhys ap Meredith². He must have considered the question of the good government of the Commote, and it is not too great a demand upon our credence to hold that it was he who advised the creation of the boroughs of the Newtown and Atpar. The work was rendered easier by the forfeitures which must have followed the revolts of Rhys. The Welsh on both sides of the river had probably been implicated. The fitting opportunity for the change arrived

¹ It occupied the King until May, 1295 (Stubbs' *Const. Hist.*, ii, 132).

² *Inquis. A.Q.D.*, Nov. 26, 1309.

soon after Edward of Carnarvon was made Prince of Wales (1300-1)¹ and the lands of Emlyn uwch Cuch were assigned to him as a portion of his "Principality."²

(iii) *The Development of the Towns.*

In 1303-4 there were only 26 burgages in the Newtown of Emlyn, each burgage paying a rent of 12*d.* a year³. The conditions obtaining in Atpar in 1326 forbid the assumption that there were 26 burgesses, unless sub-tenants would be included in the term. There were, however, other townsmen called "burgesses in gross" who held neither burgages nor lands, but paid a rent of 6*d.* each, 5*s.* 6*d.* in all, for the privilege of enjoying the same liberties as the burgesses proper. The town grew very rapidly. The burgage-tenements more than doubled in one year. In 1304-5⁴ there were 54 burgages paying £2 14*s.* 0*d.*, and in 1307-8, 61⁵, and in 1316, 62⁶ of them. Curiously the number of "tenants in gross" seem to have remained about the same until 1316, when the total rent paid by them amounted to 12*s.* There were, therefore, about 86 tenants or sub-tenants of either kind in the Newtown of Emlyn at the end of Michaelmas term 1316. Fairs were established in 1307-8, the one at Martinus, the other at the Feast of St. Barnabas⁷. The former was

¹ Woodward, p. 561-2. Edward himself in one of his letters says that he was granted the Land of Wales in 29 Ed. 1.

² Though a lordship marcher, Emlyn uwch Cuch was in some respects treated as part of the Principality. The Escheator of the Marches (not of the County of Carmarthen) made the inquest preceding the grant to the Prince. The Lordship is described as a March in I.P.M., 7 H. VI, No. 32, 1428-9. Emlyn, Aberystwyth, Cardigan, Dinefor, Dryslwyn, Carmarthen were regarded as independent hundreds of the County. (*Trans. Hon. Society of Cymmrodorion*, 1916-7, p. 165.)

³ *Min. Acc.*, 1218-9.

⁴ *Min. Acc.*, 1218/6.

⁵ *Min. Acc.*, 1219/4-5.

⁶ *Min. Acc.*, 1219/6-7.

⁷ *Min. Acc.*, 1218/6, 1307-8. The following rhigwm often heard in Newcastle Emlyn refers to one of these fairs:—

Ffair Fartin gaglog,
A ffair Gynon ddu,

Ffair fach Glyngeua
Yw'r oreu gen i.

The other is mentioned in the fictitious *Hen Lythyrau o Gymru*, No. xii, dated Bargod, Medi 15, 1727, published in *Yr Ymofonydd*, Rhagfyr, 1872. In this will be found a most amusing account of the happenings in a Ffair Gwyl Barna. Castell Newydd Emlyn, the animals in which were put under a spell by witches. Though Ffair

the better attended by traders, for the tolls came to 6s. 6d. whilst the tolls from the latter came to only 1s. The increase here again was steady, for by the year 1316 the tolls had crept up to 16s. 2d. and 4s. 7d. Similarly, the Court perquisites give evidence of growing activities; whereas in 1305 they were only 17s. 4d., in 1316 they were £3 9s. 2d. The "Newtown of Emlyn" had now nearly reached its fullest growth, and this is the more remarkable because in 1314-5 a severe famine had swept over the land¹. Information about Atpar at this date is not available. Reading backward from the facts recorded in the Survey of 1326, it would seem that from the very beginning it was a larger town than its sister borough, unless indeed its growth between 1304 and 1326 had been considerably more rapid. Here, again, the burgesses held a stang and one acre of land for which they paid 12d. in half yearly payments—at Easter and Michaelmas. Different from the Newtown of Emlyn, Atpar had no tenants in gross, though there were a few "protective tenants" paying 4d. each for living under the lord's ægis.

(iv) *Review.*

Their organisation being complete we are now in a position to conjure up a mental picture of the boroughs and their environs as they appeared some 600 years ago. Taking our stand on a favourable spot near Cilgwyn, we see nearly the whole of that part of Emlyn with which we are now concerned; for rising from about 90 feet at the river's edge to 631 at Penyrherber², and reaching 1,100 Gynon was held at Atpar, the name belongs to Capel Cynon, which (like Atpar for a time) was under Llandisiliogogo.

¹ The severest famine recorded in European history.

² There was a "place" called Yr Herber, also a Blaen Llwyn y Garn which Nicholas ap Rees Thomas, Gent., once owned (*Indent.* 24 May, 1785). Yr Herber is probably represented by the lands of Tan yr Herber and Pen yr Herber. There was also a Park yr Herber near Llandyfriog (Herbarium=Herb garden). Curiously, near each of these Herber names is a *Spite* (Hospitium):—(i) The little tyddyn on the Dwrog in Emlyn, and (ii) the old mill in Llandyfriog, which in the Tithe Award of 1839 is called Spite Mill. There is nothing in the records to connect these *Spites* with any monastic body. Llandyfriog was, according to the Valor, appropriated to the Archdeacon of Cardigan (Bevan's *St. Davids*, p. 150). Grove's *Alienated Tithes* does not refer to Llandyfriog and yet according to the Tithe Award two-thirds of the tithes belonged in 1839 to a Lay Impropriator—Anwyl Jones of Llanfairfechan.

feet on the summit of Moelfre, the scene opens out like a panorama before us. Immediately below us—somewhat to the right—is the triangular edifice of the castle with its vertex to the east and its base—its towers and its gateway looking down the valley in the direction of Cenarth, Cilgerran and Cardigan. Near the entrance to the castle enclosure is the chapel, dedicated probably to the Holy Trinity¹, where the residents of the castle and the townsmen of Emlyn worship together on Sunday and Holy Day, for as yet there is no chapel within the structure of the stronghold. A little beyond—around the present Castle Square—are the homes of the castle dependents, the English artizans and tradesmen, and perhaps a market place and a hall for holding the town courts, especially those dealing with the conduct of the fairs. Further away and near what is now known as Tir-dre and the Porth² is another group of rude homes where dwell the successors of the taogion, who under the old regime tilled the lord's demesne as part of their service. As yet, the space between these two groups of houses is not filled up, but it is being filled as the town increases in size. The acres of land in the tenure of the burgesses, consisting partly of what was formerly tir-gwelyawc³, and chiefly of what had been the lord's demesne, are situated on the gentle slope towards the Teifi and on the upland between the Ffynnant and the dell of the Gwyddon. In fact, most of this townland was comprised in the eighteenth century Tythyn Tir-y-dre. We see, also, the scattered portions of what remains of the demesne, now rented out to various individuals—the Dolcastell, the Dolbrenin and the land which many centuries later formed Tythyn Aberarad⁴, whereon stand the corn mill—at the aber,—and the fulling mill

¹ The Feast of St. Barnabas (the fair day) falls next to Trinity Sunday on which a fair would not be held. In 1922 both festivals were on the same date—June 11th. The Chapel was there probably before the fair was established.

² The Porth probably goes back to mediæval times. The old Gateway Inn, where the early Methodists used to preach, took its name from the Porth.

³ An allowance was made out of the gwestva after the creation of the Borough (*Min. Acc.*, 1218, No. 6, 1307-8). For instances of grants of escheated Welsh lands to Municipalities see Dr. E. A. Lewis' *Decay of Tribalism*, *Trans. Hon. Society of Cymmrodorion*, 1902-3, p. 43.

⁴ Excheq. Dep; 6 Ch. I, Mich. No. 1.

somewhat higher up the stream. The tract right above the town lands, distinctly marked out by its strong fences, is the protected enclosure for the lord's red deer. It was probably known even then as Park Nest—Nest being perhaps the daughter of the Welsh lord who erected the castle. The entrances to this park are indicated by the present Park Nest homestead, by *Bwlch-y-pâl*¹, and *Bwlch-cae-brith*. Higher up, but more to the south, is the rough, uncultivated Forest land, the situation and extent of which may be gathered from the existing farm-names, *Penbuarth*² *Fforest*, *Blaenfforest*, *Cil-y-fforest* and *Penfforest*, the three former looking down the valleys of the forked *Arad*, and the last hidden away behind the *Moelfre* in *East Cilrhedyn*.

Retracing our steps, we cross the *Teifi* Valley and climb to *Penlon* in *Emlyn*. We see the *Newcastle* and the town of *Emlyn* once again. Beyond the river lies part of the *Commote* of *Gwynionydd-Iscoed* in *Ceredigion*, and within it, sloping up from the river, is the *Bishops' estate* of "*Dyffryn Teifi*." To the right, in the bend of the hill, are *Allt Esgob* and the *tir gwelyawc* of the free-tenants of *Lodrepedran*³, and nearer the river, the parish

¹ In the 1532 Survey we are told that "there is within a mile of this Castell (*Newcastle Emlyn*) a forrest belonging to the same which is well wodded, with certain red dere therein." (This should not be confused with the *Bishop's Forest* of *Atpar*.) *Leland's* testimony (1536-9) is "There is a little forest by *Emelin* and a park was ther ons palid." This explains the *Park* in *Park Nest*. *James Howell* of *Bwlch y Pâl*, a most remarkable blind man (died 1921), gave this explanation of the *pâl*, "*Clywes ganwaith pan own yn blentyn fod pal yma—lle a chaere iddo i gadw'r creadur a elwir bwch danas*", and he stated further that in his father's time the *pale* could be traced. Judging from the two *Bwlch* names, it seems that in the later mediæval period the whole of the uplands above *Park Nest* was *paled* but that in *Leland's* day only the part near *Bwlch y Pâl* remained enclosed. These *pal* names are not uncommon, e.g., in *Carmarthen-shire* we have *Cefn pal* (*Cefn y pale*, *Tir y palis*) near *Llandovery*; *Pant y pal* (*Llandebie*); *Hole ewm pale* (*Llanishmael*); *Cwm palis* (*Mydrim*); *Cwm Pale*, *Old Pale*, *Pale Gate*, *Little Pale* (in *Kiffyng*). It is said that the site of the old Rectory at *Bangor Teifi* was called *Pal*: *Penrhiwpal* in *Gwynionydd-Iscoed* is well known.

² Originally the fold for the cattle in the care of the forest herdsmen.

³ None of the surviving place-names in *Llandyfriog* helps to explain *Lodre-pedran*. There is a *Nant Pedran* in *Cilrhedyn*. The *Vicarage* was formerly an old farm house called *Abertrosol*. The cottage a little above the *Vicarage* is named *Castell Henllys*.

church, the little llan of Tyfriog. Right in front of us is the Borough of Atpar, bounded by the cwm of the Ceri, the confines of the parish of Llanfair-treligen¹, and a line drawn roughly around the lands of Blaennant Farm to meet the Teifi². On the uplands above Cwm Ceri are the 40 acres of the "Forest of Atpar." To the south and the east of the Forest and running down to the Teifi are the acres cultivated by the burgesses, while the dwelling-houses with their garden plots are arranged in an ascending line along the hill towards Bryndiodde just as at present. The lord's mill of Atpar stands not far off the bridge. The burgesses are under an obligation to build and repair it at their own cost, besides grinding their corn there. There is some land in the lord's hand—probably to the east of Atpar, and if he thinks fit to sow corn in it "certain persons" in Llandyfriog are bound to put in three days at the reaping, getting their food on one day only. There is a chapel in the borough dedicated probably to St. Thomas the Martyr, for the fair is held on the Feast of the Translation of that popular saint, and were we near enough we might possibly see a shrine of the Virgin³ just under the motte and bailey.

¹ A small parish attached to Llandyfriog and lying between Troedyraur and Llangynllo. Of the Church of St. Mary very little remains. The site of the llan enclosure covered 1r. 6pls. (No. 116 Tithe Map). According to the Tithe Award, there is a tumulus in the field No. 118. Ffynnon Fair Farm (Nos. 99-132) tells its own story. In books like Barker's *Endowments* (vol. iii, 152) the name is given as Llanfair Trelygen; in Speed's Map, 1610. Llanvaier Treligen; in the Tithe Award the second element is Trefligen; in Bacon's *Liber*, Treligen als Helygen als Trefylon. The Church is not mentioned in the Taxatio of 1291, neither is it referred to in the Episcopal Registers (1397-1518) unless it is the Treferen or Treferen in Subaeron (p. 826) which comes next to Llandyfriog. We have St. Mary in the Elms, St. Peter in the Rushes, Llanbedr y Cenin (Dr. Fisher in *Trans. Hon. Society of Cymmrodorion*, 1906-7, p. 96), and Llanfihangel Helygen in the Archdeaconry of Brecon; but in the case of Treligen it is not the church but the tref that is connected with the willow, that is, if *ligen* is a contraction of helygen. Treligen, Tre Dreyr, Trehedyn belong to the same category—names of districts occupied by a family group. The Church of Tre Dreyr (Troedyraur) is dedicated to St. Michael.

² See chap. viii, Boundaries of the Parish of Newcastle Emlyn.

³ The "Old Salutation" which was situated in Atpar near the bridge appears to have been an ancient hostelry and it may have taken its name from such a shrine. George Borrow once stayed at this Inn (*Borrow's Second Tour in Wales*. *Cymmrodor* xxii, 160).

CHAPTER IV.

THE FOREIGN BAILIWICK AND THE "COMMOTE."

Every town in Wales which had grown up under the shadow of a Norman castle was to all intents a "little England"¹ within Wales, that is to say, it was a settlement chiefly of aliens who held their tenements according to foreign custom; hence the term Foreignry. The Welsh, who lived beyond the liberties of these towns, clung most tenaciously to their own system of land tenure and the laws which had been handed down by their fathers. Blood, language and social customs, also, helped to widen the gulf between these two classes of tenants. The Lordship of Kidwelly with its town is a good illustration of such an organisation in Carmarthenshire. The earliest townsmen of Kidwelly were Normans, English and Flenish², and the Welsh had no place within the bounds. Most of the other towns of Carmarthenshire belong to a different category. Carmarthen³ and Llandovery⁴ had had a continuous existence of a sort from the period of the Roman occupation; Dinefor⁵ with Llandeilo, owing to its position as the seat of the Welsh princes, was probably a tref of considerable importance long before the Normans came into the country. In these towns and especially in those of later origin like Llangadog on the Bishops' estate of Tir Esgob, the nucleus of the population was Welsh, not Norman or English. This is especially true of both the Newtown of Emlyn and Atpar. These owe their origin to the castle, but the Newcastle was built not in the early twelfth but in the middle of the thirteenth century, not by Anglo-Normans but by Welsh lords, not to overawe hostile natives, but merely for protective and administrative purposes. Yet very soon after the period of the Welsh lords had passed away, we find in Emlyn uwch Cuch the same divisions as existed in lordships like that

¹ That is, Norman England.

² Dugdale's *Mon.* iv, 64-5, n. 1. Jones' *Kidwelly*, 112.

³ J. E. Lloyd's *Carmarthen*. *Arch. Camb.*, vi, vii, 3 p 281 ff.

⁴ *Ancient Churches of Llandovery*, *Trans. Society of Cymmrodorion*. 1911-12, pp. 49-74.

⁵ *Trans. West Wales Society*, vol. i, 147, and authorities cited there.

of Kidwelly. In Kidwelly¹ we have the Forinseca which included the borough, and the Welshry, viz., all the lands of the lordship outside the Foreignry; in Llangadog² and Llandeilo Fawr³ we have the Town and the Patria (Y Wlad); in Cilgerran⁴ the Forinseca and the Commote (later Manor) of Emlyn; in Emlyn uwch Cuch the Foreign Bailiwick and the "Commote," the former comprising the Newtown, the demesne, and also the mill of Cenarth with its lands, weir and fisheries; the latter all the lands outside these limits which retained the old Welsh customary laws. In "Dyffryn Teifi" there were apparently no distinctive names, nevertheless the difference is well-marked,—the Borough of Atpar and the Tirgwelyawc of Lodrepedran, Henllan and Bangor-Teifi⁵. From this date, the term Commote is employed in a two-fold sense in the records of Emlyn, and in order to save confusion, we must henceforth write Commote when the word is used in its larger connotation and "Commote" when used in the narrower sense of patria or Welshry.

The rapid development of both the Newtown and Atpar as illustrated in the last Chapter makes it abundantly clear that the Welsh were no longer reluctant to live in towns. But whatever changes in feeling had been brought about in process of time, and however flourishing our towns may have been for a brief period, their subsequent history shows that they soon began to drift into a kind of backwater. This backward drift cannot be attri-

¹ *Bromley's Survey*, 1609.—Appendix to evidence given by Mr. Ed. Owen, Royal Commission on Land in Wales.

² *Black Book Survey*. See also *Ancient Churches of Ilandoverey*, pp. 217-219.

³ *Trans. West Wales Society*, i, 146, note. *Black Book Survey*, 262-276. "Llandilo Vawr patria and Llandilo Vawr Villa"—Appointment by Earl of Carbery of Jenkin Lewis and John Lewis Morgan to be stewards of the Courts. 18 Dec., 17 Ch. i, 1641. (In Cilgwyn Archives.)

⁴ *Cymmrodorion Record Series*, No. 7, vol. ii. *Cilgerran*, pp. 11, 41-50.

⁵ There were two beds in Lodrepedran, one of which was called Gwely Du. The tenants of this land had to carry material for the five buildings—the Hall, the Lord's room, the kitchen, the stable, the grange from the Forest of Atpar to Llandygwydd. The holders of the one lectus in Henllan were Gruffydd ap Walter, Iorwerth ap Gruffydd, Gruffydd Lloyd and their co-owners. All give a cow as Commorth on the Kalends of May every third year, and they do all other services as the tenants of Lodrepedran. Elloyd ap Eynon, Wenllan

buted to unfavourable physical conditions, or to a remoteness which separated them from the larger life beyond. It was due to a wholly different set of causes. It happened that both villis were created boroughs right at the beginning of a period of general discontent, disquietude and depression in both the political and economic spheres, and that these conditions grew worse and worse as time went on. First came the unrest which broke out into open and, in some parts, formidable revolts. It would appear from the brief notices in the records that our Commote was not entirely free from ebullitions of feeling and stormy outbreaks, apparently against the local rulers and the English on the demesne. Then followed the awful ravages of the pestilential Black Death which visited Wales in 1349 and yet again in 1362 and 1369, and though the evidence is lacking in our manorial accounts it must be assumed that what happened elsewhere happened also in Emlyn uwch Cuch,—death wrought such appalling havoc among the inhabitants that there were not left half enough men to till the soil. The results were—scarcity of food for man and beast; extravagant demands for higher prices, and for higher wages where labour was procurable; attempted suppression of these demands and the consequent bad feeling; the abandonment of lands even on the part of free-tenants and the reversion of those lands to the lord who, for want of labour, was often forced to let them run out of cultivation. Finally, came the de-

verch Kedivor, Hunyth Gogh, Eynon Henllan, Iorwerth Gogh, David Goyg, Nesta Fawr and their heirs must mow the lord's corn at Atpar for three days. The mill at Henllan brought in 26/8, the pleas 13/4. At Bangor were four beds: (i) Gwely Enewris, holders of which are Llewelyn the Chaplain, Gruffydd ap Ieuan, and their co-owners; they pay 5/- at Michaelmas. (ii) Gwely Oyroñ Redewyth, of which the holders are Yweryth verch Gronou, Ieuan ap Richard, Res ap Gruffydd and their co-owners; they also pay 5/-. (iii) Oyron Cuelyn, the holders of which are Gruffydd ap Res, Ieuan ap Adaf and their co-owners; they too pay 5/-. They do services as at Lodrepedran and pay commorth of four cows on the kalends of May every third year. Ieuan ap Adaf, Ieuan Saer, Lleucu verch Knewrik, Lleucu verch Ieuan ap Meyler, Eva Hager, David ap Phillip, Nesta v Kedivor, Philip ap Meyler and their heirs ought to reap the lord's corn at Atpar for three days, he finding food=1d; and they also carry the corn, he finding food=1d. Two tenants hold a patch of land called Eskerrgard=4/-, and give commorth and services as the others. Amongst the protection tenants are Ieuan Sayrhir, Leucu verch Garth, Mabilla Du, Weyrvyll Vammayth.—*Black Book Survey.*

vastations of Glyndwr's Revolt and the untold miseries which followed in its wake,—all of which, as far as they touched our Commote and are recorded, will be described in a subsequent Chapter.

(i) *The Castle and the Newtown.*

Shortly before Robert de Acton¹ became Constable in 1314, William Martin, justice of South Wales, had certified after survey that the remedying of the defects in the structure of the Castle would call for an expenditure of £60; but the sum could not be spared and so the Close Roll of 1315² gives authority to spend only £40. Though the notice does not relate to the Castle, it had better be mentioned here that the revolt of Llewelyn Bren, lord of Senghenydd, against the exactions of Pain de Turbeville, steward of Glamorgan, had assumed a most serious aspect even at the beginning of 1316. A Welsh gentleman, of the line of Ednyfed, called in the Welsh pedigrees Sir Rhys Hen, and in the records Sir Rees ap Griffith³, was commissioned to raise a company of able-bodied men in the Commote of Emlyn⁴ and the neighbouring lordships to swell out the army of Bohun, Earl of Hereford, who had been sent to put down the revolt. The exactions, which gave rise to revolts like those of Llewelyn Bren in Glamorganshire and of Gruffydd Llwyd in Anglesey, affected Welsh lords chiefly. Emlyn uwch Cuch being in the King's hands was asked to help the King's cause. The records do not say how many recruits Sir Rhys was able to procure in the Commote. He may have won over some of the English of the Foreign Bailiwick. But doubt may be expressed about his success among the Welsh. The country generally was in a state of ferment. What with the effects of the severe famine of 1314-5; the exactions and the opposition to them, which called forth the

¹ Orig. Roll, 8 Ed. II., m. 5. "During the King's pleasure."

² Close Roll, 9 Ed. II., m. 28; Cal. 241.

³ Professor Ivor Williams in Appendix C (pp. 193-203) to his fine article on Dafydd ap Gwilym a'r Gler (*Trans. Hon. Society of Cymmrodorion*, 1913-4) has collected a large body of references in the records to Sir Rees and others bearing the same name. See also *Cymmrodor*, xxvi, p. 213 ff. *Awdl i Rys ap Gruffydd*, article by the same author.

⁴ Patent Roll, 9 Ed. II, p. 11, m. 34; Cal. 433.

“ Ordinances ” of 1315 ; the personal greed of officials who spared not the Welsh ; the fears caused by the depredations of bands of lawless men who roamed about the country, and the failure of the authorities to deal with them, feeling in the Welshries—all Welshries—ran high,—so high that the rulers never knew where it would not burst out into the flame of open revolt. Hence, when Geoffrey de Bello Fago was appointed Constable in 1316-7, the Chamberlain at Carmarthen was ordered to see that the Newcastle of Emlyn was properly provisioned and strengthened¹. Four years later (1321)², something of the nature of a local rising was attempted. Nothing in the records of our Commote or of those relating to Cilgerran, Narberth, and Dinefor gives the clue to the direct cause, the location, and the extent of the “ disturbance ” as it is described. We simply know the fact, and that in March of that year William de Knovill³, the Constable, was commanded to be in personal custody of the Castle of Emlyn, and to increase the garrison if he found it necessary. We gather that it was found necessary from the record which states that he was recouped for the extra expense incurred. These few facts taken together suggest that “ All’s well ” could not be said of Emlyn and the surrounding country.

Sir Rhys ap Gruffydd⁴ followed de Knovill in the Constablership of Emlyn, and during his tenure of office nothing of a noteworthy character seems to have happened. Hugh de Tyrpington came after him⁵. Neither he nor his agents could get much out of the Castle, the demesne, the Courts and fairs. By comparing the contents of Ministers’ Accounts of 1326-7 with those of the Extent of 7 January, 1328⁶, we learn that the Castle of Emlyn was worth nothing beyond reprisals, that the demesne of 24 acres brought in only 10s., the meadow under

¹ Orig. Roll, 10 Ed. II, m. 3 ; Close Roll, 10 Ed. II, m. 14 ; Cal. 392.

² Close Roll, 7 Ed. III, p. 1, m. 3 ; Cal. 73, but it refers to the time when De Knovill kept the castle.

³ Pat. Roll, 12 Ed. II, p. 2, m. 10 ; Cal. 338 ; and Close Roll, 14 Ed. II, m. 10 ; Cal. 291, See also Cal. 438 (1321).

⁴ *Min. Acc.* 1220/3. 1326-7.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ 1220/5 ; I.P.M., 1 Ed. III, 80 (Extent 7th January, 1328).

the Castle 2s., the garden near the Castle 2s., the Courts and fairs 10s., the watermill of Aberarad 26s. 8d., the fulling-mill, also on the Arad, 7s., and pannage only 4s. The returns from the Courts and the fairs, also, tell a tale of decay—and this about 20 years before the Black Death was heard of. The political troubles at the end of Edward II.'s reign will not explain the "bad times" in remote Emlyn. Both the "Commote" and the demesne, and also the Newtown and the Borough of Atpar, exhibit the same symptoms.

(ii) *The "Commote"*.

In "Dyffryn Teifi," the lands of the patria are specifically mentioned as *tir gwelyawc*¹. In the "Commote" of Emlyn the "Welsh lands" are at this date described by the name of the commuted rents which their holders paid; thus:—"There are 6½ gwestvas in the Commote."² It is most unfortunate that, except in the case of Maenorvorion which has preserved the older term Maenor in its name, there is not the slightest hint in the records to help in deciding the situation of the gwestvas. Maenorvorion would still pay its gwestva or chief-rent; thus there may have been two gwestvas in each of the parishes of Llangeler, Penboyr, Cenarth, and the half may have been beyond the Forest in East Cilrhedyn which was served by the mediæval chapel called Capel Iwan³; but this locating of the gwestvas is pure conjecture and had best be left alone. By comparing the details in Minister's Accounts of 1302⁴ with the Inquisition of 1328, we find that certain changes had taken place in the "Commote." Thus, in 1302 we are told that the Porthiant Cais was paid by "certain persons," in 1328 it was paid by all the tenants in the "Commote." In 1302 reference is made to the bond servants; in 1328, we are told that "no one held by homage or villeinage." The Court perquisites vary considerably, from £10 18s. 0d. in 1320 to £2 14s. 2d. in 1326, and in view of the returns from the Castle and the

¹ See pp. 95-6, note 5.

² Extent 7th January, 1328. Anian ab Willim's land is referred to in this record.

³ Mentioned in the Inventory (1552), "St. John is Chaple": had "a chalice and a bell". Capel Ifan, in Rees' *Welsh Saints* (329).

⁴ *Min. Acc.* 1218/1.

town and of the condition of Atpar in that year, as will be shown presently, this decrease should be carefully observed. There are signs of decay all round—in the “Commote,” in the Newtown and in Atpar, and this decay was so serious that English tenants on the demesne in Emlyn and burgesses in Atpar were actually abandoning their lands. In order to explain the shortness in the revenue, the record of 1331-2¹ states that the lands of Emlyn were uncultivated and the tenants of Kenhard (Cenarth) had withdrawn themselves to England through poverty. The Accounts, of course, refer to the departure of the English during the year before. Who these English tenants were may be seen from the account rendered for the mill and weir of Cenarth for 1331. Whereas in previous years, from 1307 to 1327, the rent accruing from this mill came to £6 13s. 4d., in 1331-2 it had fallen to £1 3s. 3d. The remarkable feature about the removal of the English tenants to England is that the lands of the “Commote” were able to pay their “chief rents” and so were the burgage-tenements of the Newtown. And yet, something of a serious nature must have disturbed the Foreign Bailwick, for in 1332 the King ordered the Barons of the Exchequer to make an allowance of £40 a year to Thomas Blauncfront the Constable and farmer “in the issues of the Castle and land of Hemelyn.”²

(iii) *The Borough of Atpar.*

Between 1296 and 1328, the Bishop of St. David's was David Martyn, a descendant of Martin of Tours the conqueror of Cemeis, and a grandson, through his mother, of Rhys Arglwydd³. In 1326, Martyn commissioned Master David Francys, Chancellor of the diocese, to survey all his episcopal estates. The volume which contains the results of this investigation is known as the Black Book of St. David's⁴. In this Survey, Atpar, Dyffryn Teifi and Llandygwydd are styled Manors. At its best the Newtown of Emlyn contained only about 62 burgage-tene-

¹ *Min: Acc* 1220-6.

² Close Roll, 6 Ed. III, m. 23; Col. 468.

³ Bevan's *St. David's*, 131.

⁴ For this section see *Black Book Survey (Cymmrodorion Record Series, No. 5)*. Intro. xx-xxvii. Text 36, 38, 219-227.

ments; in Atpar there were 96¹. Like the burgesses of the Newtown, the tenants in Atpar paid 12*d.* a year at Easter and Michaelmas, rendering withal what may be described as mild services. They paid also a relief of 12*d.* when occasion demanded it, and on the alienation of their tenements they were charged a fine of 4*d.* They did suit at the lord's mill in Atpar—this mill is mentioned twice²,—and at the Hundred Courts from 15 days to 15 days at one night's summons. The police officer, to use the modern term, kept the prisoners at his own risk. There were three "protection tenants"³ in the borough, but unlike the Newtown of Emlyn, Atpar held no tenants in gross. Except in the case of two groups of co-owners, the ownership was individual, and it has been remarked that this was the only instance of individual ownership on the episcopal estates in Cardiganshire. Atpar was not prosperous in 1326, for no fewer than 15½ of the burgage-tenements were in the lord's hands for want of tenants, that is, their former tenants having failed to sell or sublet had delivered them into the lord's hands, and the lord could find no one to take them up. Had the Survey been

¹ A burgage is said (p. 219) to consist of 1 ac. and 1 stang. Many of these burgage-tenements were aggregations of such burgages. An analysis of the Survey gives the following results:—One tenement of 15 burgages (i.e., 1 ac, 1 stang each); two of 12; one of 10; one of 8; two of 7; one of 6; two of 6½; one of 5½; four of 5; two of 4½; ten of 4; four of 3½; ten of 3; four of 2½; eighteen of 2; three of 1½; twenty-six of 1; four of ½ each. These were occupied. There were in the lord's hands for want of tenants, one tenement of 4 burgages; two of 3; one of 2; eight of 1; one of ½. These represent 20½ burgages and as there were 29 acres all told in the lord's hand, three tenants named together must have held the other 8½. Thus a rough estimate of the lands held as burgage-tenements=about 350 acres. In addition to these acres there are mentioned (i) 40 acres of forest; (ii) a common with some wood on it [Cf. Cwr Coed, Bryndiodde (Bryngoddeu)]; (iii) demesne lands; (iv) small plots held by the tenants for which they paid 1½*d.* and 1¼*d.* A small heath assarted (diswooded) had apparently been turned into a burgage. One burgage is named, viz. Crath (? Trath) Cregyn: perhaps Cwmbrwyn and Yr Ynyñ represent the names of two others, but Othnant is the Hodnant (Peubryn) of the Talley Abbey Inspecimus, 1324. *Arch. Camb.*, v. 37, p. 46.

² The Bishop paid 2*s.* a year to Eynon ap David and other tenants of Thomas ap Llewelyn for having a water course on their land to this mill.

³ Ian Fox, Wenllian verch David, Roger servant of Matilda verch William.

dated 1331 or a little later, we might have conjectured that some of the English tenants of Atpar had joined those of Cenarth who had withdrawn to England because the lands of Emlyn lay uncultivated. As it is, only three English names occur amongst those who had given up their burgages, and there is no hint in the record to help in elucidating the problem. As we have already observed, the Court and fair fees of the Newtown also give evidence of considerable decay. A market was held every Saturday in Atpar and a three days' fair on the Feast of the Translation of St. Thomas, but we have no means of deciding whether the fair was prosperous or not. The Survey gives a full list of the names of the burgesses and an examination of these names shows that of the principal holders the majority were Welsh. Gervasse (Iorwerth) the cleric held as many burgages as 15; John Legate and Griffith Vachuan held 12 each; Ieuan Tega held 10; David ap Ithel and Ieuan ap Bola held 7 each; David Voyl $6\frac{1}{2}$; Ieuan ap Ithel 6; Llewelyn Lloyd ap Cadwgan, Roger le Long, Llew ap Adaf, Christina Sayr and Hunyth her mother as co-partners held 4 each. A comparison of the names in the Survey with those found in other records reveals the fact that some were tenants in Emlyn as well as in Atpar¹. About 25 women are answerable for their burgages—a comparatively large number—among them Maruith (Morfydd), several Evas and Nests, Leuca, Angharad, Duthgu, Veyruylt, Amy, Matilda, Mabilla Sayneys, Waldusa. There are about a dozen surnames which appear to be other than Welsh—Revel, Peverel, Seys, Le Long, Peeche, Aunger, Cornwale, Cole, Wroth, Gylot, Russell, Val. The majority bear names which are unmistakably Welsh and among them are Iorwerth, Kedivor, Kenewrick, Gwasmyhangel, Meyler, Gweythbergam, Traharn, Dun. Several of the names are descriptive—Meredith, Traharn and Veruylt are “Goch”; Iorwerth Cwta, David Voyl, Gwrgen Lwyd, Ieuan Penbwl explain themselves. A few are distinguished by a place-name—Llewelyn Othnant, John Combrwyn, William Yrynyn. Others are described by their occupations, such as the creth (shoemaker), the cobbler, the weaver, the miller, the turner, the merchant, the taverner. It looks as if

¹ See Chapter viii. *Loyal Tenants of 1343*.

Gruffydd ap Medic was the son of the doctor, and David Anchorita suggests either a hermit or one who lived like one. There is, however, no room for mistaking Gervasse, the cleric, and David, the chaplain¹, who held 4½ burgages. The former may have been what in modern speech we would call the Priest-in-charge of Atpar², the other his assistant curate. These were not the clergy of Llandyfriog. At this date Atpar was regarded as a part of the parish of Llandisiliogogo³. Llandyfriog was served by a Llewelyn, who ministered to the Welsh tenants of Lodrepedran. Gervasse and David ministered to the burgesses, and our conjecture about the existence of a church in the Borough of Atpar is substantially confirmed.

(iv) *Local Officials during the Fourteenth Century.*

Except during the troublous times when they were expressly commanded to be in personal charge of the Castle and its garrison, the great English lords holding directly from the Crown or the Prince of Wales, seldom concerned themselves with affairs in our part of the Teifi Valley. They were in the position of absentee landlords, and left the domestic government of the lordship to officials like the bailiff of the Englishry, the custodian of the Castle, the reeve of the town, and the beadle of the "Commote," the three latter being responsible to the bailiff or a locum tenens appointed by the lord. In 1333, the lordship was bestowed upon Lord Gilbert Talbot, the Justiciar of West Wales, for the term of his life "without rent"⁴—that is, the chief rents and the ancient dues payable to the Crown at the Exchequer at Carmarthen. Talbot, therefore, enjoyed all the revenue from the lordship, and this was collected by his bailiff—a notable Welsh gentleman living in the Commote. From documents relating to a much later period we learn that Atpar and "Dyffryn Teifi" were responsible through their portreeve and beadle to the Bishop's steward.

¹ Philip son of the chaplain is among those who had given up their burgages. This detail shows that some of the Welsh clergy at this date and on the Episcopal Estates were married.

² Probably he was non-resident.

³ Introduction, *Black Book*, 38-9. The Bishops held an estate in Llandisiliogogo in 1808. Meyrick's *Cardiganshire*, p. 137.

⁴ Pat. Roll. 7 Ed. III, pt. ii, m. 15; Cal. 476.

In the early years of the fourteenth century, the garrison of the Newcastle was in the charge of Englishmen like Nicholas de Pederton and John Monet (1316-17) and Stephen le Rede (1319-20)¹. Curiously, the names of the reeves of the Newtown seldom appear. In 1315, John Flecher² filled the office and his name is certainly not a Welsh one. In the "Commote," Welshmen generally occupied the office of beadle, as can be seen from the following list:—Iorwerth Protyn (1303), Madoc ab Griffith (1301 and 1315), Ieuan Cutto (1307), Eynon ap Gronou (1319), Llewelyn ap Cadwgan (1320), Eynon ap Craddock (1332), Richard Harem (1390)³. These men, the Welshmen at any rate, were the gwyrdra of the "Commote," the brëhyrion of Dafydd ap Gwilym's verse, freeholders par excellence, men of long pedigrees who could trace their descent from their ancestors without resorting to pitiful shifts and fictions. Speaking generally, even in the fourteenth century most of these gwyrdra held lands only in one locality. But Commotes like those of Cemeis, Iscoed, Emlyn had witnessed great changes in the social order during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. One of the many contributory factors in the break up of the old system was the establishing of towns and "Foreign Bailiwicks"; another came in the wake of native revolts like those in Emlyn under Meredith ap Rees. Both the lords and their more prominent adherents suffered the forfeiture of their lands as the result of their rebellion. That Richard Harem, apparently an Englishman, could have become the beadle of the Welshry of Upper Emlyn suggests that either his father or his grandfather had been settled upon forfeited tir gwelyawc. Further, some Welshmen, especially in the more Normanised parts, found that their interests were bound up with those of the conquerors. Though they remained thorough-paced Welshmen, they were "King's men" and fought both at home and abroad on the King's side. As a reward for their services, some of these obtained grants of land—parcels of the lord's demesne or of escheated tir gwelyawc—in lordships other than their own. Thus there arose a new class of gwyrdra who held estates in two or more

¹ *Min. Acc.*, 1219/1-2.

