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**Transactions**

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## DAVID ROWLAND HUGHES, M.A. (1874-1953)

D. R. Hughes was born at Holywell in September 1874, but his father's occupation involved changes of residence, so that the son's early years were spent mainly in Caernarvonshire—at Portmadoc, Bangor and Llandudno. After brief periods at the University Colleges of Bangor and Aberystwyth he entered upon a commercial career, and for 45 years, from 1894, lived in London, where he was for many years Secretary of the United Dairies Company. On reaching the retiring age, in 1939, he declined the company's invitation to continue in its service and settled down in Old Colwyn. His health broke down in the winter of 1949-50, and of late he had been a complete recluse; he died on the 29th of August, 1953, and was buried on the 2nd of September. He had in 1903 married Miss Maggie Ellis, a London-born Welsh lady, prominent in musical circles, who, with three daughters, survives him.

“D.R.” as everybody called him, was a man of very many interests. Most of his countrymen will associate his name mainly with the National Eisteddfod. Throughout his life an *eisteddfodwr* (he had been joint-secretary of the National Eisteddfod held in London in 1909), he became Secretary of the National Eisteddfod Association after Sir Vincent Evans' death (1934), and then, after the merger of the Association and the Gorsedd of Bards (1937), joint-secretary of the new National Eisteddfod Council, a position from which he insisted on retiring in 1946, remaining however an honorary official till his death. His services in the delicate task of launching the new Council have been rather overshadowed by his heroic and successful work in keeping the National Eisteddfod alive (though in an attenuated form) throughout the late war, in spite of untold difficulties about food, transport and such matters—nowhere were his diplomatic gifts more brilliantly shown than in his success in persuading Government departments in those harassing years to make considerable concessions.

The war, too, gave “D.R.” another opportunity which he grasped with a vigour which was to make him the idol of young Welshpeople in the services far and wide and in the munition-areas to which they were exiled. He set on foot a monthly Welsh news-sheet, distributed gratuitously to all these young

people throughout the world, and called *Cofion Cymru* (later on, little supplementary booklets accompanied it), to keep the exiles in contact with their homeland and their native tongue. The considerable difficulties, as was his wont, he made light of. Money was collected somehow, paper was cajoled out of the Paper Controller, printing-presses were coaxed, writers willingly succumbed to his persuasions—and still more to his example, for the whole toil of correspondence and distribution was undertaken, often in the small hours, by “D.R.” himself and one of his devoted daughters.

The services just recorded prompted the University, in 1943, to honour itself by conferring an honorary degree upon him. But they were very far from being his only services. One cannot, for instance, pass over his lifelong and enlightened devotion to the religious body of which he was for many years an elder—an elder, but not a Pharisee, for he had a great love of outdoor sport, and his latter days of illness were alleviated for him by his television set which enabled him to return for the nonce to the Oval or to Twickenham. And he was a wide and diligent reader, and a bibliophile whose rare books were freely lent to his friends, and freely given too; the “Welsh Room” in the Colwyn Bay Public Library is another of his monuments. He had a wide and exact knowledge of Old London—more especially, of course, of the haunts of bygone London-Welshmen. He wrote a good deal in Welsh periodicals on London-Welsh associations, and did not a few bits of research in this field—it was he, for instance, who unearthed the record of the marriage of John Jones of Glan-y-gors. And he was one of the founders (and a Vice-President) of our own Denbighshire Historical Society. For it was he who induced the local committee of the National Eisteddfod held at Colwyn Bay (1947) to set apart out of its profits a substantial sum of money for the initial expenses of founding the Society.

Very much more could have been written about D. R. Hughes did space permit. With his passing we mourn the loss of a widely loved man, an utterly selfless patriot whose nationalism was not a matter of rhetoric and of slogans, but of hard work, of dauntless facing of difficulties, of loyalty unshaken by disappointment or even by seeming collapse around him.

R. T. JENKINS

## DENBIGHSHIRE MANUSCRIPTS AND RECORDS IN THE NATIONAL LIBRARY OF WALES

It is proposed to publish from time to time in these *Transactions* brief descriptions of collections and individual manuscripts and records of Denbighshire interest in the National Library of Wales. Beginning with the larger deposit collections the material will be described by those members of the Staff of the Department of Manuscript and Records who have been engaged in cataloguing it at the National Library. It is hoped that these descriptions will be useful to members of the Denbighshire Historical Society as a convenient guide to the National Library's resources as far as they relate to Denbighshire.

General descriptions of the National Library's manuscripts and records are published in its *Annual Reports* from 1909, and in its *Journal* which has appeared half-yearly since 1939. More detailed information can be obtained from the Historical MSS. Commission *Reports* on the collections of Welsh manuscripts which have reached the Library, from the Library's printed catalogues and calendars, and from the *Handlist of Manuscripts* which is issued as a supplement to the *Journal*. The following volumes contain material of interest to students of Denbighshire history—*Calendar of Deeds and Documents* Vols. 1 (The Coleman Deeds), 1921, III (The Hawarden Deeds), 1931, *Calendar of Wynn (of Gnydir), Papers* 1926, *Catalogue of Manuscripts*, Vol. 1 (Additional manuscripts in the collection of Sir John Williams), 1921, and *Clenennau Letters and Papers in the Brogyntyn Collection*, 1947-54. Typewritten catalogues of a number of Denbighshire collections are available at the National Library and at the Library of the University College of North Wales, Bangor.—E.D.J.

### I.

#### THE CHIRK CASTLE COLLECTION

In the year 1282 that part of the ancient territory of Powys Fadog which corresponds roughly to modern south-east Denbighshire was conferred by Edward I on Roger Mortimer, third son of Roger de Mortimer, Baron of Wigmore on the

Welsh border. At Chirk, within this territory, Mortimer set up his headquarters from which to rule his new possessions. This grant, as pointed out by Professor Tout (see *The Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. XXXIX) was tantamount to the setting up of a new marcher lordship in Mortimer's favour. During the early part of the 14th century the lordship remained in Mortimer hands, but later came into the hands of the FitzAlans of Arundel by whom it was held until *c.* 1415. During the 15th century the lordship had a chequered career and passed through many hands. Such, too, was its story in the 16th century until, in June 1563, Elizabeth I granted it to her favourite, Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester. After his decease it descended to his brother, Ambrose, Earl of Warwick, and on his death to his wife, Anne, Countess of Warwick. She sold the lordship to John, Lord St. John of Bletsoe, who, in turn, in August 1595, disposed of it to Thomas Myddelton (*c.* 1550–1631), a noted London merchant of Denbighshire extraction, fourth son of Richard Myddelton, a governor of Denbigh castle, and Jane, daughter of Hugh Dryhurst of Denbigh. Thomas Myddelton, who subsequently became a knight and a lord mayor of London, thus brought the lordship into the possession of the Myddelton family who have maintained their connection with the estate ever since. In 1932, through the kindness of the late Col. R. E. Myddelton, the Chirk Castle muniments were deposited in the National Library of Wales. The collection, containing many thousands of items and covering a period which extends from the end of the 13th century to *c.* 1900, provides historical material of great local and national interest and importance. In this article, however, the collection will not be dealt with as a whole, but an attempt will be made to describe some of the material relating to the county of Denbigh.

The greater part of the medieval lordship of Chirk consisted of what is to-day south east Denbighshire, and, such being the case, the earlier manorial records must be regarded as historical sources relating to the county. One of the most important officials in a medieval lordship was the receiver who acted as the auditor of the annual accounts of the lordship. His annual balance sheet sets forth the results of his examination of the accounts rendered by the subordinate officials, and thus provides an insight into the financial state of the lordship.

Amongst the Chirk documents we find a series of rolls containing the annual accounts of the official receivers. The majority of these rolls belong to the period 1322-96. To the same class belong two later rolls, the first undated but belonging presumably to the period 1525-30, and the second for the years 1528-30. The receiver compiled his annual balance sheet from the individual accounts sent in by the lesser officials or ministers of the lordship, and we also have a series of rolls containing the accounts of these ministers. The first to which a definite date can be assigned is that for 1348-9. No accounts of this nature are available for the period between 1350 and 1385, but there are some eleven rolls extant for the years between 1386 and 1417. There are also two later rolls of ministers' accounts, the first for 1519-20 and the second containing miscellaneous returns for the period 1596--1629. All these are accounts for the lordship of Chirk itself, but there is one other roll of this nature of Denbighshire interest, though not relating to Chirk itself. This is dated 1547 and gives the accounts of the farmers of the revenue of the late monastery of Valle Crucis, of various officials within the lordship of Denbigh, and also within the lordship of Dyffryn Clwyd.

Turning from the financial to the judicial aspect of the life of the area, we find that the activities of the courts attached to the lordship and manor of Chirk are pictured for us in various documents ranging over a period of five centuries. This material can be conveniently divided into three main sections. In the first we have a series of court rolls some twenty-one in number ranging in date from 1349 to 1664. Ten of these are for the period 1349-86, three for the years 1408-12, seven for the sixteenth century between 1504 and 1569, and one for the years 1663-4. These are followed by a series of twenty-four court books, four of which belong to the second half of the 16th century and sixteen to the 17th century. There is, in addition to the court rolls and books, a vast agglomeration of miscellaneous papers relating to the manorial courts ranging in date from 1582 to *c.* 1830. These latter contain a selection of most of the documents relevant to the judicial procedure of the lordship courts—precept to bailiffs to summon courts and juries, writs of attachment, presentments of juries, estreats of fines and amercements, etc.

To this category of manorial records also belong the surveys, extents, valuations and rentals which are found in the collection. Of the surveys and extents the oldest and perhaps the most interesting is that of the lordship compiled in 1391-2 by one Robert Eggerley, of whom little is known. In this the names of holdings and tenants are given in detail along with the rents paid and the nature of tenures and obligations. It can, therefore, provide material for studies of a varied nature. Another copy of this particular extent of the lordship which was to be found amongst the collection of manuscripts belonging to Lord Howard de Walden (now N.L.W. MS. 6074D) has been transcribed and edited by Prof. G. P. Jones (see *The Extent of Chirkland*, University Press of Liverpool, 1932). Of interest, too, is a survey of the boundaries of the lordship made in 1566, and a survey and extent made in 1569 by the Court Baron of the then holder of the lordship, Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester. There is also a late 16th century survey of the tenants at will and by villanage within the lordship and various other extents of varying dates. Rentals and account books dealing with rents, as is to be expected, are very numerous, and extend in a series from the second half of the 16th century to the 19th century.

Though not strictly speaking manorial records, we can perhaps note here copies of charters, etc., having some bearing on the affairs of the lordship. We find copies of a grant by Edmund, Earl of Arundel, of certain privileges to the burgesses of Chirk in 1325, translated copies of the charter granted to Holt by Thomas, Earl of Arundel, in 1410, and a copy of Henry VII's charter to Chirkland (see M. Mahler, *Chirk Castle and Chirkland*, 1912). The changes in ownership are reflected in a copy of Elizabeth's letters patent granting the lordship to Leicester in 1563, a bargain and sale of the lordship from Anne, Countess of Warwick, to John, Lord St. John of Bletsoe, in 1591, and from Lord St. John to Thomas Myddelton in 1595. Of interest, too, is the grant and confirmation of rights and privileges within the lordship made to Sir Thomas Myddelton in 1632.

As can be expected in a collection of this magnitude there are thousands of deeds recording land transactions both within the lordship itself and elsewhere in the county of Denbigh. These cover a period of practically six centuries.

Turning from the records which deal with the lordship itself to documents which can be regarded as appertaining more to the affairs of the county of Denbigh as such, we again find a wealth of material which, naturally, however, belongs to a later period than the greater part of the material noted above. We find, in the first place, a considerable amount of quarter sessions records for the county for the seventeenth century. There are two volumes consisting of books of orders made at the quarter sessions, the first for the period 1647-62, and the second 1662-75. There is also a volume of indictments for the period 1670-90, and a volume of forms and warrants and copies of documents used by Thomas Prichard in connection with his work as clerk of the peace in 1661. Then comes a series of quarter session files or rolls. Those for the years 1643, 1645, 1647, 1648, 1650, 1652, 1653, 1655 and 1656 are not complete, but the series from 1658-99 has only one or two gaps. For various dates between 1641 and 1697 there are also numerous estreats of fines and ameracements at the sessions.

Of interest from the religious point of view are the registers for the period 1673-90 of those who declared against transubstantiation and delivered certificates of having received the sacrament according to the rights of the established church.

Taxation, too, features largely in the collection, and for the second half of the 17th century there is a large number of documents dealing with the assessing and collecting of the numerous royal aids granted the king for such purposes as paying the army, building ships of war, etc. For 1662 and 1664 there are accounts of all the hearths and stoves within the county, and between 1662-70 numerous certificates, etc., relating to the imposition of the hearth tax in the county. Accounts of receipts and disbursements with regard to the maimed soldiers mize can be found for the period 1660-80 with lists of soldiers and some petitions and testimonials.

The care of highways and bridges is featured in a file of accounts of the overseers of bridges for the county 1665-78, a file of accounts and returns of overseers of the highways March 1726/7 at a special sessions for the hundred of Chirk, returns of the surveyors of highways within the same hundred January 1732/3, various papers relating to highways and bridges 1706-73, and a Chirk parish book 1790-5.

The Myddelton family has always played a prominent part in the military history of the county, and there is a considerable amount of material relating to military activity in Denbigh, the county militia, etc. For the 17th century there are rolls of musters with lists of absentees, lists of persons charged with the provision of arms, receipts for money for the arming of the troops, etc. In the last decade of the 18th century there are clothing, pay and contingent accounts for the Denbigh militia, lists of establishment, and a considerable volume of correspondence to and from Col. Myddelton and the regimental agents. The letters refer to miscellaneous aspects of militia life—clothing, establishment, movement, commissions, etc.

During the 17th and 18th centuries the Myddeltons also played an important part in the parliamentary life of the county, and during that time four members of the family sat as representatives of the county and five of the borough of Denbigh. Their activities in their own electoral contests and in the general electoral proceedings of the time are reflected in a number of documents and in numerous letters. As early as March 1613/4 we find a letter from Andrew Brereton to Thomas Myddelton, esq., concerning the prospects of Harry Saulsbury and Mr. Thelvale in the forthcoming election, and in May 1625 a letter from Robert Wynn to Sir Thomas Myddelton, the younger, concerning the prospects of the recipient as opposed to the Thelwalls. Sir Thomas became member for the county in that month. The county election of February 1680/1 fought between Sir John Trevor and Richard Myddelton caused considerable controversy, it being alleged that Richard Myddelton was not eligible for election. A description of the disturbances on polling day has been preserved for us in a letter from John Lloyd of Rossa to Mutton Davies, esq., in London, dated 18 February 1680/1. We also find documents relating to a petition filed by Myddelton concerning partiality, mis-conduct of polling, etc. The strife between the Trevors and Myddeltons at this period seems to have caused concern in higher quarters. In March 1684/5 Sir John Trevor, writing to Sir Richard Myddelton, expresses his willingness to submit to the proposals of the Lord Chief Justice concerning the Denbigh elections and the reconciling of differences. In the same month the Duke of Beaufort in a letter to Sir John Wynn of Watstay proposed that, in order

to avoid strife, Sir John Trevor should support Sir Richard Myddelton's candidature for the county seat and vice versa with regard to the borough seat. This course was adopted, and in April 1685 Sir Richard and Sir John became members for the county and borough of Denbigh respectively. There are also letters relating to the contests between the Breretons and Cottons for the borough of Denbigh at the end of the century. The political rivalry between the Myddeltons and the Williams family during the first half of the 18th century is also reflected in many letters. There are many references to attempts at winning over freeholders by wining and dining and also to attempts at influencing tenants by more dubious means. Maurice Parry, in January 1720/1, writing to John Myddelton, states that the bearer of the letter had been ill treated by Watkin Williams's party owing to his adherence to the Myddelton cause. A letter from George Wynne in April 1734 hints at pressure on tenants and threats of eviction. In 1740 John Trevor in a letter to John Myddelton states that he will not allow violence towards his tenants. There is an interesting suggestion in a letter dated November 1729 to the effect that a freeholders register be compiled by order of the quarter sessions and that no person be allowed to vote whose name did not appear therein "wch will prevent much Rogery." It is interesting also to note the existence of a propaganda campaign, Mr. Myddelton in 1739 being painted as a "prebyter" [*sic.*] and a subverter of religion and as conspiring with the government to burden the country with taxes. Mr. Wynne, however, is depicted as a staunch pillar of the established church. Voting lists give details as to the voting strength of the parties and there are accounts giving details of expenses incurred at various taverns, etc., at election time. For the 19th century there are also available bills of costs, vouchers, receipts, etc., in respect of election expenses (1816/20), numerous broadsides relating to electioneering activities (1820), poll books for the borough of Holt (1837 and 1841), letters relating to the candidature and expenses of Col. R. M. Biddulph (1841), and various other items.

The collection also contains valuable information relating to the industrial development of the county of Denbigh from the early 17th century onwards. In November 1622 David Massy leases to Edward ap Robert of Halghton, coalpits on a

tenement at Halghton. There are references to coal worked at Nant y Pandu and the parke (? Denbigh) in a letter from Theophilus Hayman to Sir Thomas Myddelton in 1647, whilst in a survey of the lands of a certain George Elphick in 1658 mines of "could and stone" are mentioned in Moreton Wallicorum. There is an account book of the coal pit at Ruabon for the period 1661/5. Coal is also mentioned in 1667 when Charles II grants Sir Cyril Wyche coal mining rights within the lordship of Denbigh. In a letter dated January 1671/2 Charles Myddelton states that he had sold to his mother, Dame Mary, coal to the value of £100 from his pit in the parish of Ruabon. In December of the same year we find a draft agreement between Charles Myddelton's agent and the agents of Thomas Geerse and William Cotton concerning coal mining in Moreton Wallicorum and Ruabon. There are references to coal mining in the parish of Chirk in an action against Sir John Trevor and others in 1682 for breaking down inclosures, and for the period 1681-94 we have account books of collieries at Nant Mawr and the Gutter and New Great Gutter in Black parke. A letter of February 1728/9 refers to Hugh ap Robert's coal worked at "brumbo," and in March 1728/9 a letter from David Williams to John Myddelton at Cefn y Wern discusses the prospects of coal on the recipient's land in the same area. Trials for coal on Myddelton lands at Brymbo are mentioned in a letter of December 1734, whilst we learn that in 1745 Sir Robert Grosvenor had coal works at Brumbo with Edward Perry as his agent. The difficulties encountered in working the Black Park colliery are mentioned in a letter from Robert Simon at Chirk Castle to a Mr. Fergusson in June 1735, and colliery accounts for black park, pen y park, old pit, Cenel pit, Soach pit and Sink pit are available in 1750. In December 1751 the Merediths, senior and junior, of Pentrebychan in the parish of Wrexham, were granted a lease of coal and ironstone in the parishes of Ruabon and Wrexham, and during the second half of the 18th century a number of such leases of coal mining rights were granted. For this period, too, there are numerous colliery accounts giving figures of production, costs, profits, etc., with regard to pits in various parishes in the county. During the second decade of the 19th century the collieries in the parish of Chirk were the subject of prolonged litigation between Mrs. Myddelton Biddulph as plaintiff, and the

Messrs. Hughes as defendants. The legal documents relating to this case throw considerable light on these collieries at that particular period.

Iron features, too, in various documents. In March 1623 David Massye granted to Arthur Kynaston of Shrewsbury and Walter Coleman of Cannocke, co. Salop, a lease of all ironstone within the lordship of Quadrabat, co. Denbigh. We also have an account book for 1640-52 referring to iron works which may be those at Pont y Blew. For the period 1661/3 there is the by now well known account book of the Pont y Blew forge in the Ceiriog Valley. In January 1661/2 articles of agreement were drawn up between Sir Thomas Myddelton and William Farmer concerning the post of forge clerk at Pont y Blew, and in 1662 we find orders drawn up by Sir Thomas for the officials of the forge. Sir Richard Myddelton in October 1688 granted a lease of the iron mills of Pont y Blew to Ellis Meredith of Wrexham. This forge is also mentioned in leases to Edward Lloyd of Plas Madock in October 1754 and to Edward Rowland of Plas Benmon in 1776. Accounts relating to the raising of ironstone and the farm paid thereon occur fairly frequently at the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th century.

Lead does not feature so prominently in the industrial history of the county, and references to lead mining are consequently not so frequent. We find, however, that in January 1665/6 Moses ap William of Coedriog grants Sir Thomas Myddelton a lease of lead mining rights in Coedriog, and in February 1666/7 there is a draft lease from the same lessor to Richard Myddelton of London of similar rights in the same area. Lead mining rights within the lordship of Denbigh are also granted by Letters Patent to Sir Cyril Wyche in September 1667. In November and December 1706 articles of agreement were drawn up between Sir Richard Myddelton, Ellis Meredith of Pentrebychan and Peter Harryson of Holywell, concerning lead and copper mining rights on common land within the lordship of Ruthin.

Interesting details of the cattle trade are to be found in lists of cattle sent to England for sale. These are mostly for the end of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th centuries.

Although the Myddelton family played an important part in the Civil War on a national scale, there is little which relates directly to the county of Denbigh with regard to the conflict. In 1639 there is a letter from (Sir) Edward Broughton to Sir Thomas Myddelton concerning the summoning of the trained bands of Ruthin for the Bishops' War. David Maurice in a letter to Sir Thomas Myddelton at Carey House, 2 March 1645/6, gives news of affairs at Chirk Castle, and in January and February 1646/7 we find letters from Col. Mytton and Margaret Jones, respectively, to Watkin Kyffin relating to the goods carried away from Chirk Castle during the fighting. There are also copies of orders for the sale of the estate of Sir Thomas Myddelton in 1659/60, and various references to the troubled times in many documents scattered through the collection.

In conclusion it must be stressed that the above notes are not intended to be anything like exhaustive. It is hoped, however, that something approximating to a general sketch of the material of Denbighshire interest may have been provided. In addition to the material noted there are naturally innumerable items relating to the county scattered throughout the collection. To refer to all of these, however, would mean a catalogue far too lengthy for the present purpose, and for more detailed examination of Denbighshire material one can but refer interested parties to the detailed schedules of the collection available at the National Library.

G. M. GRIFFITHS.

## THE ORIGINS OF THE OLD ENDOWED GRAMMAR SCHOOLS OF DENBIGHSHIRE<sup>1</sup>

In 1837 Mr. James Hume, an Assistant Commissioner, undertook an investigation into the charitable endowments of Denbighshire on behalf of the Charity Commissioners appointed by Act of Parliament (5 & 6 *William IV*, c. 71). His Report<sup>2</sup> is a mine of valuable information, especially on the history of education. He reported, *inter alia*, on the endowed schools at Betws-yn-Rhos, Bryneglwys, Chirk, Denbigh (2), Eglwysbach, Gresford, Holt, Llanarmon-in-Yale, Llanfair D.C., Llanfair Talhaiarn (2), Llanferres, Llangollen, Llanrhaidr D.C., Llanrhaidr-ym-Mochnant, Llanrwst, Ruabon and Wrexham (3). These schools, however, were not grammar schools. In the phrase of the Assistant Commissioner, they were "non-classical schools"; to-day they would be known as primary schools. The only "classical" or grammar schools were those at Wrexham, Ruabon, Ruthin, Denbigh and Llanrwst. Some twenty-two years later Howell's School was founded at Denbigh, thus bringing the total number up to six. No other county in Wales could boast of so many such schools before the passing of the Welsh Intermediate Education Act, 1889.

### I.

Four of these six schools were founded in late Tudor or early Jacobean times, and are generally assumed to have been an essential part of the Tudor policy towards Wales. By the Act of Union (1536-42) Wales had been united to and incorporated in the realm of England, and henceforth Welshmen enjoyed the same legal privileges as Englishmen, provided they spoke English. In the words of the late H. T. Evans, the kingdom of heaven was now open to every Welshman, provided he sought it in English or not at all. Many of them did so, though Professor Dodd has recently reminded us that many years were to pass

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1 The substance of this article was delivered as a lecture to a meeting of the Denbighshire Historical Society at Colwyn Bay on 29th November, 1952, with Mr. D. B. Jones, J.P., M.A., in the chair.

2 *Report of the Commissioners appointed in pursuance of an Act of Parliament made and passed in the 5th and 6th years of King William the 4th, c. 71.* Vol. 52, Part III, London 1838. (Henceforth R.C.C.)

before the Welsh gentry were really anglicised ; if they learnt English, they clung to their Welsh. And to promote their anglicisation (we are told) English grammar schools were established in Wales and an English College (Jesus) at Oxford. Such is the view expressed, for example, by L. S. Knight, the historian of the grammar schools of Wales.<sup>1</sup>

It is true that no Welsh was taught in any of these schools ; indeed, it was not allowed to be spoken, still less taught, and where it was not explicitly proscribed (as at Ruthin), it was just ignored. But English itself occupied a very insignificant place in the curricula of the early grammar schools—and of the early grammar schools of England as well as of Wales. “The position of English in the educational system of England,” we are informed in a semi-official document, “has scarcely any history,”<sup>2</sup> and Welshmen would do well to remember that at this time boys were appointed as *custodes* and punished for speaking English, just as in later years the “Welsh not” was tied around the neck of any boy or girl heard speaking Welsh.<sup>3</sup>

It would be nearer the truth to say that these four grammar schools were the result, not so much of the Tudor policy towards Wales, as of the general educational activity of the time. The Tudor period saw the rise of the middle class to economic and political importance ; the Reformation destroyed the predominant influence hitherto enjoyed by the Church in education ; and secular schools were required in great numbers to educate the sons of the middle class. They were forthcoming, especially in the reign of Elizabeth. Some were established by leading churchmen, others by prosperous merchants or substantial yeomen, and a few by the royal family itself. Just as John Colet, Dean of St. Paul’s, founded St. Paul’s school, so Gabriel Goodman, Dean of Westminster, founded Ruthin ; and in much the same way as Sir Rowland Hill established Drayton Grammar

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1 Knight, *Welsh Independent Grammar Schools to 1600*, p. 2. Rather surprisingly Knight proceeds to add (p. 4) : “. . . the suppression of the native language was not peculiar to Welsh schools ; the English language was banned in many schools in England.”

2 *The Teaching of English in England*, p. 27. (H.M.S.O. 1921).