² *Min. Acc.*, 1219/4-5.

³ The names occur in either *Min. Acc.* or *Inquisitions*.

lordships. As will be abundantly illustrated presently, owing to the increase of their landed wealth, their wider experience and superior culture, this class of Welshmen gradually became the real local rulers, filling the higher responsible offices in the place of their absent lords.

No apology is needed for the inclusion of the narrative which follows. It throws some degree of light upon individuals who played their part in the history of the Newcastle of Emlyn and who are but incidentally mentioned in our records, and in a measure helps to furnish the historical setting of one whose name, as the patron of our greatest mediæval poet, is a household word in Wales.

In the twelfth century and apparently in the parish of Nevern in the lordship of Cemeis lived a vigorous gwrda named Gwilym ap Gwrward¹, a contemporary of the sons of Gruffydd ap Rhys Arglwydd—lords of Iscoed. He was a "King's man," held some land in Emlyn is Cuch in 1244, and in 1252 was "King's bailiff" over a part of the territory of Maelgwn lying around Llanbadarnfawr. Gwilym is reputed to have had eight sons, five of whom founded families whose names occupy a large space in the Welsh pedigrees. His son, Einion Fawr o'r Coed, was another "King's man." By his marriage with Eleanor Pratt of Llandudoch he established relationships with a town separated from Cardigan only by the Teifi. He it was who was left in charge of the Newcastle of Emlyn in 1287-8 with orders to munition it for the King. He probably incurred a great deal of expense in carrying out the order. If the view advanced in the Appendix (p. 112) is substantially correct, he is the Anian ab Wylim who obtained from Edward I. a large grant of what was probably demesne land lying in the Bargod Valley in Penboyr parish, and this land he bestowed upon his "sons and heirs" Gwilym and Griffith. The pedigrees mention another son of his, viz., Owen, and it is said that two other sons were killed by the "English of Carmarthen" in 1257². His daughter, Gwenllian, married a member of the Mortimer House of Coedmore—Roger son of

¹ See Pedigree p. 113. Most of the references are given in the Appendix.

² Woodward's *History of Wales*, p. 425.

Llewelyn, lord of Geneu'r Glyn in North Cardiganshire, whose grandson, Owen of Coedmore, sold Geneu'r Glyn to Ieuan Fychan of the Llawdden House of Morfa Bychan,—a fact recorded here merely on account of its bearing upon the history of the poet Dafydd ap Gwilym. Incidentally, it may be stated that Nest, Einion's niece, the daughter of his brother Gwrwared, married Gruffydd the father of the "Rees ap Griffith" who was commissioned in 1316 to raise troops in Emlyn uwch Cuch to fight against Llewelyn Bren.

Gwilym, Einion's eldest son, stands out prominently in the history of the lower Teifi Valley. Partly on account of his father's services during the disturbances of 1287 and 1292, and partly on account of his own strenuous character and services as a fighter in the King's army in France (the *fleur-de-lis* figured on his arms)¹, Gwilym was entrusted with the Constablership of Cardigan Castle. Edward Lhuyd tells the story, quoted in both the Peniarth MS. and Dwnn's *Visitation*, how Gwilym in his wrath slew the Irish of Pitchert for firing the house of his foster father. By his marriage with Elen, the daughter of Cadwgan Ddu, he acquired in due course the lordship of Towyn (Verwig) and Aberporth, and founded a Cardiganshire family whose members inter-married with the Houses of Iscoed uwch Hirwen, Coedmore and Morfa Bychan. Three of his sons held lands in Emlyn uwch Cuch,—Einion Fychan who held Geyadeston, a place which eludes identification, and Llewelyn and Griffith, who held the lands which Edward I. had given their grandfather, Einion Fawr o'r Coed.

Little is known about Griffith ab Wylym; a good deal is known about his brother Llewelyn. In 1343, a Royal Commission was appointed to receive pledges of allegiance to the Prince of Wales from his subjects. The tenants of Atpar as well as those of our Commote took the oath at the Newtown². The Commissioners' Report enumerates

¹ "He (G. ab E.) got his arms in France which he quartered with his own, viz., gules a chevron between three fleur-de-lis, and in chief a lion rampant or." Quoted from *Lewis Glyn Cothi* (282) in Professor I. Williams' *D. ap G. a'r Gler. Trans. Hon. Society of Cymmrodorion*, 1913-4.

² Inferred from a comparison of the *Black Book Survey* of 1326 with the list of the Loyal in the Report of 1343. *Arch. Camb., Orig. Docts.*, vol. i, clviii.

the chief of these loyal tenants. The first mentioned is "Llewelyn ab Wyllim," who is described as *locum tenens Domini Gilberti Talbot*, as the Constable of the New-castle and *ballivus ville predicte*, that is, the bailiff of the Foreign Bailiwick, which included the Newtown. Owing to his connection with the poet Dafydd ap Gwilym Gam the name of this all-important official in the lordship is well known in Welsh literary circles, but his official position has been over-exalted¹, and spite of the *Iolo MSS.*² he has been domiciled in a county (Cardigan) to which his activities as a man do not belong. He was probably in the heyday of his manhood before his father became lord of Towyn after the death of Cadwgan. It is most unfortunate that we have no contemporary evidence about Llewelyn other than the reference in the Commissioners' Report of 1343, and the allusions in the two fine poems—one a panegyric, the other a lament sung after his death by his nephew Dafydd ap Gwilym.³ There is, however, a body of tradition, but it is exceedingly difficult to disentangle what is genuine in these traditions from mere inferences which the curiosity of centuries has drawn from the poems of Dafydd ap Gwilym, and which in turn have been handed down as tradition. From these verses we gather that Llewelyn lived in his "Court" called *Y Ddolgoch*⁴ in Emlyn, that is, in the valley of the Bargod in Penboyr, where the name still survives. Most of the traditions connect him with Cryngae in the same parish, not far from the present Llysnewydd and Dolhaidd. But the poet never mentions Cryngae. He associates Llewelyn with Dolgoch in Emlyn and Llysdyn in Cemeis. Llysdyn may have been part of the inheritance of Llewelyn as a member of the Coed family; at any rate, his association

¹ "Llewelyn ab Gwilym, Arglwydd Ceredigion." *Enwogion Ceredigion*, p. 15-16.

² "Llewelyn ab Gwilym Fychan o'r Cryngae yn Emlyn a'r Dolgoch yno." *Iolo MSS.*, p. 93.

³ Pughe's *Dafydd ap Gwilym*, Nos. ccxxxi and ccxxxii, pp. 456-464.

⁴ There is a Dolgoch in Troedyraur Parish; another, a burgage, in Atpar. The name survives in the Bargod Valley. For a full treatment of this question by a diligent investigator see Jones' *Hanes Llangeler a Phenboyr*, pp. 98-100. "Fo'th las i'th lysdeg yn Emlyn"; "Llyn i barc Emlyn"; "Lle twymlys llu at Emlyn" shew that the llys was in Emlyn; and neither Troedyraur nor Atpar is in Emlyn.

with the place was intimate, and the allusions in the poems suggest that he was the owner. We are now, however, concerned with the Emlyn possessions of Llewelyn. It would simplify the confusing references in the pedigrees to those described as of Cryngae, if the view could be upheld that the extensive lands defined in the Appendix (p. 112) originally belonged to Cryngae, that portions of this tract were known by such names as Velindre, Dolgoch, etc., that Llewelyn erected a mansion on the Dolgoch part almost within sight of the old but less dignified homestead of Cryngae. Thus Llewelyn could with propriety be described as both of Cryngae and of Dolgoch. From one of the poems we learn that the *fleur-de-lis*¹ graced the arms which Llewelyn had inherited,—a detail which goes to strengthen the belief that he was the son of Gwilym, the Constable of Cardigan Castle. He was a scholar and a linguist, was deeply versed in the language and the poetry of his own nation, himself a skilled poet to whose encouragement and instruction Dafydd ap Gwilym owed an ineffable debt of gratitude. He was a patron of bards, and his llys of Dolgoch was ever open to them. This is borne out by the traditions about a famous Eisteddfod held at y Ddolgoch² and the story of the bardic contest between Dafydd ap Gwilym and Rhys Meigen, the latter of whom is supposed to have fallen dead from the effects of his own coarse behaviour and ill-temper and the withering sarcasm of his rival.

Strangely enough, the records relating to the Castle, the town and the "Commote" other than the Report of 1343 do not once refer to Llewelyn by name. If he was appointed Constable and locum tenens soon after Gilbert Talbot acquired the lordship, as most probably he was, he must have occupied the various offices from about 1333. He was there in 1343, but how much longer is a matter of conjecture. It was during his Constableness that the report on the defects in "the King's Castle of Emlyn"

¹ "Yr oedd y fleur-de-lis yn arfan Llewelyn hefyd, medd englyn o'i farwriad a geir yn Peniarth 49.

Coeth edling fflowr dling ddis-oreuraid
Wared clochdy Paris."

—Prof. I. Williams' article, p. 94.

² Iolo MSS., 492. An English version is found in *Cambrian Journal*, ii, 270—1.

was made (1340).¹ The defects were plentiful and serious. The work of re-construction called for the expenditure of a large sum, and apparently this could not be spared from the Black Prince's Exchequer. On the death of Lord Gilbert Talbot or of Henry de Ferrars², to whom the reversion of the lordship had been granted, the barons of the Exchequer cast about for someone who would accept the Commote on condition of his putting the castle into a thorough state of repair. Richard de la Bere³, Chamberlain to the Prince of Wales, accepted the conditions and the lordship was assigned to him on July 4th, 1346. The extensive repairs were done partly in 1347 and partly in 1348⁴, and the grant was confirmed by the Black

¹ Harl. Roll, 7198. 13 Ed. III, 1340. The contents of this Roll, as far as they relate to Emlyn Castle may be summarized thus:—The walls were very poor and in need of repair and repointing. Two small towers 14 feet high, flanked the gate. The gateway was in such a bad condition that unless repaired soon the walls adjoining would fall into decay. Within the walls, a hall and two chambers at the end of it had been newly built; under the hall, etc., were a buttery, a pantry and a good cellar. This part of the edifice was well roofed with shingles, but the gutters were of wood. A kitchen (probably as in 1531, at the farther end of the enclosure) was covered with poor wooden shingles and thatch. The bakehouse and brewhouse (outside) were of no value. The castle was badly provisioned; no corn of any kind, no coals, but there were a tun of wine a year old, a tun of honey and two of salt. In the armoury were six acketous (²) of some value, four basinetts, six good cross-bows, five hundred quarrells of no value, six shields bearing the arms of England, six lances, but no armour.

² Pat. Roll, 12 Ed. III, m. 15, 1338; Cal. 110 and Orig. Roll, 12 Ed. III; Cal. 127.

³ Sir Rd. de la Bere was the son of Sir John de la Bere of Southam (39 Ed. III) who married Agnes, daughter of Sir Pain Turberville (Clarke's *Gen. Glam.*) His arms—figure of St. Lawrence with gridiron, beneath a tree. Both Richd. and John de la Bere are among the witnesses to a Deed of Settlement *re* Oxwich, 7 Jan., 1341, 14 Ed. III, (*Penrice and Margam MSS.* iv., pt. ii, p. 12). Apparently Richd. married Cicely, widow of William de Dermford of Todenham (*Cal. Pat. Roll*, 1313—8; p. 282). From a note by Mr. Rhys Phillips, Swansea Public Library.

⁴ Excheq. Q.R. *a/c*, 545/23 (1347) and 545/24 (1348). From these we learn that John Lucas supervised, that Richard Machon and John Bel the masons were paid 14d. for one week; that Adam cleaned stones and timber, Robert Sweteman made the mortar, 8d.; John ap David cleaned the sand, 4d. for 3 days; the girl who carried the water was paid 1d. for 1 day; Geoffrey quarried the stones, 8d.; Richd. Lioun carried the hod and during the second week Isabella and Joan carried the water for the mortar. Ieuan ap Eynon ap Grono Voil was one of the carpenters. For making a pick from iron found in the Castle

Prince on February 11th, 1348.¹ The works were not fully completed before the spring of 1349 when John Lucas was ordered to survey all that had been done "at the expense of la Bere." On May 23rd of the same year, the Prince granted the lordship and its castle to la Bere for the term of his life, without rent²; and it would seem that Llewelyn ap Gwilym's locum tenency came to an end about the same time. If the walls of the castle hall ever threw off alliterating echoes to the music of Dafydd ap Gwilym's verse, as is sometimes suggested, it must have been prior to this date; but the Castle at best was a dull, gloomy fortress, and it is not likely that Llewelyn and his bardic friends held feasts of wit in its dilapidated chambers³, even had the lord granted them permission to do so.

We know nothing more about Llewelyn except the tradition concerning his tragic death. It is said that he was killed by a body of ruffians⁴ from Pembrokeshire, and that both Dolgoch and Llysdyn were involved in a common destruction. Llysdyn can be left out of our consideration. Though Dafydd ap Gwilym's lament refers to it as empty and an arlloesdy, it does not seem to have been utterly destroyed.⁵ The allusions to Dolgoch, however, indicate that something of a serious character had befallen the mansion itself, and it is significant that Llewelyn's descendants are never described as of Dolgoch but always as of Cryngae. In fact, the llys of Dolgoch disappears from all the records whereas both Llysdyn and

2d. were paid; for a shovel 1½d.; a key for the old gate. 2d. Lime was brought from Laugharne, 5/1; for seeking two masons in Swansea 2d. were paid; the blacksmith got 2d. for making 23 large nails for the bridge. Some one was paid for carving the "royal stones"; 600 large laths were brought from Glyn Cothi. The choicest item is that Robert the carpenter was paid 17d. only, because he did not come to his work 'usque ad horam gental'—until the genteel hour.

¹ Pat. Roll, 22 Ed. III, p. 1, m. 39; Cal. 9.

² *Min. Acc.* 1221/8; and Pat. Roll, 2 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 10, Cal. 349—Inspecimus and Confirmation of Letters Patent of Black Prince to la Bere dated 4 July, 1346 and 23 May, 1349.

³ The hall was the only considerable room in the Castle—45ft. by 23ft. See Chapter vi (ii).

⁴ "Gwilliaid o Saeson Penfro." *Iolo MSS.*, p. 93.

⁵ "Un yn ysig

A'r llall, do gwall, yn dy gwag."

"Y llys fraith yn llaesu fry

A'r Llystyn yn arlloesdy."

Cryngae remain, and the men of Cryngae figure prominently in the history of our Commote during the next century. It is clear that Llewelyn cannot have died at the hands of men who were attempting a kind of Peasants' Rising, for at this date there were no villeins in the lordship¹, and the men of Cilrhedyn and Clydey—the nearest points in Pembrokeshire—were in the lordship of Emlyn is Cuch. Nor is there good reason to infer from the use of the word *gwilliaid* in the Iolo MSS. that Llewelyn was killed by a band of masterless ruffians. Dafydd ap Gwilym's *awdl* leaves quite a different impression. Its very phraseology,—the reference to the "*Gwyr cedyrn gwag a'u ciwdawd*," the helpless tone of the lines which speak of judgement—a judgement which results from the moral law "*a laddo a leddir*" and not by process of common law or by the dire vengeance of kinsmen,—all suggest that Llewelyn met his death at the hands of a powerful nobleman and his followers, and that the nobleman was too well befriended to be reached except by the judgement of God. It is not wholly improbable that the leader of the *gwyr cedyrn* in this case was de la Bere himself, who felt seriously aggrieved with Llewelyn and set upon him at *y Ddolgoch*², and if it could be assumed that the cause of the quarrel was the expense to which de la Bere had been put in connection with the castle or something arising out of the stewardship of the lordship, the fall of Llewelyn ap Gwilym must be placed nearer to 1349 than a much later date.

The story of Llewelyn ap Gwilym is charged with considerable interest. It does more than throw light upon the social conditions of the period. The relationship of Llewelyn with his brilliant nephew and the other bards shows that the love and the fostering care of the Welsh language, its literature, its poetry and its music were not

¹ Extent 7 Jan. 1328, I.P.M., 1 Ed. III, No. 80.

² The band no doubt came from English Pembrokeshire, and on the way sought Llewelyn at *Llystyn* where probably he was when they last heard of him. Had they been mere roaming ruffians, Llewelyn would have had the support of his fellow tenants and there would have been time to assemble them. Dafydd ap Gwilym's lament, however, conveys the impression that Llewelyn stood alone, and this can be understood if the leader of his assailants was the lord of the Commote. There is nothing in the *awdl* which suggests either the presence or the effects of the Black Death which visited Wales in 1349.

the exclusive possession of Welshmen in whose hearts hatred of English dominion was the ruling passion. The absence of the so called patriotic feeling in Dafydd ap Gwilym's verse is not due altogether to the poet's all-absorbing love of nature which left room for naught else. The traditions of the family from which he sprung, the atmosphere in which he lived, and had his being, shut out a patriotism which would force itself into disloyalty to the Crown. His people were "King's men," King's officials occupying posts in which "narrow patriotism" would spell treason. His kinsmen had been found consistently faithful on the King's side in Welsh revolts, and some of them were, in his day, fighting in the King's armies on the foreign field.¹ And yet it was this class of Welshmen that gave us the greatest of our mediæval poets, and also such a patron of our national poetry as Llewelyn ap Gwilym.

The rude church of Llawddog on the uplands of Penboyr was not deemed a fitting resting-place for Llewelyn. He was gathered unto his fathers in the Lordship Marcher of Cemeis² and perhaps was buried under the shadow of the Abbey Church of St. Dogmael.

APPENDIX.

THE DESCENDANTS OF GWILYM AP GWRWARD IN EMLYN.

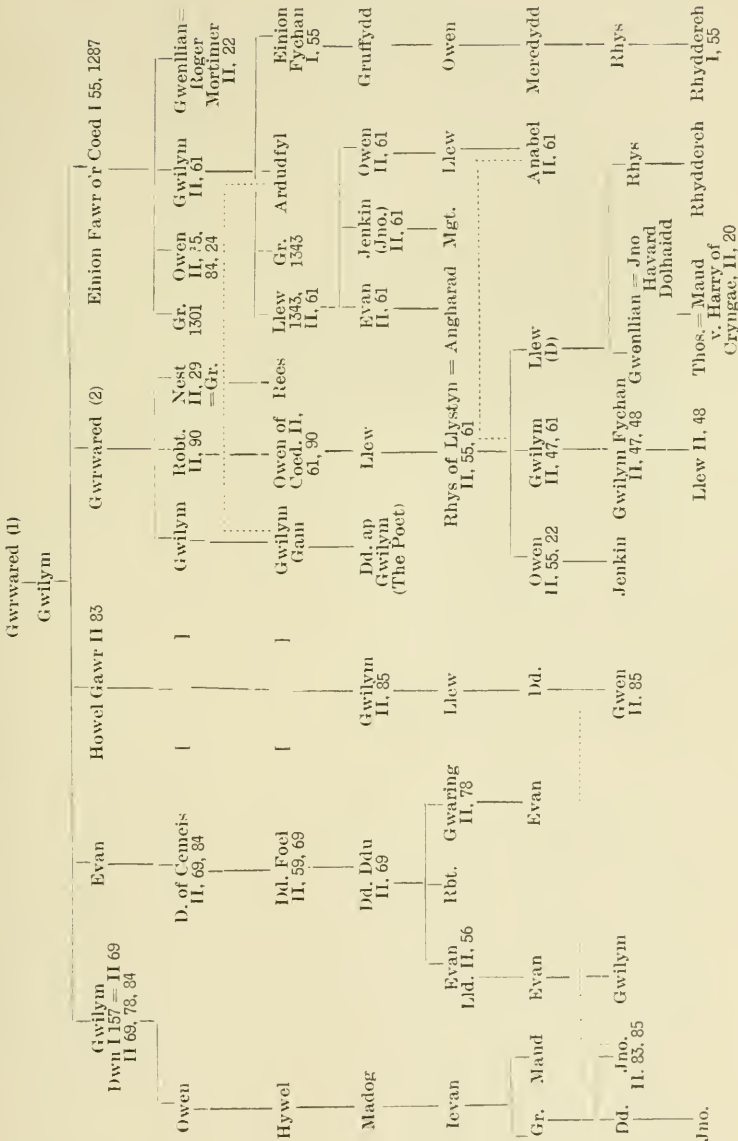
(i) Gwilym ap Gwrward had eight sons. The pedigrees of the descendants of Einion Fawr, Evan, Gwrward, Howel and Gwilym Dew or Ddu are found in the Peniarth MS., No. 156, as given in "West Wales Records," Vol. I. and II., quoted in this Appendix thus: I. 36, II. 29. Gwilym, the founder of this vigorous family-group, held some lands of the Earl Marshal in Pembrokeshire in 1244.³ The evidence which follows makes it tolerably certain that these lands were situated in Emlyn is Cuch (Cilgerran). In due course these

¹ *D. ab G. a'r Gler*, pp. 94, 97-9.

² "Wyd Landudoch heno
Diwyd grair dan dywod gro."

³ Lloyd's *Hist.* p. 711 note.

DESCENDANTS OF GWILYM AP GWIRWARED (Peniarth No. 156—referred to thus—I 55. Dwn = D.)



lands, or the bulk of them, fell to the lot of Einion Fawr o'r Coed,—Gwilym's eldest son by his first wife, Jane or Joan daughter of Sir Elydr Stackpoole (II. 81, 83); at any rate, there are several names among the tenants of Cilgerran in 1288 and 1292 which suggest that their bearers were the sons of Einion, viz., Owen ab Einon¹, and Grufud ab Eynon, Lewelinus ab Eynon, Kedevor ab Eynon, Eynon Vachan—all of which appear in the "Lay Subsidies," No. 242/56, 1292², as holding considerable parcels in the Forinseca of Cilgerran, not in the Welshry. Among the jurors of 1292 is a "William Vachan" and amongst those of Chancery I.P.M., 1326³, is a "Dd. ab Gwylim Vechan." These two latter names suggest a son and a grandson of Gwrward ab Gwilym. Viewed in the light of the evidence given below, it seems fairly clear that some of those described as sons of Eynon were the sons of Einion Fawr o'r Coed. The pedigrees furnish abundant proof that Gwilym, the Constable of Cardigan Castle, was Einion's son and that he had a brother named Owen (II. 24, 35, 82). In the Ministers' Accounts of 1301-2⁴ reference is made to two grants of land in Emlyn uwch Cuch—(1) the land of Morgan ab Howel granted by Meredith ap Rees at 1*d.* yearly and (2) Anian ab Willim's land which had been granted by the King (Edward I.) at 12*d.* yearly payable at Michaelmas, and which at this date (1301) was in the hands of Willim and Griffith "sons and heirs of the said Anian ab Willim."⁵

Now Ennianus, Anianus, Einniaun, Eniaun, Anian, Einyon, Eynon are merely the Latin and the Welsh variants of the same name. Excepting in the "Accounts," no other example of the name Anian occurs in the historical records relating to Emlyn. It is not too great a strain upon our credence to accept the suggestion that the Anian ab Willim upon whom Edward I. had bestowed the lands either in 1287 or 1295 is Einion ab Gwilym or Einion Fawr o'r Coed who had rendered such faithful service during the revolt of Meredith ap Rees that he had been entrusted with the munitioning of the Newcastle for the King (see p. 74). This admitted, it follows that Willim, his son, is Gwilym,

¹ Chancery *Inquis.* Misc., File 47, No. 18, 1288.

² *Cymmrodorion Record Series* No. 7, vol. ii, p. 10-14.

³ File 91, No. 22.

⁴ 1218/1, Emlyn.

⁵ *Min. Acc.* 1218/1.

the Constable of Cardigan, and that the other son, Griffith is probably the Grufud ab Eynon of the Cilgerran lists, and also that both of them held lands in Emlyn uwch Cuch in 1301-2.

Gwilym, the Constable of Cardigan, had a son named Einion Fychan, who succeeded his father in the lordship of Towyn (I. 25), and he is probably the Eynon Vachan of the Lay Subsidies, and the Eynon ap Wylim who held lands in the Commote of Iscoed and lands called Geyadeston in Emlyn, which, as they were held of the Prince of Wales, must have been in Emlyn uwch Cuch.¹ There is not a tittle of evidence to show that Einion Fychan held any other lands in Emlyn uwch Cuch. It is, therefore, but reasonable to infer that his father's portion of the "land of Anian" was held by other members of the family. Who these were may be gathered from the Commissioners' Report of 1343. This Report twice mentions as tenants a Griffith ab Willim—in both Iscoed and Emlyn uwch Cuch,—and Llewelin ab Willim, the locum tenens of Gilbert Talbot and sub-Constable of the Newcastle. There is no proof, and no reason to search for it, that Gwilym and Griffith, the sons and heirs of Anian, had forfeited the land in Emlyn uwch Cuch inherited from their father. This land must have passed into the possession of men designated ab Willim, and there are no tenants on the lists of the Faithful in 1343 other than Llewelin and Griffith who could have held the land which Edward I. had granted Anian. There is therefore the highest degree of probability that Einion Fychan ab Gwilym, Llewelin ab Willim and Griffith ab Willim were three brothers—the sons of Gwilym, the Constable of Cardigan². There is no difficulty about the description "Fychan" so often applied to Gwilym, the father of Llewelyn. All the grandsons of Gwilym ap Gwrward I. called Gwilym would be known as Fychan, at any rate, as long as their grandfather and his contemporaries lived; but the outstanding prominence of Gwilym, the Constable, rendered it unnecessary to distinguish him always in this fashion,

¹ *Arch. Camb. Orig. Doc.*, vol. i., clviii.

² Professor I. Williams (p. 9) gives the pedigree of Dafydd ap Gwilym Gam ap Gwilym ap Gwrward II. from the Peniarth 128, and on p. 92 offers the suggestion that Gwilym Gam and Llewelyn of Emlyn were brothers. If Ardudfyl was the sister of Llewelyn, she would be also the sister of Gwilym Gam on this view.

and the same reason will explain why the short "Llewelyn ab Gwilym"—the Constable of the Newcastle, son of the Constable of Cardigan Castle—was a sufficient designation for Llewelyn.

(ii) The next problem is to identify the lands in our Commote held by the sons of Gwilym, the Constable of Cardigan. Geyadeston, held of the Prince, may have been got after the Prince of Wales acquired Emlyn uwch Cuch (p. 89). Careful enquiry has failed to identify these lands, which apparently bore the name of their former English tenant.¹ They may possibly have been part of those in Cenarth abandoned by the English tenants in 1331 (see p. 100). The "Anian ab Willim's land" must be the lands of Cryngae associated for several generations with members of this family-group. It would seem that Gwilym made his home at Cryngae before succeeding his father at Towyn; hence the "Gwilym o'r Cryngae" of the Iolo MSS. These lands may have been forfeited by the old free tenant for his part in the rebellion of 1287: but it seems more probable that they were demesne lands. No allowance on their account is made out of the gwestva as in the case of the portion of tir gwelyawc granted to the burgesses of the Newtown in 1307-8 (see p. 91), and the significance of the name Velindre (the tref of the villeins), a village on the banks of the Bargod, and of Llain y Brenin and Dolbrenin (King's meadow), near the Teifi, must be fully recognised. The grant of these lands to Einion Fawr and the conversion of the Castle lands into burgages explain the smallness of the demesne lands referred to in our manorial records. Another point that seems to confirm this is that none of the tenants of these lands are found in the lists of jurors in the enquiries into the customs of the "Commote." Dafydd ap Gwilym's verse is the only contemporary witness which furnishes a suggestion as to the extent of these lands. Though the poet never mentions Cryngae by name, it may be assumed that the homestead of Cryngae had been standing for many years before the Dolgoch; that Dolgoch was a new mansion probably erected by Gwilym, that plas in "a'r terfyn ym mhob plas" must be taken to mean a building, and that, therefore, the tract lay between the mansions Cryngae and Dolgoch and stretched down to Ffrydiau Henllan.

¹ Cf. Phillip Coreston: Commissioners' Report 1343.

—“lle beirw Teifi,” and “lle chwynr llwybr terfyn”—the line of demarcation between Emlyn and Gwynionydd.

(iii) There is no good reason for rejecting the statement of the Iolo MSS. (p. 92) that Ardudfyl, the mother of Dafydd ap Gwilym, was the sister of Llewelyn ap Gwilym and, therefore, the daughter of Gwilym, the Constable of Cardigan. A substratum of truth may underlie the tradition about the proud opposition of Gwilym to the marriage of his daughter with Gwilym Gam ap Gwilym Fychan ap Gwrward II. It should, also, be noted that during the two first periods of his life the poet was befriended by those who had family connections with Gwilym the Constable. Gwenllian, a sister of Gwilym (and therefore the aunt of Llewelyn and Ardudfyl) married Roger Mortimer of Geneu'r Glyn, and it was their grandson, Owen, a contemporary of Dafydd ap Gwilym, who sold Geneu'r Glyn to Ieuan Fychan of the Llawdden House of Morfa Bychan, whom the poet eulogises as his first patron.¹ During the second period of his life, as is well known, the poet lived with his uncle Llewelyn ap Gwilym at Y Ddolgoch in Emlyn.

CHAPTER V.

THE TOWNS AND THE “COMMOTE” UNDER THE NEW ENGLISH LORDS.

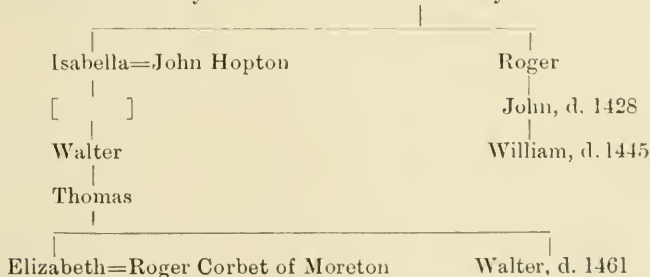
(i) *The Lords.*²

The death of Richard de la Bere on September 20th,

¹ Peniarth MS. No. 156, ii, 22. and Prof. Ivor Williams' article *Trans. Hon. Society of Cymmrodorion*, 1913-14, pp. 84-87.

² Sir Simon Burley

Sir John Burley



1380¹, gave Richard II an opportunity of rewarding his old tutor, Sir Simon Burley, for his many services, of which not the least was the bringing of Anne of Bohemia to this country. It seems that in order to defray his expenses in connection with the latter service, Simon Burley had been obliged to sell all his lands in Suffolk. Richard, as Prince of Wales, had already bestowed the Castle of Llanstephan upon Burley (1377-8). In March, 1382, he gave Burley the Lordship and Castle of Emlyn uwch Cuch for life². In May, 1382, the grant was enlarged and in the following November a fresh charter conveyed him the whole "in fee simple." He was licensed in 1386 to alienate the lands, except in mortmain, to whomsoever he willed³. Thus Burley became the new English lord of Emlyn uwch Cuch in the fullest sense of the term. But his tenure was brief. The Lords Appellant brought a number of charges against him and other favourites of the King in the Merciless Parliament of 1387. Sir Simon was beheaded on May 5, 1388, and his estates were confiscated. The Lordship of Emlyn once again reverted to the Crown, and the following noblemen held it for brief terms—John Hastings, Earl of Pembroke, to 31 December, 1389⁴; Thomas Percy to 20 December, 1390⁵; John Aynhell from 1391—the length of tenure cannot be ascertained⁶. About ten years after the death of Sir Simon, the King made strenuous efforts to get some of his escheated estates restored to his family⁷, but the King himself was deposed in 1399 and the suit of Sir Simon's nephew, Sir John Burley, failed in the case of most of the estates. He had, however, secured Emlyn uwch Cuch, for the Inquisition of 1428-9⁸ states that he died on November 9, 1428, seized of the Lordship and Castle leaving his rights therein to William, his son and heir. Sir William, however, did not enjoy the whole of the

¹ *Min. Acc.*, 1222/3.

² Pat. Roll, 5 Rich. II, p. ii, m. 27; Cal. 101.

³ Pat. Roll, 5 Rich. III, p. ii, m. 111. Cal. 118, May, 1382. Pat. Roll, 5 Rich. III, p. ii; Cal. 206, Nov., 1382. Pat. Roll, 9 Rich. II, p. ii, m. 39; Cal. 96, 1386.

⁴ *Min. Acc.*, 1306/5. 1389-90.
⁵ Pat. Roll, 14 Rich. II, p. ii, m. 3; Cal. 413-4; also *Inspeximus* 1 H. IV, p. iii, m. 14; Cal. 110.

⁶ Pat. Roll, 1 H. IV, p. ii, m. 15; Cal. 68; and m. 13; Cal. 148.

⁷ *Arch. Camb.*, vi, vii, Pt. i, p. 113.

⁸ I.P.M., 7 H. VI, 32.

revenue, for in Ministers' Accounts 1443-4¹ we find that Margaret Burley held dower lands in the Lordship, partly in the "Commote" and partly in the town. These were delivered to Sir William the following year (1444-5)², but he died before the year was out—December 2, 1445, and his rights passed to his heir Thomas Hopton, one of whose ancestors had married a daughter of Sir John Burley.³ He also is said to have died in 1461 seized of the Lordship⁴; but the times were out of joint. The country was in the throes of the Wars of the Roses. Those who claimed to have inherited the traditions of Dinefor did not lose the golden opportunity which offered itself for the recovery of estates formerly in the possession of the descendants of Rhys Arglwydd. Griffith ap Nicholas, the most vigorous representative of those traditions, ousted Thomas Hopton from his Lordship of Emlyn, and the Inquisition of 1461 states somewhat pathetically that Walter Hopton, the son and heir, dared not approach his patrimony. And it seems that when Walter died, his heir, viz., his sister Elizabeth, the wife of Roger Corbet of Moreton, suffered a like indignity and loss. The documents from which we have hitherto drawn most of our information come to an abrupt end, and when we next hear of the Lords of Emlyn uwch Cuch, they are not of the House of the Burleys and Hoptons, but of Abermarlais and Dinefor.

(ii) *Glyndwr's Rising and Emlyn uwch Cuch.*

The rising under Glyndwr is sometimes compared with that of the Peasants in England. The Ordinances of 1315 are clear evidence that, like their brethren in England, the Welsh peasantry as well as the free-tenants were burdened with excessive services, and the Black Death had created new problems. But Glyndwr's rising was not a Peasants' rising.⁵ It was a rising of Welsh chieftains in the first place and of peasants only as willing or unwilling followers of their lords. Later, it assumed the

¹ *Min. Acc.*, 1168/4.

² *Min. Acc.*, 1168/5.

³ *I.P.M.*, 23 H. VI, 22. 1446.

⁴ *I.P.M.*, 1 Ed. IV, No. 42. 1461.

⁵ "The Welsh rising was in origin a rebellion in favour of King Richard, dead or alive, against King Henry." . . . "Under Glyndwr's guidance it became also a Welsh national struggle." Professor T. F. Tout, *S.D.C. Mag.*, June 1889, p. 167.

character of a national movement fired by national sentiment and aspiration, but even at this stage it was practically confined to the Welshries. The "Foreign Bailiwicks" were the sufferers.

Being of a comparatively late origin the Foreign Bailiwick of Upper Emlyn was occupied chiefly by men of Welsh blood. It was "foreign" merely because the tenants therein held their lands by English and not by Welsh custom. We should, therefore, expect to find both the Foreignry and the Welshry of Emlyn uwch Cuch almost entirely on the side of Glyndwr. The facts, however, do not justify the expectation. There were also local circumstances which brought Glyndwr's influence very near to the people, especially the bonedd of Atpar and Emlyn uwch Cuch. The Commote of Iscoed uwch Hirwen and the greater part of Gwynionydd-Iscoed acknowledged Glyndwr as overlord. This tract of land covering the parishes of Llanfair-treligen, Troedyraur, Bettws Ifan, Bryngwyn, and perhaps Upper Llandygwydd, had passed from Gruffydd ap Rhys Arglwydd to his descendant Owen ap Thomas ap Llewelyn ap Owen, who died about 1355, leaving his estate to his sisters Helen and Margaret. The former became the wife of Gruffydd Fychan ap Madog and her interests in the estate fell to the share of her son, Owen Glyndwr.¹ Further, one of Glyndwr's illegitimate daughters was married to the heir of Gwernan, Troedyraur², and although no proofs are forthcoming it looks as if John ap Llewelyn, of whom more hereafter, had also married into the same family. Gruffydd ap Einion Fychan of Towyn, John's cousin, was married to Elen, the daughter of Llewelyn ap Owen of Iscoed³, and the mother of Richard Mortimer of Coedmore was a daughter of Gwernan.⁴ Moreover, the House of Towyn was regarded as the head of a number of related families which

¹ Prof. J. E. Lloyd's *Owen Glyndwr: His Family and Early History*. *Trans. Hon. Society of Cymmrodorion*, 1918-9, p. 138.

² Bradley's *Owen Glyndwr* (p. 306) states that Gwenllian, daughter of Owen, married Phillip ap Rhys of Cenarth, but *Memoirs of Owen Glyndwr* (Ellis' *History of Anglesey*, p. 77) say that Gwenllian was the wife of Sir Phillip ap Rees of St. Harmon in Radnorshire, and that a daughter, unnamed, was married to the heir of Gwernan. The apparent discrepancy is explained by the fact that there is another Kennarth—a hamlet in the Parish of St. Harmon. (Lewis' *Top. Dict.*)

^{3, 4} See Pedigrees, p. 119.

held considerable lands in both Emlyn is Cuch and Emlyn uwch Cuch. It is true that hitherto the traditions of most of these families, and especially those in Is and Uwch Cuch, were not favourable to rebellions of any kind, but no one could say as yet which side they would espouse in what was soon to become a national movement.

Up to the beginning of 1403, no revolt on a large scale in favour of Glyndwr had broken out in South Wales. "The Diocese of St. David's had barely been touched by the insurrection."¹ Before the end of the first fortnight in July, however, all the important towns of Carmarthenshire except Kidwelly had been sadly mauled in the fierce talons of Glyndwr's Red Dragon and burnt by its fiery breath. At the beginning of July, Glyndwr himself was in the Tywi Valley—at Dinefor on July 2nd, Llandovery July 3rd, Dryslwyn July 4th, Carmarthen July 5th and 6th, and St. Clears soon after.² From this point, he found it expedient to turn his back upon an army of Pembrokeshire men under the leadership of Sir Thomas Carew³, and retrace his steps to Carmarthen, whence he suddenly disappeared to re-appear quite as suddenly in Glamorganshire. The order of the "visitations" in the Tywi Valley seem to indicate that Glyndwr reached Dinefor, not by way of the old road from Strata Florida, Ystradffin and Llandovery, but along the valleys of the Teifi and the Cothi—the latter being the country of Llewelyn ap Griffith Vaughan of Caio, who was hung and quartered at Llandovery in 1401 in the presence of the King and the Prince of Wales "because he was well-disposed to the said Owen Glyndwr."⁴ Glyndwr does not appear to have visited his patrimony of Iscoed on his march into the Tywi Valley⁵, but if he himself did not, the narrative given below furnishes sufficient proof that a body of his trained followers, augmented by the tenants of Iscoed uwch Hirwen and led probably by a trusted lieutenant accustomed to his leader's method of attack, fell upon the Newtown of Emlyn and wrought

¹ Prof. T. F. Tout, *Owen Glyndwr, S.D.G. Mag.*, June 1889, p. 171.

² *Ibid.*, p. 172.

³ Bradley's *Owen Glyndwr*, p. 191-2.

⁴ W. Llewelyn Williams' *Adam of Usk. Cymmrodor* xxxi, p. 137.

⁵ Apparently nothing is known about Owen's movements in June (see Tout's Article in *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*, xxi, 431.

unspeakable devastation therein and around. The fact of the assault is sufficiently well authenticated. The tradition of the famous Gwiber Emlyn and the rhigwm of the "Bells of Emlyn" will furnish the colouring¹ and the Manorial Accounts the details concerning the results and after-effects of the attack.

As has already been said, in 1403 Emlyn uwch Cuch was in the possession of Sir John Burley. His locum tenens or steward was a John or Jenkin ap Llewelyn.² It is fairly safe to assume that he was one of the sons of the famous Llewelyn ap Gwilym and the father of Margaret mentioned in the pedigrees, and that he was put in charge of the Foreign Bailiwick and the Castle either by the Burleys or by the Crown when the Lordship reverted to it on the execution of Sir Simon Burley. Nothing demonstrates more clearly the strong belief in the loyalty of this family than the fact that spite of the Ordinances of 1401 (viz., that no native was to be justice, chamberlain, sheriff, constable or keeper of a castle) this Welshman was left in the charge of the Newcastlle. The elder brother, Evan³ or Ieuan ap Llewelyn ap Gwilym of Cryngae, remained loyal; John or Jenkin betrayed his trust.

On the Feast of St. Barnabas in June, 1403⁴, when one of the two annual fairs of the Newtown was being held, a great body of Glyndwr's followers appeared upon the scene. Judging from a hint in the story of the Gwiber, it seems that they did not approach through Atpar but crossed the Teifi from Iscoed somewhere in the neighbour-

¹ See Appendices A and B.

² The custodian is not named in Ellis' *Orig. Letters*, 2nd series, vol. 1, 17-19. "Gwynionydd" in his *Hanes Castellnewydd* (p. 34) gives the name, but on what authority the present writer does not know. Ieuan, Evan, John are variants of the same name, and Jenkin (Siencyn) is the diminutive of John; but the pedigrees give Evan ap Llewelyn ap Gwilym and Jenkin ap Llewelyn as distinct persons (Dwn's i, 162. Peniarth, as in p. 113).

³ He was probably advanced in years at the time.

⁴ It could not have been the November fair; for Archdeacon Kyngeston's letter to King Henry IV, written from Hereford, is dated 8 July, 1403. "And ot on Fryday last Kermerdyn town is taken and brent and the Castell yolden (yielded) be Ro. Wygnor, and the Castell Emelyn is y yolden." 50 persons were killed at Carnarthen; the number killed at the Newtown is not stated.

hood of Cenarth¹ and marched under the Red Dragon along the Carmarthenshire side of the river. By adopting this plan, they avoided the perilous work of forcing a way across the bridge and were able to attack the undefended part of the town at the rear. The devastation wrought in the town shows that the inhabitants offered a most determined resistance, for about half the houses were destroyed before the castle could be reached.² It is said that the custodian of the castle surrendered his charge without showing fight, and as his name is found among the "gentils" with Glyndwr at Dinefor³ and he was later declared a "rebel," there are substantial grounds for the belief. If the interpretation of the tradition about the Gwiber's visit to the castle as given in Appendix A is near the mark, it suggests that Glyndwr's men planted their standard on the castle wall and completed their work of cattle-lifting and burning the homes of loyal tenants, one of whom, an Englishman on the demesne, suffered worst of all. But the day of retribution came. The evidence may be meagre, but we may gather from the tradition of the Gwiber and the facts in the next section that Sir Thomas Carrew either sent or personally led a body of Pembrokeshire men to the Newtown. The moot point is the date. It may have been before the meeting with Glyndwr at St. Clears on July 10th, but the objection to this date is strong. Had the castle been in Carrew's possession at the end of June, the probabilities are that

¹ They apparently crossed under Penwenallt at the head of the Cenarth gorge. Mrs. Miller (sister to the Rev. Eilir Evans) said that when she was a child she was afraid at night to pass the old tollgate under the lands of Gelligatti "O achos fod y wiber wedi mynd y ffordd honno."

² In I.P.M., 7 H. VI, No. 32, 1428-9, the jurors say that the "said Castle is in ruins and worth nothing yearly. And there is in the said Commote a certain borough devastated and almost entirely destroyed by the recent rebellion of the Welsh". They further testify that only 30/- accrue from diverse burgages in the borough. Thus, giving due allowance for exaggeration, more than half of the holdings must have been devastated. The jurors also stated that the payments of the Courts came to only 20/- in 1428. They were falling steadily during the period 1409-19, sometimes reaching such low figures as 8/1, 6/11, 3/11, 8/8.

³ "Jenkin ap Llewelyn, William Gwyn, Thomas ap David, and moni other gentils be in person with Owen". Letter of Jankyu Havard, Constable of Dinefor Castle. Quoted in Bradley's *Glyndwr*, p. 191.

Glyndwr's army would have passed on to the Newtown of Emlyn before making for Dinefor. Whether before or after July 10th, Carrew's men reached the Newtown to eject the revolters from the castle. They beseiged the rebels, who appear to have held out for a time, and at last shot down the Red Dragon which must have been blown outside the walls, flung it contemptuously into the river, and finally took the stronghold. And if the date was after July 10th, they did the work the more quickly, because local gentlemen, like John ap Llewelyn, and the more vigorous tenants of Iscoed were at the time with Glyndwr in Glamorganshire.

The names of two local gentlemen connected with the revolt are given in one of the records, and they afford an illustration of the manner in which families were disrupted by their sympathy with or their antipathy to the aspirations of Glyndwr. Glyndwr's daughter, as we have seen, was married to the heir of Gwernan, and we may assume that he was a supporter of his father-in-law and overlord; but James Howel¹, apparently of the same house, fought on the King's side. John ap Llewelyn, representing at least three generations of loyal "King's men," became a rebel, and met with swift judgement, for all his lands "in the counties of Pembroke and Carmarthen" were forfeited. Apparently he was the only person of note in Emlyn uwch Cuch to suffer on this account: anyhow, his is the only name recorded in the extant documents. What led him to break off from all the traditions and interests of his family cannot be conjectured, unless he, also, was allied by marriage with the House of Iscoed or of Gwernan.

Thus spite of local influences, of the defection of John ap Llewelyn, of the havoc and the burning, of their Welsh blood and feeling, the tenants of Emlyn uwch Cuch in the main remained steadfastly loyal to the King. What they would have done later when Glyndwr's rising in the South assumed a more national aspect cannot be guessed.

¹ Pat. Roll, 5 H. IV, p. 2, m. 19; Cal. 390-4. "Grant for life to the King's Esquire James Howel, in reward of his labour in the King's war in those parts, of all lands within the Lordship of Newcastle in Emlyn and the Counties of Pembroke and Kermerdyn, late of John ap Llewelyn, one of the Welsh rebels (value 20 marks yearly) forfeited to the King on account of his rebellion."

By that time, however, the castle was secure and the King's interests were fully safeguarded.

The castle having been regained was soon provisioned and the garrison strengthened. In September, 1403, the Sheriff of Worcester and others were instructed to send victuals to replenish its stores.¹ Between this date and April, 1404, additional men at arms and archers were stationed there, for Sir Thomas Carrew was refunded the expense of their maintenance.² About this time, there was a change of superior officer of the garrison, and Rustin "of the Newtown" with archers and men at arms was appointed to take over the duties hitherto performed by Carrew.³ The garrison in 1405 was large. It consisted of at least 10 lancers and 50 archers.⁴ Owing to its position, the castle was considered of great importance as a centre from which soldiers could easily reach the disaffected parts of South Cardiganshire—chiefly Iscoed. It is interesting to note that the forfeited lands of the "local adherent of Owen Glyndwr," viz., John ap Llewelyn, had been assigned to James Howel for life on condition, not of the payment of the usual rent, but of his "finding an archer there to defend the country,"⁵ which is reminiscent of a much older practice.

The activities of Glyndwr's partizans in the district seem to have been confined to the year 1403. During that period they caused much devastation in the country around. As we have seen, the Newtown was practically destroyed, and like so many other small towns, it never recovered during the Middle Ages from the effects of the shattering blow. It languished until it ceased to be thought of as a borough. In the absence of evidence, it is difficult to estimate the extent of the damage done in Atpar. Whatever destruction it suffered was soon rectified, for it never lost its status as a borough until about the middle of the eighteenth century. As to the "Comote" of Emlyn, it is not altogether safe to gauge the harm done in 1403 by the decayed rents of 1407, when the returns become available once again. A general de-

¹ Rot. Via. 4 H. IV. m. 23; Cal. Pat. Rolls, 297.

² Acts of Privy Council. E. Nicholas, vol. i, 220.

³ Pat. Roll, 5 H. IV. p. ii, m. 20. Cal. 43. May, 1404.

⁴ Pat. Roll, 6 H. IV. p. ii, m. 29. Cal. 6. March, 1405.

⁵ Pat. Roll, 5 H. IV. p. ii, m. 19. Cal. 390.

pression followed in the wake of Glyndwr's Revolt. The country at large suffered. The condition of both the agriculturists and the townsmen was deplorable. For a long period—over a quarter of a century—the manorial records are filled with tales of arrears, of decayed and respited rents.

(iii) *The after-effects of the Revolt in Emlyn uwch Cuch.*

In 1423-4¹, the beadle of the "Commote" was Llewelyn ap Rees ap Llewelyn ap Oweyn. He appears to have been the Llewelyn o'r Cryngae of Dwnn's *Visitation*,²—the son of Rhys ap Llewelyn of Llysdyn and Angharad, the daughter of Evan (Ieuan) ap Llewelyn ap Gwilym. Twenty years later (1443-4)³ we find Llewelyn acting as the farmer of the tenements in the "Town of Newcastle" and the lands in the "Commote" which had been assigned as her dower to Margaret, the widow of John Burley, and we gather from this that, spite of the defection of John ap Llewelyn in 1403, the family of Cryngae was still in favour with the lords of the Commote. In 1423-4⁴, the Welshry of the Commote was £234 17s. 6½d. in arrears—a vast sum if multiplied twentyfold in order to arrive at a modern estimate. William Bannowe, who farmed parts of the Castle demesne, could not fulfil his obligations, for his lands, quite near the town, had been "devastated by the Welsh," that is, by Glyndwr's followers, and it shows how complete the devastation had been when it was held to be a reasonable excuse for non-payment of rent twenty years later. The late beadle, Prvtherch ap Robyn, was also in arrears to the tune of £14 11s. 6d., and he was given five years in which to clear off his debts. Another beadle owed £7 10s. 2¾d., and he was given only one and a half years. The sum-total of respited rents came to £181 8s. 11d. The town, also, now called Newcastle⁵, was in arrears amounting to £36 9s. 5½d. One of the townfolk was an artist, viz., Lewis Peyntour, and he paid off 14s. 8d. of his arrears by painting "divers pictures" in the Castle Chapel of Carmar-

¹ *Min. Acc.*, 1166/12, 3 H. VI.

² Dwnn's, i, 162.

³ *Min. Acc.*, 1168/4.

⁴ *Min. Acc.*, 1166/12.

⁵ The Welsh probably had always called it Tref-castell newydd—a name occasionally heard even now in the country.

then and in the King's Exchequer there. Such artistic labours merited a nobler recompense of reward, for it was not a case of touching up the works of older masters. It is expressly stated that Lewis the Peyntour of Emlyn "made" the divers pictures. Llewelyn ap Robyn, Llewelyn ap David, and Owen ap David Colby are named as being in arrears in respect to town holdings. By the end of the next year¹, when Griffith ap David was beadle, the arrears of the "Commote" had fallen to £199 5s. 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. Thomas Walter, the steward, had held 13 Welsh Courts in the "Commote" during the year, and it is interesting to note that the rent or fine (whichever it was) called Digot², about which there was considerable enquiry in the Stuart Period, is referred to for the first time. Philip ap Gronou, reeve of the "Town of Newcastle," rendered his statement of account. The arrears were £35 12s. 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. The total rents came to only 74s. ; 2s. were paid for the half acre of meadow below the castle and the fairs brought in 23s. 4d. Apparently, there were no burgesses in gross at this date. William Bannowe, Owen ap David Colby (late reeve), and Llewelyn ap Robyn are again mentioned as burgesses, and from this date we know next to nothing about the townsfolk of Newcastle Emlyn during the Mediæval Period, and what is true of Newcastle Emlyn is true also of Atpar.

These few facts, dry and jejune, as they appear to be, are after all full of human interest. The arrears weighed

¹ *Min. Acc.*, 1166/13.

² The farm-name Dygoed, Dugoed is common. In some cases it may mean "dark wood", but the evidence which follows shows that in most instances it means "land cleared of timber" (assarted). In the Emlyn uwch Cuch Records (I.P.M., 9 and 10. Ed. IV. 21, (1469), and *Min. Acc.*, H VII, No 1650) Decoid is an area of land. In Exchequer Dep. 6, ch. i. Mich. No. 1, Emlyn uwch Cuch, John Morgan of Llandilo Vawr, Clerk, deposed that he was brought up near Dygoed Mawr, formerly called Yr Allt Fawr and that this land was "diswooded land". digoed meaning to uproot, diswood and take away timber. He referred also to Dygoed Ddu and Dygoed Velen in Llandilo Vawr Parish. Ed. Lloyd of Llangyndeirne and Philip Havard. Clerk, of the town of Emlyn, explained the word in the same way. Another deponent said that in Emlyn no tenant was allowed to cut down and uproot timber without leave. If he did so, he was fined 10/- for every timber cut down, and 39/2 $\frac{1}{2}$ for every oak dragged from the roots. Another deponent said that the free-tenant had the right. Digoed therefore meant (1) a fine, (2) rent of land diswooded, (3) the land itself.

heavily upon all classes of tenants in the Lordship, the more heavily because in those days there were no means of making wealth quickly. All tenants—burgesses as well as the others—lived upon the produce of their own land and it was hard enough to live without having to cope with arrears. Glyndwr's rising left a heritage of depression and distress for over half a century. The economic conditions had had barely time to improve before the Wars of the Roses brought fresh troubles upon an already stricken land. It is true that the struggles between Yorkists and Lancastrians were mainly struggles between parties of gentry, but their armies were not armies of "officers without men." Tenants were still compelled to follow their lords, and the land was deprived of proper attention. How far these internecine conflicts affected our Lordship cannot be measured. As we have already seen, force of arms brought the overlordship of the Commote into Welsh hands, but whilst many men from the Commote must have followed Griffith ap Nicholas even into England there is no reason for believing that there was any fighting in the town and under the walls of the castle.

APPENDIX A.

GWIBER CASTELL NEWYDD EMLYN.

The well-known legend of Gwiber Castellnewydd Emlyn is undoubtedly a genuine local tradition and interpreted in the light of the facts given below it is of considerable historical importance. It tells how on one of the fair-days when the town was thronged with sellers and buyers, a fierce "winged viper," breathing forth fire and smoke, alighted on the castle-walls, and having cast threatening glances around, settled itself down to sleep; how its appearance on the castle wrought consternation and wild terror in the bosom of all; how after the first spasms of fear had subsided, a few brave spirits among the townsfolk sought to destroy the fearsome monster, but failed until a soldier devised the plan of wading the river Teifi to a point of vantage on the castle side, of letting a red cloak float with the sluggish stream and shooting the

gwiber in a vulnerable underpart of the body; how the creature, so violently startled from its slumber, caught sight of the cloak, fell upon it with horrible shrieks, and tore it to shreds, whilst its assailant escaped to a place of safety; how in its death-throes the reptile turned upon its back and floated down the river ejecting from its wound a most loathsome venom which polluted the water and killed all the fish; and finally, the legend tells of the uproarious joy of the townsfolk and visitors when they saw the vile monster dead. These are the salient features of the traditional story in all the variants which differ but little except in unimportant details.

When we remember the lively fancy of the Welsh and their natural fondness for explaining origins, it is curious that not one of the variants of the story attempts to say where the gwiber came from. Nothing more is said than that it sailed over Dolbrenin—part of the demesne on the Carmarthenshire side. Not one of the variants suggests that the monster did physical injury to the town or its inhabitants, and it must be confessed that this apparently militates somewhat against the interpretation which follows. The most noteworthy and significant feature of the variants, however, is that they concentrate attention upon the terror which the sleeping dragon inspired and upon the exuberant joy of the townsfolk when deliverance came. This point neutralises the effect of the absence of all reference to damage done by the monster. The story cannot be traced back to the mythological period; on the other hand it cannot be as recent in origin as some are disposed to think. Shorn of its fanciful accretions, and the wonder is that they are so few, the tradition enshrines historical facts.

Though obviously deriving from the same source as the English word viper, gwiber is used in parts of the country as synonymous with draig, a dragon. The writer's father, a native of Llangiwc, Swansea Valley, rarely employed any other word for dragon, and Bardd Glas Morganwg in his Dictionary (1826), sub voce gwiber, gives "Sarph hedegog neu ddraig"; so also Owen Pughe. Those who wish to hold as old folk held in "Gwynionydd's" day that the story is *gwirionedd pur* may consult the writings of the sixteenth century scientific scholars for a full and detailed description of a dragon. For those who

have outgrown such "scientific truths," it will suffice to suggest that Gwiber Emlyn was a banner with a large dragon blazoned thereon.

Now, the gwiber appeared on the castle walls. The castle was not built before 1240. It appeared on a fair-day when large crowds were present in the town. Tref-castell existed before the conversion of its lands into burgage-tenements in 1303, but it did not exist before the castle. No fairs were held in the Newtown before 1307, when the tolls are given in the records for the first time, and they could not have been held without a permit from the lord the Prince. The two fairs in the Newtown were that of the Feast of St. Barnabas in June and that of the Feast of St. Martin in November, and they are not heard of before the date mentioned. Thus the tradition about the gwiber could not have been created before the beginning of the fourteenth century.

There were only three periods when the Red Dragon could have floated on the castle walls. (i) That of Meredith and Rhys (1240-87); (ii) that of the later Welsh lords of the House of Dinefor (strictly 1461 to 1531); (iii) a period between these two when the castle had been seized by rebels carrying the Red Dragon as their standard. The Red Dragon on the castle during (i) and (ii) would have spelled, not terror, but protection to the townsfolk, for it was the banner of the rightful lords. But there was no Newtown before 1303 and certainly no fair. The townsfolk would not have dared shoot down the Red Dragon of their rightful lords; they had every motive for respecting it.

The castle endured two sieges or series of sieges after 1287: (i) at the time of Glyndwr's Revolt, and (ii) during the Civil War. (The taking of James ap Howel in 1530 cannot have involved a siege proper, and even if it did, the banner was that of Rice ap Griffith.) The Civil War period can be ruled out without further discussion, for no local Puritans carried the "Red Dragon." The only period left is that of Glyndwr. His standard was the Red Dragon on a white ground. His followers attacked the Newtown during the June fair; the date agrees with that of Archdeacon Kyngeston's letter to the King, and also with the dates of the attacks upon the other towns in Carmarthenshire. It is obvious that the story of the

Gwiber has reference, not to the first phase of the struggle, i.e., the capture of the town by Glyndwr's sympathisers, but to an incident in the second phase—when Carrew's men regained the castle from the rebels; hence the *sleeping* dragon; it had probably been there for some weeks; hence also the absence of all reference to the damage done by the dragon. In view of the facts given in the text about the devastation wrought in the town by Glyndwr's men, the fears caused by the sleeping dragon can well be understood, so also the rejoicing of the townsfolk at the discomfiture of the "monster."

The curious will find a short form of the story in "Gwynionydd's" *Hanes Castellnewydd yn Emlyn* (p. 68), and a more elaborate version in Eilir Evans' *Rhyddiaeth a Chan* (p. 283), but the latter's infectious humour hardly fits in with the tragic sufferings of the townsfolk. The terror inspired by the events of those June days can best be realised by remembering their effects upon the town and neighbourhood. An English version from the pen of the Rev. D. Ambrose Jones, Kidwelly, will be found in the *Transactions of the Carmarthenshire Antiquarian Society* (Part xxxviii, p. 52).¹

We wonder whether or no the name of the "King's man" who first threw the historical facts into the poetic mould of a ballad, and thus created and popularised the "legend" will ever be discovered. As has already been shown (pp. 108, 112) the poets of Emlyn uwch Cuch were "King's men," and within about 50 years of his death, the spirit of Llewelyn ap Gwilym may still have been hovering about the banks of the Bargod stream. The ballad, which we suppose gave birth to the legend, must have lived long after the true facts had been forgotten, and it is not impossible that a seventeenth or even a sixteenth century version may yet come to light.

¹ Also *Welsh Folk Lore*, by Ceredig Davies (p. 228). Eilir Evans, however, belonged to a local family whose members were deeply versed in the traditions. In a letter to the present writer, the Rev. Ambrose Jones calls his version "an imaginary story".

APPENDIX B.

THE BELLS OF EMLYN.

Ding dong bell e,	The ding dong of bells,
Tair cloch Clyde,	The three bells of Clydey,
Tair cloch our (aur)	The three golden bells
Ym Mhenboyr,	In Penboyr,
Tair cloch arian	The three silver bells
Yng Nghilgerran,	In Cilgerran,
Lladd a llosg,	Killing and burning
Yng Nghastellnewy,	In Newcastle Emlyn,
¹ Llfen a gweiddi	Weeping and lamenting
Yn Aberteifi,	In Cardigan,
Uch, och	Sighing and groaning
Yn Llandudoch.	In St. Dogmael's.

This rhigwm, which the writer has entitled the Bells of Emlyn, is an undoubted folk-song handed down from a comparatively remote past². Less than 70 years ago it was commonly sung as a lullaby by the Lower Teifi Valley mothers and as "play rhymes" by their children. The version, which heads this Appendix, used to be sung by an aged woman, now dead, to her little grand-daughter who is yet a child of about 8½ years, living just outside Newcastle Emlyn. The lines which speak of the bells of Penboyr and Cilgerran are known to a large number of people, in fact, the one which refers to the bells of Cilgerran is quoted in Phillip's History of that parish (p. 61); but the rhigwm in its completeness is not so generally known, and as can be seen from the variants given below, some of the old folk have clean lost the meaning of the second line, and some, in defiance of the natural order in which the names of the towns should come, have transposed Newcastle Emlyn and Cardigan.

It may be that the enquiry as to the distribution of the rhigwm has not been extensive enough³, but as far as it has gone, it reveals two points: (i) That the lines are best remembered in Emlyn uwch Cuch and in the Cardiganshire parishes lying adjacent to it; (ii) that in the upland parishes of South Cardiganshire, on to the sea, the lines do not seem to be known except in families, one of whose

¹ "Weeping and loud lamenting".

² It is true that Penboyr appears in the mediæval records as Penbeir, but record forms are conservative. This represents the folk-speech.

³ A large number of friends assisted the writer in his enquiries.

members came originally from the Teifi Valley, Emlyn or Cemeis. For instance, a farmer living near Aberayron was fond of quoting it to his children, three of whom are now clergymen, but he was a native of one of the Cemeis parishes bordering on Emlyn. Again, Mr. T. Davies, Gelligatti, heard it in the neighbourhood of Aberystwyth, but from a servant born in Emlyn. The first version learnt by the writer was recited to him by Mr. D. R. Davies, Printer, Newcastle Emlyn, who got it from his mother. It was subsequently found to be lacking in some respects, but it inspired an investigation which brought many others to light. Of these, the first heard was the one which heads this Appendix. Some of the variants give "dwy gloch" for "tair cloch"¹; in the second line we have "Cloch yng Nghlyde," "Canu clyche Clyde," "Canu cloch a chledde," "Canu cloch a chlyche"; some put Aberteifi before Castellnewy, but one of the variants which has "Lladd a llosgi yn Aberteifi" has "Tasgu tan yng Nghastellnewy"; for "Llefen a gweiddi" we have "Screchen a gweiddi," and for "Uch, och," "Duch, doch yn Llandudoch." A Cilgerran variant omits the reference to Castellnewy, but inserts "Tinc y badell yn y Bridell," and a variant heard in Cwm Morgan, East Cilrhedyn, has "'Tair cloch leder yn Llangeler." These references to Bridell and Llangeler, however, do not appear to have belonged to the original, for as heard by the writer, the variants in which they are found omit altogether the more serious allusions to the killing and the burning.

An examination of the "internal evidence" discloses the following features:—(i) The only bells mentioned in all the variants are those in the Cantref of Emlyn; (ii) In what we may call the true versions only those bells are referred to which are found at the three points of a triangle comprising the greater part of the Cantref²,—Clydey, Penboyr, Cilgerran; (iii) With the exception of Cardigan, all the place-names in all the variants are on

¹ Mrs. Miller, "Eilir's" sister, told the writer that when she was a girl she was given every proof that there used to be three bells in the cot of the "old" Clydey Church.

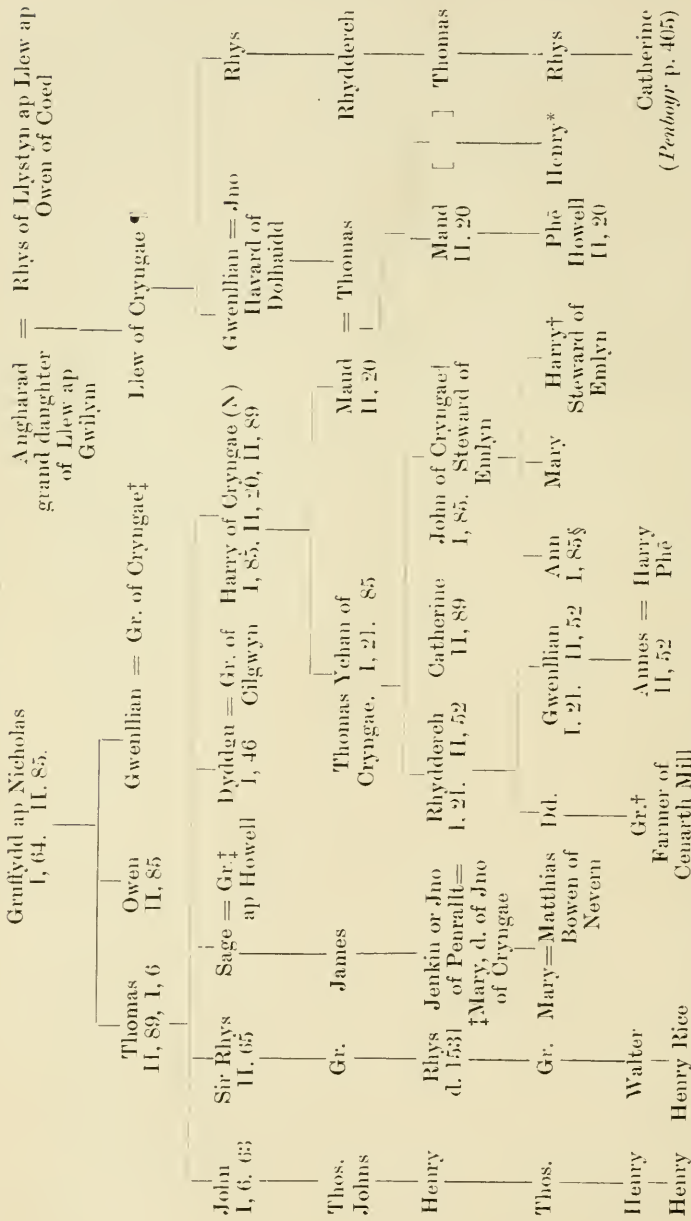
² Llanfyrnach parish is in Emlyn, but had natural boundaries been accepted, it should have belonged to another lordship. The versifier probably wished to say "The length and breadth of Emlyn", but was restricted by the exigences of rhyme.

the left side of the Teifi ; (iv) In all the complete versions are named the three towns—Newcastle Emlyn, Cardigan and Llandudoch. Only one person seemed to have perceived that, though sung merrily by children in their games, the rhigwm is reminiscent of a tragedy, and only one connected it with an historical event and suggested the alarm created by the news of the landing of the French at Fishguard.

Now in the majority of the variants, the killing and the burning took place in Newcastle Emlyn, and no interpretation can be accepted which does not attempt to explain this. (1) The first thought which presented itself to the writer was that the original rhigwm had reference to the death of Llewelyn ap Gwilym. The men who killed Llewelyn came from the Llystyn, and on their journey to Penboyr probably passed through Clydey and East Cilrhedyn ; and we can well understand how the death of a son of the Lord of Tywyn would send both Cardigan and St. Dogmael's into mourning. But the onslaught on Llywelyn was a small affair, and the slaying took place at Y Ddolgoch in Penboyr, not in Newcastle Emlyn. (2) During the constant fighting at both Cardigan and Newcastle Emlyn in the years 1644-1645 there were occasions when there might have been much weeping and wailing in all the towns named in the rhigwm ; but there was only one occasion when the " lladd and llosgi " in the town of Emlyn could have perturbed the towns at the mouth of the Teifi, viz., the battle on April 27th, 1645, when Gerard utterly routed the Parliamentarians besieging the Castle of Emlyn (see Chapter VII.). Immediately after this disastrous defeat, the Parliamentarians abandoned Cardigan Castle and Gerard marched from Newcastle Emlyn to Haverfordwest. Assuming for the moment that the allusions in the rhigwm are to the state of feeling in Cardigan and St. Dogmael's after Gerard's great victory, we would have expected the rhymes to be better known in Cardigan and Llandudoch than in the neighbourhood of Newcastle Emlyn, whereas the truth is that they are better preserved in Emlyn uwch Cuch and that part of the Teifi Valley in which Newcastle Emlyn lies. Further, why should the bells of Emlyn alone fling out their message? Why not those of the parish churches of the Cardiganshire side of the Teifi as well? (3) The allusions in the rhigwm best

DINEFOR AND ABERMARIAIS.

CRYGAE.



Peniarth MS. No. 156 (*W. Wales Hist. Records*, i and ii) referred to this I, 64; II, 85.
 † Book of Golden Grove. B. 301 and Dwn. Table by W. Llewelyn Williams, *Cymru*, xvi, p. 26.
 § In I, 85, Anne is daughter of John Thos. ab Harry of Cryngae, but in *Cymru*, xvi, 28, she is grand daughter of Thos. ap Rhydderech of Cryngae. Thos. ap Rhydderech, however, was of the old Llystyn family.
 † Depositions 3 Ch. 1, Mich. No. 47. * For "Harvards of Dolhaidd" see Jones' *Hanes Llangeler a Phenboyr* 404-6.

fit in with the attack of Glyndwr's men upon the Newtown of Emlyn, which was known to the Welsh as 'Tref Castell newydd. The bells on the right of the Teifi—those of Iscoed uwch Hirwen, would not send out alarms on that occasion, for as we have seen, this tract formed part of Glyndwr's estate. When the news of the slaying and burning in the town of Emlyn reached Cardigan and St. Dogmael's there would naturally arise a great volume of weeping and loud lamentations, for Glyndwr's treatment of towns like Cardigan and St. Dogmael's, having in them monastic houses not of the Franciscan Order, was merciless in the extreme.

This attempted explanation of the origin of the rhigwm is merely offered as a suggestion. It is not urged that the rhigwm was composed in the fifteenth century, but that the contents of it are reminiscent of events which occurred in the fifteenth century. If the interpretation is near the mark, the "Bells of Emlyn" together with the legend of the Gwiber helps to furnish colouring and impressions which the bare facts of the records do not and cannot give. It also strengthens the supposition that the story of the Gwiber was likewise handed down by means of a folk-song, and suggests that possibly both the rhigwm of the Bells and the ballad of the Gwiber were the productions of the same local versifier. Indeed, it is not impossible that the "Bells of Emlyn" represents a portion of the ballad of the Gwiber.¹ Owing to the popularity of *Eilir's Story* of the Gwiber, it is too late in the day to settle the question whether or no the area in which the Gwiber legend is handed on as folk-lore is coterminous with that in which the rhigwm of the Bells is remembered.

CHAPTER VI.

THE NEW WELSH LORDS.

The utter poverty of the tenants in both the Foreign Bailiwick and the "Commote," the hardships resulting from the strict enforcement of the law relating to arrears,

¹ Appendix A was completed before the rhigwm was discovered.

the consciousness that those arrears were due to causes beyond their control, had no doubt created in the bosoms of the tenants of Emlyn a strong feeling of resentment against the absent Burleys and Hoptons; and it can be well conceived that Gruffydd ap Nicholas' high-handed measures in ousting the latter were welcomed throughout the whole Lordship. Both Walter Hopton¹ and Gruffydd died in February, 1461²,—the latter at the Battle of Mortimer's Cross in Herefordshire, fighting on the Yorkist side under the banner of Jasper Tudor, Earl of Pembroke, the overlord of Emlyn is Cuch. The fact of the alliance of Gruffydd with the Earl of Pembroke supplies the explanation of his success in the seizure and retention of Emlyn uwch Cuch. The usual survey³ of the Commote followed the death of Walter Hopton and in this it is stated that his sister Elizabeth was the next heir, but spite of the declaration that the legal ownership was vested in Elizabeth Corbet she does not seem to have enjoyed any of her rights. In 1462, Emlyn is Cuch was bestowed upon William Herbert "for his good behaviour against the Lancastrians."⁴ It is not said that Gruffydd's heir, Thomas ap Gruffydd, was given Emlyn uwch Cuch for a like reason. There is, however, no doubt about his retention of the Lordship.