3 “Any boy found talking in English (at Eton) during lesson time was a ‘custos’ or dunce.” Foster Watson, *The English Grammar Schools to 1660*, p. 314, n. 3. . .

School, so Valentine Broughton, another mercer, established Wrexham.

In each case the object was the same : not to teach English but, under the influence of the Renaissance, Latin and Greek. That was the hall-mark of a grammar school—the fact that it taught the classical languages of antiquity. Latin had been taught in the grammar schools of the Middle Ages, but mainly as a vocational subject—for strictly utilitarian purposes : to provide the clerks, lawyers, doctors and ambassadors with a knowledge of the language they required in the course of their work. Now, however, the motive was quite different ; it was not so much vocational as cultural, and an ability to speak Latin (and classical Latin, not the debased Latin of mediæval times) was considered essential to a gentleman. That, indeed, explains the hold of the classics upon our grammar schools until the beginning of the present century. The Earl of Oxford and Asquith, we are told, was the last Member of Parliament to quote the classics on the floor of the House of Commons. “In the 17th century,” writes Trevelyan, “Members of Parliament quoted from the Bible ; in the 18th and 19th centuries from the classics ; in the 20th century from nothing at all.”<sup>1</sup>

Nor was Latin merely the most important subject in the curriculum ; it was the medium of conversation among the older boys. The statutes of Ruthin Grammar School are quite explicit on this point ; the younger boys could speak English one with another until such time as they had mastered Latin or Greek, but the older boys were obliged at all times to speak Latin or Greek.<sup>2</sup> In short, the grammar schools at Wrexham, Ruabon, Ruthin and Llanrwst, though they were indifferent and even hostile to the Welsh language, though they contributed nothing to Welsh literature (at least directly), and though they were completely divorced from the mainstream of Welsh culture, were not so much deliberately anti-Welsh as pro-classics ; their main object was not so much to teach their pupils English and

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1 Trevelyan, *British History in the 19th Century*, p. 214.

2 “In classes superiores adscripti Latine aut graecæ in Schola loquuntor, collocati autem in inferioribus Anglice, qui secus faxit editor, aut Custos esto.” Richard Newcome, *A Memoir of Gabriel Goodman, D.D. . . . with Some Account of Ruthin School . . .* Appendix F.

to acquaint them with English literature as to give them a sound knowledge of Latin and possibly Greek in order that they might conform to contemporary educational ideals.

The Tudor sovereigns were so concerned about this, and were so anxious to impose a rigid uniformity upon the schools (comparable to that imposed upon the Church) as to stipulate that one grammar, and one only, should be used in all the schools of England and Wales :

“As His Majesty (Henry VIII) purposeth to establish his people in one consent and harmony of pure and true religion ; so his tender goodness toward the youth and childhood of his realm intendeth to have it brought up under one absolute and uniform sort of learning. For his Majesty, considering the great encumbrance and confusion of the young and tender wits by reason of the diversity of grammar rules and teachings (for heretofore every master had his grammar and every school divers teachings, and changing of masters and schools did many times utterly dull and undo good wits ; . . .”

in view of this, he commanded that one grammar should be prepared and used throughout the realm, and his Injunctions were later reinforced by Edward VI and Elizabeth.<sup>1</sup> This grammar, edited by William Lily, first appeared in 1542, and was doubtless used in each of the four grammar schools of Denbighshire. When, in 1758, it was revised it became known as the Eton Latin Grammar, and there is reliable evidence that it was still being used at Ruthin in 1818, and probably later.<sup>2</sup> Nor is it fantastic to hazard the guess that this was the work (in its original or amended form) which a boy of 13 recited by heart from cover to cover before the assembled school at Denbigh in 1828 to earn a holiday for his fellow-pupils. His name was Thomas Gee.<sup>3</sup>

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1 Foster Watson, *The Old Grammar Schools*, pp. 41-2.

2 Nicholas Carlisle, *A Concise Description of the Endowed Grammar Schools in England and Wales*, p. 937.

3 T. Gwynn Jones, *Cofiant Thomas Gee*, pp. 25-6. It is only right to add that Thomas Gee had received his grounding in Latin at Mr. Jackson's private school at "The Groves," Wrexham,—the original "home" of the present Grove Park School.

## II.

Excluding Howell's School, Denbigh (a 19th century foundation for girls), all the old endowed grammar schools of Denbighshire were intended for boys who, in the main, lived in the town or village in which they were situated, or for those who lived in neighbouring villages. In 1603, Valentine Broughton bequeathed certain lands "for the education of youth in good erudition and learning" at Wrexham. Ruabon Grammar School was open to all boys of the parish of Ruabon (which then embraced the modern parishes of Ruabon, Rhosymedre, Rhosllanerchrugog and Penycae). Similarly, Denbigh Grammar School was open to all the boys of the town by nomination of the subscribers. Gabriel Goodman, however, established Ruthin Grammar School not merely for the boys of Ruthin but also for those who lived in the parish of Llanellidan, while the founder of Llanrwst Grammar School had in mind the boys of the commote of Nantconwy and the parishes of Eglwysbach, Beddgelert and Llanfrothen, as well as those who lived in Llanrwst itself.

True, outsiders were not excluded ; on the contrary, specific provision was often made for their admission. But they had to pay fees, and higher entrance fees. At Llanrwst, for example, the master could charge an entrance fee of two shillings on outsiders, whereas the local boys paid only a shilling ; and whereas the latter received their tuition free, the master and usher could charge a graduated scale of fees on "foreigners," *i.e.*, on those who lived outside the places which the school was primarily intended to serve.<sup>1</sup> So at Ruthin. Goodman ordained that all boys born in the parish of Llanellidan or the borough of Ruthin should pay fourpence at their admission and thereafter "be free boys for ever," but outsiders were required to pay more, according to the social position of their parents; the eldest son of a gentleman worth £30 a year, for example, was charged an admission fee of 2s. 6d., and a tuition fee of 2s. a quarter, whereas every clergyman's son paid only 6d. and 4d. respectively—provided his father held only one benefice.<sup>2</sup>

1 The same point is made in the statutes of Harrow School (1590) : "And of the *foreigners*, the master may take such stipend and wages as he can get, except that they be of the kindred of John Lyon, the founder" Foster Watson, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

2 Knight, *op. cit.*, pp. 113-4.

These four schools, therefore, and Denbigh Grammar School later on, were free schools in the sense that they were free to certain pupils—usually those who lived in the town, village or villages in which the founder was particularly interested. They were obliged to pay a small entrance fee, but thereafter nothing for the normal curriculum. Extras were not free, and one “extra” was writing, for the teaching of writing was not normally considered to be the function of a grammar school, and when taught it was usually taught as an optional subject, not by the master or usher (for often they were no more skilled in the art than are some modern doctors), but by a professional scrivener.

### III.

A few words on the curriculum of these schools may be interpolated here—or rather on the curriculum of one of them. It is doubtful whether Ruthin Grammar School was typical of all four ; indeed, as we shall see, there is reason to believe that it was rather unique. But this school, if not typical of its fellows in Denbighshire, closely resembled the best grammar schools of England and Wales, and it is no disparagement of the other four to state that at this time, and for many years, it was the best-known school (and the best endowed) not merely in Denbighshire but far outside. Moreover, much more is known of its curriculum than of the curricula of the others.

It may appear platitudinous to assert that a grammar school was essentially a school where grammar was taught. In point of fact, however, educationists in the 16th century were by no means agreed upon what constituted “grammar.” Some defined the word very narrowly in the manner of our Oxford English Dictionary, but others (who were regarded as reformers and innovators) maintained that it included literature as well ; they held that it was useless to teach formal Latin grammar without at the same time reading Latin authors. Such was the point of view expressed by Sir Thomas Elyot in his *Gouenour* (1531), and by Roger Ascham forty years later in his *Scholemaster*. Gabriel Goodman evidently shared their views, for instruction in grammar at Ruthin was supplemented by the reading of the classics. Grammar was to be taught between 6.30 and 7.30 in

the morning. Breakfast followed, after which the classics were to be read until 11, when the boys could go to lunch. Doubtless they were ready for it.

Nor was it enough to *read* Latin ; the language had to be *written*. Ascham in particular stressed the importance of written work—of translation from Latin into English and back again, and of the boys' keeping notebooks in which phrases, idioms and passages could be written to help them with their themes, verses and orations. This was a radical innovation at the time, for in the Middle Ages writing had been merely a fine art ; teaching had been largely oral in character—inevitably so in the absence of an abundant supply of printed texts—and memory had been more important than note-making. Ascham however “marks the transition from mainly oral method in the teaching of Latin to the general introduction of the written method of later times,” and his precepts were enjoined by Goodman upon the master and usher of Ruthin Grammar School. They were to set exercises in translation ; to give their pupils practice in the writing of prose and verse ; to read passages from the works of various authors, “from which Lectures the boys shall select phrases or forms of speech, proverbs, adages, descriptions of time, place, persons, apothegms and such like” which they “shall write down.”<sup>1</sup>

Writing Latin, however, no less than reading it, was merely a means to an end—its fluent speaking ; and to attain this end certain books were in common use and certain methods in general practice. One of the most popular books was the *Epistles* of Cicero, edited by Sturmius, and it is interesting to find not only this book but this edition mentioned by Goodman in his Statutes. Similarly the comedies of Terence and the Colloquies of Erasmus and Corderius ; all three are not so much “recommended text-books” as “compulsory reading.” It is clear that Goodman was *au fait* with the latest educational theories and practice. Nor is this surprising in view of his close association as Dean of Westminster with Westminster School.<sup>2</sup>

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1 Knight, *op. cit.*, pp. 116-7.

2 A study of the Statutes of Westminster, Bangor Friars and Ruthin Schools would throw much light on the inter-action of these three institutions, and the contribution made by Goodman and Alexander Nowell to each.

Consider again the methods as distinct from the books. Play-acting, themes and orations were other recognised means to the same end ; boys were to be encouraged to act Latin plays, to write Latin themes, to deliver Latin orations. The oration was the climax of a boy's ambition to speak Latin fluently,<sup>1</sup> and in order to achieve it he required practice in the writing of letters and themes. This, in turn, implied the study of rhetoric, so that its rules—about rhythm, style, figures of speech, etc.—could be applied to the spoken and written word. Once again there were suitable books for the purpose, particularly the *Orations* of Cicero and *Epitome Troporum ac Schematum et Grammaticorum et Rhetoricorum* of Susenbrotus. And once again, both works are prescribed for the boys of Ruthin by their founder.

Or consider another matter which, though not necessarily appertaining to the curriculum, impinged upon it—the “teaching” of morals. For it must be remembered that however much emphasis was placed upon the classics, there was another motive, quite as important : the inculcation of piety and morality. This motive became even more important in the first half of the 17th century, with its Puritan atmosphere, but it was hardly less important in the 16th. Goodman's Statutes, for example, were “appointed to the Glory of God and His Church” as well as “for the benefit of the public” ; the master of the school was to teach his scholars “good Manners” as well as “sound learning” ; both master and usher “shall be an example to tender youth in every virtue” ; they were to take heed that “in reading poetical authors and others, such places may be overlooked that may savour of what is contrary to piety and good morals” ; and, apart from this general injunction, certain books were recommended for their moral as well as their literary value—Aesop's *Fables*, the *Colloquies* of Corderius, and the *Disticha* of Cato. Finally, the Bible, the Catechism, the Primer and other devotional books were to be regularly studied.<sup>2</sup>

In all these ways—in the place it gave to teaching Latin and Greek grammar, to reading classical authors, to training its pupils to speak Latin and Greek, and in its emphasis on piety and

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1 Foster Watson, *The English Grammar Schools to 1660*, p. 441.

2 Knight, *op. cit.*, pp. 115-7 ; Newcome, *op. cit.*, App. F.

morality—in all these ways, Ruthin Grammar School was typical of the best grammar schools of the day, and it is safe to say that Gabriel Goodman took immense pains by means of his Statutes to ensure that its pupils left school with a sound knowledge of the classics and a healthy, religious attitude towards life. In the words of his petition of 1595 to Queen Elizabeth they were to “knowe their duties to God and your Majesty and thereby be able to serve in God’s church and the common wealth.”

How far was a similar curriculum followed in the other four schools of Denbighshire? It is difficult to say. There are references to the study of the works of Cato, Aesop and Corderius in the draft Ordinances drawn up by Sir John Wynn of Gwydir for Llanrwst Grammar School.<sup>1</sup> But it is impossible to say how far these Ordinances were observed, though the salaries paid to the master and usher were such as to attract (and were intended to attract) University men who, it is reasonable to assume, would hardly be content with teaching “the three R’s.” As for the schools at Wrexham, Ruabon and Denbigh, no direct evidence has come to light to suggest that, at their foundation, they taught either Latin or Greek. The probability is that some Latin but no Greek was included in their curricula from the outset, and that, unlike Ruthin Grammar School but in common with many grammar schools in England (such as Blechingley) they taught the elementary subjects as well.<sup>2</sup> In other words, with the certain exception of Ruthin and the possible exception of Llanrwst, the grammar schools of Denbighshire were “bi-lateral” in character in the sense that (at first at least and, in the case of Wrexham and Ruabon at a much later date), they combined the functions of an elementary and a

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1 See Appendix 3.

2 This would certainly appear to have been the case at Wrexham, for its founder, Valentine Broughton, decreed that if there were no “singinge men and quiristers” in the parish church, his annual legacy of £3 6s. 8d. for their “better maynetenance” should be paid to the schoolmaster (together with another legacy of £6 13s. 4d.) in order that he should “teache gratis twelve poore schollers to be allowed by the churchwardens of the same parishe church for the tyme beinge.” (*Prerogative Court of Canterbury*. Bolein, 52). The other bequest, however, was intended “for the educatyon of youthe in good erudicion and learnynge there.” It is possible that the twelve poor scholars were to receive the same kind of education as the others, but the fact that they are referred to from time to time as “sweepers” hardly makes it likely.

grammar school. It was only in later years that they developed a curriculum typical of a grammar school.<sup>1</sup>

#### IV.

It is rather surprising that in not a single instance is the date of foundation of these grammar schools known with certainty. The accumulation of errors and of unreliable tradition around the origins of each makes the task of arriving at the truth one fraught with some difficulty. All that is attempted here is the removal of some of these accretions, a statement of some of the problems which await solution, and the postulation of one or two hypotheses in the hope that someone in each school will test them and publish the results of their enquiries in these *Transactions*.

Excluding Howell's School, Denbigh (which lies outside the scope of this article) DENBIGH GRAMMAR SCHOOL was apparently the last of the five schools to be founded, but the story of its origins is shrouded in as much obscurity as that of any of the others. The school was probably established in 1727, but there is a reference to a schoolmaster at Denbigh as early as 1548<sup>2</sup>, and Richard Clough, factor to Sir Thomas Gresham, bequeathed £100 to the school in 1570, though the legacy appears to have been lost.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, there are references to schoolmasters in the town throughout the 17th century.<sup>4</sup> Were these men in

1 The stages in the evolution of an elementary school are often well-marked. Though in some grammar schools the masters were obliged to give instruction not merely in the classics but also in English and in number to those pupils who required it, in others the *petits* (or youngest pupils) were taught by older pupils. Later, these "monitors" were replaced by a master who taught the elementary subjects and, later still, he was placed in a separate "elementary" school. But at first, and for many years, the function of both types of school were often combined. Foster Watson, *op. cit.*, ch. viii.

2 Browne Willis, *Survey of St. Asaph* (ed. Edwards), I, p. 238: "Jeffrey Gethin, 1548, Rector of Llanbrynmair, and School Master of Denbigh." *cf.* D. R. Thomas, *History of the Diocese of St. Asaph*, i, p. 360; ii, pp. 24-5; J. Williams, *Ancient and Modern Denbigh*, p. 252.

See Appendix 1, *infra*.

4 D. R. Thomas *op. cit.*, ii, p. 25: John Oliver (1628), Robert Davies (1643), Richard Jones (1673), John Jones (1684), Thomas Jones (1687). A Richard Jones was also H.M. there in February 1656/7. T. Richards, *Religious Developments in Wales* (1654-1662), p. 59.

charge of the same school?<sup>1</sup> If so, what was its character? In the present state of our knowledge it is impossible to say.

As for the school established in 1727, public subscriptions were invited towards setting it up;<sup>2</sup> who took the initiative and when we do not know. By March 1727 over £339 had been collected,<sup>3</sup> £300 of which were used to purchase certain lands in the parish of Tremeirchion, Flintshire, the idea being that the rents issuing from them would support the master of the school. The persons who bought these lands were Watkin Williams Wynn of Wynnstay, John Chambres of Plas Chambres, and John Myddelton of Gwaunynog, and all three are described in the indenture of lease and release as "trustees of the Charity School of Denbigh." The only charity schools in Denbigh in 1727 were the Blue Coat School and Dr. Daniel Williams' School, and two such schools, one would think, were adequate to meet the needs of the town in that year. The trustees of the Blue Coat School were the Bishop of St. Asaph and the Vicar of Denbigh. As for Dr. Williams' School, it shared twenty-six trustees with other similar schools in North Wales, all of whom were naturally Dissenters; and no one will believe that Watkin Williams Wynn—the Jacobite and the persecutor of Peter Williams the Methodist—was a Dissenter. The term "Charity School" in the indenture can therefore only have been intended to apply to the school about to be established.

It is interesting to surmise why Sir Watkin Williams\*Wynn was one of the three trustees. His predecessor at Wattstay (as the family seat was then known) had been a burghess of Denbigh

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- 1 Williams (*op. cit.*, p. 295) assumed that they were. But from the borough Charter of 1661 it is clear that the burgesses wished "to found and maintain one Free Grammar School" (*ib.*, p. 296), which suggests that no such school was in existence before then. They may have taken advantage of this, for the Charter also referred to their desire to maintain a preacher, and a certain Robert Jones, schoolmaster, who died in 1673, was sworn a burghess on condition that he would also preach once a quarter. (*ib.*, p. 108).
  - 2 The actual words used were "towards the setting up of a free Grammar School within the town of Denbigh." *R.C.C.*, 1837, pp. 6-7.
  - 3 The sum subscribed varies slightly in different sources, but Williams (*op. cit.*, p. 297<sup>n</sup>) is probably the most reliable. He gives it as £339 12s. 0d. which included subscriptions from the Companies of Tanners, Glovers and Feltmakers (£5 each), Sir John Trevor (£106), Sir William Myddelton, Chirk Castle (£50), and John Chambres, Plas Chambres (£20).

for many years,<sup>1</sup> but there is no evidence that he himself was. His name, moreover, is conspicuous by its absence from the list of subscribers, though he appears to have promised some assistance later. In 1738 the vicar of the parish stated in a reply to his diocesan's enquiry :

“We have one publick school set up in my time by subscriptions, & endow'd with an estate of £15 p. ann. besides a Benefaction of 120 pounds subscribed since by our two Representatives for the use of it, but not yet applied to that use, & I fear never will, unless your Lp. will be pleas'd to interpose in this affair herein. thirty Boys are taught upon this foundation.”<sup>2</sup>

The two “representatives” were presumably the Members of Parliament for the county and the boroughs respectively : Watkin Williams Wynn for the county (1716-41 and 1742-9), and John Myddelton for the boroughs (1733-41).<sup>3</sup> If His Lordship intervened at all, his efforts proved fruitless ; John Myddelton's promise had not been fulfilled in 1766,<sup>4</sup> and it is more than doubtful whether it ever was, for in all the later documents relating to the endowments of the school there is no trace of any benefaction from either.<sup>5</sup> Myddelton, however, had originally subscribed £10, and though his was by no means the largest subscription, it entitled him to some claim to serve as a trustee. “Sir Watkin,” on the other hand, was not an original subscriber at all, and one can only assume that he was asked to serve by virtue of his being a Member of Parliament and in anticipation of his supporting the school. He died in 1749, leaving a substantial estate, but one looks in vain in his will for anything to suggest that he had the slightest interest in, or was even remotely connected with, Denbigh Grammar School.<sup>6</sup>

1 Williams, *The Records of Denbigh and its Lordship*, p. 142.

2 *St. Asaph: Bishop's Visitations. Queries and Answers*. 1738 (at the National Library of Wales). The £15 were the income from the lands bought in the parish of Henllan.

3 W. R. Williams, *The Parliamentary History of . . . Wales*, pp. 76, 82 ; *Y Byngraffiadur Cymreig*, 1033.

4 Williams, *Ancient and Modern Denbigh*, p. 297.

5 e.g. R.C.C., 1837 ; *Draft Scheme for Denbighshire County Schools*.

6 *Prerogative Court of Canterbury: Greenly*, f. 32.

The lands in Tremeirchion were bought in March 1727. Three months earlier Robert Lloyd, a tanner<sup>1</sup> of Denbigh, his wife Jane, and her mother Ann Twiston, transferred to the aldermen, bailiffs and burgesses of Denbigh a piece of land called Cae Hir or Accar y Forwyn in the parish of Henllan "towards the maintenance of a free Grammar School to be set up and erected within the town of Denbigh," or, failing that, for the relief of the poor of Denbigh at Christmas each year.<sup>2</sup> Thomas Gee's biographer, however, gives a different version of the story.<sup>3</sup> In 1865 the townspeople of Denbigh were considering a new scheme for the grammar school. During the somewhat heated discussions which ensued, the Town Clerk revealed that Robert and Jane Lloyd and Ann Twiston had not presented Accar y Forwyn to the corporation but had sold it; in other words, it was not a gift made to the corporation but a purchase made by the corporation out of public funds. In which case, it may be asked, why was the Assistant Charity Commissioner unaware of the fact? Why was the purchase price omitted from the extract of the legal document in his *Report*? Why indeed was the purchase made out of public money at a time when public subscriptions were being invited for the same purpose? The answer to the last question is probably quite simple: the lands in Henllan were bought because those in Tremeirchion were not considered adequate of themselves to support the master of the school; the latter were intended to "set up" and endow the school, the former merely to increase its endowment. But the other two questions remain.

Further, whether Accar y Forwyn was sold or presented to the corporation, its rents were not available until 1747,<sup>4</sup> which suggests that either the school did not begin to function until that year or that the schoolmaster in the meantime had another source of income. The latter is the more likely, for the *Visitation Returns* for 1738 specifically refer to a "publick school" there in

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1 The name appears in *R.C.C.*, 1837, as "Robert Lloyd Tanner," but "tanner" was a description of the person's trade, not his surname.

2 *R.C.C.*, 1837, pp. 6-7; W. A. Evans, "The Denbigh Grammar School," in the first volume of the present school's magazine.

3 T. Gwynn Jones, *Cofiant Thomas Gee*, pp. 190-1.

4 Williams, *The Records of Denbigh and its Lordship*, p. 148 note; *cf.*, the vicar's reply in 1738 to his diocesan, *supra*.

that year, and *Glanmor* states that the first Head Master was Hugh Hughes, curate of Denbigh, who was appointed in 1726—an error, probably, for 1727.<sup>1</sup>

Amidst so much uncertainty, one fact stands out: the school's chief benefactor was Sir John Trevor,<sup>2</sup> the second son of John Trevor of Brynkinallt, and of Margaret, daughter of John Jeffreys of Acton; he was therefore a cousin of the notorious Judge Jeffreys—and his protégé and apologist. He was Member of Parliament for Denbighshire in 1681 and for the Denbigh boroughs in 1685; in later years he was a judge, Speaker of the House of Commons in the reigns of James II and William III (until he was deprived for malpractices), master of the rolls, constable of Flint castle, and mayor of Holt and Oswestry. In many ways he was typical of the members who sat for Welsh constituencies after the Restoration; he was, moreover, “a lawyer of no small learning and ability, and apparently as upright on the bench as he was unscrupulous in the House of Commons.” He died in 1717, leaving an estate of £60,000, but as he left no will,<sup>3</sup> the £100 he gave towards Denbigh Grammar School was probably a subscription made during his lifetime. At least ten years had therefore elapsed between the date of this contribution and the founding of the grammar school, and it is not unlikely that it was his generosity which finally prompted the movement to establish the school. Aware of the “loss” of Clough's legacy, the corporation was probably determined not to let slip this second opportunity; public subscriptions were invited, and the corporation itself endowed the school with the rents from Accar y Forwyn.

Even in the case of Denbigh Grammar School, therefore, the origins are far from clear, and one can only regret the more the failure of Nicholas Carlisle to elicit a reply to his questionnaire, dated December 1816, from the then Head Master.<sup>4</sup> A tentative reconstruction of the story, however, suggests that though

1 Williams, *Ancient and Modern Denbigh*, p. 299.

2 *D.N.B.*; Professor A. H. Dodd, “The Pattern of Politics in Stuart Wales,” *Transactions of the Cymmrodorion Society*, 1948, pp. 76-7 *et passim*; Williams, *Ancient and Modern Denbigh*, pp. 275, 297.

3 *A.A. of Prerogative Court of Canterbury* (Somerset House). Sir John died a widower, and his son Arthur was sworn to administer his estate.

4 *op. cit.*, pp. 927, 933. He was equally unsuccessful in the case of Llanrwst and Ruabon, possibly because all three schools were temporarily closed.

previous attempts had been made to establish a grammar school in the town, the present school, as a *grammar* school and as a *free, endowed* school dates back to 1727; that it was "erected"<sup>1</sup> by public subscriptions and endowed with land in the parishes of Henllan and Tremeirchion owned by the corporation of Denbigh; that its chief benefactor was Sir John Trevor, who contributed nearly a third of the sum subscribed; <sup>2</sup> that several of its early Head Masters were curates of Denbigh; and that it met for well over a century not in premises erected for the purpose but in the crypt of St. Hilary's chapel.

## V.

There is general agreement that RUTHIN GRAMMAR SCHOOL was endowed in 1595 when Queen Elizabeth, at the request of Gabriel Goodman (Dean of Westminster and a native of Ruthin), assumed the patronage of one portion of the comportionary church of Llanellidan and bestowed it for ever upon the school. This event has been taken by most writers on the school to mark the date of its foundation, and the school itself celebrated its tercentenary in 1895. But it has also been known for some time (certainly since Archdeacon Newcome published his *Memoir* of the Dean in 1825) that Goodman established a school in Ruthin in 1574, for Simwnt Fychan mentions the fact in one of his poems. Were these two schools one and the same institution? Or did the earlier school languish only to be revived later? The Archdeacon ignored the problem or was unaware of it; though he inserted the poem in one of the appendices to his book he made no reference to it in the body of the work, and one can only assume that it was included as a panegyric on his subject. Archdeacon D. R. Thomas, on the other hand, accepted Simwnt Fychan's statement without question, and assumed that the school had had a continuous existence from 1574, though he gave no indication as to how

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- 1 No schoolhouse was available until 1866 (when premises at Bron-y-Parc were rented), and at most the rents from the lands in Tremeirchion could only have been used at first to adapt the crypt of St. Hilary's. Even so, it was for many years a most depressing place.
  - 2 As late as 1837 Trevor's descendant, Lord Dungannon, was considered to have the right of nominating 21 boys on the foundation, for every original subscriber of a guinea held one nomination. *R.C.C.*, 1837, p. 8.

it had been maintained during the first twenty-one years. The latest account of the origins of the school is also the first attempt to explain the relationship between the events of 1574 and 1595.

“In 1595,” writes the present Head Master, “the Dean secured endowments in Llanelidan for the maintenance of the School, but we know from Simwint (*sic*) Vychan of Llanelidan, a contemporary poet, that the School had been refounded by the Dean in 1574, and that until the Deed of Endowment which brought it into the Hospital scheme was secured, it had been carried on during the intervening years at his own cost. He had in fact built the School house and paid the masters, John Price and Hugh Goodman, out of his own private income.”<sup>1</sup>

In short, according to this account, Gabriel Goodman in 1574 refounded the old Collegiate school at Ruthin which had been founded by John de Grey in 1310 and dissolved in 1547; in 1595 he secured endowments for it in Llanelidan, and between 1574 and 1595 he supported the masters himself.

The reference by Simwnt Fychan to the school is clear and explicit :

Troes y Deon ddaioni  
 Tra fo'n iaith at ein tref ni  
 Yscol rad nis sigla'r un  
 Thraethu'n rhwym wrth Ruthun  
 Diau rhoir am ordrio hon  
 Duwiol gof am y Deon  
 Oed Duw yna'n cyttunaw  
 At rif yw pymthecant draw  
 Hoff dreigl a phedwar ugain  
 Onid chwe blwydd rhwydd yw'r hain . . . <sup>2</sup>

“Pymtheg cant a phedwar ugain onid chwe blwydd”—1574.

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- 1 J. Russell T. Russell, *Ruthin School, North Wales: A Brief Account. Being a Talk Broadcast*, p. 8.
  - 2 *Bodleian MSS.* 31433. I am indebted to Mr. Gerallt Harris, B.A., for a transcript of this poem and of the ones below. Mr. Harris informs me that this MS. is probably by John Price of Mellteyrn (*ob. c.* 1660), and is therefore older than *Panton* 58 at the National Library of Wales, which was made by Ieuan Brydydd Hir. There are slight textual variations between the two and between them and that used by Newcome in his *Memoir*, but all three agree on the date 1574.



Unfortunately, this is the only source for this date, though Edward ap Raff, another local poet, refers to the school in a poem written in 1594 and in another four years later.<sup>1</sup> There are, however, more reasons for accepting the statement than for rejecting it. In the first place, Simwnt Fychan lived at Tŷ Brith, near Llysfasi,—near enough to Ruthin to be aware of what was taking place there. Secondly, Goodman was still alive when the poem was written—the last line prophesies that one day he will be an archbishop—and so were many other persons, and it is difficult to believe that the error would not have been corrected, if one had been made. Thirdly, and most important of all, Goodman himself petitioned the Queen on 3rd April, 1595. The petition is now at Hatfield House, and is reproduced here by kind permission of the Marquess of Salisbury. A summary of its contents was published in the *Report* of the Historical Manuscripts Commission in 1894,<sup>2</sup> but its full significance does not appear to have been realised by friends of the school. It reads thus :

To the Queene's most excellent Matie.

In all humbleness beseecheth yor excellent Matie yor faithfull and obedient subject Gabriell Goodman Deane of yor Highness' Collegiat Church of Westminster. That whereas in ye sixe shires of North Wales, being ye halfe parte of all Wales, there is but one free schole for ye virtuous & godly education of young children,<sup>3</sup> whereby they may knowe their dueties to God, and yor Matie and thereby be able to serve in God's church and the common wealth. Whereupon yor suppliant lately built a scholehouse, in ye Towne of Ruthin, in ye Countie of Denbigh, wheare ye said suppliant was borne, and no schole being neare thereto by forty myles. In wch place there hath

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|---|---|
| <p>1 Rhoi ysgol urddasol dda<br/>Wr ddiomedd rad yma<br/>A mynnu hap oi mewn hi<br/>Dasc iownddull a dysc ynddi.<br/><i>Llanstephan MS.</i> 124D, f. 136<br/>(1594)</p> | <p>Ysgol y reiwl a roes<br/>Yn rhad ynn, yn rhaid einioes<br/>Lle ffeind iawn lle ffynna dysc<br/>Lle llwyddai'n wellwell addysc.<br/><i>Llanstephan MS.</i> 36, f. 159 (1598).</p> |
|---|---|
- 2 *Historical MSS. Commission. Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Hon. The Marquis of Salisbury, K. G., preserved at Hatfield House, Hertfordshire. Part V., pp. 164-5.*
- 3 A reference to the Friars School, Bangor, not to the school already existing at Ruthin, as implied in *Ruthin School, North Wales*, p. 8.

bine a schole kept by ye space of many yeares & maintained by one portion, of a psonage, called Llan Elidan in ye said Countie of Denbigh, neare adjoyning to ye same. Wch psonage consisting of two portions, (the one being able to maintaine a sufficient man to discharg ye cure) and therefore the late Bp. of Bangor, and likewise the Bishopp that now is, att ye instance & speciall request of yor said suppt, have bestowed ye other portion to ye maintenaunce of ye said schole. Wch godly intent & disposition of ye Bpps. cannot take effect without yor Maties graunt and allowance by yor Highness' lres patents under ye great Seale of England. May it therefore please yor Highness, of yor abundant grace, to accept of a grant of ye patronage of that portion, of the said psonage of Llan Elidan, wch now is imployed for the main-tenaunce of ye said schole, and wherein Richard Párrie is now Incumbent, and to appropriat ye same unto ye Hospitall of Ruthin, for ye ppetuall maintenaunce of ye said schole. And that ye said suppt. may make lawes, and ordinaunces for ye good government, and maintenaunce of ye said schole. And yor said suppt. and ye whole Countrye of North Wales shall according to their bounden dueties, faithfullie praye to God for ye continuaunce of yor Maties most happie, and gracious Reigne over us.

The bishop of Bangor "that now is" was Hugh Bellott;<sup>1</sup> his predecessor was Nicholas Robinson.<sup>2</sup> Presumably, therefore, Nicholas Robinson was the first to bestow one portion of the parsonage of Llanelidan upon Ruthin School, and as he was consecrated on 20th October, 1566, and died on 3rd February, 1584,<sup>3</sup>

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- 1 Hugh Bellott, 1542-96, second son of Thomas B., Esq., of Gt. Moreton, Cheshire. Christ's Coll., Camb., B.A. 1563/4; M.A. 1567; Fellow of Jesus Coll., Camb., 1567. Rector of Caerwys and vicar of Gresford 1584; bishop of Bangor, 3rd Dec., 1585-25, June, 1595, when he was translated to Chester; d. at Plas Power, near Wrexham, 15th June, 1596, and buried within the chancel of Wrexham Parish Church. "He was intimate with Gabriel Goodman . . . who probably helped him to procure some of his preferments." *D.N.B.*
  - 2 Born at Conway, 1530(?); Queen's Coll., Camb., B.A. 1547/8; Fellow of Queen's, 1548/9; Dean 1577/8; Vice-President 1561. Archdeacon of Merioneth; sinecure rector of Northop; bishop of Bangor 1566-84; d. 1584. *D.N.B.*: *Y Cymmrodor*, xxxix, pp. 149-99. It is interesting (and possibly significant) that Goodman, Bellott and Robinson were contemporaries at Cambridge.
  - 3 A. Ivor Pryce, *The Diocese of Bangor in the Sixteenth Century*, pp. 19, 25.

he must have done so between those two dates. It is moreover extremely unlikely that he would have done so unless the school was already functioning. It is a safe assumption, therefore, that Ruthin Grammar School—or at least a school in Ruthin—was established between 1566 and 1584. So far, so good; two persons—Simwnt Fychan and Gabriel Goodman—either state or imply that the school was in existence by 1584 at the latest, and one of them (Simwnt Fychan) dates it as early as 1574.

It is possible to be a little more exact, for the bishop would hardly have bestowed these tithes upon the school until the sinecure living with which they were associated was vacant; indeed, it is doubtful whether legally he could have done so. In 1566 the incumbent of this portion of the parsonage was Richard Thelwall, who had been presented to it on 20th October, 1564, by Robinson's predecessor, Roland Meyrick; he died in 1580.<sup>1</sup> It is highly improbable therefore that the moiety of the tithes of Llanelidan was bestowed upon the school before 1580. If bishop Robinson bestowed it, and if he had to wait until the living was vacant, he could not have done so before 1580, when Richard Thelwall died; nor could he have done so after February 1584, when he himself died. We are accordingly limited to those four years, during which two persons were presented to the living: John Prise on 11th May, 1580, and Hugh Goodman on 18th March, 1581.<sup>2</sup> At the latest, therefore, Robinson bestowed the tithes on Ruthin School in March 1581, and quite possibly—indeed probably—in May 1580, for bishop Humphrey Humphreys, who edited a later edition of *Athenae Oxoniensis*, states categorically that John Prise was master of Ruthin School and preceded Hugh Goodman in that office.<sup>3</sup> In other words, the evidence seems to suggest that John Prise was instituted to the sinecure living of Llanelidan in 1580, but performed no parochial duties, for he was really master of Ruthin School. Archdeacon Thomas asserts that Prise was master of the school in 1574,<sup>4</sup> an assertion which is discussed and queried later; but

1 *ib.*, pp. 18, 24. R.T. was the younger brother of Simon Thelwall; his sister Cecily was Gabriel Goodman's mother and daughter of Edward Thelwall.

2 A. Ivor Pryce, *op. cit.*, p. 24. This would be 1582 according to our calendar.

3 *Athenae Oxoniensis*, ii, p. 24.

4 *History of the Diocese of St. Asaph*, ii, p. 133.

however difficult it is to believe that Prise was master in 1574, it is reasonable enough to believe that he held that office six years later, and that the school was therefore in existence in that year. And irrespective of the name of the first master, there is more to be said for accepting than for rejecting Simwnt Fychan's date as marking the origin of the school.

The master of Ruthin School apparently enjoyed the emoluments of one portion of Llanelidan before 1584—from 1580, if the argument just adduced is sound. In other words, Gabriel Goodman did not support the masters himself from 1580 onwards. He had no need to do so, for their stipends came from the parsonage of Llanelidan, which they held in sinecure. In name, they were incumbents of that portion of the living; in fact, they were in charge of the school. He may have paid the master between 1574 and 1580; he probably did. But that was all.

If this was so, what had happened in the meantime to necessitate his petition to the Queen in 1595? In the absence of reliable evidence, conjecture only is possible. Three persons had served as masters of Ruthin School between May 1580 and January 1593: John Prise (or Price), Hugh Goodman and Richard Parry; and as each resigned or died, his successor took his place quite naturally. In April 1595 however, when Goodman petitioned the Queen, the person holding the sinecure living and enjoying its emoluments had neither resigned nor died; on the contrary, within a few years he was appointed bishop of St. Asaph, and held that office until his death in 1623. He was Richard Parry, a native of Pwllcallod near Ruthin, who had been presented to the living on 4th May, 1584.<sup>1</sup> But by 1595 he had ceased to take any interest in the school; on 24th December, 1592, he had been appointed Chancellor of the diocese of Bangor,<sup>2</sup> and a few days later (on 1st January, 1593) vicar of Gresford.<sup>3</sup> He may have left Ruthin for Gresford in that year; we do not know. In any case, it is doubtful whether he was

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1 A. Ivor Pryce, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

2 *ib.*, p. 28. He had resigned this office however by 6th January, 1595. *ib.*, p. 29.

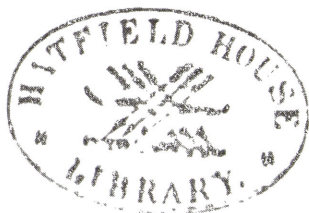
3 *Y Bywgraffiadur Cymreig*, p. 695; *Athenae Oxoniensis*, ii, 862.

3<sup>o</sup> Aprilis: 1595.

The humble petition of Gabriel  
Goodman Deane of her Maties  
Collegiatt Church of Westminster.

The Queenes most excellent Matie being  
made acquainted w<sup>th</sup> this petition, and  
gratiously considering and commending  
the charitable meanyng, of Mr Deane of  
Westmr, the founder of the Schole & Hospitall  
of Ruthin w<sup>thin</sup> mentioned, to provide a  
booke to be made by her Highness  
learned counsaile, readie for her gracious  
signature, according to the effecte of  
this petition.

Wm Aubrey



ENDORSEMENT OF GOODMAN'S PETITION

3<sup>o</sup> Aprilis, 1595.

The humble petition of Gabriell Goodman Deane of her Maties Collegiatt Church of Westminster. The Queenes most excellent Matie beinge made acquainted w<sup>th</sup> this petition, and gratiously consideringe and commendinge the charitable meanyge of Mr Deane of Westmr the founder of the Schole & Hospitall of Ruthin w<sup>thin</sup> mentioned, is pleased that a booke be made in forme, by Her Highness' learned counsaile, readie for her gracious signature, accordinge to the effecte of this petition.

Wm. Aubrey



any longer actively interested in, or associated with, the school ; there were far brighter prospects ahead in the Church—as Chancellor of the Bangor diocese and as vicar of Gresford. A few years later (on 11th April, 1599) he was made Dean of Bangor<sup>1</sup>—but he still retained the emoluments of Llanelidan, as Goodman's petition and will show.<sup>2</sup>

In other words, despite his elevation, Richard Parry clung to the sinecure living of Llanelidan even though he knew (and must have known) that the bishop and his predecessor intended the person presented to it to take charge of Ruthin School. If this continued, if what Richard Parry had done and was still doing, became a habit with his successors, the future of the school would be in jeopardy. Goodman fully appreciated this and appealed to the Queen, not to compel Parry to relinquish the living (on the contrary his legal rights were specifically safeguarded), but to declare that henceforth and for ever the living would be used to endow the school. The Queen agreed.<sup>3</sup> Meanwhile, until such time as Richard Parry resigned or died, someone else had to support the master or the school would lapse. Goodman probably did so ; just as he had supported the first master before the tithes were available, so he supported his successors now that they were temporarily in abeyance.

To sum up : Gabriel Goodman founded Ruthin Grammar School in 1574 and built new premises shortly before April 1595. For the first six years he probably supported the master himself, but when Richard Thelwall died in 1580 he persuaded his friend Nicholas Robinson, bishop of Bangor, to bestow one portion of the parsonage of Llanelidan upon the school—and his successor, Hugh Bellott, as well. Between 1580 and December 1592 three masters were supported by this portion :

1 A. Ivor Pryce, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

2 *N.L.W. Bodewryd MS.* 12 : "And also whereas I have annexed hereunto (Ruthin Hospital) a free school newly erected and have procured Her Majesty's grant of yt portion of Llanelidan which Dr. Parry hath had and now hath . . ."

3 See photostatic reproduction of the endorsement of Goodman's petition. For the deed implementing the grant see Knight, *op. cit.*, pp. 109-112. It should be added that Goodman had established Ruthin Hospital in 1590 for a Warden and twelve poor persons ; the school was 'annexed' to it in 1595.

John Prise, Hugh Goodman and Richard Parry; each of the three held the living in name but in practice served the school. Then came Parry's appointment as Chancellor of the diocese and his institution to Gresford, which transformed the situation, for though he was no longer master of the school he retained the living and its emoluments. A tacit understanding, which may have been no more than a gentleman's agreement, was broken with the result that Goodman was probably obliged to pay his successor himself. He was prepared to allow Parry to continue to enjoy these emoluments (for he had been legally instituted to the living), but he was equally determined to see them restored to their former use afterwards and so safeguard the future of the school. He petitioned the Queen, asking her in effect to decree that in future no one would be presented to the living, and that the tithes associated with it would be used to support the master and usher of Ruthin School. The Queen agreed and the school's future was assured. Goodman could now draw up his Statutes,<sup>1</sup> confident that when he was gone the school would continue.

There remain two other matters which require consideration. If, as has been assumed, Richard Parry relinquished his duties as master of the school in December 1592, and if the school was not legally and permanently endowed until April 1595, what happened in the meantime? Once again one can only conjecture, but it is doubtful whether any hiatus occurred. In the first place, the tithes of Llanelidan were not available *de facto* until 20th March, 1607,<sup>2</sup> and if, as seems probable, Goodman himself supported the master from 1595 to 1607, there is no reason to believe that he failed to do so between 1593 and 1595. Secondly, a clause in Goodman's petition may be very significant. A school in Ruthin, he wrote, "hath beene kept by ye space of many yeares." The use of the perfect tense suggests that it was still being "kept"; the simple past tense would have been more appropriate if, meanwhile, it had

1 *N.L.W. Peniarth MSS.* 122. The Statutes have been printed in full and in Latin by Newcome (*op. cit.*, App. F.), and incompletely in English by Knight (*op. cit.*, pp. 113-122).

2 Newcome, *op. cit.*, p. 48. D. R. Thomas (*op. cit.*, ii, p. 127, n. 3) errs in suggesting that they first became available in 1604 on the elevation of R.P. to the see of St. Asaph.

become defunct. On the whole, therefore, there would appear to have been no break in continuity; the school of 1595 was essentially the same as the one established in 1574, except that it was now permanently endowed and was accommodated in new premises.

If however there was no hiatus, who succeeded Richard Parry as its master? This leads to a discussion of the second question which deserves consideration: the names of the early masters of the school. According to Anthony à Wood, the first master was Robert Griffith; he was succeeded by Richard Parry; and Parry in turn by Gabriel Powel.<sup>1</sup> Bishop Humphreys however corrected Wood in a later edition of the *Athenae*, and his corrections carry weight, for as bishop of Bangor he had access to the diocesan records. He states that Richard Parry was certainly master of the school, but that he was preceded not by Robert Griffith but by Hugh Goodman and John Price—statements which the researches of the late A. Ivor Pryce corroborated.

Archdeacon Newcome however corrected both Wood and Humphreys. He did so “with reluctance,” for his correction deprived the school “of one of its greatest honours, in being reputed to have numbered Bishop Parry among its head masters.”<sup>2</sup> His reluctance is understandable for, on the one hand, he accepted Wood’s statement that Robert Griffith was the first master and, on the other, read in the Register of Ruthin Hospital for 1607: “Robertus Griffithus, Ludimagister, suo loco decessit primo Augusti.”<sup>3</sup> How therefore could Richard Parry have held the office in the intervening years? At most—and this was his view—he could only have served as usher under Robert Griffith. His logic was sound, but his premises were insecure, for Parry preceded Griffith as master.

Another archdeacon—D. R. Thomas, the painstaking historian of the see of St. Asaph—asserted that John Price was the first master; that he was appointed in 1574; that he had been second master at Westminster School from 1568 to 1572; and that he was Warden of Ruthin Hospital in 1594.<sup>4</sup> L. S.

1 *Athenae Oxoniensis*, ii, p. 24.

2 *op. cit.*, p. 24.

3 *ib.*

4 *op. cit.*, ii, p. 133.

Knight again inclined to the view that John Price went to Ruthin from Bangor, where he had been first master of the Friars' School.<sup>1</sup> All these statements cannot be correct, though a full discussion of them would demand considerable space, for the question is confused and complicated. Three facts, however, stand out: John Price, who was instituted to the sinecure living of Llanelidan in 1580, died the following year and could not therefore have been Warden of Ruthin in 1594;<sup>2</sup> if, as Knight suggests, he went to Ruthin from Bangor, he could hardly have been second master at Westminster from 1568 to 1572, for there is conclusive proof that he was at Bangor in the former year;<sup>3</sup> and, finally, there were at least two persons, if not three, who went by the name of John Price or Prise or Pryse in the Bangor diocese during these years. Neither *Athenae Oxoniensis* nor *Alumni Cantabrigiensis* throws any light on the matter, but recalling Goodman's close association with Westminster and Ruthin Schools, the transfer (and promotion) of the second master at the one to be master of the other would seem quite natural. On the other hand, we know that John Price was presented to the living of Llantrisant-cum-capellis on 18th March, 1577; that he had resigned this living by 20th January, 1578; and that he was presented to a portion of Llandinam on 3rd September, 1579—a living which he held (in addition to a comportionary of Llanelidan) until his death.<sup>4</sup> It will be noticed that the Bangor diocesan records are silent about his whereabouts before March 1577 and between January 1578 and September 1579. If, as seems likely, the portion of Llandinam was a sinecure, can it have been that he was given it to supplement his income as master of Ruthin School? If so, it is possible that he resigned Llantrisant in order to take up that

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- 1 John Price was Second Master (i.e. usher) at Westminster in 1568; he was followed in 1572 by John (?) Frobisher. It is possible, of course, that he stayed there for only a few months rather than for four years, in which case he could have gone first to Bangor and thence to Ruthin. L. E. Tanner, *Westminster School*, p. 90.
  - 2 D. R. Thomas should have realised this himself, for on p. 95 he states that Hugh Goodman succeeded to one of the comportionaries of Llanelidan on the death of John Price. The John Price referred to in *Llên Cymru*, ii, p. 29, as one of four persons who signed an inventory of Bishop Morgan's estate must have been Warden of Ruthin Hospital, not master of Ruthin School.
  - 3 Knight, *op. cit.*, p. 94.
  - 4 A. Ivor Pryce, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-4.

appointment in January 1578. Amidst so much that is hypothetical, nothing has emerged to suggest, still less prove, that he was master in 1574, when the school was first opened.

In 1581 he was succeeded by Hugh Goodman (a real but shadowy figure), and he in turn by Richard Parry. Who succeeded Parry in January 1593? Wood, it will be remembered, suggested Gabriel Powel, the distinguished son of Dr. David Powel, vicar of Ruabon and author of *Historie of Cambria* (1584). Bishop Humphreys however asserted that there was no record in Bangor of his ever having been master of the school. That is probably true (his name does not appear in A. Ivor Pryce's work), but in itself it constitutes no proof that he did not at one time hold the office, for once the Queen's grant had taken effect the sinecure living of Llanelidan lapsed to the school, and the presentation to it rested henceforth with the Dean of Westminster, not with the bishop of the diocese as in the past. The possibility therefore remains that Gabriel Powel was at one time on the staff of Ruthin School, though when and for how long it is difficult to determine.

According to Browne Willis he was appointed in 1592 and was the third master of the school.<sup>1</sup> Both these statements are open to question. In the first place, Powel was but 17 years of age in that year, and we know that he was at Oxford from 1592 to 1595/6.<sup>2</sup> Secondly, Willis was probably following Wood; if Robert Griffith and Richard Parry had preceded him, Powel was undoubtedly the third master of the school. But even if Robert Griffith was the first master of the endowed school of 1595, he was succeeded by Gabriel Parry in 1607, and Parry in 1609 by Lodwig Lloyd<sup>3</sup>—by which time Powel was rector of Chellesworth in Suffolk.<sup>4</sup> Powel's whereabouts between 1595/6, when he left Oxford, and 1604/5, when he returned, are obscure, though he is thought to have spent some time in foreign universities. It is possible (one cannot put it more strongly than that) that he was master of Ruthin School, or usher under Robert Griffith during those nine or ten years, though his

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1 *Survey of Bangor*, quoted by D. R. Thomas, *op. cit.*, iii, p. 346.

2 *D.N.B.*

3 Newcome, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-49.

4 *D.N.B.*

biographer hardly thinks so. For the time being the question must remain open ; he *could* have gone to Ruthin, but not in 1592.

No such doubts exist about Robert Griffith. He resigned as master of the school on 1st August, 1607 ; we know too that he was the first to enjoy the emoluments of one of the comportionaries of Llanelidan once they had been surrendered by Richard Parry. Unfortunately, the date of his appointment remains a mystery, as indeed do the details of his earlier career. Though he was not the first master of the school opened in 1574, he may have been the first to take charge of the newly-endowed school in 1595, in which case any other person who served on the staff between 1595 and 1607 acted as his usher.

Finally, tradition associates Dr. John Davies, Mallwyd, the lexicographer, with the school, both as a pupil and as a member of the staff. Without entering into the thorny question as to whether or not he was literally "educated" by bishop William Morgan<sup>1</sup> (except to say that this seems unlikely)<sup>2</sup>, it is reasonable to believe that a boy born and bred in the neighbouring parish of Llanferres could, and would, have attended Ruthin School, and his name on an old Honours Board in the former building probably records a simple fact ; moreover, the doubts which some writers have entertained on the matter arose from their difficulty in reconciling Davies' admission to Oxford about 1589 with his attendance at a school in Ruthin which (they assumed) was not in existence until 1595. It is not so easy to accept Archdeacon Thomas' assertion that he was also usher to Richard Parry.<sup>3</sup> That he was taught by Parry (who later became his brother-in-law) seems fairly clear on the assumption that he was educated at Ruthin at all, for he left for Oxford "about 1589" while Parry was still master of the school. After graduating on 18th March, 1593, he returned to Wales and was ordained the following year, though his whereabouts between 1593 and 1604 (when he was presented by the Crown to the

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1 See Miss Rhiannon F. Roberts' article on Dr. John Davies in *Llên Cymru*, ii, pp. 19-35.

2 The error (if it be an error at all) may have arisen as a result of the confusion by the bishop's biographer in *D.N.B.* of Llanrhaiadr-ym-Mochant and Llanrhaiadr-yng-Nghinmeirch.

3 *op. cit.*, i, pp. 337-8.

living of Mallwyd) are unknown. He was apparently on good terms with Dr. William Morgan (he may indeed have been his kinsman), and seems to have spent some time with him in Mid- and South Wales. If, as seems likely,<sup>1</sup> he was in close association with his patron during those years, he was in or near Llan-rhaeadr-ym-Mochnant before 1595 (when Morgan was elevated to the see of Llandaff), and in South Wales between 1595 and 1601 (when Morgan was translated to St. Asaph). If therefore Davies served on the staff of Ruthin School, he probably did so between 1593 and 1595 or between 1601 and 1604. Once more, however, it must be emphasised that this is mere surmise; not a shred of evidence has been discovered to support or refute the assertion that he taught at Ruthin, and as in the case of Gabriel Powel, the question must remain unanswered, though it is tempting to hazard the guess that, as he appears to have left Oxford prematurely because of straitened circumstances,<sup>2</sup> he returned to Ruthin in 1593 at a crisis in its history.