Thomas had welded the power of the Houses of Dinefor and Abermarlais by his marriage with Elizabeth, the daughter of Sir John Gruffydd of Llansadwrn. He seems also to have adopted a well-considered scheme with regard to Emlyn uwch Cuch. His sister Gwenllian married Griffith of Cryngae⁵. A natural son of his, Harry, is described as of Cryngae, his mother probably being sister to Griffith. Dyddgu, one of Thomas' daughters,

¹ I.P.M., 1 Ed. IV., No. 42.

² *Cymmrodor*, xvi, p. 4.

³ I.P.M., 1 Ed. IV, No. 42.

⁴ Pat. Roll, 1 Ed. IV, pt. iv, m. 16. Cal. 114. He was made Earl of Pembroke after the fall of Harlech, 1468. Died 20 July, 1469 (I.P.M., 9 and 10, Ed. IV, No. 21): executed at Edgecote after the battle.

⁵ See Gen. Table, p. 136. At a much later date members of the old family are found in Cilrhedyn. Fenton (pp. 490—4; edit. 1811) states that he knew William and Maurice Morgan of Blaenbylen who claimed descent from Llewelyn ap Gwilym.

married Gruffydd of Cilgwyn¹, a representative of a branch of the family of Gwernan, which apparently had held lands in the Borough of Atpar since 1326. Another daughter, Sage, became the wife of Gruffydd ap Howel, the heir of Gwernan itself. Thus Thomas established his children in the ruling houses around Newcastle Emlyn—in Cryngae in Emlyn, in Cilgwyn in Atpar, in Gwernan in Gwynionydd-Iscoed. As in the past, so now, the influence of the Cryngae family in the Commote became supreme. John of Cryngae was steward of Emlyn in the time of Sir Rhys ap Gr ap Sir Rhys Thomas, and his son, Harry, in the time of Sir Thomas Johns, and it is not improbable that the first Harry of Cryngae and his son, Thomas Vychan, had filled the same office in the days of Sir Rhys ap Thomas. Atpar was under the dominating influence of the early Llwydiaid of Cilgwyn, and there is

¹ It may be that Griffith Vachuan who held 12 burgages in Atpar in 1326 was the founder of this family of Cilgwyn. The mansion of Cilgwyn in Atpar, representing "Old Cilgwyn", and the farm Cilwen in Emlyn (referred to in *Dep* 16 June, 1630) stand within sight of each other on the opposite sides of the Teifi. Much ingenuity has been expended in trying to explain the masculine adjective in the name Cilgwyn, and one conjecture is that Old Cilgwyn was a cell or a grange of Whitland Abbey (Hen Dy gwyn), suggested perhaps by the knowledge that in the Cilgwyn Archives is a draft-lease¹ signed by William, last Abbot of Whitland, and that Kilgwyn Bach in Llangeler belonged to the Lloyds (Indent. 29 May, 1700). But the draft-lease, 8 Aug. 30 H. VIII. relates not to Cilgwyn but to Dolwydra in Maynorvorion. There is no reference in any of the records to a grant (by the Bishops of St. David's) of lands in Atpar to the monks of Whitland. All the evidence shews that the Cilgwyn Estate is an aggregation of burgage-tenements in the Borough of Atpar, and that Old Cilgwyn was literally surrounded by burgage-lands not held by the Lloyds even in the seventeenth century (Rolls of 1670—80). Further, as we have already seen, Old Cilgwyn was in the hands of laymen in the fifteenth century, that is, a century before the Dissolution. The name Cilgwyn is apparently a shortened Cil . . . gwyn, the second element having dropped out. Near the site of the old mansion are (i) Park Gwyn; (ii) Tyr Clun gwynne—the old name for the lower division of Blaenant Farm (Lleine Blaennant y Collwyn in one record); (iii) Cwm gwyn, the little dell through which runs the brook feeding the fish-pond. Tyr y Kilgwyn and Tyr y Clun gwynne are found together in a Chief Rent Roll. Cilwem names are not uncommon. Possibly, Cilgwyn is a shortened Cilwemgwyn, which would exactly represent the position of the old mansion.

¹ Also another signed by the last Abbot of Strata Florida.

every reason for believing that they played a large part in the preservation of its character as a borough.

After the death of Thomas ap Gruffydd's older sons, Morgan and David, his estates fell to the celebrated Sir Rhys ap Thomas. His story need not be repeated here. Comparatively little is known about the history of Emlyn during the period of Sir Rhys. We may assume that in the victorious efforts which placed Harry of Richmond on the throne, the men of Cenarth, Newcastle Emlyn, Penboyr, East Cilrhedyn and Llangeler joined those of Dinefor and marched through Llandovery to Bosworth Field, and there rendered a good account of themselves. It was probably after 1485, when honours had been thickly showered upon him¹, and lands, some of which he had held with doubtful legality, had been confirmed to him, that Sir Rhys ordered the restoration of his Castle of Emlyn. For there is no reason for discounting the testimony of Leland that the castle was "repaired or new builded bi Syr Rhese ap Thomas."² The popular notion that Sir Rhys pulled down the greater part of the structure and used the material for the erection of a smaller edifice may, however, be dismissed. The castle front and some of the interior buildings may have been partly reconstructed by him, but the foundations are to-day no smaller than when they were originally laid, and the character of the site is such that they could not have been larger at any period.

Sir Rhys' eldest son, Gruffydd, predeceased his father (1521) and when the old lord himself died in his 76th year, his estates, but not his offices, passed to his grandson Sir Rice or Rhys ap Gruffydd³. He was barely out of his teens at the time. Only a year before, he had married Lady Katherine Howard, daughter of the second Duke

¹ In Peniarth, No. 156, (*W. Wales Records*, i, 65) Sir Rhys is described as Lord of Cayno, Llansadwrn, Cilsant, Emlyn, Chygyrwen, Newtown, Cilkenmin, Aberaeron, Llanrhystyd, Clygyn, Arberth, Llangybi, Gwybli, Llanddimor and Nangle. Most of these lordships are easily recognised. For Chygyrwen, see *Cartae et Mon. de Glamorgan*, 2156, Survey Roll of Kegerwen Manor, 19 Ap., 1610. The name *Wanncaegyrwen* is, therefore, a corruption of *Gwaun Kegyrr Wen*.

² "New Castel alias bi the old name Elmelin almost on the very banke of Tyve (Teifi) but in Cairmardinsshire, repaired or new builded bi Syr Rhese ap Thomas." L. T. Smith's Edit. *Itinerary*, p. 57.

³ The story of Sir Rice is borrowed entirely from "A Welsh Insurrection", by W. Llewelyn Williams, *Cymmrodor*, xvi, 1-93.

of Norfolk—a strenuous and ambitious young woman to whose assertiveness Sir Rice, no doubt, owed some of the troubles which befell him. His grandfather's offices were bestowed upon Walter Devereux, who now became Justice and Chamberlain in South Wales. Between the ambitions of his inexperienced wife and the bitter jealousy of the new justice, Sir Rhys eventually found his way to the block. There were abundant trivial causes for the quarrel between the youthful Welsh lord and Walter, Lord Ferrars, and matters reached a crisis in 1529. In June of that year, the Justice came to Carmarthen to hold the Great Sessions. Sir Rhys was the bailiff of the town. The trouble began over the lodgings for the Justice's men. A violent scene occurred in Carmarthen Castle between the Justice and Sir Rhys in which daggers were drawn. The upshot was that the young Welsh lord caused proclamations to be read in the churches in his lordship bidding the tenants come to Carmarthen. The names of the chief of these from Emlyn uwch Cuch have been preserved, viz., Sir Hugh Gwyn, Rector of Llangeler¹, Gitto ap Evan ap Llewelyn², and Dafydd ap Rees, yeoman. Many of the tenants, especially from Narberth, hurried into the town of Carmarthen on the day after the proclamations and demanded the release of their lord who was now in custody in the castle. Ferrars charged both them and their lord with fomenting rebellion. The cause was tried in London in November, 1529, with the result that both Lord Ferrars and Sir Rhys were severely reprimanded. Between November, 1529, and October, 1530, the young Welsh lord lived peaceably in Islington, then a fashionable quarter. But his best friend, Cardinal Wolsey was dead, and the savage temper and fears of old King Henry were being played upon by designing men. There can be no doubt that egged on by his wife, Sir Rhys cherished strong feelings of resentment, and it is not improbable that in the privacy of his chamber he had given utterance to words which could easily be construed to imply that he harboured thoughts of rebellion. But there is not the slightest proof that he ever went beyond the

¹ Sir Hugh was presented to Llangeler by "Rhes ap Thomas Kngt., Order of the Garter, lord of the lordship of Emlyn Uwch Cuch", after the death of John of Kidwely. Feb. 8, 1514. *Episcopal Registers*.

² The name suggests Cryngae.

bare suggestion. He was arrested and thrown into prison. His servant was suborned to distort his master's indiscretions of speech. The chief witness, however, against him was James ap Griffith ap Howel¹ of Castell-Maelgwn, Cilgerran,—a kinsman, a "Welsh uncle," his mother being the Sage, daughter of Thomas ap Gruffydd, already mentioned above. James ap Griffith was summoned to London, but at this stage he was most reluctant to give evidence and he therefore refused to obey. The King's order to Lord Ferrars to apprehend him states that he had disobeyed sundry letters and commandments, and that eventually he had "fortefyed himself in the Castle of Emlyn." The Justice was bidden to raise forces to take the castle and to find men for the purpose in both South and North Wales. This order to find so many men was the measure of the magnitude of the King's fears of rebellion rather than of the body of the tenants of Emlyn who had followed James into the castle. Probably the number of men with James was very small, for in a short time he was taken prisoner by James Leche, sometime Mayor of Carmarthen, but not before personal injury was done to William Vaughan of Cilgerran who assisted in the work of capturing the contumacious Welshman. Among James Howel's friends are mentioned Thomas ap Rhydderch of Cryngae, David Vaughan and David Meredith of Kidwelly, although it is not suggested that any of these supported him at the Castle of Emlyn. At the trial of Sir Rhys ap Gruffydd, witnesses from Narberth stoutly denied that any revolt had even been thought of, but James ap Griffith having been bought over, turned King's evidence, confessed to something of the nature of a plot, and Sir Rhys was sent to his death. As confirming the innocency of the doomed man, James ap Griffith dared not return to Wales but spent a miserable existence on the Continent for many long years. At last, far advanced in age, worn out in body and soul, troubled with poignant pangs of conscience, and full of a desire to confess his

¹ He apparently held lands in Emlyn uwch Cuch which may have formed part of those given to James Howell in 1404. "Also all those houses, lands, etc., in Llennerthe als Llemmerge, then or formerly in the tenure of James ab Griffith ab Howell or his assignes". *Letters Patent*, 23 Ap. 9 James I. It is fairly clear that these lands were in Emlyn, but enquiry has failed to identify them.

misdeeds, he crept back to his native country and lived the remainder of his unquiet life in the obscurity of Penrallt on the South Cardiganshire coast.

This judicial murder of Sir Rhys had important effects upon the Lordship of Emlyn. It brought to a sad end the period of the new Welsh lords. All the lands of Sir Rhys were declared forfeited—Emlyn amongst them. The reports of the Commissioners sent to survey the possessions contain full accounts of the issues of the Lordship¹ and also a very minute description of the castle from which the details furnished in the Appendix to this brief chapter are taken. The Lordship reverted to the Crown, and was for some years under the control of agents appointed by the Sovereign. The Burleys and the Hoptons and also the descendants of Thomas ap Gruffydd ap Nicholas had held the Commote in "fee-simple." The next holders were merely "fermours" for a term of years.

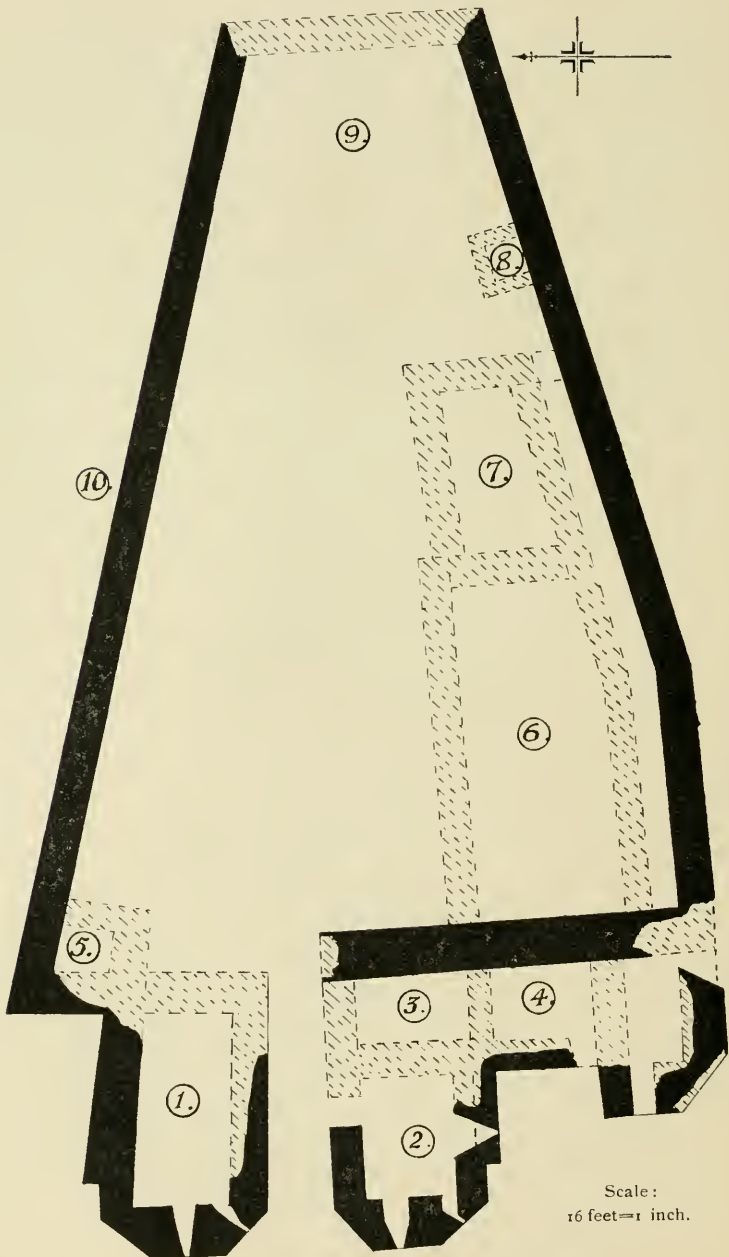
APPENDIX.

THE CASTLE IN 1532.

(A) The following is a summary of the Survey of 1532 (*Inventory Ancient Monuments, Carm.* pp. 220-1). The numbers are those marked on the accompanying ground-plan.

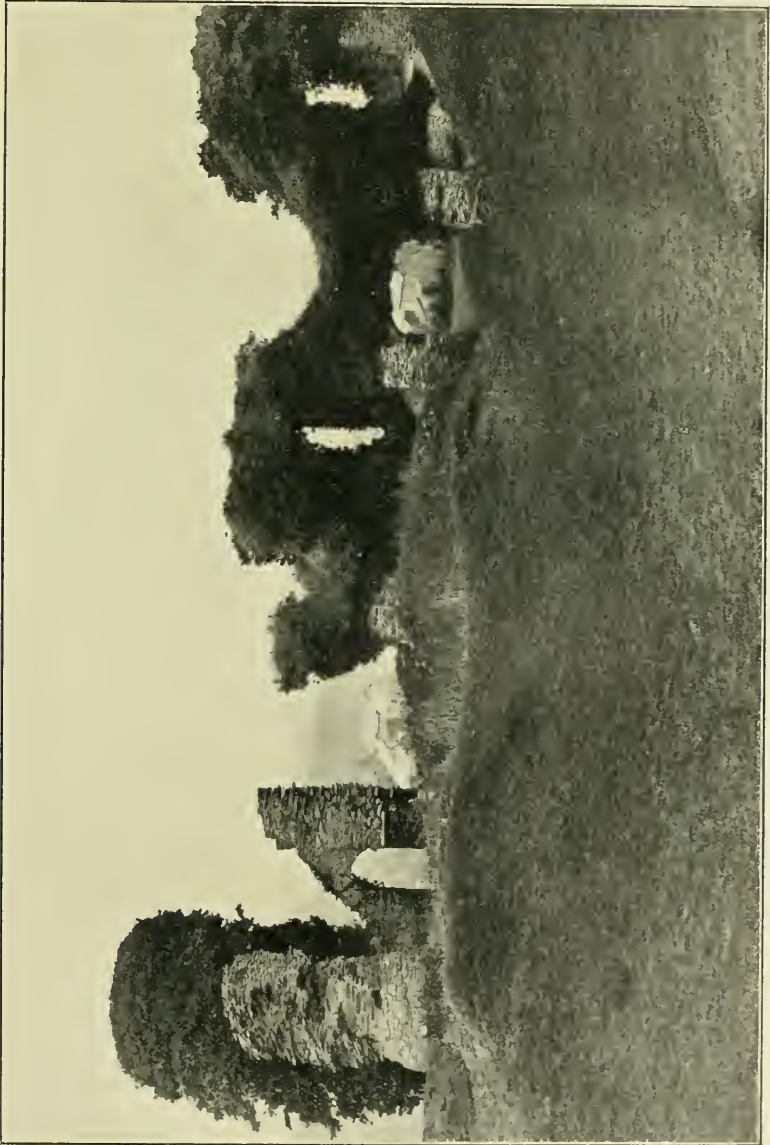
The greatest length of the castle, from the west, = 165ft. ; the greatest width = 103ft. ; frontage = 75ft. As far as can be gathered from the description, it would seem that (1) contained the prison (vaulted), the porter's lodge, and over it a "fair chamber." (2) Contained a "loo chamber or parler" under "the stere ledyng in to the said

¹ Excheq. T.R. Misc. Bk. 151. Cal. State Papers. Henry VIII, vol. v. 1531-2. Mr. Edward Owen kindly made a special examination of the original record on behalf of the present writer, and found that Section viii—Rentals and Surveys, Portfolio 23, No. 43—merely gives the name of each estate with the total income derived therefrom: e.g. Dom de Emlyn = £54 19s. 5d. ; Iskoide m. in Com. Cardigan = £11 16s. 2d. ; Gwynyonmeth = 3/4 ; and does not give the name of each source of income within a lordship, i.e., farm-names, etc. The largest estates were:—Emlyn = £54 19s. 5d. ; Kydwelly = £52 17s 7½d. ; Carew = £43 2s. 4d. ; Iskennon and Parveth = £40 14s. 11½d.



Ground Plan of the New Castle of Emlyn.

Drawn by Mr. W. L. Michael, A.R.San.I., Surveyor to the Newcastle-in-Emlyn Rural District Council.



Newcastle Emlyn: Interior View of the Castle.

To face p. 144.

buyldynges," and a fair chamber over the "parler" and stair. Over (3) and (4) there were a fair chamber, an inner chamber and a closet. (5) A "little towre" containing a winding staircase leading to the battlements of the above-mentioned buildings, and also a small chamber. (6) A buttery and a cellar (45 x 27 ft.) and over these the hall (45 x 23 ft. within). (7) Adjoining the hall a "storie" (26 x 21 ft.) in which were "gresynges" of 13 steps leading into the hall; over the staircase was the chapel, and "nigh to the same the kechyn w't the larder house under the same voyted."¹ (8) On the south wall "a little towre to see and view the cuntre." (9) A building (35 x 30 ft.) at the apex, containing a "chamber and a prive kechyn w't too chambers over them, and a wardrop chamber over them." (10) The north wall which "kepeth in the quadrant baithe a walkyng place" of 3½ ft. deep beside the battlements. "All the walls of this Castell be made of hard stone, and covered w't sklate, and ev'y gutter ledyd."

The outbuildings were below the castle, near the river. (a) The stable (120ft.), "standyng by the water there," with room for 22 horses, and over the stable, a "fayre galery selyd w't X glasse wyndoes": all covered with slate. (The stable apparently was in the section next to the Dolcastell. A depression at the back of the ridge here shows that a deep ditch ran behind the structure.) (b) Hayhouse (60 x 18 ft.). (c) A slaughter house (36ft.) with a chamber over it, and adjoining this a "litte house sklated . . . square ev'y wey, xii fete." (d) A building (42 x 21 ft.) containing a bakehouse and a brewhouse with a chamber above: roofed with thatch, in decay. (All these outhouses, except the stable, were situated near the river, under the north wall of the castle. The bakehouse was almost in a line with the tower marked (i) on the ground plan.)

(B) Present condition of the ruins. The photographs and the parts in black on the ground plan show as much of the stonework as is visible. Mounds of earth and small stones give some indication of the position of the walls of the interior edifices. The N.E. wall of the room under the chapel and the N.W. wall of

¹ The hall and two chambers at the end of it were "newly built" in 1340. See Note 1, p. 109.

the buttery under the hall remain, but for the most part are covered with loose rubble and earth. That under the chapel was exposed in the summer of 1921, showing (next to the hall) part of either a doorway or a window; so little of the earth was disturbed that it was impossible to decide which. Nothing remains of the building at the east end of the castle. A large heap and part of the north wall indicate the site of the tower marked (5). Were the rubbish cleared out and the floor of the interior reduced to the level of the entrance, there would be found preserved about a third of the elevation of the north curtain wall, a little less of the south wall, and also a good deal of the walls of the structures marked (3), (4), (6), (7) on the ground plan.

CHAPTER VII.

CONCLUDING SURVEY.

By carrying our story down to the death of Sir Rhys ap Gruffydd we have crossed the line of demarcation usually set between the Middle and the Modern Periods; but as far as Wales is concerned all that is connoted by the term mediæval died hard, and if an arbitrary date must be fixed to mark the epoch, 1531 is better than 1453; at any rate it is the right date for the purposes of this Essay. (1) Sir Rhys was the last representative of the territorial lords who in the earlier centuries had held sway over our Cantref, and whose activities in the twelfth century had created the separate Lordship of Emlyn uwch Cuch.¹ (2)

¹ The next holders of the lordship, though tracing descent from Thomas ap Gr. ap Nicholas, were "fermours" holding by lease. In Dep. 7 Ch. I, Easter, No. 17, only the names of Henry Jones of Abermarlais, of Thomas and Henry, the son and the grandson, are given; but "Letters and Papers", II. VIII, vol. v, 978, record that in 1532, Thomas Jones, the father of the first Henry mentioned above, was appointed "Steward, surveyor and receiver" of the Lordship, and he seems to have become farmer in 1546 (*Hanes Llangelor a Phenboyr*, p. 63). Of his son Henry it is said that sometimes "he did dwell in the Manor House of Emlyn". Dwnn (i, 167, Note 7) states that when the celebrated Dr. Dee came to England, his friend Sir Thomas Jones

The period following his death was marked by the rapid completion of the processes by which the old system of land-tenure in our "Commote" melted into the new. This is evidenced by the depositions made in several enquiries during the reign of Charles I.¹ (3) Sir Rhys' trial coincides in part with the work of the Reformation Parliament (1529-35). The changes which ensued affected our Commote. In 1534, John Owen, Vicar of Llangeler, and Griffith John, Vicar of Kenarth, together with Morgan ap Thomas, Vicar of Clidei, and four "Chaplains" in the Rural Deanery of Emlyn signed the famous declaration that the Pope had no greater jurisdiction in this realm

offered him the Castle of Emlyn as a residence—an offer which was declined.¹ The lease by which the Johns or Jones' held the Lordship expired about 1612, and on 23 Ap., 9 James I (Letters Patent) the king granted Emlyn as held by Rees Griffith to "Sir Richard Grobham, Knt., and John Howe and their heirs for ever". There were exceptions. Rice Griffith and Sir Henry Jones had held the mills and fisheries of the Lordship,—Melyn Newydd, 40/-; East Melyn Aberarad, 15/-; Melyn Kenarth with the fisheries, 100/-; the Fulling Mill in Aberarad, 5/-. These had been granted to Ed. Ferrars and Francis Phillips in Feb., 9 James I; but in Excheq. Dep., 3 Ch. I, Trinity, No. 6, one of the points to be settled is—Whether or no the king in the fifteenth year of his reign had given the mill of Cenarth to Sir Richard Grobham. The lordship did not remain long in the possession of the Grobham. On what date it was acquired by the Golden Grove family is difficult to decide. John, Earl of Carbery, was lord of Emlyn in June 1630, for on the fifteenth day a Commission was appointed to enquire into his suit against Thomas Lewis, William Lloyd and others in Emlyn. The Lordship remained in the House of Golden Grove until John Vaughan devised his estates to John Campbell of Stackpole Court, the first Lord Cawdor.

¹ Dep., 3 Ch. I, Mich., No. 47; Exch. Dep., 3 Ch. I, Trinity, No. 6; *Ibid.*, 6 Ch. I, Mich., No. 1; and Hilary, No. 3; and 7 Ch. I, Easter, No. 17. See *Miscellanea* (iii).

¹ In Letters Patent 9 James I are found the words—"Also the mansion house or castle called Penebeare otherwise Penybythe and all closes of land, etc., late in the tenure of Thomas Bruyne". This castle is identified by reference to *Arch. Camb., Parochialia*, pt. iii, 79. The Bruynes, who came over with the Conqueror, lived at Fforest Pen y Buarth. The family was extinct in Lhuyd's day. The name is seen on a Roll of the Borough of Atpar (1670-80) John Bruyne occupied Tir Francis Dyfriog and Tir yr Evel. In view of the phraseology employed in Letters Patent, 9 James I, it should not be too readily assumed that every reference to a castle in the records has but one meaning, viz., the stronghold on the banks on the Teifi.

than any other foreign bishop.¹ The parish churches of Martir Keler, Penhebr (Penboyr) and Keynarth and also Lantheveryok had figured in the Taxatio of 1291; they figure again in the Valor of 1536. By the Dissolution of the monasteries, the rectorial tithes of Cenarth appropriated to the Nuns of Llanllyr, and the Grange of Maenorvorian with its greater tithes appropriated to Whitland Abbey, passed into the hands of laymen. As the Episcopal and Cathedral estates were left untouched by the drastic disendowment which befell the monastic bodies, the Bishops of St. David's still remained lords of Atpar and Dyffryn Teifi. By this date, most of the burgage-lands in Atpar had been coalesced into a number of small estates,² the largest of them being in the possession of the "old Llwydiaid of Cilgwyn"—presumably an offshoot of the House of Gwernan. Atpar, no doubt, owes its survival as a borough to the influence of this family, and the holding by them of so many consolidated burgage-tenements gave them considerable power in the nomination of the officials of the borough,—the portreeve, the recorder, and the two bailiffs.³ This aggregation of burgage-tenements into small estates did not take place in Emlyn. There was no family resident within the borders of the Newtown to emulate, for instance, the Lloyds of Cilgwyn in the purchase of the tenements of broken or departing burgesses.⁴ Moreover, the lords of Atpar had not the same personal interest in their estate as had the later lords of Emlyn who resided for a part of their time in the Newcastle, and thus overshadowed any of their ambitious tenants. Whatever the explanation, most, if not all, of the town lands of Emlyn had gradually reverted to the lords, and it would seem that the process was completed

¹ Letters and Papers, H. VIII, vol. 7, No. 1025. The chaplains were Hugo ap David; Rees ap Ieuanc; Griffith Lewis alias Goch; Phillip Adda. One of these was probably curate-in-charge of Newcastle Emlyn.

² Each of these is called a burgage in the eighteenth century, showing that the original application of the term had been lost.

³ The right of nominating a portreeve went with each burgage, as the term was then understood.

⁴ Had the Wroths remained on the demesne in Aberarad, as the family of Gwilym ap Einion Fawr remained in the Bargod Valley, they probably would have been able to create an estate on the Emlyn side like that of Cilgwyn on the Cardiganshire side of the Teifi.

during the period of the new Welsh lords of Dinefor and Abermarlais. Spite of this and of the fact that it was spoken of as a "villedge," Newcastle Emlyn seems to have retained some faint semblance of a corporate existence. The evidence, slender as it is, points in that direction. A new town-hall was erected during the Tudor Period and near by, apparently, stood a series of 27 thatched shops called King's or Queen's Shops, which constituted a kind of permanent market.¹ The rents, however, went to the lord and not to a corporation.

What put the final end to what had survived of mediæval Newcastle Emlyn was the Civil War and the destruction of the castle. As is abundantly evidenced by the various notices in the text and notes, the castle at best was a poor structure,—in point of size only a little larger than that of Llandoverly, but insignificant when compared with other Carmarthenshire castles like those of Dinefor, Carreg Cennen, Dryslwyn, Carmarthen, Llanstephan, and especially Kidwelly. The Survey of 1532 shows that it was in a good condition at that date, and we know that the Johns of Abermarlais lived in it occasionally during the period when they farmed the lordship; indeed, it is not improbable that it was residentiary up to the time of the first Earl of Carbery. It was one of the last castles in South Wales to hold out for Charles I, but after having been taken and retaken during the stresses of the Civil War, it was eventually blown up by gunpowder about 1648.² Thus after crowning the picturesque promontory,

¹ "Griffith y Crydd of the town of Emlin thatched and repaired the said shops" for one of the deponents in Excheq. Dep. 6 Ch. I, Mich., No. 1. Further, "Eliz. Jenkins of Llandevriog, aged 45, repaired to the fair at Emlyn as a girl and went to James Lewis and desired him to bestow a flaying on her, as her father had previously arrented these shops".

² The history of the castle during the Civil War may be summarised thus:—(i) It is believed that the stronghold was voluntarily surrendered after a show of defence on the part of the Earl of Carbery, who though appointed by the King Governor-General of the Three Counties seems to have feared the consequence of the Act of April 19, 1643, and to have surreptitiously played into the hands of the Parliamentarians. It is significant that at a later date he was in favour with Cromwell, who is said to have presented him with some deer for his park at Golden Grove. (ii) It was taken by Col. Charles Gerard who had succeeded the Earl of Carbery as Governor General. By a series of actions Gerard took the castles of Cardigan, Emlyn and Laugharne (Phillips' *Memoirs of the Civil War*, ii, 189, i, 233-4).

whereon it stands, for about 400 years, it was left a heap of ruins. Soon after the Restoration, the founders of the family called Llwydiaid Newydd Cilgwyn bought the materials lying about in confusion, and took what they needed to enlarge the mediæval mansion known as Old Cilgwyn,¹ and what they did not need for their purpose generations of townfolk have carried away. There are houses in Newcastle Emlyn to-day faced with the weather-worn sandstones originally brought from Rhos, Llangelor, to form the windows and door-ways of the castle buildings. With the destruction of the houses in that part of the town next to the castle, the blowing up of the stronghold itself, and the consequent removal of the officials and

¹ Mr. C. H. Ll Fitzwilliams informed the writer that when he pulled down the Old Mansion during the erection of the present Cilgwyn he found that the house of the Restoration Period incorporated a wing of the older house; that in one part of this there was a wall 8 feet thick, containing a zig-zag passage, the ends of which had been built up, leaving a thick oak door inside. The doorway was pointed, and there were other fifteenth century notes of time. The best of the timber in Old Cilgwyn was used in the construction of the new residence, and thus some of the oak from the castle is preserved in the present Cilgwyn.

(iii) After the occupation of Carmarthen by the Parliamentary Laugarne in Oct., 1644-5. General Stradling and Colonel Lovelace with their small Royalist army retired to Newcastle Emlyn. They harrassed the Parliamentary gentry of the neighbourhood of Cardigan—James Phillips of the Priory and Colonel James Lewis of Coedmore. Having secured help the latter besieged Newcastle Emlyn in November, but failed to reduce it before the middle of December (*Ibid.*, i, 337-9). (iv) Newcastle Emlyn was apparently recovered by the Royalists (who were strong in numbers in the immediate vicinity) during the seige of Cardigan Castle in January 1645 by Gerard. When Laugarne ronted the Royalists at Cardigan on January 22, Gerard's army escaped to Newcastle Emlyn (*Ibid.*, i, 229). (v) In April 1645 the Parliamentarians under General Sangborne advanced upon Newcastle Emlyn but after a fortnight's effort to reduce the castle, they suffered a most complete and disastrous defeat at the hands of Gerard, who by a series of rapid marches fell upon them at 6 a.m., Sunday, April 27th, and took them entirely unprepared. The Parliamentarians acknowledged the loss of 400 men, killed and captured. The Royalist account however, states that 150 men were killed on the spot, besides those in the pursuit of seven miles; 486 were captured, among them all the English-Irish mercenaries who were to receive no mercy, 20 officers, 120 horses, nearly 700 arms and 1 cannon. After this crushing defeat the Parliamentarians left Newcastle Emlyn severely alone, but when the counties submitted all the castles were given up (*Ibid.*, ii, 248-9; 250-2). A copy of the

servants dependent upon it, Newcastle Emlyn hastened to the lowest degree of decay it had ever known. All the notes of a town organisation were now gone.

Atpar, however, clung tenaciously to its rights and privileges as a borough; but the Corporation was merely an oligarchy¹ consisting of the few owners of the burgage-

¹ All the information about the Borough of Atpar at this period was got from papers in the Cilgwyn Archives. A summary of Chief Rent Roll, dated about 1690, is appended. The number of original burgages coalesced into a single estate may be gathered from the chief rent paid. (i) The Bishop owned 20 (Fforest); (ii) Tyr y Kylgwyn comprised 14; (iii) Tyr cwm du 2; (iv) Castell Penrhyn 2; (v) Cavan (i.e. Cefn) 2; (vi) Land in occupation of Evan John Morris 2; (vii) In occupation of late David John 3; (viii) Blaen Llwh yr hal 2½; (ix) Land of John Bruyne 2⅔; (x) Pwll yr keyrne 4; (xi) Llain Knwck yr Escair ½; (xii) Tyr y Vedw 2⅔; (xiii) Tyr y ty yn y wern ¾; (xiv) Tyr y Seybor ¾; (xv) Tyr ffynnon oer 3½; (xvi) a parcel ⅓; (xvii) Tyr y merched 10; (xviii) Tyr yr Hellingwen (i.e. Henllyn Mawr) 2⅓; (xix) Tyr Rosser baly, Ddol Goch 5½; (xx) Tyr Cwr y Coed 1; (xxi) Tyr Kyllech 7½; (xxii) Lleine Blaennant y Collwyn 1; (xxiii) Tyr y Clyn gwynne 4⅓. ii—vii were owned by John Lloyd of Kilgwyn; x—xiii by David ap Rees Goch; xvii by John Lloyd; xxi by Sir John Lewis. The sum total of chief rents amounted to £4 13s. 8d. In a list of field names Helling is called Henllyn; and Cavan, Park Cefn Hen.

Mercurius Aulicus, May 4-11, 1645, pp. 1578-9, which gives the Royalist version of the battle, is in the possession of Mr. J. H. Evans. (vi) In the Spring of 1648, Cromwell feared a rising of Royalists and Presbyterians as against the Independents. Two companies of Laugharne's men, under Captains Cozens and Addis were, therefore, thrown into the Castle of Emlyn (*Ibid.*, ii, 358). How long they remained there is not known. It was, however, finally resolved to demolish the stronghold and it was blown up by gunpowder (*Inventory Ancient Monuments, Carmarthenshire*, p. 221). In 1698, E. Lhuyd *Pur.*, iii, 79 describes it as "dismantled plundered and ever since neglected"; and by 1807 the greater part of the material had disappeared (Malkin, ii, 164).

"Gwynionydd", who had a good knowledge of local tradition, states in his *Hanes* (p. 38) that amongst the Parliamentarians were T. Evans of Ffynonbedr, Lloyd of Maerdref, the two Phillipses of Cardigan, and among the Royalists Evan Gr. Evans of Penwenallt—(grandfather of Theophilus Evans) who was incarcerated in Cardigan, and Dafydd Rhys of Glan Dulus, Troedyraur. To these add John Lewes of Llysnewydd, "a noted delinquent, very active for the King" (*Llangeler*, p. 79), also John Lloyd of Cilgwyn. "Gwynionydd" (p. 7) says that after the Restoration some part of the castle was inhabited by a *haid o ladron haerltug* who raided the country. Soldiers were sent to dislodge them and killed one of them at Cnarth. A descendant of another lived at Blaenhalen.

estates already referred to. No one else had the right to attend the Courts or to occupy the office of portreeve. The sub-tenants and cottagers were not burgesses, as is popularly believed, and had absolutely no voice in the management of affairs. The power wielded by the Bishop's steward went no further than the holding once a year of a "Court Baron" in which the portreeve was sworn in, and receiving the chief-rents payable to the lord from the landowners within the borough.

By the end of the seventeenth century, both places had recovered somewhat from the depressing economic effects of the Civil War. Edward Lhuyd notes that there was a good market for corn in Newcastle Emlyn all the year round,¹ and this improvement must have continued during the first half of the eighteenth century, for it may be assumed that Hallam's well-known remark about the prosperity of agriculture during these years applies to Wales as well as England. It was probably the position of Atpar as a convenient centre of a widespread and prosperous agricultural district, added to the other inducements, such as persuasion on the part of local gentry, and the increasing demand on the part of the better sort of farmers for religious literature, that led Isaac Carter to

¹ *Arch. Camb. Parochialia*, iii, p. 79.