There is even greater uncertainty therefore about the names of the early masters of Ruthin School than there is about the date of its foundation. Detailed investigation into the careers of half a dozen individuals (most of whom were quite eminent in their day) will be required before the matter can be cleared up. As a preliminary to such an investigation, and with the proviso that it be regarded as a working hypothesis rather than a statement of fact, it can be argued that John Prise was the earliest master of whom there is reliable evidence, and that he held the office 1580-1 if not earlier; that he was succeeded by Hugh Goodman (1581-4), Richard Parry (1584-92) and John Davies (1593-5); and that John Davies was succeeded by Gabriel Powel (1595-?), and Powel by Robert Griffith (?-1607), or that Robert Griffith was master from 1595 to 1607, with Gabriel Powel as his usher for part of that period. Other alternatives will have occurred to the reader who has not already floundered in despair.

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1 *Llên Cymru*, ii, pp. 25-28.

2 I. Foulkes, *Enwogion Cymru*, s.n.

## VI.

A discussion of the origins of WREXHAM GRAMMAR SCHOOL may appropriately begin with the bequest of Valentine Broughton, one of the Broughtons of Marchwiel, near Wrexham. He was the third son of Ralph Broughton, Plas Isa, Isycoed,<sup>1</sup> and became a mercer and a prominent citizen of Chester.<sup>2</sup> When he died in 1603 he left certain lands in the parishes of Bersham, Broughton and Esclusham in trust to Richard Bavand and John Fitton, who were to transfer them within a year to the mayor and citizens of Chester, and they in turn were to apply £6 13s. 4d. of the annual income to maintain a schoolmaster in the town of Wrexham "for the education of youth in good erudition and learning there."<sup>3</sup> He also left an annual legacy of £3 6s. 8d. to the choristers of Wrexham Parish Church, but this was not paid for many years,<sup>4</sup> and both sums, amounting in all to £10, were paid to the schoolmaster from time to time. Later on this endowment was augmented by Gwen Eyton<sup>5</sup> (*ob.* 1684) and Ralph Weld<sup>6</sup>. Mrs. Eyton's endowment amounted to £3 a year, and Ralph Weld's to £5. In all, therefore, the school-

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- 1 A. N. Palmer, "The Broughtons of Marchwiel," *Y Cymmrodor*, 1901, pp. 43, 48. Lloyd in *Powys Fadog*, ii, pp. 384-5, states that he was the fourth of eight sons, whereas he was the third of four.
  - 2 The following details have been kindly supplied by Miss S. Bailhache, Archivist to the City of Chester :  
9 Feb., 1568 : Admitted to the freedom of the city, as apprentice to Alderman Thomas Bellin of Chester, mercer ; c. 1573 : Elected councilman ; 1577/8 : Sheriff ; 10 April, 1584 : Sworn alderman ; 1584/5 : Mayor (and thereafter J.P.). Three of his apprentices were admitted as freemen of the city in 1589, 1591 and 1600 respectively.
  - 3 Will of V.B. at County Records Office, Chester ; copy at Somerset House (P.C.C., *Bolein*, 52). See Appendix 2.
  - 4 Not before 1855. Palmer, *The History of the Parish Church of Wrexham*, p. 203. Broughton stipulated that if this sum were also paid to the schoolmaster, he should teach gratis twelve poor scholars to be nominated by the vicar and churchwardens.
  - 5 The widow of Bartholomew Davies, butcher, of Wrexham. She left a house, garden and croft in Wrexham Fechan. Palmer, *History of the Town of Wrexham*, p. 110 ; *R.C.C.*, 1837, p. 144.
  - 6 Rector of Great Saxham, near Bury, and a native of Wrexham. His father (or more probably his uncle) "was a staunch but gentle Puritan and a friend of Philip Henry," to whom he left £5. He left £100 which were used, with other sums, to purchase land in Pontblyddyn, from which the master of the grammar school received £5 annually. He made his will in 1715. Palmer, *History of the Parish Church of Wrexham*, pp. 87, n. 16 ; 203, 205-6 ; *R.C.C.*, 1837, pp. 144, 153 ; Palmer, *Town of Wrexham*, p. 110.

master eventually received from these three sources the annual sum of £18.

Was Valentine Broughton's bequest the means of founding the school or merely of augmenting an existing endowment? The Assistant Charity Commissioner in 1837 did not know,<sup>1</sup> but A. N. Palmer, the meticulous historian of Wrexham, was of the opinion that the school was already in existence,<sup>2</sup> and based his opinion on a reference in the will to "*the* schoolmaster." L. S. Knight, however, who quotes the same clause, refers to "*a* schoolmaster,"<sup>3</sup> and the copy of the will at Somerset House (which he examined) supports him. On the other hand, it is possible that Palmer, living at Wrexham, had seen the will itself at Chester rather than the copy in London. If so, he misread it, for though tattered, it is still quite legible; the money was left "towards the maintenance of a schoolmaster for the time being." It is therefore impossible to accept Palmer's opinion that Wrexham Grammar School was in existence before 1603 merely on the strength of a non-existent definite article in the vital clause of Broughton's will.

But Palmer went further. He pointed out that Edward Jones, Plas Cadwgan (the father<sup>4</sup> of the person implicated in the Babington Plot in 1586) bequeathed the sum of £18 to the grammar school in Wrexham in 1580/1, provided the bishop of St. Asaph apportioned a living worth at least £30 a year for that purpose.<sup>5</sup> Edward Jones apparently hoped that the bishop of St. Asaph would bestow a living on a grammar school in Wrexham, just as the bishop of Bangor had bestowed one of the comportionaries of Llanelidan upon Ruthin Grammar School. It is extremely unlikely, however, that the bishop of St. Asaph did anything of the kind. He was William Hughes, one of the most notorious pluralists of the day,<sup>6</sup> and not a shred of evidence

1 *R.C.C.*, 1837, pp. 143-4.

2 Palmer, *History of the Town of Wrexham*, pp. 105-111.

3 Knight, "Welsh Schools from A.D. 1000 to A.D. 1600," *Arch. Camb.*, 1919, p. 8.

4 Lloyd, *Powys Fadog*, iii, pp. 40-41, makes Edward Jones to be the grandfather of his namesake executed in 1586, but Palmer clearly demonstrates that he erred. *History of the Country Townships of Wrexham*, pp. 8-9.

5 Palmer, *History of the Town of Wrexham*, p. 105. This sum (£18) was "over and above the £18 heretofore bequeathed by Sr. David Ap Edwards, late vicar of Ruabon." Nothing is known of this latter bequest.

6 D. R. Thomas, *op. cit.*, i, pp. 97-99.

has been adduced—even by Palmer—to suggest that he either founded or endowed a grammar school at Wrexham. And Edward Jones' bequest was conditional upon his doing so.

Palmer seems to imply that the school was founded in 1580, or at least between 1580 and 1603. Taking Valentine Broughton's will, he argued that it existed before 1603; taking Edward Jones' will and placing it, as it were, in juxtaposition to the other, he implied—or unwittingly created the impression—that it was founded in 1580/1; and that, it would appear, explains the date 1580 on the present crest of Grove Park School. But if Edward Jones' will proves anything, it proves that there was no grammar school in Wrexham in 1580. The crucial clause reads thus: <sup>1</sup>

“In case a benefice or living, of £30 yearly at the least, be obtained from the Bp. of St. Asaph, it is to be for finding a free school at Wrexham.”

“For *finding* a free school”—not “for *endowing* the free school.” Why should the bishop found a school there if one already existed? It is impossible to be certain of the origins of Wrexham Grammar School, but it can be said without much hesitation that they do not date back to 1580.

“The origins of Wrexham Grammar School,” it will be noticed, not “of Grove Park School.” The two schools were quite different institutions and co-existed for approximately sixty years. The old Grammar School (whether founded by Valentine Broughton, as there is good reason to believe, or by someone else) died a natural death in 1880, and its end was far from glorious.<sup>2</sup> The premises in Chester Street were sold in 1883 to the Borough Council for £2,500 and became the new Municipal Offices.<sup>3</sup> Eventually—after the passing of the Welsh Intermediate Education Act, 1889—the money was used by the Joint Education Committee of the Denbighshire

1 Palmer, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

2 Palmer, *History of the Parish Church of Wrexham*, pp. 205-6; Charles Dodd, *Wrexham Schools and Scholars*, p. 6.

3 Palmer, *ib.*

County Council to purchase "The Groves,"<sup>1</sup> in which another grammar school, with strong Wesleyan affinities, had been functioning since 1828 or thereabouts. The new Intermediate or "County" School took the name "Grove Park" (and its motto) from the house in which it first met, and there are many who still remember the lessons they received in that building not so long ago. An Old Boy of the school cannot but regret his inability to justify the date of foundation on its crest, but try as he would, he could not avoid the conclusion that the school was founded in 1603 by Valentine Broughton,<sup>2</sup> a member of a prominent local family, who made good as a mercer and a citizen in the neighbouring city of Chester.

## VII.

All writers appear to agree that the real (as distinct from the original) founder of RUABON GRAMMAR SCHOOL was the Rev. John Robinson, vicar of the parish, who bequeathed certain lands in 1703 for its "better support and maintenance." Everyone is also agreed that the school was in existence long before then; 1632 is the date of foundation generally accepted, but a former Head Master, the late D. J. Bowen, asserted that it was founded in 1575 by Dr. David Powel (vicar of Ruabon, 1571-98), who was also its first master until his death, when he was succeeded by his son Richard.<sup>3</sup> Bowen based his assertion on references in the parish registers before 1600 to several ushers of the school; unfortunately he did not deem it necessary to publish these, and one has looked in vain for them. A more

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- 1 The house was built about 1765 by James Buttall, a wealthy ironmonger of the Strand, and a native of Wrexham. (Palmer, *A History of the Older Nonconformity of Wrexham and its Neighbourhood*, pp. 80, 102). The private school was started by a Mr. James Jackson; about 1861 it was taken over by Mr. J. Pryce Jones, and then, on his death in 1877, by Mr. W. J. Russell, who became the first head master of the new County School.
  - 2 Carlisle (*op. cit.*, ii, p. 946) errs in attributing its foundation to Dame Dorothy Jeffreys of Acton. Her legacy was the means of eventually establishing two elementary schools for boys and girls respectively, though the H.M. of the Grammar School received £62 p.a. for a time from it.
  - 3 Article by G. G. Lerry in *Wrexham Leader*, 18th July, 1941. According to D. R. Thomas (*op. cit.*, iii, 286), and R. T. Jenkins (*Y Byngraffiadur Cymreig*, p. 725), David Powel was succeeded in the living by his son Samuel.

thorough examination of the registers than was possible to the present writer may substantiate his claim; on the other hand, there is more than a faint possibility that it may prove to be the fantasy of a vivid imagination rather than the product of disinterested enquiry.

The *Report* of the Assistant Charity Commissioner for 1837 states that a certain Thomas Nevitt (or Nevett), citizen and draper of London, and a member of the Girdlers' Company, left a legacy of £2 a year to the schoolmaster at Ruabon in 1633.<sup>1</sup> This statement (the earliest recorded in print) can be accepted without question, for it is corroborated by the copy of Nevitt's will at Somerset House.<sup>2</sup> He instructed that a tenement and twenty-four acres of fresh marsh land in Romney Marsh should be bought by the Girdlers Company (whom he constituted his trustees for the purpose) and that they, in turn, should

“truly pay or cause to be paid the somme of three pounds and fiftene shillings of lawfull money of England in manner and forme following (That is to say) To the Schoolemaster of the new erected free Schoole in Reabon in the countie of Denbigh aforesaid for his better maintenance for teaching of poore men's children there the yearely somme of fforty shillings to be paid unto him on the first daye of November in every yeare yearely . . . . And if it happen the said schoole shalbe discontinued and there shalbe noe schoolemaster there to teach and instruct children then my will and mind is that the said Master and Wardens of the said Art or Mistery of the Girdlers of London from tyme to tyme for the tyme being shall well and truly pay or cause to be paid the said yearly somme of forty shillings (soe lymited to be by them paid to the said schoolemaster as aforesaid) unto forty poore persons of the said parish of Reabon such as the Parson or Minister and churchwardens and others of the moste grave and discreetest parishioners of the said parish shall make choice of to be equally distributed amongst them on St. Thomas day yearly. . . . .”

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1 *R.C.C.*, 1837, p. 133.

2 *Prerogative Court of Canterbury*, 127 *Russell*. Will dated 28th June, 1633, and proved 6th November, 1633.

It is clear that the school was already in being when Nevitt made his will; it had probably been erected by public subscription.<sup>1</sup> It is clear, too, that the school was "free," i.e., free to all the children of the parish, though it is doubtful whether all such children did, or were allowed to, attend by 1753.<sup>2</sup> Thomas Nevitt (whose surname is the anglicised form of Ednyfed, which appears frequently in the parish registers of Ruabon) was not therefore the founder of the school but its earliest benefactor.<sup>3</sup> Nothing has come to light to reveal the founder's name, but one would like to hazard the opinion that the moving spirit behind the school was the then vicar of Ruabon, Dr. Richard Lloyd, father of Humphrey Lloyd, bishop of Bangor (1673/4-1688/9).<sup>4</sup>

Erected in 1632 and endowed in a modest way the following year, the school made a very uncertain start. At an Inquisition<sup>5</sup> into the state of charitable bequests held at Wrexham on 12th September, 1649, the Commissioners found from the evidence of a jury of twelve lawful men "and other evidences" that Thomas Ednyfed had bequeathed an annual legacy of two pounds to the schoolmaster at Ruabon, that this had been admitted in writing by the Warden of the Girdlers' Company, but that the sum of £26 10s. 0d. of lawful English money was due from the Company up to 1st November, 1649,—to the schoolmaster, the vicar, and to thirty poor parishioners; for Nevitt had also left ten shillings to the vicar for preaching a sermon every Good Friday, and twenty shillings to be distributed by him immediately afterwards among thirty deserving poor.<sup>6</sup> Simple arithmetic suggests that the Girdlers' Company had paid these three legacies regularly up to and including

1 *R.C.C.*, 1837, p. 127; *St. Asaph: Bishop's Visitations. Queries and Answers*, 1753 (at *N.L.W.*); Lewis, *Topographical Dictionary of Wales*, ii, p. 364.

2 *Visitation returns*, 1753.

3 His name (spelt Nevett) appears in the *Roll of the Drapers' Company of London*, p. 132 (ed. Perceval Boyd). He received his freedom "by apprenticeship" in 1607. From his will it is clear that he amassed considerable wealth, and that he was a staunch Protestant.

4 D. R. Thomas, *op. cit.*, i, p. 354; *Al. Ox.*, iii, 928. Thomas, however, seems to have confused him with the Rev. Richard Lloyd (1595-1659), theologian and schoolmaster. *Y Bywgraffiadur Cymreig*, p. 553.

5 *P.R.O.: Lists and Indexes*. No. x. List of the Proceedings of Commissioners for Charitable Uses, p. 140. (*P.R.O.* c. 93, 20).

6 *P.C.C.*, 127 Russell. For years this sermon was preached in Welsh, under the (mistaken) impression that that was Nevitt's wish. *R.C.C.*, 1891, p. 34; *View of the Ruabon Parish Charities*, p. 1.

November 1641, and the ten shillings to the vicar and the twenty shillings to the poor up to and including Good Friday 1642. Subsequently, however, not a penny had been paid—hence the arrears of £26 10s.; probably the outbreak of the Civil War had made it difficult to transmit the money. Whatever the reason, it had not been paid, and despite the decision of the Commissioners that the arrears should be paid to two of their number (John Pecke and John Lloyd) within six days of notice being given to the Warden of the Company, the school continued to languish. There is no reference to it (or to any other school) during the Commonwealth in Dr. Thomas Richards' list,<sup>1</sup> and even later (in 1666), when the bishop of St. Asaph made a return of schools in his diocese to the archbishop of Canterbury, he referred to Wrexham and Llanrwst, but had nothing to say about Ruabon.<sup>2</sup>

The evidence seems to suggest that the school was in temporary abeyance from 1642 onwards—probably until John Robinson became vicar of the parish in 1675. Some time or other during his stay there (it is reasonable to believe) it may have been revived. He endowed it by will in 1703,<sup>3</sup> and in the fifties of the 18th century the endowment was augmented by others: Ellis Lloyd<sup>4</sup> of Penylan, Richard Davies<sup>5</sup> (another vicar), Edward Lloyd<sup>6</sup> of Plas Madoc, and Randle Jones<sup>7</sup> of

1 *The Puritan Movement in Wales*, p. 226.

2 *N.L.W. : St. Asaph Miscellaneous MSS.*, 802-3. cf. Richards, *Wales under the Penal Code*, p. 161.

3 The lands bequeathed by Robinson consisted of the Cinders Farm in the parishes of Ruabon and Bangor Isycoed, with a total area of 74a. 31p. £12 of the annual income were to be paid to the vicar for preaching a sermon every Sunday afternoon, the remainder to the master of the school. The trustees (until 1853) were the bishop of St. Asaph, the Chief Justice of Chester, and his associate justice.

4 In 1753 he left £200 in money, half of the income of which was to be paid to the master of the school, and the other half to train apprentices. This money, with the Rev. Richard Davies' legacy, was used the same year to buy Nantyr Farm in the parish of Llangadwaladr. *R.C.C.*, 1837, p. 128; 139; *View*, p. 4.

5 He left £200 in 1753; half of the interest thereon to be paid to the master for teaching six poor children, and the other half for apprenticing one pupil (or more). *R.C.C.*, 1837, p. 128, 139.

6 In 1757 Edward Lloyd left £150 in money to provide coals for poor persons (30s. p.a.) and for educating 3 boys (£2 18s. 0d. p.a.) and 2 girls (12s. p.a.) from the township of Cristionydd and Coedcristionydd. The money was used to buy land in Weston Rhyn in the parish of St. Martin's. *View*, p. 5.

7 Randle Jones left £50 in 1753 for the poor and for educating two boys. *ib.*

Penybryn. The original building of 1632 stood in the corner of the churchyard and was used until 1858, when Sir Watkin Williams Wynne made provision for the erection of new premises on the present site in exchange for the old and for the Cinders Farm.<sup>1</sup> The old building still stands, and members of this Society, and especially Old Boys of the school, will rejoice to know that steps are now being taken to preserve it.<sup>2</sup>

### VIII.

The origins of LLANRWST GRAMMAR SCHOOL are even more obscure than those of the four schools discussed hitherto. Nor is this surprising, for Sir John Wynne of Gwydir figures prominently in the story. Most people who are acquainted with Sir John's life and work will think twice, and even thrice, before extolling him as a shining example of unswerving rectitude to the youth of modern Wales. He had his qualities—more perhaps than he is generally accredited with—but complete indifference to the welfare and reputation of his house was not one of them.

The foundation of the school is generally ascribed to the year 1610<sup>3</sup>, and an inscription which is still to be seen on the outside wall of the school lends much support to this view: *Hanc scholam instituit et legata pecunia munifice donavit Ioannes Wynne eques et Baronettus. MDCX.* There is no evidence however that this inscription is contemporaneous with the founding of the school; it is at least certain that it is not in its original

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- 1 The Cinders Farm (then let at £88 p.a.) and the Grammar schoolhouse and garden were exchanged for the new Grammar schoolhouse, garden and adjoining field, together with £200 to build an additional schoolroom and £127 10s. 6d. a year commuted tithe rent-charges in the townships of Moreton-below, Belan, Rhyddallt, Tre Robert Lloyd and Moreton Anglicorum. *ib.*
  - 2 The earliest augmentation of the endowment was lost. It was a bequest made in 1708 by John Probert, a labourer of Church Lawton, Cheshire, and consisted of the annual income from £12 for bread for the poor of Rhos and £8 to the master of Ruabon school for teaching one poor child of Rhos. *R.C.C.*, 1837, p. 143.
  - 3 D. Lleufer Thomas in *D.N.B.*; Glyn Roberts, *Y Byngraffiadur Cymreig*; D. R. Thomas, *op. cit.*, ii, 308-11, 340; T. Richards, *The Puritan Movement in Wales*, 224; W. Williams, *The Llanrwst County School Magazine*, April 1937/8, pp. 1-6; H. Parry Jones, *Yr Hen Ysgol Rad*, 1938. Unfortunately none of these writers adduces evidence for this date. The date in the Episcopal *Visitation Returns* varies from "about 1611" (1791) to "about the year 1631" (1809).

position. But even if there were, it would not afford conclusive proof; Sir John was not above distorting the truth, even on a public inscription, in the interests of his family, however inconvenient such a distortion might prove to be for some of his descendants.

On 4th November, 1612, he drafted some Orders or Statutes for the regulation of Jesus Hospital, Llanrwst. That they were merely a draft is at once obvious from the many alterations they contain, as well as from another source. On 23rd December, 1637, Richard Jeffreys of Beaumaris sent Maurice Wynne (Sir John's son) a copy of the Statutes of Beaumaris Grammar School, adding that if they afforded him any assistance in framing his own he would send him a better copy; at the same time, he advised him to copy the Statutes of Ruthin Grammar School—advice which would surely have been superfluous if his father's Statutes had been enforced.<sup>1</sup> These draft Statutes are nevertheless of considerable interest and value as revealing Sir John's intentions, and insofar as they throw some light on the obscure question of the origins of the school. The document is entitled: "True rules, statutes, directories and ordinances made . . . by Sir John Wynne of Gwydir . . . for the good and quiet ordering, government, directing and visiting of Jesus Hospital in Llanroost . . . erected, founded, endowed and established by the said Sir John Wynne, Kt and Baronett."<sup>2</sup> Nothing could be more explicit; Jesus Hospital, which included a free school, almshouses for twelve poor men, and a warden's house, was founded and endowed by Sir John Wynne himself, and was already in existence in November 1612, when these Statutes were drafted. Unfortunately, however, the treble question which has puzzled all those who have written on the history of the school—the date of its foundation, whether or not it was endowed, and if so, by whom—admits of no such easy solution.

In the first place, it is doubtful whether the almshouses at least had been erected by that date.<sup>3</sup> On 7th July, 1614, Sir

1 *Cal. Wynn Papers*, 1515--1690, No. 1600.

2 *N.L.W. Wynn MSS.*, 604, see App. 3 *post*.

3. An inscription on the almshouses in 1837 read: *Jo. Winn de Gwyder Fil Mauricii Miles et Baronetta fundavit. Ao 1610.* If this stone was inserted in the almshouses while they were building, why should Sir John have

John wrote to his eldest son John (who was then in Florence) informing him that the almshouses and the warden's house were now completed. "I blesse God," he wrote, "that of hys mercy (he) hath granted me tyme to fynyshe the almshouse and the wardens lodgyng by me intended"<sup>1</sup>—which suggests that they had not been "fynyshed" in November 1612. And if the almshouses had not been completed by then, it is possible that the school had not been erected either. Secondly, one of the draft clauses in the Statutes runs as follows :

"I doe appointe that in this foundation there shalbe a free schoole . . . which schoole I intend and purpose (God permitting) to build in Cay Hwlyn."<sup>2</sup>

"I intend and purpose . . . to build"—in November 1612. Nor could this have been a slip of the pen, for he decreed that the schoolmaster should have a convenient house adjoining the school, and "shall have also the grasse of Cay Hwlyn, whereupon the schoole is to be built."<sup>3</sup> It is unlikely therefore that any part of the present Grammar School (the oldest part of which stands on Cae Hwlyn or Heilyn) is older than that date, though the possibility remains that the school itself was founded earlier in another building on another site.

On the other hand, Sir John had written on 9th March, 1614, to his eldest son, who was then in London.<sup>4</sup> Conscious of the brevity of human existence, he deemed it wise to "lay downe in wrytyng with my owne hands what I would have don after my tyme by you if it please God to call me before I see you." The heir was admonished to serve God all his life and never to embrace the Roman Catholic faith; moreover, his father charged him to convey "the hospytall by me founded and builded on the land I did before assure unto you" to the use he intended and to confirm its foundation by statute. In the event,

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thought it necessary to inform his son four years later that they were completed? And if this inscription is misleading, it is equally possible the the one on the school is too. Moreover, if both were cut in the same year (1610), who so much variation in the spelling?

1 *N.L.W. MSS.* 9055E., No. 665.

2 *N.L.W. Wyn MSS.*, 604; Post Appendix 3.

3 *ib.*

4 *N.L.W. MSS.* 9055E., No. 647.

it was unnecessary for the son to take any such action, for his father outlived him many years ; for the moment, however, the clause "by me founded and builded" suggests that the Hospital was in existence at that date, and so too, presumably, the school as one of its constituents. The various premises may not have been entirely completed—the letter written on 7th July suggests that the almshouses and the warden's house had not been quite finished in March—but it is unlikely that even Sir John would have misled his son and heir, especially as he feared his life was drawing to a close. If, in March 1614 he could inform him that the Hospital was "builded," it is difficult not to accept the fact. Conclusive proof is lacking, but the available evidence seems to suggest that that part of the present Grammar School which stands on Cae Heilyn was built between November 1612 (when Sir John recorded his intention to build) and March 1614 (when he referred to the Hospital "by me founded and builded"). It may be significant that the revised draft of the Statutes in the possession of his daughter-in-law, Dame Grace Wynne, was dated 5th February, 1614.<sup>1</sup>

But there was a school in Llanrwst much earlier than this, for on 15th September, 1605, Sir John jotted down some matters which required his attention, and item 5 reads : "make a chimney in the schole."<sup>2</sup> There is nothing in the document to suggest that the school was situated in Llanrwst, still less that it was the free school. But one is more inclined to believe that it was situated there rather than at any other place. What is certain, however, is this : it did not stand on Cae Heilyn. Those premises were erected later.

Even more difficult to determine is whether or not the school was endowed. Sir John was in no doubt at all ; he would have been surprised to learn that posterity did not share his conviction, and even more surprised (and doubtless annoyed) to find that his own kith and kin had their doubts. That he had erected the school, and at his own cost, they were quite certain, but they strenuously denied that he had endowed it. Others, not of his blood, were even more explicit ; the real founder, they alleged,

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1 *R.C.C.*, 1837, Part III, p. 53.