Enquiry has failed to discover anything—tradition, place-name, bits of weapon, armour, etc.—to suggest the burial place of those killed during the attacks upon the castle.

Meyrick (p. 137) states that on 25 Feb., 1647, the Manors of Atpar, Dyffryn Teifi, and Llandygwydd were sold to Dd. Lewis for £227 14s. 10d. At the same time probably Llandyfriog lost its title which was appropriated to the Archdeaconry of Cardigan. The estates were recovered by the Bishops; the tithes of Llandyfriog remained in the hands of laymen.

"Cromwell's sword". The weapon so called has been handed down as an heirloom in a family which occupied Park Nest for about 300 years. The tradition connected with the heirloom is that during the occupation of Newcastle Emlyn by the Parliamentarians it was bruited about that Cromwell himself was at the castle with his men. The farmer of Park Nest resolved to rid the world of the "monster". Eluding the sentinels he reached the castle walls and through a window shot the officer whom he believed to be Cromwell. In the confusion, he managed to escape, and lived in the woods until the Royalists retook the stronghold. According to one version of the story, it was the Earl of Carbery who presented the farmer with the sword in recognition of his "valour"; according to Mr. J. H. Evans,

establish in "Trehedyn" the first printing establishment set up in Wales.¹ We say the better sort of farmers because as yet the bulk of the labourers and small agriculturalists were wholly illiterate. Popular education was unknown before Griffith Jones in 1730 set in motion his wonderful circulating schools,—twelve years after Isaac Carter had begun his work in Atpar. The class of Welshmen, regarded as educated, at that date, would be well

¹ See *Welsh Ballads* by Principal J. H. Davies, *Trans. Hon. Society of Cymmrodorion*, 1909-10, p. 167. Carter settled at Carmarthen from 1725 to 1734. The two ballads whose titles are appended were the first books printed in Wales; both are in the Shirburn Castle Collection purchased by Sir John Williams, Bart. for the National Library of Wales.

(i) *Can o sen i'w hen Feistr Tobacco*, 1718.

(ii) *Can ar Fesur Triban ynghylch Cydwybod a'i Chynheddfau*, 1718.

It is interesting to note that this song was found bound at the end of a copy of "*Cydwybod y cyfaill gorau ar y Ddaear*", a book translated by Theophilus Evans, and published in 1715. Other books printed at Trehedyn were:

"*Eglirhad o Gatecism Byrraf y Gymanfa*", 1719.

"*Dwysfawr Rym Buchedd Grefyddol*", 1722.

"*Y Cristion Cyffredin*", 1724.

"*Annogaeth ddifrifol Gweinidog i'w Blwyfolion*". This latter may have been printed at Carmarthen.

According to *Enwogion Ceredigion* (p. 225) the author of *Can o sen i'w Tobacco* was Alban Thomas, afterwards Vicar of Blaenporth, a descendant of the House of Tywyn; a poet and scholar, who persuaded Mr S. Parry of Neuadd Trefawr, and Mr. Walter Lloyd of Coedmore to join in inducing I. Carter to settle in Atpar. "*Traethawd ar Ddammy y Mab Afradlon* gan J. Goodman a gyfieithwyd drwy ddifawr boen a diwydrwydd gan y diweddar a'r dysgedig Mr. Wm. Lewis o'r Llwynderw a Mr. Evan Pryce, Rhydybenne" was printed by Carter at Carmarthen (*Hanes Castellnewydd*, p. 48). These were the type of men who sowed the seed which was vivified by the Evangelical Revival. Bibles and Prayer Books also were being distributed by the S.P.C.K.

who for years was trustee of the late Mrs. Jane Maria Jones (the last representative of the family to live at Park Nest), it was Prince Rupert who made the presentation. Probably Rupert here stands for Gerard, for there is no record that Rupert ever visited Newcastle Emlyn. It is difficult to believe that the facing-both-ways Carbery would have rewarded one of his tenants for attempting to shoot Cromwell or one of his officers. As the Royalists were *within* the castle during the battle of April, 1645, the story cannot belong to that date. It probably relates to an incident which took place during the first occupation of the castle by the Parliamentarians. See Notes above, Sections (1) and (2). The sword is now in the possession of Mr. J. Michael Evans, Cardiff.

represented by Theophilus Evans, the author of *Drych y Prif Oesoedd*, a member of a bonedd family living at Penwenallt which had suffered grievously for its loyalty during the Puritan Revolt. Theophilus Evans seems to have owned some land in the Borough of Atpar and for the year 1711 acted as its prepositus,¹ on the nomination of John Thomas, then the owner of Ffynnon Oer, and later resident in the parish of Llandygwydd. Theophilus was ordained deacon in 1718, the very year in which Isaac Carter issued his first publication *Can o sen i'w Hen Feistr Tobacco*.

The borough of Newcastle Emlyn had long been extinguished. The turn of Atpar came about the middle of the eighteenth century. As has been said, the early Llwyliaid of Cilgwyn had been succeeded by a branch of the family of Cilfachwen,² Llandyssul, one of whom, viz.,

¹ Court Roll, 12 May, 1711. There is no room for mistake, for Depositions, 16 Oct., 1740, have "Theophilus Evans, then of Llandigwith in Cardiganshire, Gent, now of Brecknoc". Theophilus Evans, 1694—1769, was the fifth son of Charles Evans of Penwenallt, now a farmhouse, looking down the Cenarth gorge. After serving various curacies—Tir Abbat, Llanlleonfel, etc., he eventually became Vicar of Llangamarch in 1738. Amongst his literary works are: "*Drych y Prif Oesoedd*" (1715, 1740); "*Pwyll i Bader*" (1739); "*History of Modern Enthusiasm*" (1852); "*Prydferthwch Sancteiddrwydd yn y weddi Gyffredin*". One of his daughters married Hugh Jones, Vicar of Llywel, and became the mother of Theophilus Jones, the author of the *History of Breconshire*. Gwynionydd's *Encogion Ceredigion* (p. 79) mentions among Theo. Evans' contemporaries: (i) Jenkin Thomas (1688—1765) of Trewen Mill and later Cwmdu, shoemaker, poet, preacher at Trewen Chapel, a collection of whose poems is included in *Blodau Dyfed* (p. 228); (ii) Saml Williams, parson of Llandyfriog and Llangynllo, a well known local poet and translator (p. 259); (iii) His better known son, Moses Williams, M.A. For a time he was Vicar of Llanwenog, then of Defynog, in 1724 Rector of Chilton Trinity and of St. Mary's, Bridgewater; Fellow of the Royal Society in 1732. In 1718 he edited "*Beibl Moses Williams*"; compiled "*Repertorium Poeticum sive Poematum Wallicorum*". He assisted Wotton in the compilation of his *Laws of Hywel Dda*, 1730 (p. 257). (iv) Ieuan Griffith o'r Twr Gwyn, the poet (p. 79). It should be noted that Griffith Jones (1683—1761) of Llanddowror was born in Cilrhedyn.

² Meyrick's *Cardiganshire* (1808) p. 136. To the following pedigree in the Cilgwyn Archives are added a few notes from Peniarth MSS., 156. Thomas Lloyd of Y Gilfachwen (b. after 1575; d. between 1649 and 1652), m. Mary, daughter of Rhys Lloyd of Cilgwyn. (i) Their son, John Lloyd of Cilgwyn (d. between 1682 and 1685), m. Dorothy Vaughan daughter to Walter Vychan of Llanelli. (ii) Thomas Lloyd

Thomas, second son to Thomas Llwyd, had married Mary, the sole heiress of Rhys Llwyd, the last male representative of the old Atpar house. It seems that the new family did not settle at Cilgwyn until after the Restoration. In about 60 years they had become owners of three-quarters of the burgage-lands in the borough,¹ and their power and activities in the Courts dominated all other interests.

It was, however, its connection with Parliamentary elections that brought about the fall of Atpar. Atpar at this period contributed with Cardigan, Lampeter and Aberystwyth to return a member to Parliament. Just as the Gwynnes of Glanbran worked the borough of Llandovery in the interests of their house,² so did the Llwyds of Cilgwyn work Atpar. To increase its voting strength, outsiders from the neighbouring parishes were admitted as burgesses on the payment of 2*s.* 6*d.* The Corporation became so venal that in a short time scant respect was paid to the established laws with regard to the qualification, election and swearing in of the portreeve. In 1740, the storm burst. Protests forced the authorities to intervene. The King's Courts ousted the two last portreeves, and in 1741 the Borough and Corporation, which had

¹ "Case of the Borough of Attpar." Feb. 14, 1752.

² "Story of the Ancient Churches of Llandovery." *Trans. Hon. Society of Cymmrodorion*, 1911-2, pp. 202-4.

of Cilgwyn. (iii) John Lloyd (b. about 1689 and d. 1701) m. Elinor daughter to John Lloyd of Llangennyeh (i, 18). (iv) John Lloyd m. (i) Clara Davies. (ii) Elizabeth Davies, from whom he had issue Captain Thomas Lloyd, who by his will dated 13 May, 1748, devised two-thirds of his estates to his friend Richard Brathwaite, and one-third to Thomas Lloyd of Coedmore, son of Walter son of Thomas Lloyd of Coedmore, second son of the above-mentioned John Lloyd of Cilgwyn. Captain Lloyd of Cilgwyn and the then Captain Brathwaite were old comrades who lost their ships at the same time. They decided by toss which of them should sell his estate in order to buy ships for both. The former won. Dying unmarried, he left two-thirds of his property, as has been said, to his old friend, now Admiral Brathwaite (d. 28 June. 1805). One of the latter's three daughters married Benjamin Ed. Hall of Paddington. Their son, Ed. Compton Lloyd, Barrister-at-law, was the father of Mr. Ch. H. Ll. Fitzwilliams and the grandfather of Col. E. C. L. Fitzwilliams, C.M.G.; 1914-5 Star; Order of the White Eagle (Serbia) and Order of St. Maurice and St. Lazarus (Italy).

existed since the beginning of the fourteenth century, came to an inglorious end.¹

Surprise may be expressed at the meagreness of the references in the text to ecclesiastical buildings in Atpar and Newcastle Emlyn. Had the towns preserved a church like that of Llandyssul, or a chancel like that of St. Mary's, Cardigan, we could have woven the story writ in the records with that graven in stone; but neither in Atpar nor in Newcastle Emlyn has survived any vestige of a mediæval church. In fact, except the motte and bailey and parts of the mansion of Old Cilgwyn in Atpar, and the ruins of the castle in Emlyn, no monument of mediæval times existed here even at the end of the eighteenth century. The position of the mediæval chapel of Holy

¹ The end came in this wise. Wm. Lloyd, the portreeve, having died in office (1734), no new appointment was made until after Michaelmas, when Jacob Rice was elected. Hector Jones of Mountain Hall, the Steward of Dyffryn Teifi, should have sworn him in in open court held within the Borough. He failed to attend on the day fixed, but later appointed an agent to act in his place and selected the date. The agent swore in Jacob Rice but in a "clandestine manner", and not in open court. In Nov., 1735, Matthew Griffiths, who held no burgage in Atpar and was not a free-holder therein, and was therefore, not legally eligible, was chosen portreeve and was not sworn in at all. Protests were made to the Bishop of St. David's, lord of Dyffryn Teifi, by, amongst others, John Lloyd of Llangoedmore, who in his letter speaks of the venality of a borough on the Roll of whose burgessess anyone could be admitted on payment of 2/6; and refers to Tregaron as another instance of a "rotten borough". Spite of all, Matthew Griffiths was re-elected year by year and filled the office till 1739. Evan David, another person not a freeholder, was elected in his place. Protests availed this time and enquiry followed. Both David and Matthew Griffiths were cited to explain by what authority they had exercised the office of portreeve. The upshot was that in Jan. 1741, the appointment of both was declared null and void, and both were "ousted". After this date no Court was held in Atpar, no portreeve elected, no new burgesses admitted, no corporate act done. William Lewis, who married the widow of John Lloyd of Cilgwyn, made strenuous but vain efforts to get the Borough and Corporation reinstated. The Corporation, however, had ceased to exist. But as Atpar contributed with the other boroughs to elect a member for Parliament, the burgesses still on the Roll had the right to vote in the Parliamentary Elections. In the election of 1774 only two claimed the right to vote as burgesses of Atpar, but neither of them could show the stamped docket of his admission. In 1812 no one claimed to vote on the ground of his being a burgess of Atpar. Twenty years later, enquiry failed to discover anyone who claimed to have been admitted on the Roll. "The Borough of Atpar" was a memory.



Newcastle Emlyn.

(From a Drawing by Henry Gastineau: "Wailes Illustrated in a Series of Views" (1830).

To face p. 157.

Trinity,¹ quite close to the outer earthworks of the castle, must have exposed it to considerable damage during the various assaults upon the stronghold in the Civil War. The name is included in Brown Willis' lists of 1733 and the Episcopal Registers give the names of "Curates of Cenarth" from 1744 to 1773. Most probably these curates were stationed at Newcastle Emlyn, but whether they held services in the old chapel or in some other building is not clear. It would seem from one of the records that only the "scite" of the chapel was known in 1780, when the "English residents" resolved to erect thereon the little church which acquired the popular name of Capel Bach y Drindod,² and which was pulled down not long

¹ It was there in the time of the Inventory, 1552, for Kenarth, St. John's Chapel (i.e., Capel Iwan) and Newcastle Chapel. are entered as having a Chalice and a bell each. If Philip Havard, Clerk, of the Town of Emlin, referred to in Dep. 3, Ch. i, Mich, No. 47, was the Curate-in-Charge, the Mediæval Chapel was standing at this date.

² A long legal document in the possession of the Vicar of Newcastle Emlyn shows that the builders of Capel Bach thought that they were erecting "within the verge of the old foundation of what was considered to be the garrison Chapel". The Survey of 1532 specifically describes a "chapel" within the walls of the castle, at the end of the hall. As it was very small, it may have been an oratory meant only for the private use of the lord and his family when in residence. This chapel must have met the same fate as the rest of the buildings when the castle was blown up about 1648. The foundations of it still exist and were in part exposed (not disturbed) in the summer of 1921. Brown Willis' "Capel y Castell" must, therefore, refer to the Mediæval Chapel just outside the earthworks, but in 1733 it was most likely in a bad state, for 50 years later only the "old foundation" of it remained. The "Capel y Castell. Chapel to Kennarth, alias Newcastle Emlyn Chapel" of the *Liber Regis* (1786) was the new Chapel recently erected, viz. Capel Bach y Drindod, a print of which will be found in Gastineau's *Collection*, in Woodward's *History of Wales*, Jones' *Views of Wales*, and to the endowment of which John Vaughan of Golden Grove gave Llwynygog and Penrhiw, cottages and lands in the parish of Newcastle Emlyn. The writer, after persistent enquiry, has failed to discover any kind of evidence,—place-name, tradition,—which would lead to the belief that any chapel other than that outside the castle enclosure ever existed in Newcastle Emlyn. *Allen Raine's* brother (Mr. J. H. Evans) was told by the first Vicar of Newcastle Emlyn that there existed a tradition that the bell in Capel Bach y Drindod was the one in Vicar Prichard's House, Llandoverly (apparently in the cupola). It was probably presented through the good offices of John Vaughan of Golden Grove, who evinced great interest in the erection of Capel Bach. This "Vicar Prichard's Bell" is the smaller of the two now in the Parish Church of Newcastle Emlyn.

after the formation of the ecclesiastical parish of Newcastle Emlyn and the erection of the present parish church.¹ The Baptists, however, had built their first chapel in Newcastle Emlyn in 1777,² and the Calvinistic Methodists their first "Bethel" about the same date.³ For some time, these three were the only religious bodies which had visible shrines of the Faith in Newcastle Emlyn. The Independent Chapel of Trewen⁴ was within

¹ The new parish was assigned out of Cenarth and Llandyfriog by Orders in Council, 10 June, 1843. It consists of the Hamlets of Emlyn and Dolbryn in Carmarthenshire and of the Manor and Borough of Atpar or Lower Llandyfriog in Cardiganshire. *Vicars*:—John Price Jones signs the Registers as Perpetual Curate—Mch. 7, 1841; William Powell (1884—1913); Gruffydd Evans (Dec. 31, 1913 ———). The list of Curates-in-charge, licensed as curates of Kenarth, goes back only to 1744; but Phillip Havard, son of Lawrence Havard, steward of the Lordship (Ex Dep. 6, Ch. I, 1630) seems to have served as curate. Evan Evans (3 Sept, 1744); Joseph Jones (5 Aug., 1746); Henry Davies (26 Oct., 1747); Lewis Davies (26 Aug. 1759); Samuel Konnan (24 Aug. 1767); David Jones (15 Aug. 1773); John William Clarke (10 Jan 1826). (From *Episcopal Register*). J. Price Jones signs Register of Baptisms as Curate, 20 Jan. 1839.

² Investigations by "Gwili" and Prof. Morris Owen (Article by the latter in *South Wales News*, July 3, 1922) trace the growth of the Baptist Cause in the town thus:—(i) Meetings held in Ty Mawr from 1694, Ministers—William Melchior (? 1697—1745), and Enoch Francis of Pengelli (1734—1740); Griffith Thomas (1742—1763). (ii) Between 1764 and 1775 the members met at Panteg Chapel. (iii) 1775—77 those resident within and around the town met for worship at Parc Nest. (iv) In 1777 Old Graig Chapel was opened under the pastoral care of Timothy Thomas (d. 1784), Dd. Evans, John Richards, the latter of whom assisted the two succeeding pastors—Dd. Jones (1788—92) and Evan Evans (1793—99). No regular pastors between 1799—1808. Dd. Nicholas (1808—9); S. Breeze (1812, d. same year); J. Morgan (1815—18); Tim Thomas (1820—60) with J. Owen as assistant (1853—56); Benj Thomas (*Myfyr Emlyn* 1860—73); G. H. Griffiths (1875—88); O. M. Prichard (1889—98); Symlog Morgan (1900—18). J. Clement Davies (Nov. 1922).

³ Served by itinerant ministers until 1860, when Evan Phillips (d. 1912) became the first settled pastor. J. Morgan Jones (August, 1922).

⁴ It dates from 1672. *Diwygwywyr Cymru*, p. 176.

The first recorded Vicars of Cenarth are—Sir Griffin ap John (16 May 1487); Sir Geoffrey ap John (6 Aug. 1494); of Llandyfriog—Llewelyn the Chaplain (1326). Curates-in-Charge of Atpar—Gervasse and David the Chaplain (1326). (Those entitled "Sir" were graduates.)

easy reach of Atpar, and the parish churches of Llandyfrog and Cenarth, where the marriages and the burials of the townsfolk took place, were within a distance of two to three miles. Eventually,—in the first decade of the nineteenth century—the Independents erected their ‘Ebenezer’¹ in Newcastle Emlyn, though the impulse came from Llangeler and not from Trewen.

The economic awakening of the two towns, as we must still call them, seems to have been due chiefly to the industrial revolution which opened up coal and iron-works and canals in Kidwelly and the neighbourhood,² and thus created a demand for agricultural produce which brightened the prospects even in Emlyn. The fairs,³ which had begun to improve about the middle of the eighteenth century, grew into such vast proportions at the beginning of the nineteenth century that horses and cattle filled the streets from Atpar to Aberarad on the chief fair days. Such, at any rate, is the tradition. With the influx of trade, the number of hostelries and shops increased rapidly,⁴ and a banking establishment appeared⁵ in 1837.

Elementary education had been carried on in the

¹ Ministers:—Thomas Jones (1807—50); John Williams (1851—69); E. A. Jones (1871—84); Dd. D. Walters. (*Gwallter Ddu*, 1890—1901); B. Davies, D.D. (1902—). An old Wesleyan Chapel is now occupied as the printing office.

² See *Cymmrodor*, xxv. Kidwelly, p. 126.

³ Eleven fairs were held in the two towns in 1832 (*Par. Report*). Lewis' *Top. Dict.* mentions 8, apparently in Newcastle Emlyn alone.

⁴ A great transformation had taken place by the time the present Parish Church was erected. Lewis' *Top. Dict.* describes the houses as well built, several of them being handsome. “The cottages have an appearance of comfort and neatness not usually found in this part of the country”.

⁵ A Sub-branch of the National Provincial Bank was opened in 1837, but was closed after a time and re-opened in 1864. Managers: E. H. Williams (1866—97); W. Snead Williams (1897—1910); W. Lloyd (1910—1919); John Evans (1919—). The National Bank of Wales opened a branch here in 1890 with Gwynne Davies as manager; in 1893 this was amalgamated with the Metropolitan Bank of England & Wales. Managers: Gwynne Davies, J. R. Harris (Jan. 1912—Nov. 1914). The London City and Midland Bank opened a branch here in Nov. 1912, under the managership of T. M. Jones; in July, 1914, this Bank amalgamated with the Metropolitan and in Ap. 1915, the branch removed to the premises occupied by the latter. Lloyds Bank opened a branch on Jan. 1, 1907, with E. Owen Evans as manager, and Barclay's on Aug. 29, 1919, with John D. Rees as manager.

familiar haphazard way long before the founding of the National School¹ sometime after the erection of the Parish Church, but the excellent Sunday Schools and other societies connected with the places of worship contributed in no little degree to make up for the deficiencies of the small irregular schools, and by carrying on the work into the adult period give a general culture which, though narrow in its sympathies, did much to uplift the manual labourers and other workers. Higher education was provided by the small Grammar Schools kept by private individuals. The one in Atpar is well-remembered, and its successor, the "Emlyn Grammar School,"² still flourishes and serves a purpose which the Secondary Schools could not fulfil. About 60 years ago, the "better class" in the neighbourhood maintained a Reading Society which circulated sound literature among its members, and which

¹ It was held at first in the disused Capel Bach y Drindod and transferred to the present schoolroom¹ opposite the Parish Church. The early records have perished. Head teachers: D. Richards (1863—4); J. Donaldson (1865—6); D. Garrod (1866—69); Hugh Hughes (1869—72); J. Crisp (1873—Dec. 73); Lewis Jones (1874—March 31, 74); Thomas Vaughan (Ap. 1874—75); Robt Hindes (Aug. 1875—Nov. 75); School closed Nov. 11, 1875 to Oct. 16, 1876. Thomas Vaughan (1876—1881); Wm. Lowe (Aug. 1881—Nov. 1882); James Brown (1882—May, 1883); Geo. Lloyd (1883—Jan. 1885); Gwilym Roberts (1885—Nov. 1886); Ebenezer Davies (1886—Dec. 1886); Andrew Heber Maurice (Jan. 3, 1887—). A disused Baptist Chapel in Atpar housed (i) A Grammar School, (ii) The British School until the present Council Schoolroom was erected.² Head teachers: Daniel Davies (Jan. 24, 1876—March 31, 1921); Richd Lloyd Lewis (1921).

² Kept at Llanybri House, Atpar by the Rev. J. Davies; in the disused Baptist Chapel, Atpar and in the town by the late Mr. T. T. Elias. Present head: Mr. J. Phillips.

¹ The celebrated preacher Dr. Herber Evans and the equally celebrated musician and composer D. Emlyn Evans were for a time pupils at this School. The versatile *Ioan Emlyn* (J. Jones, LL.D. Glasgow) a native of Newcastle Emlyn and the vigorous *Mathetes* (brought up near Tan yr helig) had left the neighbourhood long before the founding of the National School. Good biographies of these eminent men are available.

² The most distinguished pupil of this School is Sir J. T. Davies, KC.B; C.V.O.; Officer of the Legion of Honour (France); Commander of the Order of King George (Greece); Grand Officer of the Crown of Italy; Commander of the Order of the Rising Sun (Japan).

issued a monthly magazine,¹ printed in the town, in which the early productions of "Allen Raine"² and Miss Nina Leslie appeared. The literary and musical instincts of the "people" found expression in the frequent competitive meetings, which were of much greater educational value to the neighbourhood than the large eisteddfodau occasionally held. And in this connection, it would be well to record that the various places of worship in Newcastle Emlyn have been served by a number of gifted men, some of whom were poets and litterateurs as well as excellent preachers.

During the last forty years, both towns have given abundant evidence of vitality and progress. Although Newcastle Emlyn had for centuries so lost all semblance of its former character that for administrative purposes it had been merged into the parish in which it lies, it at last recovered a degree of corporate consciousness, and in 1897 became an Urban Area with its Council, thus regaining most of the privileges of self-government which as a burgus it had enjoyed during the Middle Ages.

VIII.—MISCELLANEA.

(i)

LISTS OF NAMES OF JURORS, &c.

- (a) 1288. *June 7th. Chancery Inquis. Miscell., File 47, No. 18, m. 2.*

Most of the jurors appear to be tenants in Is Cuch. Meredith ab Rykit, Eynon ab Henry, Phillip ab Llewelyn, Madoc ab Sampson, Aron ab En', Rees ab Gogan,

¹ The Welsh Newspaper *Y Byd Cymreig* was printed in the town about the same time, the Editor being the Rev. John Williams, the able pastor of "Ebenezer".

² "Allen Raine" (1836—1908), daughter of Mr. B. Evans, solicitor, was born in Newcastle Emlyn, and died at Bronmor, Tresaith. Her well-known novels were issued in the following order: "*A Welsh Singer*" (1897), "*Torn Sails*", "*By Berwen Banks*", "*Garthouen*", "*A Welsh Witch*", "*On the wings of the Wind*", "*Hearts of Wales*", "*Queen of the Rushes*", "*Neither Storehouse nor Barn*", "*All in a month*", "*Where Billows Roll*", "*Under the Thatch*". The last book was completed by her nephew, the late Mr. Lyn Evans, Barrister-at-Law.

Owen ab Einon, Phillip ab Harry, Howel ab Gogan, Owen ab Dd. ab Meiler, Llewelyn Bach, Rees ab Dd., Owen ab Howel, Iorwerth ab Traharn, Griffith ab Llewelyn, Howel ab Grono, Eynon ab Meiller.

(b) 1299. 29 April. *Inquis. 27 Ed. 1, No. 106.*

William Pencoyt, Roger Kyst, Geoffrey Roudolf, Stephen Baret, Aron ab Ener, Ieuan ab Wyon, Ieuan ab Dd. ab Meyller, Kenewric ab Howel, Llewelyn Bach, Eynon ab Meyller, Griffith ab Llewelyn, Iorwerth ab Llewelyn, Kedwor ab Llewelyn, Rees ab Llewelyn, Griffith ab Howel, Llew ab Madoc, Dd. ab Eynon ab Iorwerth, Llew ab Kadwgan, Gronon ab Adaf, Griffith Gouth ab Griffith Dythel, Dd. ab Phillip, Dd. ab Iorwerth, Llew ab Phillip, Kadwgan ab Madoc Vychan.

(c) 1309. *I. A.Q.D. 3 Ed. II, 37. Men of Cantref Mawr and Emlyn.*

Llew Coyg, William ab Gruffith, David ab Eynon ab Iorwerth, Gruffith ab Howel, Iorwerth ab Richard, Gruffith Vaghan, Madoc Penboul, Gruffith ab Iorwerth, Cadogan ab Llew, Gruffith ab Henri, Adaf ab Ieuan, and David ab Eynon ab Elider.

(d) 1327-8. 29 Nov. *I.P.M. 1 Ed. III, No. 80. Men of Emlyn uwch Cuch.*

Llew ap Cadogan gam, William Wroth,¹ John Monet,² Adaf ap Cradoc, Walter ap Gryffith, Dd. ap Karadoc, Dd. ap Henergoythel (? Hanner-Gwyddel), Llew ap Cadogan, Llew Whitz.

(e) 1343. *List of Loyal Tenants.*

Llewelyn ap Gwilym comes first. Willelmus Wroth, Robert Martyn, Llew ap Cadwgan,³ Iohanes Jolle, Willelmus Coke, Ieuan Gethin, Phillipus Coreston, Ieuan ap y Boula,⁴ Galfrid Cissor, Nicholas Monet, Ioannes Wyne, Gilbertus Cadogan, Dd. ap Madog, Walterus ap David, Robertus ap Dd., Walterus ap Griffith, Llew ap Griffith Gogh, Eynon ap Gronow ap Adaf,⁵ Madoc Vaghan,

¹ Held two burgages in Atpar: found also in list of 1343.

² In charge of the Newcastle in 1316.

³ Beadle of Emlyn in 1320.

⁴ Held burgage in Atpar (1326).

⁵ Beadle of Emlyn, 1319.

Griffith Loith ap Griffith Gogh, Griffith Vaghan ap Griffith ap Howel,¹ Richardus ap Ievan, Eynon ap Cradoc,² Dd. ap Ievan ap Kenric, Dd. ap Madoc Benboul, Dd. Voialf de Merther Keler, Griffith ap Willim,³ Madoc ap Ievan Gogh, Willim ap Eynon ap Dd. ap David, David Vaghan ap David Ys, Griffith ap Meillir, Rees ap Phillip Seys, Griffith ap Dd. Ys, Ievan Gogh ap Iorwerth, David Leyaf, Ievan Wyn ap Iorwerth, Howel ap Meillir et tota communitas domi.

(ii)

THE BAILIFF OF EMLYN ŪWCH CUCH.

Sir John de Havering and Sir Thos. de Cantebreg, both members of the Prince's Council, were sent to survey the lands and castles in 1302. They reached Carmarthen on Friday, Octave of Michaelmas. In 1309 Walter de Pederton and others were ordered to certify as to the value of Cantref Mawr and Emlyn. The Inquisition with regard to Emlyn was made at Maynorvorion on Thursday, November 26th, 1309. Neither Richd. Wroth nor Dd. Vaughan, the Bailiffs of Emlyn, had paid anything for his bailiwick. It was not the custom in the time of the Welsh lords for the bailiff to pay. In fact the Welsh lords were wont to give robes, horses, and other gifts to those holding the bailiwick and to allow them their entire rent for their lands. The Bailiff or Constable was expected to be skilled in the laws and customs of his bailiwick.

(iii)

DEPOSITIONS : TEMP CH I. NAMES OF PERSONS AND LANDS, AND POINTS OF INTEREST.

(a) *Customs of the Mill of Cenarth.*

3 Ch I. Mich, 47 re Customs of the Mill of Cenarth. All the tenants were forced to do service and to carry

¹ Apparently, the Griffith Vachuan holding 12 burgages in Atpar. The names of his father and grandfather suggest the House of Gwernau.

² Beadle of Emlyn, 1322.

³ Undoubtedly, brother to Llewelyn ap Gwilym. His name is found amongst the Loyal in Iscoed. The first example of Emlyn as a personal name appears in the list of Iscoed, viz., Griffith ap Rees Emlyn, Rees Vaghan ap Rees Emlyn.

timber for the mill. Thos. John Gwynne of Kennarth (58) saw tenants carrying mill stones from St. Clears, 12 miles distant, for the mill. Gruffuth Dd. ap Rudderch—the farmer of the mill, Mary Griffiths of Kennarth (68), Thomas ap Rees ap Howell, James Thomas, Rees ap John, Jenkin ap Rees ap John, James Lewis, Jenkin ap Rees, William Jones, James Thomas—all appear in this enquiry.

Excheq Dep : 3 Ch I. Trinity. No. 6. Llwyn Bedw mentioned. Dd. Parry, Gent, v Rees ap John. Depositions taken at the Mansion House of Thos. John Gwynne of Kennarth. James Thomas deposed that he used to grind at the mill, for which he paid 1/20 of the corn ground. If he ground elsewhere he had to pay the miller of Cenarth or the farmer of the mill a toll of 5 quarters of pilcorn of the measure used in Cardigan which was somewhat more than 5 Winchester bushels. Morris ap Rees of Kennarth (80) confirmed the testimony of the last witness.

(b) *Conveyancing of Land in the Commote of Emlyn.*

In Excheq. Dep. 6 Ch I. Mich. No. I, considerable light is thrown upon the customs obtaining in the Lordship during the period of the Johnes with regard to the "passing of lands." On 16 June, 1630, Thomas Price, clerk, Ed. Lloyd, gent, John Lloyd, gent, Evan Thomas, gent, were commissioned to enquire in the suit of John, Earl of Carberry v. Thomas Lewis, William Lloyd and others. The depositions were taken at the Guild or New Hall of the Town of Emlin on September 28th, 1630. Some of the deponents said that freeholders passed lands by deed and release. Pen y lan Vawr had been conveyed to Howel Williams in this way. A Penboir witness testified that John Price had alienated Park y Velindre to Thomas Davies, gent, by livery of seisin and deed of feoffment, and that in consequence his goods were seized by the lord. Nicholas ap Rees Thomas of Kenarth (83) held by descent, and his name was simply entered on the Court Roll as a freeholder. Evan Llywelin Thomas (79) of New Moate, formerly agent to Sir Thos. Johnes, said that as far as he knew the passing of lands by the rod had ceased "about 40 years ago" (1590). He had seen lands passed by the rod in the time of John Thos. ap Harry and John ap Owen Phillips, stewards of the Lordship. He

described the process, and gave instances of the operation of the old law in the case of tenants dying intestate. His father had sold lands to one Owen Prees Parry, an infant in law, who was admitted by kissing the rod, but in a year's time O. P. Parry died, and Howell ap Harry took the lands by the rod, paying 10s. as "bedive or herriot" for Owen and 5s. for the admission of his own son. The infant in law, having died intestate without issue, the lord proceeded to take his goods, but deponent's father compounded with the lord and gave him 40 "wethers" in respect of his claim. The old law was often very cruel. Llywelyn ap Ieuan ap Rydderch, having died intestate, the lord seized his goods except a "small portion" left for the maintenance of his widow. Rees Thomas Rees ap Rees of Penboir (78) saw Harry John of Kryngae sell lands to John Rees of Penboir. At the delivery of the rod in Court, the new tenant's name was entered on the roll; but John Rees died intestate and his goods—20 cattle and 150 sheep—were seized by the lord.

By piecing together the details of the evidence given during this enquiry we can reconstruct the whole ceremony of the Court when lands were passed by the rod. All the officers were present—the steward, the recorder, the beadle, the crier, so also were the persons interested, together with their friends as witnesses. First the crier "cried"; then the freeholder, who wished to pass his land to another, ceremoniously delivered it up to the steward by putting a rod or virge into his hand, at the same time paying 10s. as a fine of alienation called here the gwaglaw. The steward erased the freeholder's name from the roll: he was no longer the owner of the land in question. The crier took the rod from the steward and placed it on the table. The beadle then took it up and laid it on the Court Roll. The crier "cried" again. The new tenant, whether by succession or by purchase, came forward, took the oath of fealty promising to be a faithful tenant; paid a gwabar ystyn (gwobr estyn) of 5s., and made himself responsible for the payment of the chief-rent called westvaes (gwestva). The steward handed him the rod, called now gwialen ystynnol, and entered his name on the Court Roll. The entry of his name on the roll constituted his title to the land. Phillipp Havard (58), clerk, of the Town of Emlin, had been taken as a

boy by his father Lawrence Havard, then steward, to see the ceremony, and he considered the passing of land by the rod the safest tenure in the Lordship. The burgages in the town were passed in the same manner. The father of Evan Morris of Kenarth (60) held by virge "certain lands and house being a burgage in the Villedge of Emlin called Twy (Ty) yn y loan." The grandfather wished to pass this burgage to his grandson, fourth son of the deponent. Actual possession took place in this wise, which is reminiscent of a very ancient custom,—“he did cause the fire to be put out and the tenant to go out,” and then put his grandson in. Evan Morris did not say that his son lit the fire afresh, which should have been done to complete the ceremony. The name of the new owner was entered on the Court Roll.

Among the interesting items of evidence are:—(1) Walter Vaughan of Llanelly (52) referred to the Records of Emlyn in the Tower. (2) Sir H. Johnes occasionally sent “to the church to desire the inhabitants to come and help him in performing carriage.” (3) Tenants within the “Graeindge of Manorvorion” did suit at Emlin about 20 years ago, i.e., about 1610. (4) The new tenant to whom the rod was reached by the steward was known as the Ystynnol. Nicholas ap Rees, gent (82), Kenarth, said that the person whose name was admitted on the roll paid 21*d.*, that is, for the steward 12*d.*, the recorder 6*d.*, the beadle 2*d.*, the crier 1*d.* (5) The place-names given in the Depositions are—Penylan Vaur, Plas y Gelli Dowyll, Plas pen Kelliissa, Tythyn Aber Arad, Park y Weyn Vechan, Plas tan y bryn, also Melin tan y bryn (E. Kilrhedyn), Ffynnant, “a close of land by the brook,” Tir dol y Mynach, Argoed, Llain pant y llynne, Llain bwlech y Cae bryth, Gilwen. (Excheq. Dep. 6 Ch I, Mich. No. 1, 1630.) Tyddin Park Kilgaen, Tyr y ffynnon dderw, Park and Tyddin Abergvenny, Tyddin Keven Kamkoed yssa, Plaskoed Istree, Llain penrhiw y Gamallt—all in Llangeler. (Dep. 6 Ch 1, Hilary 3.)