2 *N.L.W. MSS.* 9052 E., No. 358.

was John Williams, a native of Dolwyddelan, who became a citizen of London and goldsmith to James I.<sup>1</sup>

In 1678 the Attorney-General filed a Bill of Complaint<sup>2</sup> against Sir John Wynne of Gwydir (more accurately, of Wattstay), the only surviving male heir of the first Sir John by his son Henry. In it he alleged that "about seventy yeares ago" (i.e. about 1608) John Williams of Dolwyddelan, citizen and goldsmith of London, "was seised in fee, or had a dissposing of and in ye Reversion and Inheritance of the Rectorye Improprate of Eglwysbach . . . expectant upon a long lease for yeares determinable upon ye death of one Thomas Price, late of Plaseyollin." He also had "a great personal estate," and being charitably disposed, he made over in his lifetime, or bequeathed in his will, a considerable sum of money in trust to his son John and to Sir John Wynne of Gwydir (or to one of them), with which they were to erect a schoolhouse, an almshouse and a warden's house in Dolwyddelan. To maintain or endow the charity, he assigned the reversion of the rectory of Eglwysbach upon one or both of them, so that after the lease had determined, its rents, issues and profits should be used to pay an annual salary of £20 to the master of the school, £8 to the usher, and £20 to the warden; the remainder should be used for the relief of ten almsmen,<sup>3</sup> who were also to be supplied with a warm gown every other year.

The two trustees (or one of them), continued the Attorney-General, "finding ye said Dolwythelan to be a mountainous uncouth place and that it would be very Chargeable & difficult to gett tyMBER and other materials for building there," built the

1 John Williams, son of William Coetmor and a kinsman to Sir John Wynne (to whom he advanced money from time to time), made good in London as a goldsmith. A friend of Drayton and of John Owen, the epigramatist, he was interested in literature and antiquarianism. He presented a communion cup to Beddgelert Church in 1610, and is said to have presented many MSS. and books to Jesus College, Oxford. R. T. Jenkins in *Y Byngraffiadur Cymreig*, 983-4; private information from Mr. Robert Owen, M.A.

2 Copy in *N.L.W. Add. MSS.* 470 E., No. 2796.

3 The number stipulated in the draft Statutes was 12, and this was the number in residence in 1786 (*R.C.C.*, 1837, p. 54). In 1791 the rector, the Rev. Edward Edwards, informed his diocesan: "There is also an Alms House, bordering upon the Church, for 12 poor old men who have near 2s. 6d. p. week." (*St. Asaph: Bishop's Visitations. Queries and Answers*, 1791). On the other hand, the Rural Dean in 1749 reported that there was room in the almshouses for 11 men and one old woman for their Bedmaker. (*St. Asaph: Reports of Rural Deans*, 1749).

three premises at Llanrwst, it being understood that the inhabitants of the three parishes of Llanrwst, Eglwysbach and Beddgelert would be eligible to benefit from the charity. John Williams the son, however, either made a grant of his estate and interest in the rectory (subject to the trust) to his co-trustee, or alternatively his interest in it passed to him on his death.<sup>1</sup> On Sir John Wynne's death, his interests passed to Sir Richard Wynne, his heir, who in turn became possessed of the rectory in fee-tail when Tomos Prys, Plas Iolyn, died in 1634; it was then worth about £120 per annum. Sir Richard duly fulfilled his legal obligations: the master and the usher were regularly paid and the almsmen also received some assistance and a new gown in alternate years. Indeed, he exceeded his obligations, for he also paid the vicar of Llanrwst £20 a year for preaching a sermon every Tuesday in the parish church—a payment which the Bill alleged was irregular.<sup>2</sup> These payments were continued for a time by his brother and heir, Sir Owen Wynne, but later he defaulted, with the result that over £300 were due to the master and the usher, or to their legal representatives.<sup>3</sup> On his death his son Richard, "being a person of great integrity and charity," declined to interfere with the revenues of the rectory, whereupon his mother, Dame Grace Wynne, being in possession of all the legal documents, intervened and in effect connived with certain persons unknown to convert the issues of the rectory to her own use. Sir Richard's heiress was his daughter Mary, and the rectory passed either to her or to Sir John Wynne of Wattstay, the only surviving male heir of the first Sir John, but Dame Grace, as Mary's guardian or in connivance with Sir John, still retained its perquisites, "the pious & charitable uses aforesaid being in noe reasonable or conscionable measure answered &

1 The latter of the two alternatives was quite impossible, for John Williams died in 1637—ten years after Sir John.

2 The Attorney-General was evidently confusing the vicar of Llanrwst with the warden of the Hospital. Sir John Wynne stipulated in his draft Statutes that the latter should receive £20 a year and preach a sermon in Llanrwst every fortnight (not every week), and in his will he charged his executors to "maintain a sermon at Llanrwst Church in that sort, order and manner, as the same is now, or hath been maintained, until the tithes of Eglewysvach do fall or come in possession." *R.C.C.*, pp. 55\*-56\*.

3. According to *N.L.W. Add MSS.* 478 *E.*, a certain Mr. Wynne, "late schoolmaster of Llanrwst," claimed £125, a Mr. Owens, "late usher there," £105, and "the executor of one Jones that succeeded Mr. Wynne" £8.

performed." That was the position in 1678; the school was closed<sup>1</sup> and (so we gather from another document<sup>2</sup>) some of the almshouses had been let at rent, while the usher's dwelling-house had become a public house.

Sir John Wynne's reply was very brief: he knew nothing about the whole business. One is inclined to accept his statement; the real defendant, one feels, was Dame Grace Wynne. She stoutly denied almost everything, pointing out that as Sir John Wynne had died in 1627 and John Williams in 1637, the rectory could not have come into the former's hands; unfortunately she confused John Williams the father with John Williams the son. In her view, Sir John had bought the rectory for his own use, and had built the almshouses and the school at his own cost; no doubt he would have settled the rectory upon the charity if he had lived, but unfortunately he died some years before Tomos Prys. As for Roger Wynne, one of the masters of the school who claimed arrears of salary, he had been dismissed by her husband, Sir Owen, because he had forbidden the pupils to say the Lord's Prayer. Sir Owen, moreover, had intended doing what his father had left undone, but he also was forestalled by death. Finally, she referred to a paper dated 5th February, 1614, in which Sir John had made an annuity of £10 to the Hospital from his Brynssyllte estate; she added, however, that it had never been signed and that no such annuity had ever been paid.

In brief, the Crown alleged that if Sir John Wynne built the school he had done so as trustee for John Williams; it also claimed that he had endowed it with the rectorial tithes of Eglwysbach. On the other hand, Dame Grace Wynne, while admitting that Sir John built the school, claimed that he had done so at his own expense; she denied that John Williams had had anything to do with it, or that Sir John had endowed it in the manner described. In the words of the 1837 *Report*: "The question at issue is whether those tithes were settled to

1 "At present they are destitute of a schoolmaster and have been so a good while. The usher is one Thomas Jones . . ." Bishop Griffiths of St. Asaph's Answer to the Enquiries of the Archbishop of Canterbury, 1666. *St. Asaph Misc. MSS.* 802-3 (at N.L.W.). By 1678 even the usher had gone.

2 *N.L.W. Add MSS.* 478 E.

support this hospital, or whether they are a lay impropriation in the Gwydir family in its own right, out of which certain payments were charitably but gratuitously made for considerably above a century.”<sup>1</sup> The question was crucial, for charitable and gratuitous payments can cease at will—and that is precisely what had happened in the 17th century and (be it added) what was to happen again in the early 19th century.

Crucial questions however are not always easy of solution ; for some reason or other no legal decree was made in 1678, and the matter came up for further consideration after the publication of the 1837 *Report*. Evidence on some vital points is exasperatingly meagre, but one or two facts are fairly clear. In the first place the Attorney-General (and the Assistant Charity Commissioner a century and a half later) was in error when he alleged that John Williams, senior, was seised in fee of the reversion of the rectory of Eglwysbach. He was never so seised. The rectory had once belonged to Maenan Abbey and had passed at the Dissolution to the Crown who, in turn, had leased it for life to Tomos Prys, Plas Iolyn. Sir John Wynne claimed that he had bought it from the Crown, and his claim can be accepted without reserve, for on 13th December, 1606, Richard Budd enumerated to him the charges involved in its conveyance to his two sons.<sup>2</sup> It is true that, after the purchase, the Crown reserved an annual rent of twenty marks, for on 16th January, 1610, the Deputy-Receiver, David Speed, begged Sir John to send him that sum so that he could account for it to the Treasury ;<sup>3</sup> in March 1614, moreover, Sir John himself referred to the matter in his charge to his eldest son.<sup>4</sup> But the transaction itself is beyond question ; after 1606 Sir John stood in the same relation to Tomos Prys as the Crown had stood earlier.

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1 *R.C.C.*, 1837, p. 55.

2 *N.L.W. MSS.* 9053 *E.*, No. 416. On 20 February following John Wynne, junior, informed his father that “Budd hath received 300 and five and fifty pounds of which I could not have him to bate any part. . . . The assignment shall be sent as soon as may be” (*ib.*, No. 437). Evidently Tomos Prys did not like the transaction, which was recommended to Sir John by Sir Roger Mostyn, his son-in-law, on 5th July, 1604. *N.L.W. MSS.* 9052 *E.*, No. 288. D. R. Thomas (*op. cit.*, ii, 309) errs in dating the purchase 1610.

3 *N.L.W. Add MSS.* 465 *E.*, No. 514.

4 *N.L.W. MSS.* 9053, No. 647.

Secondly, even the Attorney-General made no reference to the means of supporting the Hospital (and *ipso facto* the school) before the lease expired; the salaries payable to the warden, the master and the usher, as well as the assistance to be given to the almsmen, were to be paid after the lease had determined on Tomos Prys' death. Prys died in 1634, but the school and the almshouses had been functioning for many years. Who had supported them in the meantime? It is difficult to say. According to Sir John he had endowed the Hospital with an annual income of £10 in order to comply with the statutory requirements of 43 Elizabeth, whereby the erection of almshouses was authorised without licence of mortmain provided they had £10 a year in lands or rents in possession, not at some future date.<sup>1</sup> Dame Grace Wynne admitted to possessing a document in which Sir John had stated this, but claimed that it was invalid. Even if it were, however (and on this point one is more inclined to accept Sir John's word than that of his daughter-in-law), £10 a year fell far short of the total of £48 payable to the warden, the master and the usher. It was probably intended to meet the legal requirements and no more. But even wardens and schoolmasters have to live, and it is as certain as anything can be in this obscure story that the three offices had been filled for some years before the tithes of Eglwysbach became available. It is possible that the three persons were paid by Sir John himself out of his own pocket; on the other hand, it is equally possible that their stipends came from the considerable surplus of John Williams' gift which (so the Attorney-General alleged) remained after the three premises had been built. We do not know.

The Attorney-General's case therefore was not without its weaknesses, and yet, by and large, one cannot resist the conclusion that it was sound: Jesus Hospital had been endowed with the tithes of Eglwysbach. Sir John Wynne himself admitted as much not only in the title of his draft Statutes but also in the second clause:

“Item whereas the said Sir John Wynne hath endowed the said hospitall with the rector(y) of Eglwysvagh in the said County of Denbigh and Caernarvon, being by estimation of the yearely value of one hundred and fiftie pounds after the

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<sup>1</sup> R.C.C., 1837, p. 57.

particulare estate and lease thereof, nowe in being, determined and ended. Nowe the said Sir John Wynne doth ordaine and appointe that the proffits enolements and revenewes thereof shalbe distributed ordered and used in manner and forme hereafter layd downe and declared. . . .”

He may have delayed taking the necessary legal steps to implement this decision, as in point of fact he delayed conveying Cae Heilyn to the school. But the fact that in his will he specifically gave this piece of land to “the warden and poor people of Jesus Hospital, Llanrwst,” whereas he made no reference whatsoever to the rectory and its tithes is surely significant; the omission can only be understood on the assumption that he had already settled the tithes on the Hospital or (and this is much more improbable, even for Sir John) that he conveniently forgot about it. Moreover, both the Assistant Charity Commissioner in 1837 and the Court of Chancery a few years later were quite clear on the point. True, some of the arguments adduced by the former do not carry conviction; oral tradition can be notoriously unreliable, and though Browne Willis’ *Surveys*, Yorke’s *Royal Tribes of Wales*, and Lewis’ *Topographical Dictionary* have their value for the historian, they can hardly be regarded as standard reference books on an intricate question of law. The Assistant Commissioner made a much better point when he stated that never had the rectory of Eglwysbach been included in any settlement of the Gwydir estate. As for the Court of Chancery, its decision was quite explicit, though the evidence upon which it was made has not been examined: Llanrwst Grammar School had been endowed with the tithes of Eglwysbach, and the new Schemes drawn up in 1851 and 1879,<sup>1</sup> as well as the later Scheme of the Denbighshire Joint Education Committee in 1894,<sup>2</sup> were based upon it.

Assuming, however, that the school had been so endowed, whence came the money for its endowment? Technically at least, from Sir John Wynne of Gwydir; it was he, through his son John, who supplied the purchase money to Richard Budd

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1 Board of Education File, No. 11309.

2 *Scheme for the Administration of the Funds applicable to the Intermediate and Technical Education of the Inhabitants of the County of Denbigh*. . . . First Schedule, First Part. Approved 7th August, 1894.

acting for the Crown, and it was to him that Budd submitted his account. But did this purchase money come out of Sir John's own pocket, or was it given him for the purpose by John Williams the goldsmith? The question is fundamental, for upon it depends the answer to another—the name of the real founder of the school. Was the school built and endowed by Sir John Wynne? Or was it built by Sir John and endowed by John Williams? Or, again, was it built and endowed by Sir John as trustee for John Williams? Once again the evidence is extremely meagre. There is no reference to the school in the will of John Williams, junior, who died in 1637; indeed, he died a comparatively poor man,<sup>1</sup> and one cannot avoid the conclusion that (as Dame Grace Wynne alleged) he played no part in the business whatsoever. Efforts to trace his father's will have hitherto proved unsuccessful, and it is a weakness of his protagonists that he makes his first (and almost his sole)\* appearance in the story in 1678, some fifty or sixty years after his death. On the other hand, there must have been many persons alive in that year who were acquainted with his career and benefactions. To reject the Attorney-General's case out of hand, moreover, implies accepting a remarkable piece of fabrication. Who could possibly have invented the part played by the goldsmith, and for what reason? The all-important question to decide at that time, as in the 19th century, was not who founded the school but whether or not it had been endowed. The evidence is meagre for asserting categorically that John Williams was the real founder of the school and that Sir John Wynne merely acted as his trustee; it is even more meagre to question, still less reject, the decision of the Court of Chancery.

It is doubtful whether any completely satisfactory account of the origins of Llanrwst Grammar School can ever be written.

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- 1 He stipulated that his body should be buried in St. Peter's, Westcheap, "with as litle charge as maie be by reason my personall estate is very meane at this present." *P.C.C.*, 127 *Goare*.
  - 2 The only person, so far as is known, who stated categorically that John Williams founded and endowed the school was a certain "Pertheos" in *Y Brytbon*, 11th December, 1913. Can the "Mr. Williams" referred to by Bishop Richard Parry in a letter to Sir John Wynne, 8th Feb., 1618, be John Williams? If so, is there any significance in the fact that in it he refers twice to Sir John's "Christian charity" or "bountie," and to Williams, "industry" and "labour" "for ye edifyinge of God his church, and ye instruction of his people"? *N.L.W. MSS.* 9056 *E.*, No. 859.

It is at least certain that far more data will be required than has been adduced in this short discussion ; in particular, careful and thorough search will be necessary among the large collection of Wynne MSS. at the National Library of Wales, among the records of the Court of Chancery, and in Somerset House. A tentative reconstruction of the story however is possible in the light of the evidence consulted. In July 1604 Sir Roger Mostyn advised Sir John Wynne to purchase the rectory of Eglwysbach. By 13th December, 1606, this advice had been accepted, the purchase had been made, and two months later Sir John's eldest son could inform his father that he had, with some reluctance, paid Richard Budd the sum of £355 ; an annual payment of 20 marks however was reserved to the Crown. Meanwhile, Tomos Prys, Plas Iolyn, continued to enjoy the lease of the rectory which he had originally obtained from the Crown, the only difference being that on his death, the rectory itself would pass to Sir John Wynne (or more accurately, to his two sons) rather than revert to the Crown. In 1620 Tomos Prys was "in captivity" in Wrexham and was driven to seek all convenient means to obtain his release ; he was therefore resolved to sell his interest in the rectory of Eglwysbach. Sir Thomas Myddelton of Chirk was anxious to purchase his interest therein, but Prys decided (on his wife's suggestion) to offer the first refusal of it to Sir John Wynne.<sup>1</sup> The offer was apparently accepted, and Sir John Wynne, or one of his descendants, compounded with him for three years.<sup>2</sup> In 1634 Prys died, and the rectory itself, as distinct from the rents and issues for which the Wynnes had previously compounded, passed to Sir Richard Wynne, the then head of the family, who used them to support the charity already established in Llanrwst.

In the meantime, it is possible that Sir John Wynne had opened a school in Llanrwst as early as 1605 ; it is certain that, some time later (the date is unknown, but it was certainly before he made his will) he erected on Cae Heilyn the oldest part of the present school ; certain, too, that in November 1612 he drafted the Statutes of the free school as a constituent element

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1 *N.L.W. MSS.* 9057 *E.*, No. 912.

2 *N.L.W. Add MSS.* 467 *E.*, No. 1876. According to Owen Wynne, however, the Wynnes paid £100 a year to Myddleton for the discharge of Tomos Prys' debt to him.

in Jesus Hospital. It is not so well established that he did all this, and supported the school while he lived, at his own cost. It is more likely that he obtained the necessary money from John Williams the goldsmith with which to erect and then endow the school. If this was so, John Williams is entitled to be regarded as the school's founder. Sir John merely acted as his agent or trustee: he saw to the founding of the school, to the erection of new premises, to the drafting of its statutes, and to its maintenance while he lived. But remembering who he was, and in particular his insatiable greed, the remarkable thing is this: that he did all this at all, and did it so well.

## IX.

This essay is but the latest of several attempts that have been made to elucidate the origins of five of the six endowed Grammar Schools of Denbighshire, and its composition has been greatly facilitated by the pioneering efforts of others. None the less, it remains a commentary on the interim nature of all historical writing. Many problems remain to be solved, and much research will be necessary to discover a reasonably satisfactory solution to them. Such a task awaits the members of this Society, especially those who, in some way or other, are associated with the schools. Even then, when their origins have been fully unfolded and the last (as distinct from the latest) word written about them, their subsequent history requires and deserves attention. That history has been chequered; each school has had its fortunes and misfortunes, its highlights and its shadows. But each in its own way, and according to its own light, has made a solid contribution to the cause of education in Denbighshire, a contribution of which they, and the county, can well be proud.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> I wish to acknowledge gratefully the assistance so readily given me in the preparation of this article by many individuals, and especially by members of the staffs of the National Library of Wales, the Library of the Ministry of Education, the Cardiff Central Library, and the Denbighshire County Library.

## APPENDICES

## 1. Richard Clough and Denbigh Grammar School.

Most writers on Denbigh Grammar School have referred to the bequest made by Richard Clough (d. 1570). Clough was the youngest son of Richard Clough, a glover of Denbigh. He left home at an early age for, first, Chester and later London. He entered the service of Sir Thomas Gresham and became his representative in Antwerp in 1552; it was he who probably suggested to Gresham the founding of an Exchange in London similar to the Bourse in Antwerp. In 1567 he visited Wales and married Katherine of Berain. He returned to the Continent and died at Hamburg in 1570. He apparently intended doing much for his native land, but few of his dreams were realised. (*Y Bywgraffiadur Cymreig*, 72).

All writers seem to be agreed that he made a bequest to his native town for the purpose of establishing a free school there; they differ in the nature and the amount of the bequest. Thomas Fuller, for example (*The Worthies of England* (ed. Freeman), pp. 689-90), asserted that he gave the impropriation of Cilcain, Flintshire, for this purpose, and that it was worth £200 *per annum*. But D. R. Thomas (*op. cit.*, ii, p. 24 note 1) pointed out that Cilcain was never an impropriation, and that, even if it had been, it could never have been worth so much at that time. Pennant followed Fuller and added that the living was annexed as a sinecure to the bishopric of St. Asaph (*Tours*, ii, p. 142). John Williams on the other hand (*Ancient and Modern Denbigh*, pp. 179, 295-6) stated that Clough bequeathed his moveable property to Sir Thomas Gresham, who, however, never claimed it; included in the bequest was one of £100 towards establishing a free school in Denbigh. Finally, there is (or was) a reference to the bequest (£200) on the table of Charitable Bequests in St. Hilary's Chapel, Denbigh.

Clough's wills throw some light on the matter. He made two: a lengthy one, dated September 20, 1568, but not proved until 9th November, 1570, and a very short one, dated 26th February, 1570, proved 27th July, 1570. In the first we find the following:

“I do give towards the makinge of a free schoole in Denbighe the summe of one hundred poundes sterlinge, which is the money that I have allready lente to the towne And that to be bestowed as my brother and my wife shall seme good.”

Unfortunately, however, he made a second, much shorter will (Somerset House, *Lyon*, f. 37) from which it appears that he had suffered some qualms of conscience since making the first. Accordingly, “for the true dischargde and clearying of my conscyence,” he freely gave to Sir Thomas Gresham all his moveable goods “to do his pleasure therewith,” even allowing him to decide whether or not his wife, children and friends should enjoy all or a part of what had been left them originally. It is impossible to say what action Sir Thomas took. In any case, he was under no obligation to hand over £100 to the corporation of Denbigh; all he could do, and all he was expected to do, was to cancel the debt of £100 which the corporation owed Richard Clough. Under the circumstances it is ironical that the corporation at different times should have been so concerned about this bequest; on one occasion at least (21st April, 1640) a small committee was set up to inquire into it with a view to its recovery! Incidentally, the will of 1570 substantiates the views expressed by Gordon Goodwin in *D.N.B.* on the matter.

## 2. Extract from the Will of Valentine Broughton relating to Wrexham Grammar School. (*P.C.C., Bolein*, 52).

Item I give graunte and devise unto the said Richarde Bavande, and John Ffytton, and their heires for ever all and singuler those messuages, lands, tenements and heredytamentes lienge and beinge in Bersham, Esclusham and Broughton in the Countye of Denbighe aforesaid whiche were late the inherytance of John Davies of Earles in the said countye of Denbighe gent. to the intente and purpose and uppon truste and condicion that the said Richarde Bavande, and John Ffytton or their heires shall within the space of one yeaere nexte after my decease by some good & lawefull conveyance in the lawe to be made at the coste and charge of my saide executorr or their heires convaye and assure unto the Mayor and Citizens of the said cyttie of Chester

and to their successors for ever all and singuler the said messuages, landes, Tenements and heredytaments to the severall uses, intents, purposes, lymitations hereafter expressed. That is to saye, that the saide mayor and citizens and their successors shall and maye oute of the yssues and proffytts thereof levye and rayse yearlye for ever the some of Sixe poundes thirtene shillings four pence of lawfull money of England for and towards the mayntenaunce of a schoolemaster for the tyme beinge in the Towne of Wrixham within the countie of Denbigh for the educatyon of youthe in good erudicion and learnynge there, and Three poundes sixe shillings eighte pence more yearlye for ever for the better mayntenaunce of the singinge men and quiristers in the parishe Church of Wrixham aforesaid. And my will and mynde is that if hereafter there shalbe no singinge menne and quiristers allowed in the same parishe Church That then the benyfytte of the said Three poundes sixe shillings eighte pence shall from tyme to tyme come to the use and benyfytte of the saide schoolemaster for the tyme beinge for ever, to the intente & purpose that the said schoolmaster for the tyme beinge shall from tyme to tyme for ever teache gratis Twelve poore schollers to be allowed by the churchwardens of the same parish Church for the tyme beinge. . . .

**3. Sir John Wynne's draft Statutes for Llanrwst Grammar School.** (*N.L.W. Wynn MS.* 604, f. 5 and 6).

Concerninge the schoolehouse schoolmaster and his place, &c.

1. Imprimis I doe appointe that in this foundation there shalbe a free schoole, which is to be (?) at Cay Hwlyn which schoole I intend and purpose (God permitting) to build in Cay Hwlyn, togetherwith a convenient lodging for a schoolmaster, which head schoolmaster shall have as his stipend xx li per annum, to be payd him quarterly by even and equall porcions a convenient lodging annexed (as aforesaid) unto the said schoolehouse he shall have also the grasse of Cay Hwlyn, whereupon the schoole is to be built and the benefit of the entrie money and all othere profitts and emoluments that shall happen and appertaine unto him by this schole, soe farreforth as he shalbe lycensed to take and levye by these statutes and noe further.