(iv)

THE FISHERIES OF EMLYN UWCH CUCH.

The first reference to these fisheries is that of Giraldus who states in his Itinerary (1188) that there was a produc-

tive fishery at a place called Canarch Mawr (Bk II. iii). It is not heard of again until 1301-2 when the following grouped items appear in the Ministers' Accounts—Rents of (1) Protection Tenants and Fishermen in the Teivy, (2) of Kennarth Mill and Weir. (1) The former paid 1s. between 1301-1305; between 1308-1315 4s.; in 1316 9s.; between 1317-1332 8s., in 1333 6s.; in 1390 8s 4d.; between 1411-1413 3s. 4d., after which date the accounts are not available. In 1307 "licenses to fish during the present year" produced 4s.; and 8s. in 1327 when the fishery is entered separately. (2) Kennarth Mill and Weir brought in £3 13s. 4d. between 1302-5; from 1307 to 1316 the rent was £6 13s. 4d., but this included the rent of the "new mill near the New Town of Emlyn."¹ Between 1331 and 1410 the returns vary. In 1409-10 the rent was only £1 6s. 8d. In the 1423-4 return (1166/12) we are told that the "farm of the river Teivy" brought in only 2s. 8d., "so let this year because the Duke of Gloucester placed a clat across the river at his weir at Kilgerran so that the fish could not swim to the King's weir of Teivy (that is, at Cenarth) as they were accustomed to swim as of old; to the great prejudice of the King, as it was usually arrented at 60s. per annum." In "Letters Patent inrolled in Chancery," dated respectively 9 Feb, 9 James I, and 23 Ap, 9 James I, occur these words:—"Kennarth Melin als Melyn Kenarth and all Fisherys in Teivi within the Lordship or Manor of Emlyn . . . yearly rent 100s." "Melyn Kenarth, which last mill with the Fishery in the River of Teivi were (sic) formerly of the yearly rent of 100s." These facts are interesting because the coracle-men of Cenarth still use their nets in waters which are miles beyond the reach of the tide.

(v)

THE BOUNDARIES OF THE PARISH OF NEWCASTLE EMLYN.

Transcribed from the *London Gazette*, Sept. 1, 1843.

"The boundary to commence at the river Tivy, at Danywaring (Dan y Warren) in the parish of Llandyfriog, and proceed in a westerly direction along that river till

¹ This is quite clear in *Min. Acc.* 1220/3:—"Fulling Mill 13/4; Fishery 8/-; Rent of two Mills and weirs there £6 13s. 4d."

it meets a brook (the Arad) which separates the parish of Cenarth from the parish of Penboyr; and proceeds, in a southerly direction along the centre of that brook till it reaches the parish of Cilrhedyn; and then proceeds, in a westerly direction, along the boundary line separating the parish of Cenarth from the said parish of Cilrhedyn, till it meets the river Cych, along the centre of which it proceeds in a north-westerly direction as far as the road from Lan Cych to Newcastle Emlyn, up the centre of which road it proceeds, in a north-easterly direction, till it reaches Gwyddan brook; it then takes a northerly direction up (sic) the centre of that brook till it enters Tivy; and proceeds down the centre of the river Tivy in a north-westerly direction, till it meets the river Cerri, which divides the parish of Llandyfriog from the parish of Brongwyn; and proceeds, northerly, up the centre of that river till it meets the boundary line which divides the parish of Llandyfriog from the parish of Troedyraur, along which boundary line it proceeds, in an easterly direction, till it meets the parish of Llanfair-fach (Llanfair-treligen); and then proceeds along the boundary line separating that parish from the parish of Llandyfriog, in a south-easterly direction, till it meets, near Llwch yr hall Issaf, the boundary of the borough of Atpar; along which boundary it proceeds, in a southerly direction, by Blaenant to Danywaring where the boundary commenced."

(vi)

(a) "GWYNIONYDD" AND (b) "EILIR."

As these writers are frequently referred to in these pages it were well to give here brief biographical notices of them.

(a) Born at Seilach (Penbryn) on June 24, 1821, and sprung from the family which gave us James Howell, the author of *Epistolae Hoelianaë*, and Dr. Howell, Bishop of Bristol, Benjamin Williams ("Gwynionydd") was educated at Fishguard, and spent 26 years of his life as master in Madam Bevan's Circulating Schools. His interest in Church work together with his recognised literary ability moved Dr. Thirlwall, Bishop of St. David's, to ordain him. After serving as Curate of Cenarth he became Vicar of Tir Abad, near Llanwrtyd, and also Curate

of Myddfai, and in this latter capacity he held services at the Half Way Schoolroom near *Brutus'* home. Settled here "Gwynionydd" was closely connected with some of the literary men whose names and activities are associated with the publishing house of "Rees of Tonn," Llan-doverly. Finally, he became Curate-in-charge of Llanover. Endowed with poetic and literary gifts, with a remarkable penchant for local history and folk-lore, an unflagging energy in research-work, withal a master of a vigorous and lucid style, "Gwynionydd" was for about 50 years a constant contributor to the Welsh periodicals. His knowledge of Welsh literature was so considerable that he was reckoned among the helpers of his near kinsman, D. Silvan Evans, a native of Cilrhedyn in Emlyn. Among his best known works are *Hanes Castellnewydd yn Emlyn* (1859); *Hanes Lewis Glyn Cothi a'i Weithiau* (1866); *Cyfansoddiad athronyddol enwau lleodd Cymreig yng Nghymru* (1868); *Caniadau gan Gwynionydd* (1868); *Enwogion Ceredigion* (1869); *Brialieu Glan Ceri* (1873). He died on December 9th, 1891, and was buried at Bettws Ifan.

(b) W. Eilir Evans (April 26, 1852—Dec. 7, 1910), best remembered as one of the ablest of our bilingual journalists, was born at Y Garreglwyd, Cenarth, and was brought up by a mother who stored her son's retentive memory with local folk-lore and traditions. Educated at the Emlyn Grammar School (1863-9), instructed by the Rev. Evan Phillips in the cynghaneddion, and encouraged by the Rev. John Williams who published his early poems in *Y Byd Cymreig*, Eilir soon displayed marked ability. Destined by his parents for the Independent Ministry, he was sent in 1870 to the Carmarthen Presbyterian College, but he left and took to teaching, first as master of the National School, Capel Dewi (1873-9) and later of the Pontshan Grammar School. During this period he sedulously cultivated his poetic gifts, was an ardent eisteddfodwr, and in 1878 won the chair at Cardigan. In 1879 he entered St. David's College, Lampeter, and two years later was ordained by the Bishop of Bangor. The next seven years of his life were spent in various curacies in England and Wales. Gifted with the pen of a ready and graceful writer and exceedingly well-informed especially in current history and literature, Eilir's real

work, however, was in the field of journalism. In 1889, he became editor of the *Carmarthen Journal*; in 1891, of the *Cambria Daily Leader*; in 1893 he acted on the *South Wales Daily Post* under Mr. W. Llewelyn Williams as editor. In 1894 he joined the staff of the *Western Mail* and for 13 years was leader-writer and reviewer. Contributions from his pen frequently adorned the pages of the *Guardian*, the *Llan*, the *Church Family Newspaper*, *Y Genincen*, *Yr Haul*, and other journals. With Dr. Lemuel James, he was joint author of the *Churchman's Shield*, and a collection of his works in prose and verse entitled *Rhyddiaith a Chan* appeared in 1909. He acted as Curate of Llancarvan for about two years before his death in 1910.

ADDENDA.

For an account of the last duel fought in Wales (between Beynon and Heslop) near Dan y warren in Dec., 1814, and also of the last use of stocks in Cardiganshire, viz. in Atpar, where John Foster was imprisoned for three hours in 1872, see G. Eyre Evans' *Cardiganshire and its Antiquities*, and *Walks and Wanderings in County Cardigan*, by E. R. Horsfall-Turner.

Note to p. 91. The Gwyddon—the west boundary of the old borough—has been artificially diverted into the Teifi near “Pont-bren”. The natural bed of the brook can be followed in the deep depressions which mark the west side of Dolbrenin.



Sir HENRY JONES, C.H., M.A., LL.D., F.B.A., D.Litt. (Wales)

Professor of Moral Philosophy, University of Glasgow, 1894-1922

Born 30 November, 1852. Died 4 February, 1922

Sir Henry Jones, C.H.,

LL.D., F.B.A., D.LITT. (WALES), ETC.

AN APPRECIATION BY ONE OF HIS PUPILS,

THOMAS JONES, M.A., LL.D.

(*Principal Assistant Secretary to the Cabinet*).

“Trust in the power of thy behaviour for all thy influence on others. Thou canst preach thy gospel better by means of a good life than in any other way. Thou needest not to go far in search of the service of the best. Fill the station in which thou art placed. Let the honesty of thy work be plain to every one; thy faithfulness to thy fellow-worker be steadfast; thy zeal for the education of thy soul in thy hours of leisure be constant; thy gentleness on thy hearth be like sunshine; thy kindness to thy neighbours like the fall of the dew; thy jealousy for that which is just like fire; thy love for good people like the river; and thy loyalty to thy country like the sea.”—HENRY JONES.

WITHIN a short period Wales has recently lost four distinguished sons—Owen Edwards, John Williams, Henry Jones, and Llewelyn Williams. The number of great men in any country is never considerable and if we do not measure these four men by absolute standards but only apply the measure of their own nation to them their loss is a grievous one for such a small country to bear. Public life in Wales is intimate, almost domestic, in character, and it is safe to say that there was no Welsh home which was not familiar with at least one of these names, and in the more enlightened homes all four were well known. The preacher had the advantage of addressing multitudes of his fellow countrymen in person, Sunday after Sunday, for a generation. The politician was not only a faithful Eisteddfodic figure and an active journalist for many years, but had all eyes concentrated on him throughout a famous election. The two others did their life work largely out of sight and it is probable that Henry Jones was not even a name to many of the younger generation until he died. He had lived for more than 30

years in Scotland, his public appearances in Wales were relatively infrequent, the subject which he professed and wrote and talked about made an appeal more restricted than that of the preacher or member of Parliament, and the controversy about his religious beliefs had long ago died down, and did not revive until he had passed away and could not reply.

No student of the modern life of Wales, however, has any doubt about the high place Henry Jones is sure to occupy in our country's annals. The story of his early efforts to gather knowledge, written by himself and presently to be published, will long preserve his memory and be an illuminating document in the history of the struggle for higher education in Wales. His participation in that struggle was almost continuous and at certain points decisive. Lastly, he will stand out as the ablest moral and social philosopher we have sent out of Wales since the days of Richard Price and Robert Owen. His significance in this connection is the subject of Mr. Puleston Jones's article. I am asked to say something of other aspects of his career.¹

All who are familiar with the life of rural Wales can recall men of great natural ability about whom one felt

¹ For an interesting parallel compare the life of Professor Bolland of Leyden University, whose death at the age of 68 was announced in the *Times* a few days after that of Henry Jones: "Professor Bolland had a most remarkable career. He was born in the northern Dutch town of Groningen, where his father was a policeman. The latter died when young Bolland was barely nine years old, throwing him into the struggle of life. Starting as errand boy to a watchmaker, he became clerk to a barrister, and afterwards pupil teacher in an elementary school, until as a boy of 14 he entered Dutch military service. He did not remain long in the Army. Being of an excitable nature, he one day smacked the face of a sergeant, and was in consequence sent to a penal institution. After a time the governor of that institution was impressed by his capacities, and enabled him to enter a training college for teachers. Young Bolland soon won his diploma, and became an assistant teacher at Groningen, being afterwards appointed as teacher at Katwyk-on-the-Sea. There he began to study industriously English, French, German, Anglo-Saxon, Greek and Latin. The year 1883 was the beginning of his future career. He then, at the age of 29, picked up for the first time a philosophical book in which he became so much absorbed that all his spare time was devoted to the study of that speculative science. First Hartman, afterwards Hegel, became his favourite, the latter's philosophy finding in Bolland one of its greatest Dutch exponents. He wrote various theological works, and although by origin a Roman Catholic,

that had they received wider opportunities and gone out of Wales they would have become famous. In the last century the usual course for such men was to enter the pulpit and remain serving their native land, in their native tongue. It can be said with complete certainty of many such that they were the equals in ability of others who have found a sounding-board among the larger neighbouring nations.¹ Henry Jones was endowed by nature with rare qualities which would have made him conspicuous had he remained a monoglot Welshman. He had the good fortune to fall into the hands of teachers—Robert Hughes, John Nichol, and Edward Caird—who instead of thwarting his individuality nourished and developed it to its full richness. To the very end he diffused the atmosphere of the far-off upland cottage where he was born, its accent, its humour and sprightliness, its simple pleasures, while at the same time his powerful and trained mind was ever pre-occupied with the supreme problems of man's history and fate. So true was this that it was not difficult for him, with a turn of the overcoat collar or other slight disguise, to pass himself off in a railway carriage or on the high-road as an old Welsh farmer or shepherd—so unspoiled was he

he eagerly crossed swords with learned Dutch writers of that Church. His appointment in the year 1896 as Professor of Philosophy at the University of Leyden created at the time a great sensation in Holland, partly on account of his extraordinary career, but also because of his views, expounded in numerous writings".

¹ This was a view which Henry Jones himself once expressed in a note on the death of his teacher Robert Hughes (*Glan Collen*): "I'm tyb i, nid oedd Gladstone. er enghraifft, i'w gymharu o ran ei ddwysder, a'i rym, a'i urddas â John Hughes. Lerpwl (a Chaernarfon), nac o ran perffeithrwydd tlydni.—*the perfect art of a perfect nature*—a David Saunders,—llais yr hwn ar faes Cymanfa Bangor, a gariai yn fwisg i gyd dros yr holl fro, fel llais aderyn du pigfelyn. yn torri'r distawrwydd ac yn deffro'r bore. Ni pherthynai mawredd yr un o'r ddau hyn i hyawdledd Glan Collen, na chymmwrff apeliadau Owen Thomas ychwaith. Ond ni ddylid ei gymharu, pan ar ei nehelfannau, â neb arall. Yr oedd y fath swyn yn ei arddull, a'r fath awdurdod tyner yn ei wedd, yr oeddy fath deimlad yn ymweithio yn ysgogiad ei fraich ac yn trwytho ei feddyliau, fel yr oedd yn rhaid gwranddo, pa un bynnag a ddeallid ef ai peidio. A'r "rhaid gwranddo", mi gredaf, ydyw'r prawf goreu yn y peth hwn. Wrth gwrs, nid wyf fi'n cofio beth a ddywedai ar y fath adegau—ddim ond agwedd fy meddwl i fy hun wrth wrando arno. Tybiwn ei fod fel yn codi ar edyn ei awen gerddgar, ac yn ehedeg i ryw dir nefolaidd, fel tir Beula John Bunyan.—*I Brython*, Mawrth 18fed, 1915.

by learning and honours, so little did he parade his differences from his own people, so deep was his respect for their homely characters. What gave him away were his wonderful eyes. He had the countenance of a countryman, washed by the rains, and coloured by the sun, but his eyes were so full of light that you felt sure they could belong to no ordinary person. When one thinks of him in the hey-day of his powers it is in terms of heat and light—flaming, radiant, passionate, inspiring. I first saw him in a little country chapel near Bangor on a week-night when he was addressing a group of young people—not more than twenty or thirty. His subject was “Excelsior” and he sat on a chair in the middle of the platform and talked quietly until the fire burned within him when he got up and marched to and fro overwhelming us with the importance of making the best of our lives. It was the same years later when I joined his Moral Philosophy Class at Glasgow where, before many weeks had gone by, I was charged by him with the task of arresting his eloquence by dangling my watch to catch his eye five minutes before the lecture was due to stop. He had all the interest of the most refined of the great Welsh preachers in the architecture of a sermon. He knew how to build up a lecture from quiet expository foundations at the beginning to the shining pinnacles at the close. Like the old cathedral craftsmen he loved to adorn the fabric with humorous grotesques where his love of fun ran riot, but you never were allowed to forget that the enterprise upon which you were engaged was the quest of truth, goodness and beauty. He had the artist’s sense of form, as all his books shew. Just as the shoemaking father never let a slack job pass through his hands, so the son never published an unworkmanlike page. He had all the craftsman’s joy in manipulating language and, like the best of Hegel’s, his writings are a blend of close argument and poetic vision. But in his lectures to his Pass or Ordinary Class he allowed himself great freedom of digression and illustration, and his bursts of passionate eloquence might come at any point during the hour and not necessarily at its close. In my year (1897) he began the session by posing the conflict of universal natural law and human freedom and conducted us through an examination of the main schools of philosophy in relation to this problem. One of his great merits was his

scrupulous fairness in stating the claims of philosophers with whom he was not in sympathy—Bentham, Mill, Sidgwick, or Martineau. So strongly did he put an opponent's case that you were always left wondering what possible answer he could make to it. The best teachers have the faculty of making their students not only receive instruction but co-operate in the advancement of their subject. They induce you to work your own mind, such as it is, to the utmost. You are made to feel that you matter. They read your essay and write quite respectful marginal notes upon it. Henry Jones did this with men who were sincerely grappling with philosophy and the honour he thus did to you made you strain every mental muscle you possessed. The subjects he set were vast—the first he set me was "The Relations of Metaphysics and Ethics". You knew the utter inadequacy of your equipment but you tried because he believed in you, expected your best from you. He took you to his house to breakfast after his 8.0 o'clock lecture and then to his study, relaxed over a pipe, shewed you a new book, or a newspaper which had just come from Wales, or an article he was writing, cross-examined you up and down about your own dominant interests, and sent you away braced to attack some vast new essay for him.

In the early years of his Glasgow professorship he took a vigorous share in the politics of the University and the City. Moved by Lord Haldane, he and Professor Adamson, albeit members of the Arts Faculty, promoted a campaign for the better equipment of the natural sciences, and they succeeded in propelling the Principal to lead the movement. One of Henry Jones's favourite stories belongs to this period. There was some danger of friction between the University and the Technical College in connection with the raising of funds. A letter from the Principal of the latter had appeared in the press and called for a reply. The University Principal, Dr. Story, was not conspicuous for tact in handling such situations and Adamson and Henry Jones hastened to write a letter for the Principal's signature. It duly appeared above it in the *Glasgow Herald* and Sir William Gardiner told Story it was the only reasonable letter he had ever known him write. On the day of publication a well-known Scottish divine—Dr. D. W. Forrest—dropped in to have luncheon with Henry Jones and he remarked how

characteristic of the Principal the letter was; "it was like the Empress of India addressing the King of Siam". Henry Jones revealed nothing of the authorship. Some weeks later Dr. Forrest was in again to luncheon and a discussion arose on the competence of Higher Critics to distinguish the First and Second Isaiah or the writer of this or that Psalm. Henry Jones was incredulous, Forrest dogmatic. Could Forrest really distinguish between unsigned poems and identify the work of Keats or Shelley? Most certainly he could. Then the authorship of the Story letter was divulged!

At this time also he founded the Civic Society in Glasgow, the lectureship in Political Philosophy, and the movement for Class Libraries, for all of which he readily obtained funds from friends in the city. Of the first he has written—

"I found that different sections of the community were under the control of assumptions which could not be reconciled and I believed they could learn a great deal from each other, so I founded the Civic Society on what I believed then and believe yet to be an entirely new basis—the Civic Society was founded upon *difference* of opinion. I desired that every opinion that was entertained should be adequately represented in the Society but that no debating victories should be sought, no votes should be taken for the object was not the victory of any side but the discovery of more truth.

My first comrade in the enterprise was George Adam Smith, then professor in Glasgow, then came Sir James Bell, the Lord Provost of the city at the time, and after these came the leaders of all sections of the community including those amongst the workmen and amongst their employers with their different shades of view from the reddest communism to the tamest view of the daily darg".

For six years at the close of each Glasgow session he visited Manchester College, Oxford, and lectured on some branch of ethics, metaphysics, or religion, and while his visits were too hurried to enable him to mix much in the life of the University, he formed valuable friendships with the staff and students of the College. He lectured too on several occasions in the United States and once went so far as Australia to lecture and visited his son in Burma on his way home. The long summer vacation helped to make these arrangements possible and also enabled him to keep in touch with Wales, to serve on the Welsh Church Commission and the Welsh University

Commission and the Committee on Adult Education. I do not think he was ever happy for long on Committees or Commissions and his impatience with subsidiary issues was only equalled by his keenness on the main ones. He was an enthusiastic Liberal and one of the very few honorary members of the Glasgow Liberal Club.

In all these aspects of his career he reminds one of another idealist thinker and religious radical, and there are many passages in Nettleship's memoir on Thomas Hill Green which are applicable to Henry Jones. For example—

“ He could not indeed live at once the life of a member of parliament, of a minister of religion, and of a student of philosophy; and as each of these lives had a certain attraction for him, he was not free (although more free than most men) from distraction. But into whatever mould he had been by circumstances eventually cast, he would have left nothing of himself outside it; and it was this solidarity in his interests which gave its peculiar force to what he said and did. It was because he saw in history the self-development of an eternal spirit, because he regarded religion as the highest form of citizenship, because he believed reason to be at once the most human and the most divine thing in man, that he could be comprehensive without vagueness, elevated without loss of geniality, reverent without superstition ”.

He meditated becoming a member of parliament more than once. On the last occasion it was when he was urged to stand as a candidate for the Welsh University seat in 1918. The main inducement to him at this time was his concern for the fate of the Report of the Welsh University Commission, and especially for the Penny Rate and the effect its adoption in Wales might have on Scotland and England. But he rejected the proposal partly on the ground of the complications its acceptance would involve at Glasgow and partly because he was not ten years younger.

The welfare of Wales was never for long out of his mind. The artistic and literary possibilities of Wales seemed to him so great as to make it probable that once more there had been laid upon one of the small gifted peoples of the world “the responsibility of watching a sacred fire.” One of his last public efforts was at the National Eisteddfod at Corwen in 1919, when he pleaded for the co-operation of the churches in the task of adult education. This was a movement for which some of us

had laboured quietly for many years. It has been described in these pages by Mr. Lleufer Thomas. The work is now spreading apace, if not quite in the form that Sir Henry adumbrated. He hoped that it could be used to break down the sectarianism so rife in our villages. That may yet come in the wake of the labours of Robert Richards, Herbert Morgau and John Davies, to mention the present leaders in north, centre and south. The tutors are now happily too numerous to be named here. The great social forces, Henry Jones pointed out at Corwen, that were uplifting the community were no longer led by the churches as in the past, because the aims and purposes of the religious and educational leaders were too restricted and narrow. He sought to involve the Churches with the Colleges in the enterprise of advancing and diffusing knowledge of man's world.

“For all knowledge of truth is great, and the pursuit of it high, and the sciences of nature are not in reality secular. There is nothing secular till it is touched by a secular spirit. . . . There is nothing, not even the Temple of the Most High, which we can not desecrate if our minds are low. But in itself, if it be not perverted and violated, the knowledge of nature is a reading of Divine thoughts and the interpretation of a sacred scroll”.

(Speech at Holyhead, 24th April, 1917).

The raising of the quality of our common citizenship was a permanent aim with him and the Government's recruiting campaign to which the late Prime Minister summoned him during the Great War gave him a unique opportunity for addressing many audiences all over Wales on a favourite theme at a time of deep national strain. He himself had three sons in the field and it was therefore no abstract or bloodless philosopher who asked young men to dedicate their lives to the country's cause. The substance of his lectures at this period he published under the title “Principles of Citizenship” at the end of 1918.

There has been some reference in the Welsh press to the loss we incurred in Wales by “driving” Henry Jones from our midst. There is no doubt that his collision with Principal Thomas Charles Edwards at Aberystwyth and his subsequent and consequent rejection as first Principal of Bangor left an echo in his memory. He was an independent spirit and while “independence is essential for permanent, it is fatal to immediate success”. But he

has put on record his reasons for going to St. Andrew's: "I left Wales because a Scottish University offered me (1) a freer and larger field of activity, (2) better opportunities for educating my children and starting them in life, (3) a larger salary and a pension in case of retirement from illness or old age. I had no other reasons for leaving, and I was in no sense a religious martyr." (*The Welsh Leader*, March 3rd, 1904.) Professor Edward Edwards, in his fine tribute to his old teacher, has summed the matter up accurately:

"Dywed llawr mai alltud o Gymru oedd Henry Jones, a bod ei wlad wedi ei anfon, megis, i benyd-wasanaeth. Nid oes un sail i haeriad fel hwn. Ni throdd ef ei gefn ar Gymru o gwbl—yn St. Andrew's ac yn Glasgow yr oedd ei wyneb ar Gymru o hyd, a'i gariad a'i serch yn dyfnhau tuag ati gyda threigliad amser . . . Ni chweroedd ei ysbryd o gwbl—mi wn llyn drwy gymdeithas bersonol ag ef". *Cymru*, Ebrill 1922.

And he had opportunities of returning to Wales had he so desired. Towards the close of 1906, at the instance of Mr. Lloyd George, then President of the Board of Trade, Henry Jones saw Mr. Birrell, the President of the Board of Education, with a view to taking up the Secretaryship of the projected Welsh Department at the Board. He was inclined to make an experimental acceptance only for the six or seven months of the long vacation as he was not sure of his ability as a practical administrator. His decision was all the more halting because at this time Principal Story was dying and many hoped he would be succeeded as Principal by Henry Jones. No final arrangement was made and Mr. Birrell on leaving the Board to become Chief Secretary for Ireland wrote regretting that he would not be able to be a witness of Henry Jones's educational experiments in Wales. From this Henry Jones inferred that his appointment had been decided upon before Mr. Birrell's departure. Mr. McKenna became President of the Board of Education however and Henry Jones heard no more of the proposed appointment. "I was neither disappointed nor elated. I was not responsible for the matter and had as little to do with it as a change in the direction of the wind; it simply passed out of my life."

In the course of his career various honours fell to Henry Jones, academic and political, and he was invited

to address the General Assembly of his mother church. When he first heard of the proposed knighthood he leapt out of his chair and shouted "Damnation! I won't have it." But on his return from a visit to Oxford he stayed at 11 Downing Street, and succumbed to Mrs. Lloyd George's persuasions, mainly on the ground that, in as much as it was customary to honour the Sciences, why not allow Philosophy to be equally honoured for once in a way.

But if he had the joy of public recognition, he had also the burden of heavy private sorrow to bear. Before the war he had lost a son and a daughter, and during the war he lost a son. In June, 1913, he came to London to undergo an operation for cancer in the face. His physical courage was splendid. I went to see him and found him hilarious over an Abraham Lincoln story which had been told him as he recovered from the anæsthetic. It had "sustained" him for a couple of days. There was a carnival at New Orleans and for the first time a balloon was sent up over the town, the aeronaut being decked out as a clown, a bespangled figure in spots and stripes. The balloon drifted and descended over some cotton fields to the terror of the niggers who ran away, all except an old rheumatic toiler who, unable to get away quickly enough, had to make the best of the situation. He addressed the celestial figure thus: "Good morning, Massa Jesus! How's yer Pa?" For some years after the operation the course of the disease was arrested but in the last couple of years of his life the mischief revived and spread and ultimately conquered on Saturday, 4th February, 1922. "Though he knew it a losing one, he fought the battle to the end, and died under the rampart." There is a well-known story of Hegel finishing the "Phenomenology of Spirit" midst the thunders of the battle of Jena. It is to me a more moving spectacle to recall Henry Jones, having passed through the furnace of the Great War, writing one of the most triumphant vindications of the spiritual life of man when he was daily succumbing to a painful and horrible disease. All reviewers of his Gifford Lectures are struck by the optimism which almost breaks out in music from the pages. "Though he slay me, yet will I trust." I shall never forget the vision of him at Pwllheli resting his elbow on the mantelpiece of his room and holding a small, soft pillow to the painful surface of the stricken cheek with

one hand and with the other the manuscript of his last book on which he was then engaged. He had reached Lecture Six, and this is what he read to me, with one eye dulled by the cancer, the other still glowing with the fire as of old :

“The only alternative that lies before the sceptic is the view, that at the heart of the real there lurks the insane. . . . Religion . . . must be the healing of all man’s sorrows, if it is to heal any of them. . . . There are individuals and possibly there have been ages, so peaceful and so triumphant that the hardest of all trials brings to them no devastating doubts. Their faith is

‘ Safe like the signet stone with the new name
That saints are known by ’.

Their God is not dead but living, and he is not far away. They lie upon his bosom always. Such souls as these we have seen. They have the beauty of flowers and their sweet modesty. There are other souls, however, and these are the greater helpers of mankind as a rule, who, like tall oaks, must battle with all the winds of heaven. These greater servants of man, these Redeemers of the world, have not laboured their life long under a clear sky. They have striven in darkness with despair and doubt. Who was it who cried. ‘ Eloi, Eloi, lama sabachthani ? ’ ”

Asked a few years ago whether his views on immortality had undergone any change, “ Only,” he replied, “ as a green apple ripens into red.” Some months before his death he wrote to a favourite pupil: “ All the same (i.e. in spite of his suffering) *the ardour of my faith* is unabated in the overwhelming loving kindness of Him who has us in His charge. And you can drink deep of the living-well—its waters fall no lower.” When at last the end came, he “ marched breast forward ” with the triumphant cry on his lips: “ The Lord reigneth, let the earth rejoice.”

His grave is reached over a moorland road among the Argyllshire hills and there the Lady who was his “ peace and strength during the last forty years ” and who knew him best has planted two roses, one white called “ Peace ” and one red for “ Victory.”

Speaking at his graveside his friend and colleague Professor MacNeile Dixon bade him farewell and we cannot better close than in his parting words :

“ When the Greek poet Aeschylus, the thrice crowned victor in tragic drama, wrote, in later life, his own epitaph, he made no mention of the works which had placed him among the chief poets of his time. He chose rather to recall, with pardonable

pride, his soldiership at Marathon. And I am persuaded that our friend would have preferred to have it said of him that he was a great citizen than a great philosopher. He had burningly at heart the welfare of his fellows. Not that knowledge was a pleasurable pursuit, for its rewards, nor for its own sake, but rather as a means whereby the welfare of the world might be advanced—that was his philosophic creed. If he was a man of books, he was still more a man of action. If he was an ardent student, he was still more an ardent soldier, and I cannot think of juster words to use of him than the words Heine used of himself—"Lay upon my coffin a sword, for I was a good soldier in the liberation-war of humanity". Brave hearts like him do not ask for the tribute of lamentation Virtue and valour are not so much to be mourned as to be remembered and imitated. Ave atque vale".

THE CHIEF PUBLISHED WORKS OF SIR HENRY JONES.

- 1883.—The Social Organism in "Essays in Philosophical Criticism".
- 1888.—On some of the social and economical aspects of the land question in Wales.
- 1891.—Browning as a Philosophic and Religious Teacher.
- 1892.—The nature and aims of philosophy.
- 1894.—Browning as a Dramatic Poet. (Boston Browning Society).
- „ The Philosophy of Lotze.
- 1896.—Principal Caird. An Address.
- 1905.—Y Diwygiad: A'r hyn eill ddod o hono.
- „ The University of Wales: The Line of its Growth.
- „ The Immortality of the Soul in Tennyson and Browning.
- 1906.—Francis Hutcheson: A Discourse.
- 1909.—Idealism as a Practical Creed.
- 1910.—The Working Faith of a Social Reformer.
- 1911.—Dinasyddiaeth bur ac areithiau eraill.
- 1913.—Social Powers: Three Popular Lectures on the Environment, the Press and the Pulpit.
- 1915.—Philosophical Landmarks. (Three Lectures at the Rice Institute, Houston, Texas).
- 1917.—The War and Morality (in "Ethical and Religious Problems of the War"). The Education of the Citizen (in the "Round Table").
- 1918.—The Principles of Citizenship.
- 1918.—A League of Learning.
- „ The Obligations and Privileges of Citizenship: A Plea for the Study of Social Science. (The Rice Institute Pamphlet, vol. vi).
- 1919.—The Idealism of Jesus. (Hibbert Journal, 1909).
- 1922.—A Faith that Enquires. (The Gifford Lectures).

A Faith that Enquires : Sir Henry Jones and His Works.

BY THE REV. J. PULESTON JONES, M.A. (OXON).

DESCRIPTION AND SKETCH.

THIS volume¹ contains the matured religious philosophy of its author. He who reads it may feel sure that he has touched most of the ruling ideas of Sir Henry's thought. He would of course find some of them expounded more fully in other works; but most of them are here. The three books which give the completest compendium of his views for popular purposes are—his *Browning as a Philosophic and Religious Teacher* (1891), *The Working Faith of a Social Reformer* (1910), and this last (*A Faith that Enquires*). His book on Lotze's *Critique of Judgment* (1895), is more a book for experts. Not that it is obscure—Henry Jones was never obscure—but it is close reading, and requires for its appreciation a certain amount of knowledge beyond what the volume itself supplies. The three popular books named give us, in a style which is arresting and fascinating, the Author's convictions on some of the weightiest matters that have ever engaged the mind of man.

He was buoyed up in the long and painful fight with disease, by the belief that he would live to finish these Lectures. His confidence was justified; and although it prolonged the agony of the conflict, it is matter for unfeigned thankfulness that we have the message of a great man's life preserved for us in the form which he himself wished to give it. There cannot be a better summary of the book than that which he himself has given in the closing lecture.

“You have probably observed that the course falls

¹ *A Faith that Enquires*. The Gifford Lectures delivered in the University of Glasgow, in the years 1920 and -21, by Sir Henry Jones. Macmillan & Co., Ltd., St. Martin's Street, London. 1922.

into three parts. In the first part we dealt with the obstacles in the way of enquiry into the validity of our religious creeds by the frank, and severe, and free methods of science. In the second part I expressed, as unsparingly as I could, the antagonism between the religious and the secular life. I considered carefully the apparent irreconcilable opposition of morality and religion, pointed out the erroneous conceptions from which the contradiction arose, and finally, indicated the principle and method by which alone that contradiction could be solved. In the last part we were engaged with the conception of the God of Religion and his relation to the finite world, and especially to man; and we identified him with the Absolute of philosophy. The result seemed to be to prove that reason comes to the support of the religion which is enlightened". Enquiry, if free and thorough, will demonstrate the validity of our religious faith (p. 349-50).

There you have the aim and contents of the book in a very concise form—religion like everything else a subject of enquiry, morality and religion reconciled, and the God of religion identified with the Absolute of philosophy.

It were presumption on the part of a reviewer to venture on a comparison of these Lectures with other works in the same field; but most students, one ventures to think, will find them easier to read and easier to remember than those of Professor Pringle-Pattison and Professor Sorley in the same series. We have here greater power of exposition, more literary fervour, more zeal for the subject, more repetition; and in handling matters of this sort repetition is a virtue and not a vice. Perhaps the one point, on the literary side, in which Sir Henry is second to some of his compeers is the fact that in his writings the philosophy is, if anything, too much in evidence. The rock is almost always rather near the surface, and often protrudes. Which of these three courses of Gifford Lectures is the richest contribution to religious philosophy, it is too soon to ask and too difficult to answer; and it is a question which every man will decide to some extent, in accordance with his own philosophic leanings. But in the power of driving his points home, and of leaving a clean-cut and ineffaceable mark on the mind, Henry Jones is second to none. It is strange indeed how little there is here to indicate weariness, or

failing vigour, and how little of the feverish haste which sometimes marks work done under pressure of any kind, specially the pressure of great suffering. If the Author makes a rapier thrust, he does it with as much energy and dexterity as he would have done it twenty years ago, and in as good-humoured a style as if he had known suffering only by hear-say.

SURE OF HIS OWN SYSTEM.

It is one of the great distinctions of this book that the Author has found his way to sure and satisfying convictions. The certainty, amounting almost to dogmatism, with which he speaks acts on the reader like a tonic. The clearness and firmness of his convictions has impressed itself upon the arrangement of his book. The fashion with recent writers on philosophy, and even on theology, in the English-speaking world, has been to begin with a sketch, and perhaps a criticism, of other writers old and new. And then, if the author has any space left, he devotes a chapter or two at the very end to letting you know how he himself would have liked to treat the subject. Henry Jones, on the contrary, begins at once by telling us whither he wants to lead us. Criticism of others comes in incidentally, and is always, not only penetrating but appreciative, but he has made up his own mind, and lets you know it from the very first. When he preaches optimism, or love, or the personality of God, or when he exposes the hollowness of a sceptical objection, he does it with as much assurance and downrightness of accent, as if he were discussing a disputed point in history, or talking party politics. It is something to read a man who speaks on ultimate truth with the same confidence with which an average writer handles the questions of the hour. He carries you off your feet with the sweep of his eloquence.

EXPOSITION RATHER THAN A NEW DEPARTURE.

For people who wish to study idealism in a popular form—and one would like to hope that they are a growing number—the writers to start with would be Dean Rashdall, and Josiah Royce, and Henry Jones.

How Henry Jones's work will compare with that of others in the same field it is too soon to hazard a guess.

If he had followed his volume on Lotze's *Critique of Judgment*, as he intended, with another on the metaphysics of Lotze, would he have given us a new form of idealism, like Professor McTaggart, or like Mr. F. H. Bradley, it is idle to speculate. His second volume on Lotze, the one on the metaphysics proper, never appeared. He left the work of assigning to Lotze his place in philosophy to another Welsh philosopher, the Vicar of Dolfor, a writer who deserves to be much better known than he has hitherto been. Sir Henry contented himself in the main with making new applications of Hegelian idealism, leaving the main body of the doctrine where it had been left by Edward Caird and Thomas Hill Green.

PRELIMINARIES AND THE CRITERION OF TRUTH.

Though Henry Jones wastes no time in sketching the history of his subject, he too is fond enough of introduction, long preliminaries being almost one of his temptations. When he lived at Bangor, he visited Cefn y Waen, Arfon, to deliver a lecture on Socrates. The Lecturer cleared the ground by insisting on the value of knowledge, and having once got on to a favourite topic, he spoke upon it with great vigour for two hours, and closed his address with a promise to come and tell them about Socrates another time. The series of seven lectures devoted here to expounding the need of enquiry in religion is perhaps slightly out of proportion, especially now that owing to work done by himself and other great writers people believe vastly more in free enquiry than they did forty years ago. And yet some things in these introductory lectures are wanted even to-day. So inveterate is the tendency in us all to seek refuge under the shelter of some authority. Some of the best modern writers, the late Newton Marshall and Lord Balfour, for example go back to authority in some form, so that it was not needless even now to protest.

But it will be asked, since Henry Jones rejects the authority of a Book, and of a Church, and of a central deposit of Gospel truth, what for him is the criterion of truth. He does not even avail himself of the mystic's clue—an inner assurance or an unreasoned intuition. In Lecture VI we are taught that experience is a personal matter—one part of it as good or as worthless as another

until it has been sifted and cross-examined (See p. 92). Lecture VI is very important in the argument, and very fresh. Whoso wishes to master the book should read this Lecture over and over, and learn some sentences of it by heart. I suppose the Author would hardly accept without qualification the test suggested by William James of Harvard: "I know that a thing is true, because something gives a click inside me". And yet it is in that way that very many people discover what is true. This indeed Sir Henry would hardly have denied; but he would have denied vehemently that it was any such experience that gave them the right to believe it. The method of discovering truth is one thing, the method of assuring ourselves that it is the truth quite another. What, for him then, decides this latter question? The fact that what is presented to us as true matches what we know to be true already and fits in with it. Truth is a system; that system we partly know; and if any new piece of knowledge comes in our way, and we find that it takes its place in this system, we call it true. "It is its own intrinsic content and systematic wholeness which gives to Truth all the certainty it can have" (p. 56). A man may have a very vivid experience of what turns out upon examination to be a mistake. It is the place of an idea in our system of ideas that must determine whether it is true or false. Now if a man be astronomer enough, and mathematician enough to risk the voyage of discovery without chart or compass, it cannot be denied that his enterprise is a heroic one. But can we take the risk? or is there some test which is normally more available for the average of mankind? To borrow Green's illustration on this very point, can we find some criterion which will satisfy us, not only on the Sundays of speculation, but on the week-days of ordinary work?

To answer this question we must look a little closer at Sir Henry's own system, for it is one of the most perfect yet devised. If system can preserve us from error, we do not often have a better chance of escaping than we do here. Criticism, therefore, though to us who owe so much to our great teacher it is bound to be an unwelcome task, is nevertheless imperative and unavoidable; and he, of all authors, would have least desired to be accepted as a guide without criticism. The system he adopted, and did so much to expound and to improve and to apply is one

which challenges criticism; for it is one of the completest attempts ever known to trace the architectural symmetry of things. What the Professor himself says of the perfection of God is equally true of the system by which he explains that perfection: "One genuine failure of the good, in any one single life, deprives us of the right to be convinced of the divine perfection which we deem to be essential to religion" (p. 337). The Author's philosophy lays claim to such perfection, that the slightest flaw would be fatal to its working. The compact edifice reminds one of what George Tyrrell said concerning the Church of Rome: (I do not pretend to quote the exact words) "Other and less firmly compacted systems might lose a limb and survive; but Rome would bleed to death if she lost her little finger".

HENRY JONES'S SYSTEM.

What then is this system? Briefly and very inadequately this. There are certain aspects of human experience which assert and re-assert themselves. No criticism succeeds in permanently dissolving them. They are self evident, final, incontestable. Some reckon these axioms, or postulates—call them which you will—to be four in number—the useful, the beautiful, the true, the good. Others reckon three ultimates—the beautiful, the true, the good. Henry Jones insists that they are at least two, the true and the good. These claim our allegiance unreservedly. From their call there is no appeal. It is the thirst for these that accounts for the progress of which man, whether socially or individually, is capable. The good is the main spring of morality, the true the main spring of religion. But although we must take for granted that both these are essential to perfection, still, as revealed in religion and morality, they often appear to conflict. The apparent discrepancy must neither be denied nor minimised. Indeed Sir Henry takes no small pains to stretch out the antithesis to its widest bounds. He maintains, as is most just, that the one must not be sacrificed in the supposed interests of the other, the good for the true, or the true for the good. Each has claims of its own, and to ignore those of either is to lose the track.

Morality and religion both alike take for granted that there is such a thing as perfection; but in the quest of

perfection, religion seems always to succeed, morality always to fail. Morality seems never to attain its end, while religion always assumes that its end is there, that perfection is realised and at hand. In fact, in its crudest forms even, it is never satisfied with anything less. The meanest religions that have wielded any power over men, clothe their deities for the time being with certain absolute rights. A sound philosophy should unite these two. It does so in two ways—(1) by showing that morality is not a complete failure (2) by showing that the perfection which religion adores is not that static perfection which some love to contemplate, but a perfection moving on to higher heights and deeper depths, a perfection which is always revealing itself in new forms, and always realising itself by so doing. The world-process is the perfection; and perfection exists not apart from the process in which it is revealed. There! that sounds rather like a sentence of Sir Henry's own.

And, although no part of the universe, physical or moral, ever reaches such a perfection as can never be exceeded, the order of nature on the one hand, and man on the other, are constantly achieving such perfection as was possible under the given circumstances. This means, of course, that the world-process and the Absolute are necessary to one another. There is no God without a world, any more than there is a world without a God (See p. 274).

The difficulty which at once arises is: wherein lies the difference between God and the world? The answer given is this: "As an Absolute selfconsciousness, and as knowing the end from the beginning, God is more than the world-process. That process fulfils his purpose. But God, as having purposed the process from the beginning, or as not acting blindly, not knowing what he doeth, is greater than and transcends the Universe. He is already perfect and possesses the future, for it is his will which is being realised in the world" (p. 271).

So far from its being the case that the opposition between morality and religion is final and irreconcilable, if we look deeper we see that the true and the good minister to one another. It is this discovery of a true philosophy that justifies both creation and providence. This is a world whose crowning design is the production of character. On this point Sir Henry comes to precisely

the same conclusion with Professor Pringle-Pattison. This is Sir Henry's summing-up. "Should it happen that the present world, abandoned to itself as it seems to be, and full of inequalities—wealth, health, the respect of men, and every form of prosperity, and their opposites, distributed without any reference to the deserts of men—should it happen that it furnishes to mankind as a whole the best opportunity for learning goodness, then the sceptical condemnation of it, and the denial of the existence and perfection of God are wrong. But they are wrong only if a still further condition is fulfilled. They are wrong if the process of learning to do what is right, or, in the language of religion, if 'the service of God' has itself a worth which is neither conditional nor limited" (p. 206).

But while holding so far the same view of God, or, to be more exact, of the Absolute, which is held by the Pantheistic wing of Hegelians such as Mr. Bradley or Mr. Bosanquet, Sir Henry is convinced that this same God who includes all things, and whom all things reveal, is an individual. He finds no difficulty in identifying the personal God of religion with the Absolute of philosophy. Nay, for him the Christian doctrine that God is love seems to require the most thorough-going monism. That doctrine he holds with all the passion of his rich nature. But, while to Mr. McTaggart an Absolute which is love means a republic of spirits, a community of souls, to Sir Henry it meant a person, whose self-conscious life is the life of all. "I cannot call that which does nothing—which for ever stands aloof from the world-process in eternal fixity—God. Such a God could not at least be a God of love, for love identifies the lover and the loved. Love cannot stand aloof: love lives in the life of its object and shares its fate" (p. 271). To him a spiritual principal of unity, which is not personal or individual, is meaningless. "A perfect man were the incarnated God. This is the truth to which Christianity bears witness. The doctrine is undisguisedly and thoroughly anthropomorphic. Its God must therefore be a person or self-conscious individual to whom there is nothing which is finally strange or alien" (p. 268).

For Henry Jones the doctrine that God is love carries as its corollary the immortality of man. A God of love must desire the salvation of all; and inasmuch as many

are, to all seeming, not saved here there must be a future world in which they survive and respond at last to the appeal of love which has ever been seeking them. (See Lecture XIX).

ITS STRONG POINTS AND DIFFICULTIES.

Such in broad outline is the system which a brilliant intellect embraced and fearlessly applied to problems old and new, and defended with the fiery vigour of one of the warmest hearts that ever beat in a human breast. How much of this vital creed was due to the system which gave it shape, and how much of it he owed to the religion he learnt from his parents, it is not easy to say.

Be that as it may it is time to inquire how far the system he maintains is capable of bearing all that he found in it.

At the outset let us admit gratefully, that whether we can subscribe to it or not in all its completeness as a system, the philosophy of Henry Jones has performed services to theory and practice which it is impossible to overprize. As the death-blow to the old materialism, and as an effective answer to current agnosticism, idealism of the type taught by him is finally and irrefragably true. Defenders of man's spiritual life will for a long time probably find some of their best weapons here. And even if the methods of defence and attack do grow obsolete, as so many good things do, this noble philosophy must always stand, like some dismantled fortress, as a monument of the struggle with the hosts of commercial barbarism.

But some questions must be asked ; and under the spell of a great personality, so recently removed from the scene we shall not be tempted to ask them in any spirit of irreverent haste, still less in ungrateful oblivion of the immense service done. The questions are at least two : Is the edifice itself firm ? and does it provide room for all that the Author puts into it ? Perhaps a third should be added : Is it a defect in Sir Henry's philosophy that it fails to make room for some salient aspects of that Christianity of which he was so redoubtable a champion ? Or perhaps he himself would have preferred that we should ask the question in another form : Are those forms of Christianity, which do not find a place in his system really essential to Christianity ?

IS THE EDIFICE FIRM ?

(1) Is the edifice as a system firm ? A structure of this sort should be capable of withstanding every storm. As our Author himself points out, this is truer now than ever it was. And it is truer of the science of religion than of any other science. "The scientific hypothesis applies only to an aspect or a department of what is real and it can be either ratified or rejected by the facts of its own limited field. But a fundamental religious hypothesis is challenged and imperilled from every quarter ; and for the same reason, if it is valid, it is not beyond reach of doubt till it is verified in every quarter" (p. 101). This is what makes it imperative to ask, whether the system propounded here is, in all its parts, one which will bear criticism. There is room for doubt.

Take one example, an example already mentioned, the idea that a world is as necessary to the existence of God as God is to the existence of a world. The one without the other, from the Hegelian point of view, is an abstraction. A God of love cannot be solitary. How is His solitariness to be overcome ? Mr. McTaggart, as we saw, overcomes it by making his Absolute a society of spirits, but not a person. Henry Jones overcomes it by making his God, to use Edward Caird's phrase, essentially self-revealing. Some world God must have, or He could not exist—not this world of course, but some world of objects. Pantheistic idealism requires this, but does pantheism give us such a God as religion presupposes ? Henry Jones maintains that it does. He makes God personal enough to satisfy the most devout ; but can this be maintained ? In other words, can his identification of the Absolute of philosophy with the God of religion be upheld ? The fact that different wings of the Hegelian School have given up the position as untenable shows that the difficulty is real. The Bradleyan School gives it up in favour of a purer pantheism, like that of Spinoza. Professor McTaggart's scheme gives it up in favour of a society of souls. Henry Jones clings to it, as does Royce ; but have they a right to do so from their point of view ? Can a God who is merely personal or individual be also infinite and all-inclusive. Can He be all that on the assumption that He is also a God of love ? The Fathers of the Church made room for these ideas, so essential to

religion as Sir Henry himself shows, by building up its doctrine of the Trinity. The famous saying of Augustine will occur to many: "*Amor rogat trinitatem*". Whether love requires a trinity or not, it certainly seems to require a plurality. But what the orthodox find in the Trinity, and what philosophers find, either in a kingdom of selves, or in an Absolute which is simply the unity of all things, this Sir Henry found in a personal God, whose experience includes everything. The only way in which God transcends the universe is by reason of the unity which He gives to it. He is infinite and it is finite, not because the one is dependent and the other necessary, but simply, as it seems, because God is one and the world is manifold. Now is such an Infinite the Infinite which religion requires? One is tempted to apply to it the criticism which Sir Henry himself applied to his friend Lord Balfour. He was once discussing Lord Balfour's agnosticism in philosophy—the agnosticism which some deeply religious men forms one of the reasons for believing in a Revelation by miracle. "If the Infinite", said Henry Jones, "cannot reveal Himself in the finite, then you really have no Infinite at all, but only two finites, a little finite and a big finite".¹ What is a God who is dependent for his perfection, nay, for His very existence, on the process in which He expresses Himself, but a bigger finite alongside of a smaller. Is not the unity of both the real Infinite, on this assumption? and are not God and the world simply two sides of the all-inclusive unity, and are they not thus two finites, rather than an Infinite One over against a finite manifold? Such a God only comes to self-consciousness in and through the world in which He is revealed. Does not the Infinite which religion posits, if it be indeed infinitude of love, mean a God who has all perfection independently of what reveals Him a God who is a society as well as a person? Does not His power of making all beings one in Himself depend on the fact that He is already, by the eternal necessity of His being, the unity of Father and Son through the Spirit?

DOES IT MAKE ROOM FOR ALL HE WANTS?

But (2) admitting, for argument's sake, that Sir Henry's system is firm and stable in the sense of being

¹ Lecture delivered at the Guild Hall, Carnarvon.

self consistent, does it really make room for all that he wishes to include in it ?

If one may presume to say so, it appears that, in his anxiety to include in his own creed the strong points of creeds not his own—a desire most laudable in itself—Henry Jones has strained his own doctrine to a point beyond its powers. You could hold parts of his creed perfectly well ; but I doubt whether it yields legitimately all that he would like to find in it. Like another great writer of the same school, Josiah Royce, he seems some times eager to show, that whatever elements of truth there are in Schiller and William James, he too can produce on his own premises. It is as if you called at a shop, and asked for something which is to be obtained over the way, and received the prompt reply : “ No, I’m sorry, Sir ; but we could get it you ”.

It appears to me that Sir Henry does not make room for all he expects his system to guarantee ; and the fact that he does not, though it discloses some weakness in the system, makes him a greater man. Like so many other great teachers he towers above his own system. Though he refuses to base theory on intuition, his own intuitions carry him beyond the strict limits of his doctrine. When a man has embraced a system of ideas, it is very natural to believe so much in it, that he sees in it more than an outsider would. Some points in popular Christianity are admitted and upheld which many Hegelians would reject. But it makes Henry Jones’s teaching richer than theirs, it remains a question still, whether their version of idealism is not more consistent with the presuppositions from which both he and they started.

For example, his criticism of those idealists who, like Mr. Bradley, deny a personal God is penetrating and unsparring. “ It seems to me obvious ”, he says, “ that an Absolute which is not a person, that is, not a self-conscious individual, could not be immanent in a world of objects, or reveal itself in its processes ” (p. 322). From the standpoint of theism, of course, this criticism of the Bradleyan philosophy is perfectly and profoundly true ; for principles do not hover in the air. They are not ether-waves. Principles, as far as we know, can only subsist in persons ; and therefore the fundamental principle which unites all things, and gives meaning to the process of the universe and to every part of it, must have

for its home a supreme individual consciousness. But will this idea of a personal God cohere with the doctrine of a God who exists in the process of creation, and not in any sense outside it or beyond it? perhaps it would be too much to say that the world-process thus described, in which Sir Henry Jones, as we have seen, believes, exhausts the life of God, for God is eternal, and may reveal Himself successively in several world-processes. But it is not too much to say, that God, according to this theory exists only in such a process, or series of processes. He does not even know Himself save through the process which reveals Him. It will appear to many readers that Bradleyan pantheism fits this idea of a world-process, which is just the counterpart of God, better than that of a personal God who is both self-conscious and moral.

Or take again the doctrine of sin. On this particular doctrine the one feature of thorough-going Hegelianism noticeable here is that the Author speaks less, much less of sin than of other forms of evil. Physical evils—afflictions, disappointments, etc., fill far more space on the canvas than moral evil. Popular criticism of the Hegelian standpoint always concentrates on this feature. But it is only fair to admit that Sir Henry Jones is less open even to this charge than any other Hegelian known to me. Royce is the one who most resembles him in this respect, but he goes beyond Royce in his insistence on the positive meaning of sin. It is the ordinary fashion with writers of this school to treat sin as good in the making. Professor McTaggart, for instance, thinks that perhaps, in some higher stage of existence, we shall look back upon a night's drunken debauch as we do now on a pillow-fight in our school days. But to Henry Jones sin is something much worse than an imperfect form of the good. "I in no wise seek to justify evil. I cannot maintain that in itself it is a form of the good; under no circumstances can it be changed into good. But I leave room for it; for I recognise that in this instance the striving for the aim is the attainment of it, the battle is the victory. The process of learning to do what is right is the spiritual excellence we are seeking" (p. 355). But what becomes of the Hegelian position on those terms? Royce's view, that sin is a part of God, just as the lower nature is part of a good man, agrees, it seems to me, much better with Hegelian pantheism. It would be easy

to criticise that doctrine too, and many of us will find it impossible to accept it, but it cannot be denied that, for mere consistency with the Hegelian system, it must be preferred to the view of our own distinguished countryman. We shall pin our faith, on this question, to Henry Jones; but as a matter of consistency, the view of the American teacher matches pure Hegelianism much better.

In my next example I feel less confident, but I may be pardoned for raising the point: Is the extreme value which Sir Henry attributes to freedom, and the fulness of meaning he gives to it, consistent with his uncompromising belief in the absoluteness of the world-process, or, as the theologians would put it, in the completeness of God's rule over all things? One would heartily like him to be right here, for the opposite conclusion leads to pluralism; and pluralism, though it makes room for the moral life easily, creates a great difficulty for religion. But is there complete consistency here? On the one hand our Author maintains the imperative need of freedom. "With all its errors," he says, "deism taught one permanent truth, or at least implied it, the truth that the moral life must be wholly entrusted to the moral agent; and that if man is here to learn goodness, or if the meaning of his life and the purpose of his world is, as we have assumed, ultimately ethical, then he must be left to carry out the ethical experiment in his own way" (p. 223). "The occasional well-meaning interventions of a benevolent but ordinarily uninterested deity becomes not only absurd, but obstructive" (p. 226). "There must be no providential interventions" (p. 226). On the other hand he maintains with equal emphasis the most thorough-going Calvinism. The heading of Lecture XVII is "Contingencies", and he comes to the conclusion that there are none. And the moral agent is as little exempt from the sway of the universal order as anything else. "Mankind is as much a natural growth as a forest of pines" (p. 266). "The Absolute is not at all if it be not all-comprehensive" (p. 312). The solution which Henry Jones provides is probably the best ever proposed; and it is one of the outstanding glories of modern idealism that it provides a point of view from which there is at least a chance of reconciling freedom and determinism. "Freedom does not imply severance from the world; that severance means helplessness; man is free not from his world, but by means

of his world. His world is the partner of his spiritual enterprises, and he achieves in the degree in which he liberates the truest meaning and highest possibilities of the universe" (p. 145). But is this a really effective solution? Is there the freedom that morality requires in a world where there are no contingencies, where nothing happens which might have happened otherwise, where everything happens by necessity in obedience to a fixed order? As I have said, I should like to answer, Yes with Sir Henry Jones, but I am not quite sure that I am entitled to do so; and the suspicion once more arises, that he has yielded to the promptings of his finely-tuned moral nature, and adopted conclusions which his avowed premises do not warrant.

Thus instances may be found, (and one anticipates that possibly this will be the line which criticism of this philosophy will take,) where too much weight is put upon the logic of the system proposed, and where the Professor follows the dictates of imperative instincts to a point beyond what the system affords. Three of these instances we have touched upon—the conflict between freedom and determinism, the doctrine of sin, and the doctrine of a personal God. To fail or to seem to fail at this point is the risk taken by any philosopher to the extent that his system claims to be all-inclusive. Herbert Spencer's system had crumbled by its own weight before the end of his own life. Nobler systems, like that of Hegel, have been criticised from all sides, and most of all by their own defenders. Even Plato has been followed implicitly by but a very few; and yet in important respects most of the best philosophers, and many of the best poets, have been Platonists whether they knew it or not. And the system-builders, from Plato down, though their scheme in any particular case may not have been adopted in their entirety, have nevertheless, given an impulse and a stimulus to thought which is yet unspent.

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN SIR HENRY AND THE CHURCHES.

(3) But what of those doctrines of Christianity for which Sir Henry makes no room in his system? For the difference between his version of the Gospel and the one popularly received will be obvious to all. He does give a half poetic meaning to some of these, a meaning which

often arrests and bewitches the reader; but when you strip them of their poetic dress you cannot help feeling that the difference between them and the common versions of Christianity is palpable enough.

First and foremost, he differs from Church theologians in his idea of forgiveness. Not that his description of forgiveness leaves anything to be desired from the Church point of view. "The religious spirit can be content to escape from the world for the sake of being one with its God. It has no direct concern in anything except the redemption of the soul, and once the assurance is reached that the sin has been forgiven, the sin passes out of sight, and is as if it had never been." (p. 263). But the place our Author assigns to forgiveness is less than secondary; and, a still wider departure from popular theology, he does not connect it at all with the work of Christ. What has been called mediatorial religion has no special value for him. Christ is our Saviour because He reveals the Redeemer God, not specially by reason of the particular experiences of temptation, death, and resurrection, through which He passed.

Closely allied to this is the difference in his view of the Redeemer's person. Jesus was the supreme revelation of God. But inasmuch as Henry Jones's idea of God is a God who is one with the process of creation, it would be grossly unfair to assert that he denied the Divinity of Jesus, especially when he so passionately affirms the fatherhood of God and the supremacy, nay, the omnipotence of love.

Yet another example of the difference, his denial of the doctrine of special providences carries him very near to denying the specifically Christian doctrine of grace. The view quoted above, that there are no providential interferences would seem to imply that the help God gives men to be good is not a special help in response to specific needs as they arise, but rather a force, or if you like, an element, which presses evenly at all times and at all points. His objection to a special providence is that it is a virtual denial of the constant presence of God. "It is obvious that the demand for the intervention of a divine being in special circumstances implies his non-intervention in ordinary times" (p. 222). Now is this objection sound? It appears to me not. It ignores the possibility of degrees of intervention, a possibility which Sir Henry

himself, and all idealists of his school admit. They would say with one voice, for example, that God is more fully revealed in man than in nature, and in the good man than in the sensualist or the worldling. A sentence already quoted is enough for the present purpose: "A perfect man were the incarnated God" (p. 268). Now if that be so, if God makes Himself known in some species more than in others, and in some classes better than in others, it only requires a step further to admit that he reveals Himself to individuals in a special sense and at special times. We can admit this without denying that He is present everywhere and never absent. But here again we must be on our guard against attributing to the Professor a categorical denial of the doctrine of grace in all its forms. He protests definitely against such a perversion of his view. "I do not in the least mean to imply the severance of morality from religion, or man from God, or that in the pursuit of moral ends man is thrown upon his own resources. . . . Man possesses no resources which are his in any exclusive sense. He is a debtor to that which went before him and to that which works all round him for all that he is and all that he possesses. He is as much the product of the world as a fruit-tree" (p. 223). But God's grace here is a reservoir of power, always there, to which man may help himself. It is a sort of moving staircase, which is ever going round and round, and you may use it if you like. I suppose Sir Henry would have admitted, if the question had been put in that form, that the moving staircase takes you up faster if you walk upon it than it would if you stood still. He would maintain as strenuously as anyone the importance of co-operating with the moral purpose at work in the world.

CRITICISM NEEDFUL BUT UNFAIR.

It was necessary to offer these criticisms, if only for the sake of clearness, in order to ascertain as nearly as we can what Sir Henry Jones's standpoint is. But I cannot help feeling how hard it is to do justice to a great man's views, when isolated quotations mar the perspective, and when the attempt to define makes you seize upon the prosiest bit in a paragraph, and leave all the poetry behind. I am reminded of what the Professor himself once said to me at Bangor more than thirty years ago.

At the end of some discussion I told him, how his ideas were preached by some of his disciples in crude and distorted shapes from the pulpits of Carnarvonshire. "Yes," he said, "and served up cold." The reader must make allowance for this in all criticisms of such a man. If the warmth and the richness of imagery is gone, the glory is bound to be diminished if not dissolved.

RESULTS INDEPENDENT OF SYSTEM.

Having attempted both statement and criticism, we are now free to devote the remainder of our space to a more pleasing task, that of gathering some, at all events, of the abundant harvest of valuable results which this book affords us. The foremost men in all branches of knowledge are greater than their system; and we can sit at their feet without pinning our faith to every detail of their scheme; and this is not more signally true of any teacher or class of teachers than it is of modern idealists. After due allowance has been made for all the vulnerable points they have exposed to criticism, it is their philosophy which offers the brightest prospect for all that is best in man's experience—poetry, morality, religion. It is the Kantians and the Neo-Kantians, from the days of Coleridge down, who have done most to furnish the Church with weapons against the materialism and the Philistinism of our time. And what is true of idealists as a class is specially true of Sir Henry Jones. He has laid his readers under a heavy debt by giving a tenable meaning to so many ideas which before were held either in deference to tradition and Scripture, or by reason of an intuition which refused to be repressed. And inasmuch as he succeeded better than most philosophers in putting his teaching into popular form, it is safe to predict, that the magazine writers of the next thirty years will go to him for their most available version of the philosophy he represents.

IMPORTANCE OF TRUTH.

(i) One very good example, of course, is the importance of truth. This maintains not only against the authority of tradition, but against the glorification of feeling, which is so common a feature of recent literary art. "Does it not matter for religion whether in truth there is, or is not,

a God, provided you feel as if there were a God?" (p. 21). He lays great stress on the eternal character of truth. "Religion cannot be true now and then or here and there only, any more than mathematics can" (p. 90). Carlyle is known to have been one of his favourite authors; but on this point he parts company with Carlyle. Carlyle's great remedy for uncertainty in matters of truth is action. Important as conduct is, it is no substitute for reasoned conviction. Henry Jones said long ago in conversation, with that intense and measured emphasis so characteristic of him, "This dishonest practical preaching"; by which he meant that kind of preaching—happily less common now than it was then—which takes refuge from doubt in the inculcation of duty. Truth must become indispensable to us. "An object", he says in this book, "is proved real, an idea is proved true, when the denial of it brings consequences which are recognized as too insane to be entertained" (p. 346). Expressed in this form the idealist's criterion seems to the ordinary untrained mind easier of application than the form in which we met with it in another part of the book. To judge of truth by considering how ideas take their place in a system seems to put the quest of speculative truth beyond the reach of all but the choicest experts; but to see the absurdity of denying an idea, and thus to find it true, whether this be done by argument or by intuition, is pretty well within the reach of all. And indeed the possibility of discovering truth by an instinct which responds to it is admitted in places by Sir Henry himself. "Philosophy discovers that religion attains, as at a leap, the results which it itself seeks by toilsome methods" (p. 324). Our Author also admits the poet's right to make discoveries in the realm of truth. "Nor must we think that poetry is pure invention. It is part of the nature of things which the poet sets free" (p. 264). Once, however, the question arises whether a thing is true, it must be answered on grounds of reason. Neither the insight of the poet nor the instinct of the saint will suffice us. Neither emotional excitement at the one pole, nor moral fervour at the other, can excuse us from the labour of fighting our way to truth. What a spiritual tonic such a doctrine is in times when sober thinkers of very high rank teach pragmatism in philosophy and quietism in religion. I think it was in the *Hibbert Journal* that Mr. Margoliouth, years ago, urged

upon us the value of religion on the score of its beauty, apart altogether from the question whether it was true or false. No, truth is not a mere province of the realm of duty, nor of the kingdom of art, either. Truth claims our allegiance in its own right. Of course beauty and utility follow truth. "I cannot admit," says Sir Henry, "that what is theoretically unsatisfactory can be practically effective. We cannot act on ideas which we have detected to be mutually destructive" (p. 325).

PERSONALITY.

(ii) Another theme on which our Author makes very rich contributions is personality. This is a subject which has created endless difficulties for the theologian; and much of the trouble arose from the confusion of the two aspects of personality—the exclusive and the inclusive. It is one of the rare merits of Sir Henry that he does justice to both. Nobody, as we have already seen, attaches more importance to individual liberty. It is to him the very nerve of moral action. Impair or curtail it in any way and the very possibility of character is destroyed. But this insistence on the value of the individual, and of what separates him from all else, gives all the more point and worth to his teaching on the religious value of the opposite aspect—the aspect which has become known to the theological world through Moberley and Illingworth—the aspect of personality which makes it claim as part of itself everything that it can assimilate. "There is," said Sir Henry Jones, in a lecture, about fifteen years ago, "no fact but nourishes man's spirit and minister's to his growth." No apology is needed for quoting somewhat lavishly on this point. It was, until quite recently, a grievously neglected doctrine. "Freedom does not imply severance from the world; severance means helplessness; and man is free, not from his world, but by means of his world. His world is the partner of his spiritual enterprise." (p. 145). "Religion in all its highest forms appears to break down the barriers of the separate and individually responsible personalities" (p. 154). "I shall try to show that religion when it thus implies a love which strengthens individuality and fills it with the spirit of service is reconcilable with morality" (*p. 158). "A man is imperfect, undeveloped, small, in

the degree in which he shuts himself inside himself and treats his personality as exclusive" (p. 167).

It is obvious what a wealth of application this "inclusive idea of personality opens out". In theology one teacher will use it to explain the sacramental idea, another to explain vicarious suffering, and yet another perhaps to illustrate the doctrine of the Trinity—each according to his predilections. It is no part of our present business to justify all or any of these applications, but only to point out how different schools of Christians may find a rich harvest here, by studying ideas which will help them to clear up many a confusion and to solve many a difficulty. To politics, social and international, the idea has been fruitfully applied by Henry Jones himself in his book, "The Working Faith of a Social Reformer". There he applies it to Socialism, to Free Trade and Tariff Reform, etc., etc. He there shows that you do not need to rob the individual in order to make society powerful, or to strengthen one nation at the expense of the rest of the world. Nations and individuals alike live by means of one another. The individual is stronger, not weaker, in a strong society. Here the same idea is applied to religion.

The truth is: The life of society and the life of the individual are not separate areas, fenced off. You cannot damage the one without impairing the other, nor can you improve the one without improving the other. "The more a man enters the life of others, the richer his own life" (p. 323). Life is a partnership; and to the extent that it fails to be a partnership, to that extent it fails to be life. And then too, the higher the goods which form the stock of the partnership, the firmer does this law hold. "I may own a field similar in size and shape and soil to my neighbour's; but his field is not mine nor is mine his. But both of us may acquire knowledge of the same truths, obey the same principles of conduct, entertain the same religious beliefs" (p. 285).

One religious application of the doctrine of personality here advocated, must be mentioned, the dependence of man's moral life on God. In one sense, as we have seen, it might be thought that Henry Jones rejects the orthodox conception of grace—the help which God gives man to be good, and in the form in which it is usually held he does reject it. "There must be no providential interventions," he tells us (p. 226). But to our Author

special providence and special grace are inadmissible, not because what is man's work cannot be God's work too, but because grace and providence are at work everywhere. But whether our Author would, or would not, have been willing that we should use his idea for this purpose, his doctrine of the essentially social character of personality provides us with an excellent formula for expressing the meaning of grace. The individual is not a self-supporting unit, not complete in himself. "The universe throbs in his thinking and willing" (p. 177). A little girl once described a headache in words not unlike these of Sir Henry's. "Your heart", she said, "beats in your eye". "To give ourselves to God is to have God with us and in us" (p. 287). Man does not come into his heritage of freedom and independence save by absorbing something from his world, his environment.

THE FUNCTION OF EXPERIENCE.

(iii) Another and a very good example of the help the book gives us to clear up and to formulate our religious ideas is the function of experience in the formation of our religious judgments. Though Sir Henry insists so constantly on the need of determining everything by pure reason, his "reason" is not pure reason in the abstract sense, but reason enriched by experience. Religion, like every other sphere of life, has its own circle of experiences; and you cannot pronounce judgment on a religious experience at once and without qualification, on the analogy of any lower set of experiences. Henry Jones is as uncompromising on this point as was David Charles Davies. "Presuppositions which would be valid of a merely natural object will only distort the facts about objects which are natural and more (p. 28). "The looker-on at religion, the secular-minded sceptic, must recognize his limits. And I may say quite plainly here that a great deal of the scepticism of the present day is for these reasons not worthy of respect. "Men reject what they have never tried. . . . The affairs of religion are as foreign to them as the computations of higher mathematics, and their judgment of the former has as little value as their knowledge of the latter. . . . They are not within reach of advanced argument either for or against religion" (p. 87-88).

OPTIMISM.

(iv) One more instance will perhaps suffice—Sir Henry Jones's optimism. Every reader has observed how powerfully he was affected by the optimism of Tennyson and Browning. This was made abundantly clear in his first book, the book on Browning. He was, if I mistake not, the first to point out that, on the question of knowledge, Browning was an agnostic; but in spite of this defect in the Poet's metaphysics, he gave Browning a high place among philosophers, as well as among poets, because Browning maintained so unflinchingly the supremacy of love and the optimism which is the corollary of that doctrine. To Henry Jones the Fatherhood of God carries optimism with it as a necessary inference—the ultimate triumph of the good. In the last address I heard from him he pointed out that the fatherhood of God necessarily implied that providence ministered to the ends of redemption. To this standpoint he is, as we have already seen, more than loyal in the present book. "The central article to which I refer is the faith in the omnipotence and limitless love of God" (p. 336). Never was there a time when such optimism, so nobly defended against the worst that the stoutest sceptic could urge, was more needed than it is to-day. Indeed, at a time like ours we are in far greater peril from the cynicisim which leaves everything moral and spiritual an open question than from the denial of any particular dogma of the Faith. And it must be a joy to every honest heart to hear that a book like this is already beginning to be popular.

METHOD OF THE BOOK.

From the above examples, and they might easily be multiplied, it will appear that this book is a mine of instruction, even for those who cannot yet accept Sir Henry's system as a whole. It seems indeed an almost irreverent proceeding to dig out portions of a great teacher's work, and use them in our own way for the furtherance of our own schemes, a proceeding not unlike that of the builders of a modern village, who help themselves to the remains of a noble Roman fortification. But may we not also excavate, rather with the zeal of one who wishes to learn the method of the master-builders, not with the vandalism which treats the stateliest pile simply

as a quarry to use for its own ends? If our purpose be to learn, we shall certainly escape the temptation to hack and hew where we do not understand.

Certainly Sir Henry's method would well repay study even apart from the more solid results which we have been contemplating. He holds that the presuppositions on which religion and morality rest have the same kind of certainty which the truths of science have. Of one of the doctrines here propounded he says: "If you like to call the idea hypothetical conjecture I cannot object. But I would remind you that every other conception that brings order into our experience has the same character" (p. 229). One of the most misguided cries of the hour, without a doubt, is the cry for fact as against theory—for the kind of knowledge which experiment yields. We forget that neither experiment nor experience in this outward sense, can give us anything but the stuff of knowledge, the raw material of learning, not at all the ordered knowledge which we seek. There theory must come in. "While religious hypothesis, like all others, is never finally proved, it is always and everywhere in the act of being proved. It is the one thing that is being done throughout creation. It is the experiment—the Grand Perhaps of the Universe, on which both nature and spirit are engaged" (p. 103). The demonstration is never complete, but, like gravitation or evolution, the hypothesis gains in conclusiveness every day. The triumph of the good, the unique value of religious experience, the meaning of personality, and the vital importance of truth, are doctrines whose vindication will never be complete; but the assurance of their truth is continually growing.

And Sir Henry would be the last to ignore the value of action as a test of truth. He quotes repeatedly, with approval, the saying "A thing is what it does". So that he accepts what is most precious and convincing in pragmatism. "It is a soldier who has seen active service who is entitled to dogmatize on the War." And, says Sir Henry, "It was verily no carpet knight who challenged the powers and cried, 'Who shall separate us from the love of Christ?'" (p. 922).