2. Item I ordaine that this head schoolmaster shalbe a man above the adg of two and twenty, a graduat of one of bothe the universities of this land Oxenford or Cambridg And such a one that hath skill both in the greeke and Latyne tongue soe recommended from the university or the place of his last abroad, in respect of his life and knoweledg that he may be nominated by the ffounder and allowed by the ordinary.
3. Item I ordaine that the said schoolmaster have the charge and care of all the schoole, And shall without affection or partiallyty indeavour and labor the good of all the schoolers but especially that he teach all them that shall read any authors above Cato, Corderius or Aesops fabules, the benefytt of all which schollers shall fully and entirely redound and come to him himself (as these Statutes shall allowe).
4. Item I ordaine that the said schoolmaster shall have a sett for(m of) prayer in his schoole, to be read or distinctively sayd . . . in the schoole att comeing and parting, wherein they shall pray for Gods grace and guidance, that he may add a blessing unto their labors and stydys and pray for their founder and benefactors as farre forth as it may be agreeable with the cannons and constitution of our church and stand consonant with the lawes of the realme of England.
5. Item I doe ordaine that the said schoolmaster shall have a shorte materiall . . . Catechisme wherein he shall instruct his scholers every Friday in the afternoone, until it be betweene two and three of the clocke in the afternoone, and then dismisse them for that day. And be it remembered that it is my will and meaning that Cay hwlyn aforesaid shall not be plowed and that noe part of it may be inclosed, severed (?) or lessed, but that the scholars may have liberty to play all over it.
6. Item I doe ordaine that if the said schoolmaster shalbe culpable or found guilty of any capitall crimes, viz murther adultery heresie blasphemey perjury theft robbery or the like or any other heynious fault as is aforesaid it may and shalbe lawful for the gwarden to call and convene him before the founder and any neighboring Justice of the peace in the county of Caernarvon or Denbigh and soe deprive him out

of his schoole or any place else that he shall have or hold in this hospitall And then the founder withall the convenient (?) speed he may within three monthes att the most shall electe and nominate anothere qualified as is afore required to succeed in his place, and yf the founder doth neglect or be deficient herein, then it may be lawfull for the warden to repayre unto the Lord Byshop of St. Assaph and he to appoint another soe qualified as is required by these statutes so to supply and enjoy the place for that . . . . . moreover yf the said schoolemaster doe be negligent of his place soe misbehave and miscarry himself that after warning he doth not explaine himself, it shall and may be lawfull for the founder or gwarden in the presence of twoe of the almsmen to call the said schoolemaster to.....  
 .....And if his offence be so heinous that it deserves greater penalty then to referre to the founder, with whome the said warden shall joyne to punish him as shalbe fitting—either by taxacion or deprivation. And the moneys that shall happen eithere by the vacancy of the place by death or depriving or by taxacions for penalty to be put to the common treasury, and the cause according to all circumstances of tyme place and person to be registered as aforesaid in the record of the said hospitall.

7. I ordaine that the said schoolmaster have his entrance money for every scholer that cometh to the said schoole except he be of the comott of Nanconway, of the parish of Eglwysvagh the parish of Llanroost the parish of Llanfrothen and the parish of Bethkelert for all which that cometh out these excepted parts he shall recive but xiid a boy. And he onely to have the benefitt of the entry money of all the schollers that shalbe under his tuition, and the Usher the like (?) of such that are under his tuition as aforesaid. And be it further enacted that the said schoolmaster and usher may make agreement (with) the parents of all foreeners and take what he can gett except they be inhabitants of these excepted places, out of which places, yf any ..... shall pay entrance fee anew.
8. Item I ordaine that the schoolmaster shalbe nominated allways by the founder and the warden and shalbe the

treasurer of the said hospitall, whose office in that respect shall be to gather the rents and renewes of the said house and to sell the tythes and comodities of the said hospitall provided allwayes that the sayd treasurer shall not sell the said tythes nor any othere comodityes belonging unto the said hospitall without the assent and pryvity of the said founder or his heires the warden or one of them. And that the said treasurer shall find two sufficient men to be bounded with him to the founder or his heires and the warden for the tyme being, that the bonds and obligacions for tythes or any othere comodytys that belongeth to the said hospital and house abiding in his custody and keepeing, be safe and forthcomeing without any fraud or gule, for the generall good of the house when by the founder and warden it shalbe required.

9. Item I doe ordaine and appoint that the said schoolmaster as he is treasurer shall have att the tyme of devidence xls yearly payd him, in leiu of his cares and in respecte of his faythfull paynes taking therein his treasureship. And his cheifest care theirein must be that att the tyme of the Audits he see that their full and perfect accompt be made. And all increments and decrements belonging or anywayes appertaigneing unto the house to be sett down and fayrely written in the house records and safely kept as their treasure.

Memorandum that if the scholemaster be a drunkard . . . . and doeth neglect his schole, then to be deprived.

and if the scholemaster doth not reforme hisself after admonishment (?) and amercement, then to be deprived.

Provided that if the porcion of the tenth of Vagh doe fall to so small a rate that things cannot be performed as they are in these statutes laid downe, then I doe ordaine that for that tyme three of the almesmen be cash . . . for that tyme onelie to help the house and their roomes and cells to be allowed the other almesmen to keepe their . . . . . or for what other use they shall best like.

Alsoe (?) in the like case I doe appoint that tenn pounds be deducted out of the Gwardens fee to help the house for that tyme.



## RHYFEL Y DEGWM 1886—91<sup>1</sup>

“Nes na’r hanesydd at y gwir di-goll  
Ydyw’r dramodydd, sydd yn gelwydd oll.”

Y ffordd orau o ddigon i gael gafael ar awyrgylch cyfnod Rhyfel y Degwm ydyw darllen nofel y Parch. E. Tegla Davies, *Gwr Pen y Bryn*. Tybiwn wrth ddechrau paratoi’r papur hwn y gwnâi hanes y Rhyfel destun eithaf addas i ddarlith ac ysgrif gymhedrol eu maint: gwn yn well erbyn hyn. Ni allaf yma ond rhoi detholion o ddigwyddiadau’r datblygiad pur bwysig hwn yn hanes twf Radicaliaeth Cymru, a’ch cyngori i fynd at nofel Mr. Tegla Davies os ydych am *ddeall* yr helynt.

Yn yr hyn sy’n dilyn, ceisiaf amlinellu datblygiad “pwnc y degwm” gan arwain i mewn i’r rhyfel ei hun. Rhaid bodloni ar roi manylion am un yn unig o’r prif helyntion, sef helynt Llangwm. Dewisais Langwm am ddau reswm: yn bennaf am mai yng Ngherrig y Drudion y rhoddwyd y ddarlith, ac yn ail, am nad yw’r adroddiadau am yr helynt hwnnw yn *Cwm Eithin a Chofiant Thomas Gee* ddim yn hollol gywir.

Yna, ceisiaf drafod yn fras hynt yr helynt dan arweiniad cyfrwys y Cynghrair ar ôl yr Ymchwiliad yn 1887 ac wedi hynny, ceisiaf drafod y cwestiynau pwysig: Pwy oedd yn gyfrifol am yr helynt, beth oedd eu hamcanion a phaham y torrodd yr helynt yn y blynyddoedd hyn? Wrth derfynu, cyffyrddaf yn brin iawn â rhai o effeithiau’r cyffrawd ar ddatblygiad gwleidyddol Cymru.

### I.

#### CWYNIION CYNNAR YN ERBYN DEGWM

Mae degwm, neu daliad penodol tuag at gynnal crefydd, yn hen sefydliad: fe’i ceid hyd yn oed yng Ngroeg glasurol<sup>2</sup>; ac fe ellir ei gyfiawnhau’n ysgrythurol, o leiaf o’r Hen Destament. Er enghraifft, wrth gyfamodi â’i dduw ym Methel, addunedodd Jacob “. . . ac o’r hyn oll a roddech i mi, gan ddegymu, mi a’i

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1 Traddodwyd rhan o’r papur hwn yn ddarlith i’r Gymdeithas yng Ngherrig y Drudion, Mehefin 13, 1953, dan lywyddiaeth Mr. Cyril O. Jones, Wrecsam.

2 *Report of Royal Commission on Tithe Rentcharge* 1935 para., 7.  
Gw. hefyd *Encyclopaedia Britannica* dan *Tithes*.

degymaf i ti”<sup>3</sup>; ac yn Lefiticus drachefn, gorchmynnir “. . . . holl ddegwm y tir . . . . cysegredig i’r Arglwydd yw”<sup>4</sup> ac efallai y dylem sylwi yma fod y gorchymyn yn dweud am y degwm “ni ellir ei ollwng yn rhydd” !

I lawr yr oesoedd, telid degwm o gynnyrch y tir i’r eglwys, ac yn y Canol Oesoedd, cawn Iolo Goch yn ei gywydd i’r Llafurwr yn dweud

“O rodder, hael yw’r hoywdduw,  
Offrwm a’i ddegwm i Dduw,  
Enaid da yna uniawn  
A dal i Dduw, dyl y ddawn.”<sup>5</sup>

A “Sion Cent” yntau, wrth ddangos *Y Ffordd i’r Nef*, yn argymhell :

“Awn bob dau, nid gau gennad,  
I eglwys Dduw, gloyw ei stad,  
A thalwn (pam na thelir ?)  
Offrwm a degwm o dir.”<sup>6</sup>

Mae’n debyg bod, o bryd i’w gilydd, rhai’n cwyno na chaent werth eu pres gan yr offeiriad, ac erbyn diwedd y Ddeunawfed Ganrif ceir enghreifftiau lu yn anterliwtiau Twm o’r Nant<sup>7</sup> a cherddi Jac Glan y Gors<sup>8</sup>. yn awgrymu fod y person bollog yn poeni mwy am ei ddegwm nag am eneidiau’r plwyfolion.

Ar ôl y Diwygiad Protestannaidd, daeth mwy o achos cwyno na chynt. Mewn llawer lle yr oedd degymau’r plwyfi wedi eu trosglwyddo gydag eiddo’r mynachlogydd i wŷr lleyg<sup>9</sup>, ac mewn

3. Gen. xxviii, 22.

4. Lef. xxvii, 30-34.

5. *Iolo Goch ac Eraill* (1937), t. 79.

6. *ibid.*, t. 274.

7. e.e. *Tri Chryfion Byd*.

“Mae’r personied enwog run fath a dynion Y sulie a’r wythnose am y byd a’i fusnesion, Ni ddwedan nhw’n amser air o’i le Oni bydd y degyme’n geimion,” a sgwis Rhys a’r Esgob yn *Pedair Colofn Gwladwriaeth*.

8. e.e. *Person Aberteifi a Gwrandawed Pob Cymro* yn *Gwaith Glan y Gors* (Cyfres y Fil), tt. 35-39.

9. Yn *Welsh Land Commission Report* (C-8221 1896), t. 537, rhoddir cyfanswm degymau Cymru’n £304,409 5s. 6c. O hyn ai £154,696 2s. 1c. i’r personiad plwyf, £74,298 3s. 8c. i ddegymwyr Eglwysig (esgobion, glwysgorau, etc.), £66,842 7s. 2½c. i ddegymwyr lleyg, a £8,572 12s. 6½c. i ysgolion a cholegau.

achosion eraill wedi eu trosglwyddo i sefydliadau, yn ysgolion a cholegau. Mewn llawer plwyf, yn arbennig yn y De, ni chât'r person druan ond ychydig iawn o'r degwm : yn Llandyfaelog, Caerfyrddin, er enghraifft, ni chât ddim ond £11 13s. 4c. allan o ddegwm o £756 a godid yn ei blwyf.<sup>10</sup>

Gwaethygodd y sefyllfa fwy fyth yng Nghymru pan ddaeth mwyafrif y genedl, fel canlyniad uniongyrchol neu anuniongyrchol i'r Diwygiad Methodistaidd, yn Anghydfurfwyr, oherwydd erbyn hyn gorfodid hwy i dalu degwm i gynnal Eglwys nad aent fyth ar ei chyfyl, a hynny'n ychwanegol at dalu'n wirfoddol tuag at gynnal eu capel hwy eu hunain.

Mor gynnar â 1798 yr oedd Thomas Roberts, Llwynrhudol, ar ôl condemnio'r Degwm fel lladrad, wedi amlinellu ffordd gyfansoddiadol i'w ddiddymu,<sup>11</sup> ond nid oedd gwerin Cymru eto'n aeddfed i ddilyn ei gyngor. Wrth ddarlunio Cymry 1835 dywed David Rees, Llanelli :<sup>12</sup>

“Nid oeddynt yn amau nad oedd talu degwm yn hollol ysgrythurol, ac mai pechod fuasai gwrthwynebu yr hyn a ystyrient yn ordinhad Duw.”

Ac yr oedd John Elias, wrth gwrs, yn gadarn yn y ffydd hon.<sup>12a</sup>

Ond awgrym David Rees wrth ysgrifennu hyn ymhen deng-mlynedd-ar-hugain ydyw nad oedd y Cymry yn 1865 o'r un farn. Erbyn ail hanner y ganrif yr oedd gwerin Cymru'n aeddfedu'n wleidyddol, ac yn paratoi ar gyfer y brwydro mawr yn erbyn gormes a rhagorfraint.

Cawsant loywi eu harfau yn y frwydr yn erbyn y Dreth Eglwys,<sup>13</sup> a diddorol yw sylwi bod cyfeirio mynych at yr ym-

10 Gw. R. T. Jenkins : *Hanes Cymru yn y 19eg Ganrif*, t. 146, yn dyfynnu o *Rebecca Commission Report*. Gw. hefyd Syr Thomas Phillips : *Wales* (1849), t. 201, lle ceir tablenn yn dangos degymau esgobaethau Cymru, y swm a delir i offeiriaid plwyf a'r symiau a delir i eraill. “In parts of St. Davids, parochial clergy get only a quarter of the tithes.”

11 Gw. *Cŵyn yn Erbyn Gorthrymder*, tt. 30 i'r diwedd.

12 *Diwygïwr*, Rhagfyr 1865.

12a Cymanfa'r Bala, dan arweiniad Elias, yn condemnio'r ymdrechion a wneid i sicrhau datgysylltiad, Mehefin 1834. Gw. *Welsh Land Commission* (1896) *Report*. App. C. p. 187, para. 13.

13 D. Price : *Dyddiau y Dreth* (1854). Gw. hefyd R. T. Jenkins : *Hanes Cymru yn y 19eg Ganrif*, tt. 106-8, a T. Gwynn Jones : *Cofiant T. Gee*, tt. 120-34. Efallai y caf gyfle mewn rhifyn arall i drafod y pwnc ymhellach.

gyrch yn erbyn y Dreth Eglwys gan ymladdwyr Rhyfel y Degwm. Ond mor ddiweddar â 1843 yr oedd adran fawr o'r genedl yn rhy anaeddfed yn yr ystyr wleidyddol i wneud dim namyn *terfysgu* o dan arweiniad Rebecca.<sup>14</sup>

Plediai'r arweinwyr Radicalaidd arnynt i beidio â thorri'r gyfraith, eithr yn hytrach i ymddiwyllio ac ennill eu pwynt trwy ddulliau cyfansoddiadol.<sup>15</sup>

Un o'r prif gwynion gan y terfysgwyr yn Ne Orllewin Cymru y pryd hyn ydoedd y Degwm. Yn wir, barn y Comisiwn a ymchwiliodd i'r helynt ydoedd :

“The Tithe Commutation Act, respecting the working of which great dissatisfaction was expressed by the owners and occupiers of lands, especially in the Western portion of South Wales, was second only to the turnpike system as a cause of dissatisfaction.”<sup>16</sup>

Rhaid i ni bellach ystyried y Ddeddf bwysig hon—Deddf Cyfnewid y Degwm 1836. O dani rhoddwyd pen ar *gasglu'r degwm* yn llythrennol, h.y., nid âi'r person neu gynrychiolydd perchennog y degwm o gwmpas y ffermydd gan hel y ddegfed ysgub neu'r ddegfed rhan o'r cynnyrch. Trefnodd y Ddeddf i gyfnewid y degwm mewn cynnyrch i fod yn daliad *ariannol*, wedi ei benderfynu yn ôl rhent y tir a chyfartaledd prisiau yd dros y saith mlynedd blaenorol.

Nid oes amheuaeth nad oedd hyn yn fwy cyfleus na'r hen ddull, ac eto, cwyno blin a geir yn ei erbyn gan derfysgwyr Becca ac eraill. Pam?

Yn gyntaf am fod prisiau yd o 1837 ymlaen yn gostwng, a'r *rent-charge* a bennwyd ar brisiau'r blynyddoedd cynharach felly'n fwy na'r degfed rhan o'r cnydau ; ac yn ail, am y gallai talu mewn arian parod fod yn anodd i ardaloedd tlodion anhysbell.

14 Gw. llythyr Becca at berson gormesol yn R. T. Jenkins : *Y Ffordd yng Nghymru*, t. 150.

15 Gw. y *Diwygiwr* a *Cronicl* (S.R.), 1843-4 *passim*.

16 Rebecca Report, dyfynnir gan *Tithe Rentcharge Inq. (1935) Report*, t. 462. Diddorol yw sylwi bod cwyno difrifol yn erbyn *apportionment* y degwm yn Penbryn, Aberteifi—*Rebecca Report*, t. 28. Cafwyd terfysgoedd degymu yn y plwyf hwn yn 1888, gw. adran III, nodyn 16 isod.

Bai penna'r Ddeddf, fodd bynnag, ydoedd caniatâu i'r landlord a'r degymwr bennu swm y degwm trwy gyfundeb, ac yna ganiatâu i'r landlord drefnu gyda'i denantiaid iddynt hwy dalu'r degwm. Tueddai'r tenantiaid i weld y taliad hwn fel ychwanegiad at eu rhenti a oedd eisoes lawer yn rhy uchel.

Yn ddamcaniaethol, yr oedd pennu'r degwm ar gyfartaledd prisiau ŷd y saith mlynedd blaenorol yn drefniant eithaf da, ond pan roddwyd ef ar waith nid oedd cystal, Pan ostyngai prisiau cynnyrch fferm—fel y gwnaent o dro i dro—byddai'r degwm a bennwyd ar brisiau'r saith mlynedd cynt lawer yn uwch na'r ddegfed ran o gynnyrch y flwyddyn "isel." Yn y man, pan godai prisiau eto, fe geid blynyddoedd pan nad oedd y degwm yn agos i'r ddegfed ran,<sup>17</sup> ond prin y gellid disgwyl i denantiaid tlodion, ynghanol y blynyddoedd llwm, werthfawrogi hynny.

Yma bydd cystal i ni sylwi fod problem y Degwm yn fwy difrifol o lawer mewn rhannau o Loegr nag ydoedd yng Nghymru : pan bennwyd y Degwm yn 1836, ar sylfaen cynnyrch ŷd y tir y gwnaed hynny, ac nid oedd Cymru'n wlad i dyfu llawer o ŷd. Ar gyfartaledd yr oedd Degwm Cymru'n 1/4 yr acer, a Degwm Lloegr a Chymru yn 3/6, ond yn East Anglia ceid degymau o gymaint â 14/- yr acer.<sup>18</sup> Pan ddechreuodd ŷd America ddylifo i'r wlad, ac i bris ŷd cartref ostwng yn isel iawn, yr oedd llawer o ffermwyr tiroedd brasaf Lloegr ag achos mawr i gwyno, a cheir llawer enghraifft o fethu talu na rhent na degwm, a gadawyd rhai ffermydd yn weigion o fethu cael tenant iddynt.<sup>19</sup>

Eto, yng Nghymru y cafwyd y *Rhyfel*, er nad oedd y degwm mewn swm mor feichus yma ag yn Lloegr. Pam?

Yr ateb yw fod mwyafrif y Cymry'n Ymneilltuwyr, ac ni welent pam y dylai Eglwys Loegr yng Nghymru fwynhau'r breintiau a ddeuai iddi yn rhinwedd y ffaith mai hi oedd yr Eglwys Sefydledig. Mewn llythyr at Lord John Russell yn 1850, awgryma *'Rhen Ffarmwr* y dylid trosglwyddo'r degwm a'i ddefnyddio yn lle Treth y Tlodion, gan adael i Eglwys Loegr

17 Noda *Croniel* (S.R.) fod y degwm wedi gostwng  $12\frac{1}{2}$  y cant yn ystod y deng mlynedd 1842-52. (*Croniel* 1853, t. 89.)

18 *Tithe Rentcharge Inq.* (1935) *Report*, para. 13.

19 *Tithe Disturbances Inq.* (1887) *Minutes* qn. 3653, ateb y Parch. A. de B. Porter, Ysgrifennydd Ariannol y Dirprwywyr Eglwysig.

godi ei harian fel yr enwadau eraill—"rhoid Eglwys Loegr i fyw ar i 'msiffi i hun, wel y secte erith," ac mewn llythyr at ei landlord yn yr un flwyddyn,<sup>20</sup> wrth sylwi bod ambell landlord yn dychwelyd o ddeg i ugain y cant ar eu rhenti, oherwydd caledi'r amseroedd, "ni chlywis i ddim son fod run person yn troi dim yn ôl y diwrnod talu i neb."<sup>21</sup>

Yn 1844, sefydlwyd "The British Anti-State Church Association for the Liberation of Religion from all State Interference," a newidiodd ei enw yn 1853 i "The Society for the Liberation of Religion from State Patronage and Control." Amcan y Gymdeithas, fel y dengys yr enwau, ydoedd gweithio dros Ddatgysylltiad Eglwys Loegr. Dywed Syr Thomas Phillips<sup>22</sup> na chafodd fawr o gefnogaeth yng Nghymru ar y dechrau, oddieithr gan rai Bedyddwyr ac Annibynwyr, ond dywed Mr. David Thomas fod Cymdeithas Datgysylltiad wedi ei ffurfio mor gynnar â 1833 ym Meirionnydd.<sup>23</sup>

Ar hyd y ganrif, cynyddodd y gefnogaeth i'r syniad o ddatgysylltu Eglwys Loegr, a rhoddwyd ysbardun i'r mudiad yng Nghymru pan basiodd gweinyddiaeth Gladstone y Ddeddf i Ddatgysylltu Eglwys Loegr yn Iwerddon yn 1869.

Yn y Senedd a basiodd hyn, yr oedd cynrychiolwyr "Y Werin Newydd" yng Nghymru, yr Aelodau 2 ddychwelwyd yn Lecswn Fawr 1868. Traddododd G. Osborne Morgan, yr A.S. newydd dros Sir Ddinbych, ei araith gyntaf i'r Senedd wrth gefnogi Datgysylltiad yn Iwerddon, ac ar Fai 24, 1870, mynodd Watkin Williams, A.S., Bwrdeisdrefi Dinbych, ddadl ar gwestiwn Datgysylltiad yng Nghymru.<sup>24</sup> Nid oedd unfrydedd o bell ffordd ymhlith Aelodau Seneddol Cymru mai dyma'r amser priodol i godi'r cwestiwn, ac er bod Thomas Gee yn frwd

20 *Yr Amserau*, 1850. Ail gyhoeddwyd rhai o'r llythyrau'n llyfr yn 1878, gw. tt. 79, 82 ac 86 o hwnnw.

21 Teg nodi yma fod y Dirprwywyr Eglwysig wedi gostwng rhyw 12½ y cant yn eu rhenti yn ystod y pedwar-ugeiniau. Gw. *Tithe Disturbances Inq.* (1887) *Minutes* qn. 3491.

22 Syr Thomas Phillips: *Wales*, t. 177, wrth drafod Cynhadledd y Gymdeithas yn 1847.

23 *Lleufer* Gaeaf 1947, t. 129. Gw. hefyd R. T. Jenkins: *Hanes Cymru yn y 19eg Ganrif*, t. 97, ar waith Hugh Pugh yn Edeirnion yn y cyfnod hwn, a *Welsh Land Commission* (1896) *Report*. App. C., p. 187, para. 13.

24 *Hansard*, May 24, 1870.

o blaid y cynnig, yr oedd *Y Gobebydd* yn bendant yn erbyn ei ddwyn ymlaen ar y pryd.<sup>25</sup> Yn bennaf oll, gwrthwynebwyd y cynnig gan Gladstone, yr Eglwyswr pybyr a oedd newydd ddatgysylltu Eglwys Loegr yn Iwerddon. Collwyd y bleidlais 209 yn erbyn 45.

Ond nid dyna ddiwedd yr hanes; parhau i drafod datgysylltiad a wnâi'r Cymry, ac yn bwysicach, efallai, dyna hefyd a wnâi'r newyddiaduron a'r cylchgronau Cymraeg. Meginwyd y tân gan weithredoedd landlordiaid Eglwysig a'r personiaid yn troi'r "Sgriw" ar ôl Lecsiwn Fawr '68, a phob tro y deuai cyfnod caletach na'i gilydd i fyd y ffermwr, dyrcheffid cŵyn yn erbyn y Degwm.

## II

### RHYFEL Y DEGWM: Y WEDD GYNTAF, IONAWR 1886 HYD AWST 1887

Daeth cyfnod o iselder felly ar ôl 1880, ac erbyn 1885 yr oedd prisiau anifeiliaid hefyd wedi gostwng yn isel iawn, a hynny wrth gwrs yn fwy difrifol i ffermwyr Cymru na'r gostyngiad ym mhris yd.<sup>1</sup> I gyfarfod â'r anawsterau hyn, caniatuodd llawer o landlordiaid ostyngiadau pur sylweddol yn eu rhenti, ac yn Rhagfyr 1885 daeth i feddwl rhai o ffermwyr Llandyrnog i ofyn i'r Rheithor am ostyngiad yn y Degwm.<sup>2</sup> Yn Ionawr 1886 talodd dros hanner cant eu degwm yn llawn iddo, ond gwrthododd 17 â thalu oni chaent "droi'n ôl" rhyw gymaint. Erbyn Mai 1886 cydsyniodd y rheithor (y Parch. David Williams) i ostwng 5 y cant, ac yng Ngorffennaf 1886 ac Ionawr a Gorffennaf 1887, dychwelodd 10 y cant.<sup>3</sup> Caledi'r amseroedd ydoedd rheswm y ffermwyr dros eu cais, a gofalodd "Llewelyn Llwyd" anfon llythyrau i'r *Faner* yn ystod hanner cyntaf 1886 yn rhoi'r hanes i gyd. Erbyn Chwefror 1886 yr oedd ffermwyr Llanynys hwythau'u gofyn am droi'n ôl,<sup>4</sup> a chyn Gorffennaf yr oedd ffermwyr amryw o blwyfi'n gofyn yr un peth.

25 T. Gwynn Jones : *Cofiant T. Gee*, tt. 270-92, a *Baner*, Mai-Mehefin 1870 *passim*.

1 *Tithe Disturbances Inq.* (1887) *Report*, para. 1.

2 Ceir yr hanes gan y rheithor ei hun yn *ibid Minutes* qns. 3420-41, a chan "Llewelyn Llwyd" yn *Baner* Ionawr 20, 1886.

3 *Baner* Mai 19, 1886, a *Tithe Disturbances Inq.* (1887) *Minutes*, qn. 3441.

4 *Baner* Chwefror 20, 1886.

Ceir adroddiadau yn y *Faner* am gyfarfodydd yn Llanarmon yn Iâl a Llandegla<sup>5</sup>, Llanfair Dyffryn Clwyd<sup>6</sup>, Llanrhaeadr yn Cinmeirch, Cerrig y Drudion, a hefyd yn Siroedd Aberteifi, Penfro a Chaerfyrddin. Yn wir, ym *Maner* Medi 15, 1886, ceir hanes plwyfolion St. Botolph, Aldgate, yn gofyn am ostyngiad yn eu Degwm, ac yn cydnabod mai dilyn esiampl y Cymry y maent !

Mewn llawer plwyf, cydsyniodd y person i “droi'n ôl,” ond gwrthodai eraill. Gwrthod hefyd a wnâi'r Dirprwywyr Eglwysig, ac mewn ambell blwyf achoswyd sefyllfa pur gas pan ganiatâi'r person ostyngiad ar ei ran ef o'r Degwm, tra gwrthodai'r Dirprwywyr, neu Ddeon a Glwysgor Eglwys Gadeiriol, neu ryw berchennog arall, megis Christchurch, Rhydychen, unrhyw ostyngiad ar eu rhan hwy.<sup>7</sup>

Lle ceid ffermwyr go bendant, neu (yr hyn sy'n bwysicach mewn gwirionedd) lle ceid dynion galluog a phenderfynol y tu ôl i'r ffermwyr, ceid enghreifftiau o wrthod talu dim, hyd nes y ceid gostwng. A lle ceid person llawn mor benderfynol, dilynid hyn gan “rybuddion deng-niwrnod,” ac oni thelid ar hynny, dilynai atafaelu, ac ymhen amser, gwerthid yr eiddo er talu'r degwm.

Dyna a ddigwyddodd yn Llanarmon yn Iâl<sup>8</sup> lle gwrthododd y ficer, y Parch. Evan Evans, a throi dim yn ôl. Disgwylid ocsiwn yn ffermydd Rhos Ddigre a'r Bryniau ar Awst 23, 1886, ond ni ddaeth ocsiwniâr, gan i'r ficer fethu â chael arwerthwr o Gymro at y gwaith. Ond gan fod tyrfa wedi ymgasglu yno, cynhaliwyd cyfarfod gwrth-ddegymol yn y Bryniau, ac yn ychwanegol at y siaradwyr lleol fel John Parry, Llanarmon, cafwyd anerchiadau hefyd gan Howell Gee a Robert Griffith o swyddfa'r *Faner*. Y mae presenoldeb y gwŷr hyn yn bur arwyddocaol.

5 *Baner* Gorffennaf 28, 1886.

6 *ibid* Mai 19 a Mehefin 23, 1886.

7 Y mae Llanrhaeadr Y.C. yn enghraifft dda o hyn. Yno, am fod y ficer (Parch. J. Parry Morgan) wedi caniatáu troi 3/- y £ yn ôl, talodd y ffermwyr y degymau dyledus iddo ef, ond gwrthodasant â thalu dim i gasglydd y Dirprwywyr er iddo eistedd yn yr un ystafell (yn y *King's Head*) â chasglydd y ficer. *Baner* Chwefror 2, 1887.

8 Am hanes helynt Llanarmon, gw. *Tithe Disturbances Inq.* (1887) *Minutes*, qns. 1049-50, 2946-52, a 4594.  
*Baner* Awst 18, 1886, a T. Gwynn Jones : *Cofiant T. Gee*, t. 455.

Daeth ocsiwnïar (Mason o Gaer) yno ymhen tridiau (Awst 26) gyda'r Prif-gwnstabl Leadbetter, yr Arolygydd Vaughan o Ddinbych, a 60 plisman i'w hamddiffyn. Bu gwerthu pellach yno Medi 10, a dyma'r digwyddiadau sy'n sylfaen i bennod Mr. Tegla Davies yn ei nofel.

Cafwyd atafaelu a gwerthu pellach yn ystod ail hanner 1886 a misoedd Mai a Mehefin 1887 yn Llanfair Dyffryn Clwyd (Medi 3, 1886), Whitford, Sir Fflint, a Pensarn, Abergele (Rhagfyr 1886), ym Meifod, Maldwyn (Mai 11 a 27, 1887), Bodffari (Mehefin 11, 1887), Waun, Llanelwy a Mochdre (Mehefin 16). Dyma'r lleoedd y digwyddodd terfysgoedd ynddynt, ac yr ymchwiliwyd iddynt gan John Bridge yn ddiweddarach.

Yn Whitford y gweithredodd E. J. Roberts (*ap Mwrog*) fel ocsiwnïar am y tro cyntaf, ac ym Modffari y galwyd milwyr i mewn am y tro cyntaf. Gwelir paham y barnai'r awdurdodau ei bod yn rhaid eu cael pan gofir sut gynulliadau oedd yno, a sut groeso a gâi'r degwm-gasglwyr. Rhywbeth yn debyg oeddynt ymhobman, a rhoddaf yma'r hanes am y Rhyfel yn Llangwm, Medi 25 a 27, 1887.

Fel y rhan fwyaf o drigolion Cymru, yr oedd gwŷr Uwchaled yn ymddiddori yng nghwestiwn Datgysylltiad, a chynhalwyd cyfarfod ar y pwnc yng Ngherrig y Drudion, Chwefor 3, 1885,<sup>9</sup> gyda John Roberts, Clust y Blaidd, yn y gadair. Chwarae teg i berson Llangwm, y Parch Ellis Roberts (*Elis Wyn o Wyrfai*), daeth yno i amddiffyn yr Eglwys. Ond, medd adroddiad y *Faner*, "caed gweld cyn y diwedd nad oedd swm ei araith ond rhyw storm fechan mewn tebot." Er hyn, nid oedd y ficer yn amhoblogaidd yn ei blwyf, nac ychwaith yn elyniaethus at y ffermwyr, oherwydd pan aeth Thomas Hughes, Henblas, Simon Jones, Cwmoerddwr, a Hugh Jones, Tŷ Nant, ato ar Fedi 21, 1886, ar ran y ffermwyr, i ofyn iddo wneud gostyngiad yn y degwm, dywedodd wrthynt, *cyn iddynt ei ofyn*, ei fod eisoes wedi penderfynu troi 10 y cant yn ôl. "Felly," medd adroddiad Hugh Jones<sup>10</sup> "cawsom y boneddwr a'r Cristion yn Elis Wyn o Wyrfai, person Llangwm." Yn wir, ar ôl yr helyntoedd mawr

9 *Baner*, Chwefror 18, 1885.

10 *Baner* Medi 29, 1886. Sylwer fod Hugh Evans yn cyfeiliorni pan ddywed yn *Cwm Eithin* (ail arg. 1933), t. 218, i Elis Wyn wrthod gostwng dim i'r ffermwyr.

nid oes ganddynt gŵyn yn erbyn y ficer oherwydd yn erbyn y Dirprwywyr Eglwysig y bu'r frwydr.<sup>11</sup>

Yn Nhachwedd 1886, mewn cyfarfod yn y Tŷ Nant Inn, penderfynodd y ffermwyr na thalent ddim i oruchwyliwr y Dirprwywyr pan ddeuai yno ddydd cyntaf Rhagfyr<sup>12</sup>, ac felly, cawsant rybuddion deng-niwrnod ganddo, yn "aeddffedu" Rhagfyr 18. Cynhaliasant gyfarfod yn ysgol Dinmael<sup>13</sup> i'w "cadarnhau yn y ffydd," ac yno, dan lywyddiaeth J. Roberts, Clust y Blaidd, siaradodd D. R. Daniel, J. Jones, Rhydcymerau, Hugh Jones, Tŷ Nant, a'r Parch. Hugh Ellis, Llangwm, hen ŵr a ddathlodd ei jiwibili fel pregethwr ymhen tri mis wedi hyn.<sup>14</sup>

Ond er disgwyl y beiliaid, ni ddigwyddodd dim hyd fis Mai. Yna, Mai 14, 1887, anfonodd y Dirprwywyr rhyw ugain o feiliaid i atafaelu yn y Groesfaen, Arddwyfaen, Tai Mawr a'r Fron Isaf,<sup>15</sup> ac estynnodd y *Faner* wahoddiad i bawb i'r arwerthiannau "tua dydd Mercher nesaf" !

Ond prin bod angen i'r *Faner* hysbysebu'r *sale* ; yr oedd trigolion yr ardal wedi trefnu *publicity* tra effeithiol i ymdaith yr arwerthwr a'i ogorddlu.<sup>16</sup>

Cychwynodd Inspector Vaughan o Ddinbych gyda 24 o blismyn tua thri o'r gloch fore Mercher, Mai 25, 1887, a chyrraedd i Langwm erbyn tua chwech o'r gloch, gan feddwl y byddai Ap Mwrog, yr arwerthwr, Edward Vaughan, y *Baths*, Rhyl, fel prisiwr, ac Amos Maltby, cigydd o'r Rhyl, yno'n eu disgwyl ; ond nid oeddynt yno. Yr oedd yno, fodd bynnag, dyrfa fawr, gan fod chwech o fagnelau wedi eu tanio gyda bod y plismyn yn y golwg, ac yr oedd merched yr ardal wedi bod yn brysur yn chwythu i'r cregyn bwyd.

O'r diwedd, cyrhaeddodd yr arwerthwr a'i gyfeillion, ac aed i'r Fron Isaf i werthu dwy fuwch, eiddo Thomas Hughes. Trwy'r amser, cadwodd y dyrfa dwrw dychrynlyd, a thafu wyau

11 *Baner*, Mehefin 1, 1887.

12 *Baner* Rhagfyr 8, 1887.

13 *Baner* Ionawr 5, 1887.

14 *Baner* Mawrth 16, 1887.

15 *Baner* Mai 18, 1887.

16 Am ddisgrifiad o'r digwyddiadau, gw. *Baner* Mehefin 1, 1887.

gorllyd a thyweirch, ond ni chynigiodd neb ar y gwartheg. Yn groes i'r arfer hyd hynny, ni phrynnodd y perchennog hwy i mewn, a gwerthodd Ap Mwrog hwy i'w gyfaill Maltby, y cigydd o'r Rhyl. Ar ôl eu gwerthu felly, rhaid oedd ceisio eu gyrru ymaith ar waethaf *obstructionist tactics* y dyrfa, a cheisiwyd mynd â hwy ar hyd y lôn gul i'r ffordd fawr. Ond yn anffodus, wedi iddynt fynd beth o'r ffordd, daeth dyn yn arwain ceffyl wrth rowl (*roller*) anferth o lydan i'w cyfarfod. Gan fod y rowl yn llenwi'r lôn, a'r dyn yn gwrthod bacio, gorfu i'r beiliaid ddychwelyd, a gadael y gwartheg yn y Fron Isaf.

Y rownd gyntaf felly i wŷr Llangwm—ond y rownd gyntaf yn unig ydoedd hon, fel y gwyddent yn dda, oherwydd drwy'r nos carlamai gwŷr ieuainc ar eu ceffylau drwy'r ardal rhag dyfod o'r beiliaid liw nos i gyrchu'r gwartheg.

Daeth yr ail rownd ymhen deuddydd, Gwener, Mai 27, 1887. Y mae gan y *Faner* ddau ddisgrifiad o'r digwyddiadau, yr ail yn llawer cywirach na'r cyntaf, fel y gwelir o'u cymharu â'r dystiolaeth a roddwyd yn y llysoedd wedyn. Yn anffodus dewisodd T. Gwynn Jones y cyntaf ar gyfer ei bennod yng *Nghofiant Thomas Gee*.<sup>17</sup>

Y bore hwn cyflogodd Inspector Vaughan *brake* gan John Williams y *Crown*, Dinbych, i'w gludo ef a'r plismyn, y beiliaid ac Ap Mwrog i Langwm drachefn. Rhoddwyd yr arwyddion gan y gwylwyr, ac yr oedd tyrfa fawr yn disgwyl amdanynt ger y Tŷ Nant Inn. Yna, penderfynodd y dyrfa fynd i gyfarfod yr ymwelwyr, a daethant i gyffyrddiad a'i gilydd ger y Disgarth. Gan mor fawr y dyrfa yn y ffordd gorfu i'r teithwyr ddisgyn o'r cerbyd, a thafwyd tyweirch ac wyau gorllyd at Ap Mwrog a'i gyfeillion, a chillasant beth o'r ffordd.

Yna, medd yr hanes hwn, ceisiodd y gyrrwr yrru ei bâr ceffylau a'r cerbyd drwy'r dyrfa, ond hawdd credu mai rhedeg ohonynt eu hunain a wnaethant, pan gofiwn yr hwtio a'r gweiddi a'r curo padelli a chwythu cyrn a glywid yno.<sup>18</sup>

Fodd bynnag, rhedodd y ceffylau, a thorrodd y pawl rhyngddynt, a chan mor wyllt y rhedent maluriwyd y cerbyd yn

17 Gw. pen. XXIII "Helynt y Degwm," tt. 449-93.

18 "Yr African Band" ydoedd yr enw poblogaidd ar hwn. Gw. *Baner* Chwefror 15, 1888.

erbyn y cloddiau. Ceisiodd John Williams ddal ei afael yn yr awenau, er iddo gael ei daflu o'r cerbyd, ond wedi ei lusgo beth o'r ffordd bu'n rhaid iddo eu gollwng. O'r diwedd safodd y ceffylau ger y *Goat Inn*, wedi eu llethu'n llwyr gan y niwed a gawsant; cymaint oedd briwiau un ohonynt fel y bu'n rhaid ei saethu yn y fan, ac ymhen dyddiau wedyn bu corff y gaseg yn broblem fawr i'r awdurdodau gan na chaniatâi'r ffermwyr ei gladdu yn eu tir hwy gerllaw. O'r diwedd fe'i claddwyd yn rhan anghysegregedig y fynwent newydd ger Llangwm.

Ond i ddychwelyd at Ap Mwrog a'i gwmni. Dalient hwy i gilio o flaen y dyrfa fygythiol tua'r Glyn. Yno, mewn lle a elwid wedyn yn "Allor Ap Mwrog," aeth yr arwerthwr ar ei liniau i erfyn am drugaredd, oherwydd soniai rhai o'r dyrfa am ei fwrw i'r afon. Gorfu iddo ef ac Edward Vaughan (y prisiwr) arwyddo papur i Thomas Thomas, Tŷ Nant: "We hereby promise not to come on this business again in any part of England or Wales to sell for Tithes." Yna, trowyd eu cotiau tu chwith allan, fel arwydd o edifeirwch, a'u rhoi ynghanol y dyrfa i orymdeithio i lawr i Gorwen.

Sonia'r adroddiad am dyrfa rhwng 1,500 a 2,000, ond soniai'r Barnwr Wills yn ddiweddarach am dyrfa o 300. Y tebyg yw mai rhan yn unig o'r dyrfa a hebryngodd yr ymwelwyr tua Chorwen. Y mae'n werth nodi yma hefyd mai arweinwyr y bobl, ac nid y polis, a lwyddodd i atal y dyrfa rhag mynd i eithafion;<sup>19</sup> y mae hyn yn nodweddiadol o holl helyntion Rhyfel y Degwm.

Gorymdeithiodd y tri chant i Gorwen a rhoi Ap Mwrog<sup>20</sup>, Vaughan, Stevens (goruchwyliwr y Dirprwywyr Eglwysig), a'r lleill ar y trên, ac yna aethant i chwilio am fwyd, gan "... osgoi y tai hynny sydd wedi rhoddi cymaint o nodded i'r llu ers cymaint o amser" trwy roddi llety i'r beiliaid. Dyma un enghraifft, yn unig, o'r boicotio a ddaeth yn destun llawer o gyhuddiadau o boptu.<sup>21</sup>

19 Ceir goleuni gwerthfawr ar gymeriad Thomas Thomas yn *Cefn Gwlad*, 1952-3, gan Gruffydd Hughes, Dinmael.

20 Mae eisiau gofalu rhoi'r *ap* i mewn, gan nad oedd gan y tad, *Mwrog*, ddim i'w wneud â'r arwerthiannau. Gw. *Baner* Ionawr 25, 1888.

21 Gw. e.e. *North Wales Chronicle* Mai 18, 1887, a *Baner* Tachwedd 2, 1887.

Yna, medd y *Faner*, aeth pawb tuag adref “heb i ddim gymeryd lle nas gellir gofyn bendith arno.”

Ond prin bod yr awdurdodau o’r un farn. Y peth nesaf ydoedd llythyr gan y Dirprwywyr at Thomas Hughes yn bygwth ei erlyn am iddo eu rhwystro rhag symud y gwartheg o’r Fron Isaf, ac yn hawlio teirgwaith eu gwerth fel iawn.<sup>22</sup> Aeth Thomas Hughes ar ein union i Ddinbych at Howell Gee, ysgrifennydd Cynghrair Gorthrymedigion y Degwm, a ffurfiwyd ym Medi 1886, ac wedi iddo ef a’i dwnrai ysgrifennu at y Dirprwywyr, tynasant eu bygythiad yn ôl.

Yn Chwarter Sesiwn Sir Ddinbych, yn Rhuthyn, Mai 30, 1887, awgrymodd un o’r Ynadon y dylai’r polis “gymeryd gafael yn yr arweinwyr hynny oedd yn symud o fan i fan, gyda’r amcan o gynhyrfu’r bobl.” Atebodd y Prif Gwnstabl: “Y mae’r mater hwn o dan ystyriaeth.”<sup>23</sup>

Y mae’n amlwg yma nad trigolion Llangwm a olygid, a thrwy’r achos, fel y cawn weld, awgrymai’r awdurdodau fod yna ryw *gynhyrfwyr* y tu ôl i’r helyntion i gyd. Dyna hefyd gyhuddiad cyson plaid yr Eglwys, ac yn y man cawn weld mai Thomas Gee yw’r bwgan y maent yn ei ofni.

Er hyn, 31 o wŷr Llangwm a wysiwyd gerbron yr ynadon yn Rhuthyn ar Orffennaf 6, 7, 8 a 12, 1887.<sup>24</sup> Ar gwestiwn man cynnal yr achos, cododd dadlau brwd. Paham na ellid cynnal y treial yng Ngherrig y Drudion, lle’roedd dau Ustus, sef Mr. Mainwaring a Mr. Jones o’r Groydd, yn deall Cymraeg, yn lle mynd at y Saeson i Ruthyn, bymtheng milltir i ffwrdd, a rhoi trafferth a chostau i’r diffynyddion ar adeg mor brysur ar eu ffermydd? Ymddengys bod yna wrthwynebiad gan Ynadon eraill mainc Cerrig i gyd-eistedd â Mr. Jones, Groydd, am iddo fod yn llywydd ar gyfarfod gwrth-ddegymol yn yr ardal, a rhesymau eraill.<sup>25</sup>

22 *Baner* Mehefin 15, 1887.

23 *ibid*, Gorffennaf 6, 1887.

24 *ibid*.

25 Ar y cwestiwn hwn gw. *Baner* Gorffennaf 13 a Awst 10, 1887, ac amryw rifynnau eraill, lle trafodwyd cwestiwn yr Heddynadaeth yn gyffredinol. Yn y cyfarfod a lywyddwyd gan Edward Jones ar Fai 31, 1886, cytunwyd yn unfrydol i anfon petisiwn i’r Senedd yn gofyn am Ddeddf Dirol i Gymru. Yna, aed ymlaen i geisio gostyngiad yn y Degwm dyledus i’r ficer: y llywydd oedd yr unig wrthwynebwyr i’r cynnig hwn. *Gw. County Herald* June 4, 1886, a *Wrexham Advertiser*, June 5, 1886.

Fodd bynnag, yn Rhuthyn y cynhaliwyd yr achos, ac ar ddydd Iau, Gorffennaf 7, cludwyd y newydd i'r llys fod gwraig Edward Davies, un o'r diffynyddion, wedi marw. Gofynnwyd am iddo gael mynd adref, ac er bod yr ynadon yn tueddu at hynny, mynnodd yr erlynydd na ellid caniatáu iddo fynd heb stopio'r achos. Yn naturiol gwnaeth y *Faner* yn fawr o'r digwyddiad yma<sup>26</sup> a gofynnwyd cwestiynau arno yn y Senedd gan T. E. Ellis a Bowen Rowlands.<sup>27</sup>

Yn y llys, dywedai Mr. Cartwright o Gaer, yr erlynydd, fod yr Erlynydd Cyhoeddus yn ystyried yr achos mor ddifrifol nes iddo "i raddau gymeryd yr achos i fyny ei hunan." Y mae'r dystiolaeth a roddwyd yn y llys yn cadarnhau *ail* adroddiad *Baner* M<sup>e</sup>hefin 1, 1887, a'r diwedd fu rhwymo'r diffynyddion i £100 yr un, a meichiafon o £50, a thafu'r achos i'r Frawdlys nesaf.

Bu llawer o holi ar yr Ysgrifennydd Gwladol, Matthews, am yr helynt,<sup>28</sup> ac ar Orffennaf 15, 1887, cynigiodd T. E. Ellis ostwng £2,000 ym mhleidlais y Swyddfa Gartref er mwyn cael cyfle i drafod yr achos.<sup>29</sup>

Yn ystod y ddadl, cydnabu W. Cornwallis-West, A.S. Undebol Gorllewinbarth Dinbych, ac Arglwydd Raglaw'r Sir, fod peth drwg-deimlad rhwng Ynadon Cerrig y Drudion â'i gilydd, ond dywedodd mai'r Erlynydd Cyhoeddus a orchmynnodd gynnal y treial yn Rhuthyn.<sup>30</sup>

Yr oedd yn amlwg erbyn hyn y byddai costau mawr ar y diffynyddion, ac agorwyd Cronfa Gynorthwyol dan ofal Thomas Jones, Ysgol Fwrdd Dinmael, a Hugh Jones, Tŷ Nant.<sup>31</sup>

Yna, soniwyd am symud y prawf ymhellach fyth o'r ardal, a bu T. E. Ellis yn holi ynglŷn â hyn yn y Senedd.<sup>32</sup> Atebodd y Twrnai Cyffredinol ei fod wedi tynnu allan wys o *certiorari* i

26 *Baner* Gorffennaf 27, 1887, lle ceir disgrifiad dagreulol gan T. Jones, *Sgw*/Dinmael, o ddwy ferch fach Edward Davies yn m ynd ato yn y Llys.

27 *Hansard* July 8, 1887. *Baner* Gorffennaf 13, 1887.

28 *Hansard* July 12, 1887, *Baner* Gorffennaf 20.

29 *Hansard* July 15, 1887, *Baner* Gorffennaf 20.

30 Wrth ateb y ddadl hon cyhoeddodd yr Ysgrifennydd Gwladol mai'r Athro John Rhys a fyddai Ysgrifennydd yr Ymchwiliad a wneid gan John Bridge i'r ffrwgd a fu ym Mochdre a manau eraill.

31 *Baner* Gorffennaf 20, a Gorffennaf 27, 1887.

32 *Hansard*, July 18 a 19, 1887. Gw. hefyd *Baner* Gorffennaf 27.

symud y prawf o'r Frawdlys (*Assizes*) i Lys y Frenhines, er mwyn sicrhau prawf teg, ac mai'r llys hwnnw a benderfynai ym mhle y cynhelid y treial. Ar hyn cynigiodd T. E. Ellis ohirio'r Tŷ ar fater o bwys i'r cyhoedd, a llwyddodd gyda chymorth y Gwyddelod.

Gwnaeth araith gref ar waith y Llywodraeth yn symud "y prawf politicaidd cyntaf yng Nghymru," a chwaraeodd ar y sarhad a fwriwyd ar onestrwydd rheithwyr Sir Ddinbych. Mae'n debyg bod rhai gwendidau cyfreithiol yn ei araith, oherwydd ceisiodd y Twrnai Cyffredinol ei wawdio wrth ateb, ond daeth G. Osborne Morgan â'i ynnau mawr i'w amddiffyn. Wrth siarad o blaid y Llywodraeth, cyfeiriodd Mr. Swetenham, A.S. Bwrdeisdrefi Arfon, at y "*wire-pullers*" a ofalai gadw allan o drwbwl eu hunain, ond yn arwain y werin ar gyfeiliorn. Yn yr ymranid, collwyd cynnig T. E. Ellis 188 o bleidleisiau yn erbyn 129.

Pan ddaeth yr achos gerbron y Frawdlys yn Rhuthyn<sup>33</sup> Gorffennaf 20, 1887, awgrymodd y Barnwr Denman i'r uchel-reithwyr nad oedd achos yn erbyn y rhan fwyaf o'r diffynyddion, ond bod tystiolaeth go gref yn erbyn William Williams, Thomas Thomas a John Lloyd. Ar waethaf ei gyngor, fodd bynnag, dychwelodd yr uchel-reithwyr *true bill* yn erbyn y cwbl, ac ar hynny dywedodd y Barnwr nad allai fynd ymlaen â'r achos gan fod y rhybudd o *certiorari* wedi ei dderbyn.

Erbyn hyn, yr oedd achos y "Merthyron" wedi ennyn cydymdeimlad drwy'r byd i gyd; cynhaliodd Cymdeithas *Cymru Fu* Llundain, gyfarfod protest<sup>34</sup> a John Parry, Llanarmon, yn un o'r siaradwyr. Daeth llythyr i'r *Faner*<sup>35</sup> gan J. Hughes Jones, gynt o Langwm, ond erbyn hyn o Ravenna, Los Angeles, ac ym *Maner* Awst 24 cynigiwyd llun<sup>36</sup> o'r merthyron am hanner coron, yr elw at y Gronfa Amddiffyn. Gofalodd Dr. Pan Jones,

33 *Baner* Gorffennaf 27, 1887.

34. *Baner* Awst 10, 1887.

35 *Baner* Awst 17, 1887. Yr oedd *Y Drych*, cylchgrawn Cymry America, wedi awgrymu (Ionawr 1887) y dylai Cymry'r U.D.A. gasglu arian i helpu gorthrymedigion y Degwm, ac ail-adroddwyd y cais ym Medi 1887.

36 Gwelir copi o hwn yn *Cwm Eithon* (ail arg., t. 218) ynghyd â'u henwau : 27 o ferthyron sydd yn y llun gydag Alun Lloyd, eu cyfreithiwr.

wrth annerch yn Llangwm, drosglwyddo neges o gydymdeimlad, ac anogaeth i wrthod talu unrhyw ddegwm, ac i foicotio'u gelynion, oddi wrth Michael Davitt a'r Gwyddelod.<sup>37</sup>

Am dri mis, ni fu unrhyw ddatblygiad pellach, ond ym mis Tachwedd, rhoddwyd nodyn yn y *Faner* yn dweud bod *wyth* o'r diffynyddion wedi cael gwysb i "ymddangos trwy eu cyfreithwyr yn Llundain."<sup>38</sup> Nid ymddengys fod dim wedi digwydd iddynt, ond y mae'n bosibl mai ar ôl hyn y penderfynodd y Twrnai Cyffredinol droi'r achos yn ôl i'r Frawdlys.