VERY FEW MISTAKES.

In conclusion we congratulate those who undertook to

see this work through the press. One takes for granted that this cannot all have been done by the Author himself without assistance. And yet the book was published a very short time after he was taken from us, and produced in a form worthy of its contents and of the genius of its Author. As far as I have observed, only a very few slips in diction have escaped uncorrected. Here is one on page 176. "This is the problem which we must now ask." What was intended was, doubtless, *examine*, or perhaps *solve*. Probably the word *not* has been left out in a sentence on page 322. "Now these two aspects seem to Mr. Bradley to be not only opposites but contradictory, and therefore could be reconciled or even held simultaneously." This, surely, ought to have read: "could *not* be reconciled, etc." But it is surprising how little of anything of this sort has passed over the Censor's table.

It is a rare combination this, of a philosopher writing with complete mastery of his subject, and the literary artist. He writes with the ease and lightness of touch which might characterise an author unembarrassed by a load of technical knowledge; and yet his vigilance is such, and his grasp of his subject so clear, that with all his wealth of metaphor and illustration, he is never at the mercy of his own rhetoric.

Sir Henry Jones.¹

A NOTE BY E. VINCENT EVANS.

WHILE the foregoing pages were going through the press, the well-known publishing house of Hodder and Stoughton, Limited, issued under the title of "Old Memories", a remarkable little volume containing the first chapters of Sir Henry Jones' *Autobiography*. Mr. Thomas Jones, the writer of the "Appreciation", which appears here (see pp. 171-182), in a brief introduction to the volume, states that Sir Henry's main object in writing these *Old Memories* was to leave behind, for the encouragement of the youth of Wales and Scotland in particular, the story of his struggle for education. It was written during the last two years of his life as a relaxation from the more arduous task of preparing the Gifford Lectures since published under the title "*A Faith that Enquires*" (see pp. 183-207 for a review of this work by the Rev. J. Puleston Jones). The record of what was in reality a great life-struggle is told with delightful simplicity and unwonted candour. Within its brief compass it contains a vivid and an accurate picture of rural life in Wales during the greater part of the nineteenth century. The story graphically told by Sir Henry Jones is the plain story of the struggles of many Welsh youths who with toilsome but ever-climbing steps aspire to reach the topmost heights of learning and culture. As such it is not only a contribution to the social history of Wales in the last century, but an inspirational study that will help young Welshmen onward and upward for generations to come. Sir Henry's story is not carried further than his appointment (in 1894) to the Chair of Moral Philosophy in the University of Glasgow in succession to his intimate friend Edward Caird, who had accepted an invitation to the Mastership of Balliol College, Oxford. It is good to know that there remains much material for the fuller Biography which is now in preparation. The author dedicates his book "to my beloved wife, my strength and my peace during the last forty years".

¹ *Old Memories*: *Autobiography* by Sir Henry Jones, C.H., late Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Glasgow, edited by Thomas Jones, M.A., LL.D.: Hodder and Stoughton, Limited, London. 5/- net.



W. LLEWELYN WILLIAMS, K.C., B.C.L.

Member of the Council of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion,
Recorder of Cardiff, 1915-1922. Member of Parliament, 1906-1918

Born 10 March, 1867. Died 22 April, 1922

Llewelyn Williams, K.C.

AN APPRECIATION

By J. ARTHUR PRICE, M.A., (BARRISTER-AT-LAW).

LLEWELYN WILLIAMS was, in my opinion, one of the most interesting and gifted Welshmen of his generation. He had associations with every phase of Welsh life and almost with every phase of Welsh intellectual activity. Politician, journalist, poet, lawyer, novelist, historian, deeply interested in religious controversies, it may be said of him in the words of Matthew Arnold, that he saw the life of his country steadily, and saw it whole. By birth he came of a peasant farming stock, and was brought up a Congregationalist. But he was educated at Llandovery, perhaps the most strictly denominational of the grammar schools of the established Church and thence he passed to an Oxford College with somewhat reactionary traditions, Brasenose. It did not then seem improbable that he would take holy orders in the established Church. Things turned out differently. Williams left Oxford having attained the distinction of a proxima accessit to the Stanhope essay, and a second class (which narrowly missed being a first in the History School. He was soon heard of as a journalist in South Wales, and in the *South Wales Star* he first preached his gospel of Welsh Nationalism. He had chosen his path and in that path he walked as a politician steadfastly to the end. It becomes, therefore, necessary to enter at some length into the subject of his political views. Still I do this with some hesitation. The *Cymmrodor* is a non-political magazine,¹ and it is not easy to enter into Williams' political views without raising awkward questions of party and national politics. As one

¹ We wish to emphasise the non-political character of *Y Cymmrodor*, and of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, but Mr. Arthur Price in this article deals with politics from a social and historical standpoint, and does not, in our opinion, transgress the rule as to the introduction of political controversies.—[Ed.]

attempts the task, the warning of old Horace rings in one's ears:

“Incedis pir ignes
Suppositos cineri doloso”.

Yet, on the other hand, to write of Williams and to ignore his politics, closely linked as they were with his historical and poetical writings, would be in the words of the hackneyed simile to write the play of Hamlet with the omission of the character of the Prince of Denmark. I shall endeavour, however, in treating of Williams the politician to avoid as far as possible any reference to other politicians of his time. I shall probably surprise my readers, when I tell them that Williams once described himself to me as a “misunderstood Conservative”. Nevertheless I think that the statement was perfectly true. When, however, I say that he was a Conservative, I do not imply that he was a Tory. His politics, and they were carefully thought out, represented the Whig Conservatism of Edmund Burke, adapted in some measure to the more democratic atmosphere of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. He was a strong Nationalist. He was a passionate enthusiast for individual and national liberty. That he should oppose Conscription and D.O.R.A. at the time of the war was on his principles inevitable. His separation from his old leader, the late Prime Minister, was as inevitable as was the parting of Burke and Fox at the crisis of the French Revolution. It may not have been necessary, either with Burke or Williams, that the separation should have been accompanied with a loss of personal friendship, but it was impossible that, in either case, the man open to new ideas should walk with the man whose political philosophy was based on the ideals of the past. The remarkable fact about Williams as a politician was that new ideas made little appeal to him. Like his master Burke, he was an admirer of the party system of Government. For the ideals of the Labour party he had nothing but contempt. He believed to the last in individualism and Free Trade, and his solution of the Land question was the increase of the number of landowners. If one could have imagined in the post-war days Bolshevism raising its head in the Welsh valleys, as it raised it in Russia, it would have found in the some time Member for the Carmarthen Boroughs as

deadly an opponent as French Jacobinism encountered in Edmund Burke. So far as I know, no great social change ever appealed to him. By marriage he was closely connected with adherents of the woman suffrage cause, but he gave to it only the most languid support. There were, indeed, certain questions on which he seemed to take an extremely Radical position, but in every case he could justify his position by arguments that an eighteenth century Whig like Burke would have understood, if he would not have accepted. Take for instance, the question of Welsh Disestablishment. No one would, I suppose, now say that Welsh Disestablishment was, in its origin, a Welsh Nationalist movement. Pugh of Mostyn, Henry Richard and other pioneers of the cause objected on religious principles to Church establishment. A separate measure for Wales was suggested chiefly because a general measure of Disestablishment was not practical politics. Llewelyn Williams gave a lukewarm adhesion to the religious argument. But it did not greatly appeal to him. On the contrary he was enormously impressed with the historical case for the established Church. Its historical continuity impressed him as it had impressed Burke of yore. "The English parson has his faults" I once heard him say, "but he has always been an English Nationalist". He set himself, however, to study Welsh history, and he came to the conclusion, I will not say rightly or wrongly, that the established Church in Wales had nearly always been anti-national. From the the days of Giraldus Cambrensis to his own time, he saw, or thought he saw, that in every age the established Church had been leagued with the oppressors against the people of Wales. For this reason he supported Disestablishment. He held that only when the Welsh Church was separated from the English State could it play a useful part in Welsh life. This sentiment was the inspiration of his long crusade on the question, and of most of his important speeches in the House of Commons. Even Liberal Churchmen like Mr. Masterman were surprised at the intense emphasis which he laid on the historical aspects of the question in his Parliamentary speeches. They could not see that in so doing he was justifying his cause from the standpoint of true Conservatism.

In regard to Welsh Home Rule which found in him one of its earliest and most sincere advocates, his

position was not dissimilar. Welsh Home Rule has been advocated by various supporters on different grounds. Some have championed it in the belief that it would enable Wales to carry out certain Radical or Temperance or Labour reforms that English Conservatism rejects. Others have justified it on the ground that Wales has as much right to Parliamentary independence as Ireland. Williams looked at the question from a more historical standpoint. He often quoted the line of Mr. Justice O'Hagan (in his youth one of the "Young Ireland Poets"), "There never lived a nation yet that ruled another well".

He saw that Wales, politically and socially, was a different nation to England, and he claimed for her the right of self government in local matters that she might develop her own life. The position he deemed to be essentially a Conservative one, and the present attitude of a Conservative Government to Ireland's claims, lends some countenance to his views. But though a Home Ruler he was not even in theory a separatist. No man appreciated more warmly than he did the part that Wales had played in the building up of the British Empire, and in that Empire he claimed for Wales a share. Federalism of course was his ideal. The Irish Home Rule cause had in him from the first one of its warmest friends. On questions of foreign politics, Williams was always a strong friend of liberty. He saw eye to eye with Mr. Lloyd George on the South African War, and spoke, before he was returned to the House, for the Boers, as Burke and Fox spoke for America. To European problems he brought the sentiments of one who had studied history under Oxford guides, and accepted the pro-Teutonic views of Stubbs and Freeman. France he disliked. "There are two nations, not one, in France", he would say, "the Frank and the Gaul. The Gaul is a very decent fellow, but the Frank is a tyrant". The intense centralisation of France, which refused to recognise the national rights of Brittany, annoyed him. He was a student of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, not of the eighteenth, and France to him was still the France of the Valois, the Medici and St. Bartholomew. Germany, the country of the Reformation, on the contrary appealed to him. For Belgium or rather for the Flemish portion of Belgium, on the other hand, he had an intense admiration. He was the first person who drew my attention to the Flemish literary

and language movement. The Flemings, he told me, had been more loyal to their language and customs than any people in Europe. This explains the attitude which he took up, when the late war was commencing. He disapproved of a French alliance. He foresaw more clearly than many of us the grave economic consequences of such a war; but when Belgium was invaded, he threw himself on the side of the Government. Of the defence of Belgium he never disapproved, but as I have said, he strongly opposed the introduction of Conscription and denounced D.O.R.A. The "conscientious objector" found in him a friend, as also did the discharged soldier.

In leaving Williams, the politician, I must say that his honest and independent views, and his warm love of liberty, hardly obtained, either from his fellow Liberals or from the Welsh people, the full recognition that they deserved. I do not say that they were entirely to blame. They were wrapt up in questions of Social Reform, and the Social Reformer is hardly ever an enthusiast for Liberty. I may add that I think that in a way Williams as a politician was in a sense born too late or too early. Had fate placed him in the eighteenth century and had he found his way to Oxford, and, through the kindness of some aristocratic patron of rotten Boroughs, into the House of Commons, he would have sat among men who would have appreciated and understood his culture and his love of liberty more than his actual colleagues could do. For as Mr. G. K. Chesterton has said, those men of the eighteenth century "meant what they said when they talked of the high memory of Hampden, and the majesty of Magna Charta", and they would have appreciated Llewelyn Williams even when he pleaded for the conscientious objector. If on the other hand, he had come into politics when Welsh Home Rule was a burning issue in Wales, he would no doubt have been the hero of the supporters of the cause. But it is idle to dwell too long on what might have been.

Llewelyn Williams aspired unsuccessfully to the Liberal nomination in one or two constituencies before he entered the House, he being nearly selected as Liberal candidate for Swansea District in 1895, as against the late Sir David Brynmor Jones. He was first elected for Carmarthen Boroughs in 1906, and retained the seat for three Parliaments. By the Representation of the People's Act, 1918, the Boroughs lost their separate representation, and

in 1918 Williams did not stand for Parliament. He contested Cardiganshire unsuccessfully in 1921 as an Independent Liberal, and had he lived would have again doubtless contested the seat at the subsequent general election.

From Williams the politician, I pass to Williams the Ballad maker. His politics and ballads were closely associated, for his interest in politics led him as it led Tom Ellis to the study of the literature of "Young Ireland", and I think that Thomas Davis' historical ballads must have suggested to him the idea of similar ballads on Welsh historical subjects. These ballads have not, I think, obtained the popularity which they deserve. Certainly they ought to be in every Welsh school, and it would be a patriotic thing to publish them in a separate volume. So far as I know the ballads are only four or five in number. The first "For Country or for King" appeared originally in the *South Wales Star*, and was subsequently republished in Sir Owen Edwards' magazine "Wales".¹ This ballad was concerned with the feats of two illustrious Welshmen of the fifteenth century, David Gam and Owen Vaughan.

"Two kinsmen, they of nearest blood
 In steadfast friendship bred.
 Till gallant Glyndwr took the field,
 And the dragon reared his head.
 Now David Gam was for the King
 And for him drew his sword.
 But Owen Vaughan was for Glyn Dŵr
 And owned him as his lord".

The poet proceeds to tell of the meeting of Glyndwr's Welsh Parliament upon the banks of the Dovey, of Gam's attempt to murder the Prince, and of the saving of Glyndwr's life by Vaughan's intervention, followed by Vaughan's successful appeal to Glyndwr for mercy for the would-be murderer. Ten years pass, and Vaughan appears with the French host on the plains of Agincourt, where David Gam is standing by merry Hal.

"And none more thirsted for the fray,
 More longed the English King to slay
 Than exiled Owen Vaughan.

¹ See "Wales", edited by Owen M. Edwards, M.A., vol. i, p. 293.

'O Holy Mary, pray grant me'
He sighed with heart full sore,
'That I may meet the tyrant King
On the plain of Agincourt.'

'Twas easy work with countless troops
With bribes and suborned men.
By traitorous craft and guile to crush
The hopes of Cymru Wen''.

Vaughan eager to avenge the battle of Shrewsbury, and his country's ruin rushes on the King, but Gam meets his old friend's sword, while an English arrow strikes down Vaughan. So the one friend died for his King, the other for his country, and the poet concludes the ballad with the hope that there may be no more quarrels between King and People. The ballad in its general tone recalls "Chevy Chase", but the influence of Thomas Davis and the Young Ireland school is also apparent in the description of Glyndwr's Parliament.

"From wild Eryri's untamed steeps,
From Denbigh's fertile plain,
The men of Wales in council meet,
A Nation once again".

Llewelyn Williams' next ballad (or at least the next one that I have read) appeared in Mr. Hugh Edwards' periodical "Young Wales". Its subject was David Morgan of Penygraig, Glamorganshire, the Barrister, who was executed for his share in the rising of 1745. Williams' sympathies were Whig not Jacobite, but the Scottish nationalist element in the last stages of Jacobitism appealed to him as it did to Tom Ellis, and Morgan as a "poetical lawyer" was for him an interesting character.

The ballad is supposed to represent David Morgan's sentiments as he sits in prison on the eve of his execution. He is full of wrath at the failure of Sir Watkin Wynn to bring the Cymry to the aid of the Gael when Prince Charlie's army entered Derby, and he prophesies the ruin of the Welsh aristocracy that had failed its prince.

The following quotations, which will give an idea of the ballad are from memory.

"O high was our hope
When we beat Johnny Cope
And rode across the Border,
To right an ancient wrong.

Our numbers they were few
 But our hearts were staunch and true
 And the good White Rose of Arno
 Would make the weak arm strong".

The "White Rose of Arno" was a name by which the Prince Charlie was known among his followers.

"And high was our hope
 When we saw the towering peak
 For we thought that great Sir Watkin
 Would surely meet us there.
 The gallant knight of Wales
 Lord of un-numbered vales
 Would surely meet us there
 With twice five hundred men".

The most finished of all Williams' ballads was "The Lay of Prince Griffith".¹ Prince Griffith was the Prince Griffith ap Rhys of Dynevor, the husband of Gwenllian of the golden hair, and the father of the Lord Rhys. Llewelyn Williams chanted the memory of the princes of Dýnevor, the heroes of Welsh freedom. The poem describes how a youth asked an aged minstrel to guide him to Brecon Town. These the poet tells us, were dark days for Wales.

"On every hand there met their sight
 Grim traces of the Norman's might.
 The kindly folks of Brychan's land
 Were gripped in Bernard's ruthless hand,
 While fair Glamorgan's wide domain,
 Was mastered by Fitzhamon's train"

Still the bards with their songs of Arthur kept the flame of patriotism alive.

"They strove in deathless song to teach,
 The splendour of the Cymric speech,
 They tuned their martial airs anew
 And from them inspiration drew ;
 They bade the Cymry lift their head,
 To let the dead past bury its dead.
 And stand erect, a nation free,
 As told by ancient prophecy".

The description of the country through which the pair

¹ See *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*, session 1905-1906, p. 75.

walk is told in lines that recall Sir Walter Scott at his best.

“The mist in vapoury circles rose
As if wild nature to disclose.
The golden gorse of radiant hue,
The heather, fragrant with the dew,
The foxglove, flaming in the shade,
The trefoils carpeting each glade,
The mountain ash, the stunted oak,
Found slender foothold in the rock,
The silver birch and towering pine
Gave shelter to sweet elgantine.
While far below them in the sun
The devious Towy’s waters shone”.

At last lake Llagorse is reached, and, the Bard tells the story of how Savaddan the golden was sunk by Merlin’s spell beneath its waters, and how the water-fowl fly in sorrowful penance when the heir of Urien passes. To the Bard’s surprise suddenly

“The fowl with raucous cries
Seemed to the bard’s astonished eyes,
To mount like cloudlets ’gainst the sky
And form a moving canopy,
And high aloft, in azure blue,
The ravens of Dynevor flew”.

It was clear at once to the bard that the stranger youth was the heir of the Princes of Dyfed and Dynevor.

“The heir of Rhys ap Tewdwr Mawr,
Of Howel Dda and Rhodri Gawr,
Of Urien, and of Arthur great,
Whose sister Urien took for mate”.

The bard bids his prince unfurl the Dragon and win back the freedom of Wales.

“And from the depths of Llangorse mere
Savaddan’s bells rang sweet and clear”.

This poem was I believe written in the Library of the House of Commons. Its sequel, “Meilir’s Lament for Gwenllian”¹ was composed some ten years later in 1918, when I think Williams was spending the Long Vacation in Breconshire. It is as a poem less finished than the

¹ See *I Cymmrodor*, vol. xxix. p. 70.

“Lay of Prince Griffith”, but there is in it more passion. There is also to be discerned a distinct anti-English note not traceable in Williams’ earlier writings.

“The Normans are a robber horde,
 Who’ve turned to woe our weal,
 But they fight like men, these bold foemen,
 They fight with bow and steel,

 But the Saxon churls were ever false,
 They win by craft and guile,
 Since they stabbed our chiefs with their long knives,
 And killed them with a smile”.

The poet’s heart as in his youthful days still goes back to Dynevor.

“Elidyr Sais to Dinefwr came,
 Dinefwr so high and strong,
 The shield of Strath Tywi ’gainst Norman might,
 The cradle of Cymric song,

 Oh! Ystrad Tywi leal and true,
 The home of the brave and free,
 Ne’er did it bend to foe or friend,
 Save in proud liberty”.

“The last four lines”, said the author to me, “explain my position in politics”.

The poem tells of the deaths of Griffith and Gwenllïan as I say, and deserves a greater fame than it has so far attained.

I have dwelt on these ballads at considerable length, because I find that they are less generally known than the author’s other writings. I trust, as I have said, that we shall soon see them published in a separate book. I may add that Williams was also contemplating a ballad on the Lord Pembroke at the Wars of the Roses, but he never carried it out.

But it is as a historian that Williams is most sure of immortality. He was unquestionably the most original historical writer of his time in Wales. And his historical work was not confined to the essays republished in the “Making of Modern Wales”. The introductions that he wrote to the republication of a portion of Froude’s History in the Everyman Series, shew great critical power. To the unhappy Mary Tudor he renders generous justice. And Protestant tyranny he strongly condemns. To read these introductions is to feel that

Williams, who looked at the ecclesiastical history of the past with impartial eyes, might (had he chosen to have done so), have given us a fair and impartial history of the Reformation. Nor must his brilliant introduction to Giraldus Cambrensis in the same series be forgotten nor his interesting paper in the *Cymmrodor*, vol. xvi, on a Welsh insurrection in which the fate of the Rhys ap Griffith of the sixteenth century is told. Unquestionably, however, his greatest contribution to Welsh historical research, was the collection of essays in the book I have mentioned, the "Making of Modern Wales". In two respects Williams differed from the modern historian who is generally an antiquarian dry-as-dust. Williams like Thucydides, Polybius, Gibbon, and other great historians of the past, in the first place wrote history from the standpoint of one who was practically acquainted with public affairs, the standpoint of a man who understood how things are done by practical politicians. In the second place he had a sense of style and could write classical English.

And on one other point Williams as an historical writer stands above many really great historians. Unlike Tacitus whose incisive sentences always ring with the refrain that justice was always on the side of the Senators as against the Cæsars, or Macaulay whose florid periods are arrayed to teach that Providence was the invariable guardian of the Whigs, Williams never sacrificed historical truth to his political views. As a Nationalist and a Welsh Home Ruler, it was his interest to have belittled the advantages accruing to Wales from its incorporation in the English legal system. Nevertheless his sense of historical duty conquered prejudice, and never have the advantages, which Wales desired from her legal incorporation into England, been put forward more forcibly than by this Welsh Nationalist historian.

The real insight of the politician is apparent in his explanation of the true inspirer of the conciliatory policy adopted towards Wales by Henry VIII. Most Welsh writers, in spite of his own statement to the contrary, have attributed the act of union between England and Wales to Bishop Lee, or again to Thomas Cromwell. Williams with his knowledge of practical politics, realised the impossibility of holding that the substitution of conciliation for coercion in the government of Wales, could have been the

work of officials who viewed every approach to a milder order of rule than that which Lee had established in his earlier years with alarm and dismay. He saw that it could not have been the idea of Thomas Cromwell or it would certainly have been abandoned after that Minister's fall. The author of it could have been no other than the King himself and here more than in any other field did Henry display his great qualities of statesmanship, for it was his personal work that reconciled Wales to the English Crown. "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 the 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" (pp. 21, 22). In these sentences Williams does more to vindicate Bluff Hal as a statesman than Froude accomplished in his many volumes, and his many outrages on ethics, and on truth.

Another salient fact of first-rate importance that Williams brings out in the same connection is that this settlement of Wales, this government of a dependency by the same law as the governing country, gave the key to all England's subsequent policy in regard to its over-sea colonies. It is a lesson that foreign statesmen have still to learn, and no English historian has yet taught them this from the history of Wales. One statesman, however, before Williams' time, realized the moral that under-lies the Tudor settlement of Wales, namely, Edmund Burke. Williams, in his introduction, is the disciple of Burke. His Master's great maxim "Freedom and not servitude is the cure of anarchy" makes the text of the sermon which he preaches on the escape of Wales from feudal disorder. If as a Welsh Home Ruler the facts of his history do not altogether agree with his convictions, as a philosophic Liberal at least he proudly shews in a Wales civilized and pacified by a system of equal law, the greatest of all

arguments against the doctrines of the militarist and the coercionist.

There are several chapters in the book on which I should have liked to comment, but my space is becoming exhausted. I can only mention the remarkable Account of the Court of Great Sessions,¹ a great contribution to Welsh legal history, and his interesting historical essay on the Welsh language. The chapter on the Welsh Roman Catholics² who went into exile for their faith is a great addition to the history of the Reformation. When the paper on which that essay is based was read many years ago at a meeting of the Cymmudorion Society it produced a sensation that historical papers seldom create. For the first time one learned that the most interesting and unselfish Welshmen of the Reformation days were the Welshmen who would have nothing to do with the Reformation. Williams' attitude to Roman Catholicism is remarkable. Chateaubriand said that he was a Monarchist by sentiment and a Republican by logic. If Williams was a Nonconformist by conviction he was a Catholic by temperament.

I must add a few words on Williams as a journalist. He commenced as editor of the *South Wales Star* at Barry Dock, a weekly newspaper owned by Mr. Arthur Williams, then Member for South Glamorgan. This newspaper which represented Williams' youthful nationalist enthusiasms contained, with much other interesting nationalist writing, a series of letters to Welsh public men signed "Theodore Dodd". The letters in fact, were written or inspired by Williams himself. They caused much excitement and some protests when they appeared, and are still invaluable to the Welsh historian who cares to read them. Williams afterwards edited the *South Wales Post* at Swansea (then a Liberal organ) and was also connected for some time with the *South Wales Daily News*. He was subsequently on the staff of the *London Star* and though when he was called to the Bar he naturally found regular journalism impossible, he remained to the last a frequent contributor to the Press. His three Welsh novels, "Gwilym, a Benni Bach"; "Gwr y Dolau"; and "S'lauer Dydd" are well known, and deserve their high reputation.

¹ See *Y Cymmudor*, vol. xxvi (1916), p. 1.

² See *The Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmudorion*, 1902-1903, p. 46.

He commenced, but never finished, a historical novel on Rhys ap Thomas. Of his career at the Bar I cannot say much as I have no connection with the South Wales Circuit where his chief laurels were won. He became a K.C. and leader of that circuit, and was also elected to the Bench at Lincoln's Inn. At the time of the war he had the honour of pleading, unsuccessfully, for the old English constitutional liberties before the House of Lords.

I have touched, often too briefly, on the salient features of Williams' public career as a politician and a man of letters. Of his private life I cannot now speak. He was happily married and he has told me that his success was largely due to his wife. He was always popular in the "social hour" for though he could be a sharp critic, he was always a genial friend, and he will, I feel sure, live in history as one of the greatest and most honourable Welshmen of his century.

Flintshire Pleas.

By J. CONWAY DAVIES, M.A. (CANTAB).

Flint Pleas, 1283—1285. (Flintshire Historical Society Publications, volume VIII.) Edited by J. Goronwy Edwards, M.A., Fellow of Jesus College, Oxford. 1922.

IN historical matters the county of Flint has a number of considerable advantages when compared with other Welsh counties. It possesses a Historical Society whose publications for the eleven years since its foundation have been marked by wise choice and careful editing. The third volume of the publications, containing the Ministers Accounts for Flintshire for the years 1301—1328, has been of considerable use to all those who are interested in the history of mediæval institutions. Although the present volume has not as wide an appeal, still owing to the paucity of records dealing with the administration of justice in mediæval Wales, the publication of these Pleas has value and interest. Flint is fortunate in possessing an almost complete series of Plea Rolls from 28 Edward I onwards, and an intensive study of these would doubtless result in a great increase in our knowledge of mediæval legal theory and procedure in general, and marcher law and custom in particular. Whereas the Plea Roll (Chester 30, No. 1), on which the present volume is based, is one of the earliest legal records relating to any part of what is now known as Wales, it is certainly not as the editor claims "the oldest known document of its kind surviving in the Public Record Office, not only for Flintshire, but for the whole of Mediæval Wales, whether march land or *terra regis*". Precedence, in both date and importance, must be given to Assize Roll No. 1,147. Whereas the present Plea Roll deals with cases heard in Flintshire in 12 and 13 Edward I, Assize Roll No. 1,147 deals with cases relating to land throughout mediæval

Wales and the marches from 6—12 Edward I. The scope is wider, the parties appearing range from Llewelyn, Prince of Wales to the burgesses of Abergavenny, and its date covers one of the most vital periods in Welsh history.

Nor can I agree completely with Mr. Edwards in his description of his roll. The roll at present consists of seven membranes and it certainly appears as if the record of one or more of the courts held during the period covered by the roll may be missing. The membranes as at present numbered are not in chronological order and Mr. Edwards has very wisely exercised his editorial prerogative and published the roll in chronological order. The chronological order of the courts works out as compared with the membranes in the following order, mm. 6, 6d, 5, 5d, 4, 4d, 3, 2, 2d, 1, 7, 1, 2d. Mr. Edwards notices at the foot of m. 6d, the following note, "vii rotuli placitorum de flint de anno xii regis Edwardi" but a note at the head of m. 2, "Rotulus tercius", seems to have escaped his attention. Now to return to the chronological order of cases on the membranes; m. 2 is actually the third from the end as the cases on m. 7 are later than those on m. 6, and therefore the note on m. 6 becomes intelligible. It was in fact, possibly the last membrane of the roll. The suggestion is that the membrane dealing with the first court is the last in the present order, because as subsequent courts were held, for the sake of the convenience of the clerk, the new membrane was added to the roll above in front of those dealing with earlier courts. Naturally reference in subsequent courts would have to be made more frequently to the record of the court immediately preceeding than to earlier courts. The present membrane 7 is a short membrane which probably was originally No. 1. The later cases recorded on mm. 1 and 2d, were entered on vacant spaces on previous membranes. Further, it is suggested that mm. 3, 4, 5 and 6 were all written by the same clerk whereas 1, 2, 7, were written by another hand. Both courts dealt with on m. 1 are in the same hand, and both courts dealt with on m. 2 are in the same hand. The possibility is that mm. 1, 2, and 7 were written by the same clerk.

The roll, therefore, as it now stands, is, it is suggested, not as imperfect as Mr. Edwards thinks. There may be omissions but these are not serious. In any case I cannot

agree that the roll contains a "summary" of proceedings of certain courts. I can find no trace that the entries are "summarised" as compared with the usual entries of similar cases on other rolls.

Before leaving the technical points connected with the roll there are one or two comments to be made on the transcription and extensions. Throughout the roll Mr. Edwards uses "prece partium". This roll in common with other contemporary rolls uses "prece parcium". In case 137 (p. 49) *deduxit* is transcribed instead of *dedixit*, a point which affects the translation and the sense. Welsh law in contemporary documents is generally referred to as *secundum legem Wallensicam* not as *legem Wallensem* (case 51, p. 22). The strange form "Vacath" (case 14, p. 8) appears on the roll as *Vacat hic*. Finally I should like to suggest that $\frac{m}{R}$ (case 62, p. 26 and case 122, p. 44) should be extended as *Respectum*.

To return to the introduction, Mr. Edwards has rightly focussed our attention in the first instance, on the light the cases throw upon the events of Palm Sunday, 1282, the beginning of the last struggle of the independent Welsh princes. Apart from local interest the main value of the roll is the information, supplementary to that contained in the contemporary chronicles, which it gives on this event. Still more light on the importance of this Palm Sunday is given in Assize Roll No. 1,147, m. 40, where the movement of considerable forces against Whitechurch is recorded. Mr. Edwards has laid stress upon the movement in Flint and has detailed some of the interesting activities there of one Richard ap Emma, an agent of Llewelyn, Prince of Wales. Perhaps eventually it may be possible to piece together painfully and patiently the tangled details of this critical period in our national history.

Apart from the political importance of the roll it throws interesting sidelights upon the social and administrative life of the time. There seems to have been no great antipathy between the Welsh and the English as a result of the troubles of the previous two years. The only offenders found worthy of capital punishment were two Englishmen who were hanged on the appeal of another Englishman for robbery. The English complainants, however, seem to have put an exaggerated value on their cows which had been stolen, frequently claiming

as much as ten shillings when the standard value of cows was five shillings per head.

The roll adds little, if any, to our knowledge of mediæval legal procedure. The appeals of felony appear to have been initiated as a surer means of obtaining verdicts and damages for the trespass of carrying away goods. They do not appear to have been seriously meant to exact judgment of life and limb. Although many of the appeals were for murder no one seems to have been arrested except for failure to appear. Only in one case (No. 42) is the name of the guilty person given. The frequency of acquittals is a characteristic of the time. The absence of the amount of the amercements levied suggests that the estreats were made in the usual way. After the hearing of the case the justice went through the roll, and, where necessary, with the aid of a jury, assessed the amount of the amercement, the entry being made on a separate roll, a copy of which was handed to the sheriff for collection, the original being sent to the chief financial officer to check with the account eventually received from the sheriff. This explains the "alibi" of cases 93 and 99 and the absence of the amounts in other cases.

Flintshire is fortunate in having the services of Mr. J. Goronwy Edwards as editor of its historical publications, and the care and knowledge which he has displayed in editing a somewhat unfamiliar form of document, are repaid by the value and interest of this volume. To those interested in local history the volume must have a value of its own, and those whose main interest is in national or institutional history will thank Mr. Edwards for his useful pioneer work.

The Bronze Age and the Celtic World.¹

A NOTE BY

PROFESSOR H. J. FLEURE, D.Sc.

THE generosity of anonymous benefactors has endowed at the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth, a scheme under which persons of scientific standing in any subject may be invited to give an account of their recent researches with a view to their publication. The present fine volume is the first fruits of the scheme and we can but hope that the series may maintain the high level here reached.

Mr. Peake has directed for years the compilation of the now well-known card catalogue of bronze implements and objects belonging to prehistoric Britain. He is the chief exponent of the distributional study of antiquities in this country and the catalogue is furnishing him with valuable material.

It is not often that a new chapter is, as it were, intercalated into ancient history, but Mr. Peake has very nearly achieved this remarkable feat by developing the study of the bronze sword on new lines, working out a typology based largely on the characters of the tang though taking the blade into account. The sequence of the types is fairly well attested and this gives a very great interest to their distribution. The first type is Hungarian, the second is of small importance and seems to be more characteristic of the German plain, the third is common in Hungary, and so is the fourth. In Italy a specimen of the third type has been found near Lake Trasimene, while the fourth type has given 10 specimens from the locality near the lake. A number of specimens of the fourth type occur in S.E. Europe. The fifth type is fairly abundant

¹ *The Bronze Age and the Celtic World*. Harold Peake. London: Benn Bros., 1922. 201 pp. and 14 plates, 29 x 23 cm. 42/-.

in Hungary and in France. In our own country a few, perhaps belated, specimens of the fourth type occur near the east coast, but 58 of the fifth type have been found in the Thames basin and 15 in the Fens. The sixth type is found in Switzerland and France and a number are known from England, and two from Scotland, but no less than 110 have been found in Ireland. The seventh type is the forerunner of the early iron sword and is characteristic of the mountain zone on the north side of the Alps west of Hungary. In France we find numbers in Burgundy, and the possessors of these weapons penetrated to the valleys of Seine, Loire and Garonne as well as to the Rhone. The early iron sword has a rather similar distribution save that its possessors hardly got into the Seine basin.

This study suggests spreads from Hungary to the north (very slightly) in the early days of the first types, to the south-east while the fourth type was in vogue (and this Mr. Peake dates provisionally in the twelfth or thirteenth century B.C.), to E. England while the fifth type and to Ireland while the sixth type was fashionable.

The probability then is that there was an important movement, of conquest in all likelihood, sweeping across Britain from the Thames and the Wash to Ireland in the early years of the last millenium before Christ, a movement obviously quite distinct from the later (*La Tène*) influences which reached Ireland mainly by sea towards the end of that millenium.

Long ago, Ed. Lhuyd drew attention to the Irish kinship of river names like Ouse, Usk, Exe, Axe as Mr. R. Ellis has often pointed out. This was the beginning of the famous hypothesis about the succession of Brythonic following Goidelic waves across Britain, and it was elaborated by Sir John Rhys. Zimmer and Kuno Meyer attacked the idea and emphasised the maritime influences of the few centuries before Christ as factors of language in Ireland. Recent writers have taken the latter view for granted and it will be interesting to see what they make of Mr. Peake's suggestion which would naturally fit itself into the Lhuyd-Rhys hypothesis, though several of the elaborations of Rhys could not be defended by archaeologists. The finding of bronze swords in the region whence, some scholars suppose, the Latin language spread in Italy, and the strength of these swordsmen in the region of the

Sequani, where they kept the iron sword back and so probably delayed its advent in Britain, have suggested to Mr. Peake a point worthy of further study. Latin and Erse are two languages in which the *K* or *Qu* sound is a feature and the name of the Sequani in France has been thought to hint at an old language of that kind in the Seine basin. It may therefore be that the ancient tongue which has been modified into Erse was carried across Great Britain by conquerors early in the last millenium B.C. There is, however, no indication that these conquerors did more than run through Wales so very probably Zimmer and Meyer remain justified in their belief that the Erse variety of Celtic was not spoken in Wales before Roman times to any extent.

This brief summary of one of several important arguments in Mr. Peake's book must suffice; it at any rate shows how interesting, suggestive and fresh the work is, and it will encourage students of Celtic lore and archæology to expect much valuable help from the Catalogue of Bronze Implements and the interpretative syntheses its director is likely to build upon his geographical analyses of its contents. If only, either on Mr. Peake's lines or on other lines that philologists may suggest in substitution, it is found possible to get archæological clues to linguistic movements, the science of man will thereby be enabled to take a great step forward.



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