Rhaid neidio bellach i fis Chwefror 1888, ac i Sir Fôn. Yno, ar yr ugeinfed a'r dyddiau dilynol, yr oedd Peterson, twrnai dros y clerigwyr, yn atafaelu<sup>39</sup> o gwmpas Llangefni, ac yno, ar y 24 agorodd y Barnwr Wills y Frawdlys ym Miwmares.<sup>40</sup> Ymddengys y Barnwr hwn yn w'r hynod ddoeth; gwelai'n glir fod rhagor o helyntion i ddigwydd yng Nghymru, a chymerodd gyfle hynod o ffortunus i roi gair o gyngor i'r pleidiau gelyniaethus.

Ger ei fron ym mrawdlys Biwmares yr oedd achos yn erbyn gŵr o'r enw Huw Jones o "dorri ffald" (*pound breach*). Yr oedd beili wedi atafaelu ar fochyn Huw Jones am ryw ddyled (nid degwm), ac wedi cau'r mochyn mewn cwt o'i eiddo'i hun. Yna, yn ôl y Barnwr, yr oedd Huw Jones wedi mynd at y cwt a "gwahodd" y mochyn i ddwad adref efo fo! Yr oedd y mochyn, meddai'r Barnwr ymhellach, fel y Cymry, yn haws o lawer i'w arwain nag i'w yrru, ac felly aeth adref gyda Huw Jones. Cyngorai'r rheithwyr i daflu'r achos allan, a hynny a wnaed.

Aeth y Barnwr rhagddo i gynghori'r Cymry i ganiatau i'r atafaelu a'r gwerthu am ddegwm fynd ymlaen yn ddirwystr, ac i beidio â thorri'r gyfraith. Trwy hyn, meddai, byddent yn sicr o ennill mwy o gydymdeimlad ac felly'n sicrhau newid y deddfau y protestient yn eu herbyn. Yna dywedodd wrth yr

37 *Hansard* August 17, 1887: cwynwyd amdano yn y Senedd gan Stanley Leighton, A.S., Cadeirydd Cymdeithas Amddiffyn yr Eglwys. Gw. hefyd *Baner* Awst 24, 1887.

38 *Baner* Tachwedd 30, 1887.

39 Gŵr heini ydoedd Peterson, mae'n rhaid, gan iddo neidio dros lidiart gloedig Rhiwspardyn pan welodd arni'r rhybudd Saesneg: *No admittance for you devils here!* *Baner* Chwefror 29, 1888.

40 *Baner* Chwefror 29, 1888.

atafaelwyr hwythau am ymddwyn yn fwy caredig yn eu gwaith, a chofio bod y Cymry'n haws eu harwain na'u gyrru.

Dyma'r Barnwr a ddaeth i gynnal y Frawdlys yn Rhuthyn, ac ar Chwefror 28, 1888, ger ei fron ef y gwyswyd wyth o wŷr Llangwm, sef :<sup>41</sup>

Thomas Thomas, groser (28).

Edward E. Roberts, pregethwr cynorthwyol gyda'r Wesleaid (23).

John Lloyd, ffermwr (36).

James Metcalf, *draper* (21).

John Jones, ffermwr (48).

David Jones ffermwr (24).

Edward Davies, ffermwr (51).

William Williams, ffermwr (?).

Cyhuddwyd hwy o ymgasglu ynghyd, â rhyw 300 o rai eraill, ar briffordd Corwen-Caergybi, ac achosi terfysg yno, ac ymosod ar amryw bersonau, yn eu plith George Thorpe, Joseph Edward Roberts (Ap Mwrog), John Williams (y gyrrwr), Edward Vaughan, Charles Vivian Stevens ac Amos Maltby.

Yma, efallai, y caf droi o'r neilltu am ennyd i sylwi ar yr enw gogoneddus a roddwyd iddynt, sef "Merthyron y Degwm." Prin y gellir dal fod unrhyw sail gwerth sôn amdano i'r enw, nac ychwaith i'r clod a dderbyniasant am eu gweithredoedd. Y cyhuddiad yn eu herbyn ydoedd iddynt wneud ymosodiad ffiائد, gyda chymorth tri chant o rai tebyg iddynt, ar ddyrnaid o ddyinion, digon cas, mae'n wir, ond eto rhai cymharol ddi-amddiffyn. Nid oes sôn am ddegwm yn y cyhuddiad, ac nid oes awgrym o *ferthyru* chwaith ar ddiwedd yr achos.<sup>42</sup>

Yn wir, y casgliad y deuf fi iddo ydyw fod yr enw mawreddog hwn yn enghraifft dda o allu y "terfysgwyr proffesiynol" y tu ôl i'r holl helynt, y cynllwynwyr y dygai'r Eglwyswyr gymaint o gyhuddiadau yn eu herbyn. O ddarllen adroddiadau ac

41 Dim ond saith a enwir yn adroddiad y *Faner* Chwefror 29, 1888. Mae'n debyg mai William Williams oedd yr wythfed gan mai ef a enwyd, ynghyd â Thomas Thomas a John Lloyd, gan y Barnwr Denman wrth annerch yr uchel-reithwyr Goffennaf 20, 1887.

42 Teg fyddai cofio, er hynny, iddynt fentro eu bywoliaeth, a rhai ohynyt eu fermydd, trwy eu gweithred.

erthyglau blaen y *Faner* yn yr wythnosau hyn gwelir nad peth diweddar o gwbl ydyw rhoddi (a defnyddio'r termau cyfoes) *build-up* i ambell gymeriad trwy *publicity stunts* parhaus.

Yr hyn a wnaeth y gwŷr hyn (ac yn arbennig mi gredaf Thomas Thomas) i haeddu clod, ydoedd llwyddo i atal cymeriadau mwyaf afreolus y dyrfa rhag cyflawni ymosodiad gwaeth ; ond prin bod sôn am y gwasanaeth yna.

Aeth yr achos ymlaen a'r diffynyddion yn eistedd ym meinciau'r uchel-reithwyr, a'r llys yn orlawn. Galwodd y Barnwr ar y Cwnsleriaid o bobtu i ymgynggori ag ef ac â'i gilydd, ac yna cynghorodd eu twrnai i'r wyth diffynydd bledio'n "euog." Gwnaethant hyn, ac ar hynny dywedodd Mr. McIntyre, Q.C. dros yr Erlynydd Cyhoeddus, ei fod ef wedi cyrraedd ei amcan wrth ennill hyn, ac y gadawai ef yr achos yn nwylo'r Barnwr.

Yna anerchodd y Barnwr y diffynyddion. Dywedodd iddo ddarllen y tystiolaethau a roddwyd yn y llys isod, a'i farn ef ydoedd nad allasent fod wedi osgoi cael eu dyfarnu'n euog, pe baent wedi mynd ymlaen â'r achos.<sup>43</sup> Ar y dystiolaeth, dylai eu cosbi, ond yr oedd am gymryd cwrs gwahanol a arweinai, fe obeithiai, i derfyn heddychol a boddhaol ar yr achos. Pwysleisiodd ei bod yn rhaid ufuddhau i gyfraith hyd oni newidid hi : yr oedd yn dda ganddo weld nad ymosodwyd o gwbl ar y *plismyn* yn Llangwm, ond yr oedd ymosodiad iselwael wedi ei wneud gan dyrfa arfog o dri chant ar ychydig o feiliaid.

Pwysleisiodd ei dybiaeth nad oedd ganddo o'i flaen y personau hynny a oedd, mewn gwirionedd, wrth wraidd yr helynt, ond yn hytrach yr arfau (*instruments*) a fabwysiadwyd gan y cyfryw. Yna gwnaeth ychydig sylwadau tebyg i'r rhai a wnaeth ym Miwmares, a gohiriodd y llys hyd Fawrth 28, 1888, gan rwymo'r diffynyddion yn y swm o £20 yr un i ymddangos yno pe bai galw. Dywedodd wrth derfynu fod ei ddyfarniad ef yn yr achos hwn lawn cymaint ar ei brawf ag ydoedd y diffynyddion, ac y byddai ef ei hun yn agored i dderbyn cerydd llym, os cyfeiliornodd.

43 Y mac *Baner* Mawrth 7, 1888, yn amau hyn ; dywed mai ar ôl darllen adroddiadau a thystiolaeth yr erlynydd yn unig y daeth y Barnwr i'r casgliad hwn.

Nid oes tystiolaeth iddo dderbyn cerydd am a wnaeth, ond yr oedd y Torïaid a'r Eglwyswyr lleol yn ffyrnig wrtho am fod mor dyner gyda'r troseddwyr.<sup>44</sup>

I gau hanes cyffrawd Llangwm, mae'n rhaid nodi dau ddigwyddiad arall.

Ymwelodd Stevens ynghyd â phedwar-ugain plisman o dan arweiniad Leadbetter, â Llangwm ar Ebrill 18, 1888, i atafaelu. Y tro hwn, yr oedd Alun Lloyd, cyfreithiwr, a Howell Gee, ysgrifennydd y Cynghrair, yn disgwyl amdanynt ar "Allor Ap Mwrog."<sup>45</sup>

Yr oedd tyrfa fawr wedi ymgasglu, ond llwyddodd yr arweinwyr yn eu hapêl atynt i ymatal rhag gwneud dim ond gweiddi, curo padelli a chanu cyrn. Er hynny, yn y Groesfaen, rhuthrodd rhai o'r plismyn ar y dyrfa, a chymryd gafael ym mab y Brithdir a gwas y Lôn Fawr, gan fwriadu mynd â hwy'n garcharorion; ond gollyngwyd hwy "ar awgrymiad a roddwyd iddynt" gan Alun Lloyd. Barn y gohebydd yw fod y plismyn y tro hwn fel pe baent am *ddial* ar bobl Llangwm am iddynt eu trechu'r flwyddyn gynt.

Yr ail ddigwyddiad y mae'n rhaid ei groniclo er cloi hanes Llangwm yn daclus, ydyw'r achos a ddygodd John Williams, gynt o'r *Crown Hotel Yard*, Dinbych, yn erbyn Charles Vivian Stevens, gerbron y Barnwr Manisty, yn llys Caer, Gorffennaf 29, 1889.<sup>46</sup> Hawliai John Williams £100 o iawn am y niweidiau a dderbyniodd ef, ei gefylau a'i gerbyd yn Llangwm Mai 27, 1887.

Y mae'n hollol eglur mai mewn anwybodaeth y cytunodd ef i logi ei gerbyd y diwrnod hwnnw: trwy'r Arolygydd Vaughan y llogodd Stevens ef, ac ni wyddai John Williams i ble y bwriedid mynd.

Dyfarnodd y rheithwyr o blaid Williams, a phan ofynnodd Mr. Swetenham, twrnai Stevens a'r Dirprwywyr Eglwysig, am oediad er mwyn ystyried apêl, gofynnodd y Barnwr iddo'n bur

44 *Baner*, Mawrth 7, 1888.

45 *Baner* Ebrill 25, 1888.

46 *Baner* Gorffennaf 31, 1889.

fygythiol a oedd y Dirprwywyr am yrru Williams druan i ragor o gostau. Ar hynny newidiodd Swetenham ei feddwl, ac meddai'r Barnwr yn awgrymog "Da iawn!"<sup>47</sup>

### III.

#### RHYFEL Y DEGWM : YR AIL WEDD AWST 1887 HYD MAWRTH 1891

Wedi llawer o holi yn y Senedd<sup>1</sup> am helynt Mochdre (Mehffin 16, 1887) penododd y Llywodraeth John Bridge, *police magistrate* o Lundain, i ymchwilio i mewn i'r helyntoedd,<sup>2</sup> yn arbennig gan fod cyhuddiadau difrifol wedi eu dwyn yn erbyn y polis ym Mochdre,<sup>3</sup> lle darllenwyd y Ddeddf Derfysg. Cynhaliodd Bridge ei ymchwiliad yng Nghonwy (Gorffennaf 26-29), Rhyl (Gorffennaf 30), Cartref Elias Hughes, un o'r clwyfedigion yng Ngholwyn Bay (Awst 1), Rhyl eto (Awst 2), Dinbych (Awst 3 a 4), y Trallwng (Awst 5), a Meifod (Awst 6). Cyflwynodd ei adroddiad i'r Tŷ Awst 24, 1887.<sup>4</sup>

Baich ei adroddiad yw nad oedd bai ar y plismyn am a ddigwyddodd ym Mochdre, nac ychwaith ar y dyrfa : ei farn ef oedd mai serthedd y lôn a arweiniai i fferm y Mynydd a achosodd i'r dyrfa brysuro nes eu bod yn gwthio yn erbyn rheng olaf y plismyn, ac i'r rheini geisio eu cadw araw !

Ond y mae Bridge yntau'n cael bai ar y rhai hynny sy'n gyfrifol am beri i'r tyrfaoedd ymgasglu ynghyd. Am achosion y berw, teimla mai caledi'r amserau a barodd i'r ffermwyr ofyn am ostyngiadau yn eu Degwm yn y lle cyntaf, ond sylwa fod elfennau crefyddol, cymdeithasol, cenedlaethol a gwleidyddol

47 Efallai y dylid nodi hefyd i P.C. Wm. Griffiths gael ei droi o heddlu Meirion am iddo gadw'n ôl rhai o enwau'r terfysgwyr yng Nghorwen Mai 27, 1887. Holwyd llawer o gwestiynau ar y pwnc yn y Tŷ gan T. E. Ellis, a chynhaliwyd "budd-gyngerdd" i Griffiths. Gw. e.e. *Baner Medi* 7, 1887.

1 *Hansard* June 20 and 22, 1887 : cwestiynau gan G. Osborne Morgan, T. E. Ellis, Bowen Rowlands a Bryn Roberts.

2 Efallai y caf gyfle eto i drafod yr helyntoedd ym Mochdre, Whitford, Bodffari, Llanefydd, Meifod a lleoedd eraill. Nid yw gofod yn caniatáu eu trin yn llawn yma.

3 Clwyfwyd 50 o bobl a 34 o blismyn. Yr oedd Hugh Roberts, tenant 70 oed y Mynydd, yn eu plith. (*Tithe Disturbances Inq. Report*, para. 13).

4 *Report of an Inquiry as to Disturbances connected with the levying of Tithe Rentscharge in Wales*, C. 5195, 1887, *Minutes of Evidence*, C. 5195-1, 1887.

erbyn hyn yn y broblem, a phwysleisia bod “*a passive feeling*” wedi dyfod yn “*aggressive*” pan wrthodwyd ceisiadau'r ffermwyr.<sup>5</sup> Ar waith yr awdurdodau'n hel milwyr i'r arwerthiannau, teimla na ddylid eu cael oni bo rhaid. Ei awgrym ar sut i osgoi helyntion tebyg yn y dyfodol ydyw i'r Llywodraeth roi'r Degwm ar ysgwyddau'r landlordiaid.

Dyna a geisiai'r Llywodraeth Doriaidd ei wneud, ac yn ystod 1887 aeth Mesur i'r perwyl yna drwy Dŷ'r Arglwyddi. O'r herwydd, cymharol dawel a fu pethau yng Nghymru yn ystod gweddill haf a Hydref 1887, er bod rhai enghreifftiau o atafaelu. Ond erbyn Rhagfyr 1887 daeth llif o atafaelu ymhob rhan o'r wlad.<sup>6</sup> Mae'n amlwg fod yr awdurdodau Eglwysig wedi oedi nes gweld beth a ddigwyddai i Fesur Degwm y Llywodraeth,<sup>7</sup> ac erbyn diwedd y flwyddyn yr oedd yn amlwg na ellid ei basio drwy Dŷ'r Cyffredin oherwydd ymddygiad *obstructionist* y Gwyddelod.

Yr oedd rhai o bersoniaid Cymru wedi cyfarfod yng Nghaer ar Hydref 22, 1886, ac wedi ffurfio Cymdeithas Amddiffyn yr Eglwys<sup>8</sup> i'r amcan o ddiogelu eu degymau, ond bod yr Esgob Joshua Hughes, Llanelwy, wedi cymell arnynt i fod yn amyneddgar. Erbyn Ionawr 1888 rhaid fu rhoi cynlluniau'r gymdeithas ar waith, yn rhannol oherwydd tlodi rhai o'r personiaid, ac yn rhannol am fod ôl-ddyledion y Degwm mewn llawer lle yn ddwy flwydd oed, ac ni ellid ei adfer wedi hynny. Felly, rhoddodd y Gymdeithas y gwaith o gasglu yn nwylo Girdlestone, Peterson & Todd, cwmni o dwrneiod yn Llundain, gan dalu wyth swllt yn y bunt o gomisiwn iddynt, a hwythau wedi gwrthod troi dau swllt yn y bunt yn ôl i'r ffermwyr!<sup>9</sup>

5 *Title Disturbances Inq.* (1887) *Report*, paras. 1 and 6.

6. *Baner* Rhagfyr 1887 ac Ionawr 1888 *passim*. Mac *Baner* Rhagfyr 28 yn gwrthyferbynnu ysbryd y Nadolig ag ysbryd Cymdeithas Amddiffyn yr Eglwys.

7 *Liverpool Daily Post* Rhagfyr 15, 1887, yn cyhoeddi bod cais arall i'w wneud yn ddioced i orfodi'r ffermwyr i dalu, a bod nifer o *emergency men* profiadol wedi eu cyrchu o'r Iwerddon at y pwrpas.

8 Cyhoeddir *Manifesto* Cymdeithas Amddiffyn yr Eglwys yn *Baner* Chwefror 29, 1888: cynnwys hwn amlinelliaid o hanes y Gymdeithas. Ni fynnai'r Esgob ymuno â'r Gymdeithas ar y dechrau. Gw. Thomas *Diocese of St. Asaph* (1908 ed.), I. 194.

9 Yn naturiol gwnaeth y gwrth-ddegymwyr yn fawr o hyn: gw. *Baner* Chwefror 22, 1888.

Ymddengys fodd bynnag mai methu a wnaeth y cynllun hwn yn y pen draw, gan na chafodd y personiaid nemor ddim o'u harian : ond yr oedd gŵr cefnog fel y Parch. T. Zephania Davies, rheithor Whitford, wedi datgan yn gyhoeddus ei fod ef yn fodlon gwario'r cwbl o'i ddegwm wrth ei gasglu, yn hytrach na throi dim yn ôl.<sup>10</sup>

Y mae'r gweithrediadau yn yr ail wedd ar y Rhyfel beth yn wahanol i ddiwyddiadau cyffrous 1886 a 1887.

Ym Medi 1886, yr oedd ffermwyr Dyffryn Clwyd, o dan arweiniad Thomas Gee, wedi ffurfio Cynghrair Gorthrymedigion y Degwm,<sup>11</sup> ac ymhen blwyddyn, eto ar anogaeth Gee, ehangwyd hwn a'i wneud yn Gynghrair Tirol Cenedlaethol, ar linellau *Land League* y Gwyddelod.<sup>12</sup>

Gofalai'r Cynghrair am ddiogolledu'r ffermwyr hynny a ddioddefai golled oherwydd gwrthod talu degwm, ond hefyd trefnodd, yn yr ail wedd hon ar y Rhyfel, pa fodd i wrthwynebu'r awdurdodau, yn ddirprwywyr, cynrychiolwyr y Gymdeithas Amddiffyn neu gynrychiolwyr perchenogion y degymau lleig. Gofalai'r Cynghrair fod ei dwrnai, neu un o'i swyddogion ymhobman lle ceid atafaelu neu werthu, a llwyddent hwy i gadw'r tyrfaeodd a elwid ynghyd gan y magnelau, y fflagiau a'r cynr cinio, rhag torri'r gyfraith. Yr oedd yno ddigon o sŵn, wrth gwrs, ond nid oedd achos i ddod â chyhuddiad yn erbyn nemor neb. Ambell dro, âi'r twrw byddarol ar nerfau Peterson (twrnai'r Gymdeithas Amddiffyn) neu Stevens (y casglwr dros y Dirprwywyr), a cheisient estyn bonclust i ambell fachgen, ond gofalai swyddogion y Cynghrair am eu galw i drefn, fel y gwelsom yn hanes eu hymweliad â Llangwm yn Ebrill 1888, uchod.

10 *Tithe Disturbances Inq.* (1887) *Minutes* qn. 4319, a *Baner* Mawrth 21, 1888.

11. Gw. *Tithe Disturbances Inq* (1887) *Report*, App. C., am gylchlythyr y Cynghrair, a *Minutes* qns. 2626-36 am ddisgrifiad Owen Williams, Glan-clwyd (cyd-ysgrifennydd) o'r cychwyn. Yn ôl *Baner* Medi 15, 1886, yn y Clwb Rhyddfrydol, Prior Street, Rhuthyn, y ffurfiwyd y Cynghrair Medi 7 (diwrnod ffair).

12 Gw. *Baner* Gorffennaf 20, 1887. Erthygl flaen gref yn amlinellu'r modd y gellid ehangu amcanion Cynghrair Gorthrymedigion y Degwm, a hefyd lythyr cryf gan Samuel Evans, Cairo, i'r un cyfeiriad. Ni wnaed y cyfnewidiad hyd Hydref 13, 1887. Gw. *Baner* Hydref 19, 1887.

Cafwyd ambell dro go ddigrif yn yr ymweliadau hyn : giatau wedi eu cloi fel na ellid atafaelu, ffermwyr a'i ferched yn prysur wthio drain i adwy fel y tynnai'r beiliaid hwy oddi yno, gollwng teirw'n rhydd a chuddio'r da atafaeliedig.<sup>13</sup>

Lle ni ellid atafaelu, ceisiodd Stevens a Peterson weithredu dan adran 82 o Ddeddf y Degwm, a chymryd meddiant o'r tir nes adfer y swm dyladwy, ond gan i'r landlordiaid wgu ar hyn, ni wnaed llawer iawn o ddefnydd ohoni.<sup>14</sup>

Yn y De daeth degymwyr ag achosion o "dorri fflad"<sup>15</sup> yn erbyn y ffermwyr hynny a guddiai anifeiliaid atafaeliedig, ac ennill ambell achos nes bod un neu ddau'n gorfod talu symiaau deirgwaith y costau gwreiddiol.<sup>16</sup> I'w hamddiffyn hwy, ffurfiodd y *South Wales Liberal Federation* gronfa,<sup>17</sup> a bu son yno am wrthod talu degwm o gwbl.

Yn y Gogledd, fodd bynnag, trefnodd y Cynghrair<sup>18</sup> yr ymgyrch yn ofalus. Penderfynwyd peidio â thalu cyn cael atafaelu ymhobman, ond trefnwyd hefyd i rai dalu'r pryd hynny, ac felly osgoi'r costau ychwanegol a roddid wrth gynnal arwerthiant. Diddorol sylwi i lawer dalu eu dyled mewn arian mân, a gorfodi'r casglwr i'w cyfrif ynghanol twrw'r dyrfa!<sup>19</sup> Ond penodai'r Cynghrair hefyd ambell fferm lle'r eid i'r eithaf, a mynnu miri mawr y *sale* ddegwm.

13 Dywed Mr. Cyril O. Jones mai yn y Felin, Llanarmon, y cuddiwyd gwartheg John Parry, Plas Llanarmon.

14 *Baner* Chwefror 15, 1888, yn dweud bod landlordiaid ardal yr Wyddgrug wedi ymuno â'i gilydd i gael barn cwnsler ar hawl Peterson i gymryd meddiant o'u tir dan adran 82. Ond gwelir yn glir yn erthygl flaen *Baner* Mai 22, 1889, fod y Cynghrair yn ofni cffaith yr adran hon.

15 *Baner* Tachwedd 20, 1889.

16 *Baner* Chwefror 19, 1890, yn adrodd am D. Griffiths, Penlan, Penbryn, Aberteifi, yn ennill ei apel yn erbyn dyfarniad felly gerbron y Barnwr Grantham yn yr Uchel Lys.

17 *Baner* Rhagfyr 4, 1889. Llythyr gan Rich. Hall a B. G. Evans, ysgrifenyddion Cynghrair Rhyddfrydol y De, yn apelio am £1,000, ac yn dweud bod £550 eisioes mewn llaw ar ôl dim ond dau fis o gasglu.

18 h.y., Cynghrair Gorthrymedigion y Degwm hyd Hydref 1887, ac yna'r Cynghrair Tirol . . . neu "Cynghrair Gee" fel y gellid yn hawdd alw'r ddau!

19 Pan ddaeth Stevens i feddiannu dau fochyn bach yn Bwlch y Calch, Cwm, Sir Fflint, yr oedd y ddau yn sebon meddal drostynt! *Baner* Chwefror 1, 1888.

Costiodd y polisi rhwystrol hwn yn ddrud iawn i'r casglwyr, a hawdd coelio i'r casglu fod yn ddrutach o lawer na gwerth y degwm dyledus.<sup>20</sup>

Eithriad yn y cyfnod hwn ydoedd brwydro fel a gafwyd yn y Bryngwyn, Llanefydd, Mai 17, 1888.<sup>21</sup> Ar ôl y sgarmes hon mynnodd Leadbetter rhyw ddeugain o'r *9th Lancers* o Fanceinion i gynorthwyo'r plismyn. Buont yn Ninbych o Fai 23 hyd y 29, ac yna'n pabellu ar lan yr afon, ar dir yn perthyn i'r person, yn Llanfair Talhaearn hyd Fehefin 23. Fel yr âi'r milwyr i warchod Stevens a'r beiliaid, rhoddai'r dyrfa groeso mawr iddynt<sup>22</sup> ond dangos eu dig yn amlwg iawn tuag at y plismyn oherwydd yr hyn a wnaethant yn y Bryngwyn. Yn wir, torrwyd ffenestri tŷ'r plisman yn Llansannan un nos Sadwrn yn niwedd Mai.<sup>23</sup>

Amrywiol'r drwg-deimlad o sir i sir, ac y mae'n bosibl nad oedd agwedd Prif-gwnstabl Sir Ddinbych—Major Leadbetter—lawn mor ddoeth ag agwedd Prif-gwnstabl Sir Drefaldwyn.<sup>24</sup> Galwodd ef gyd-gyfarfod o'r degwm-wrthodwyr ym Maldwyn, ac awgrymodd iddynt roi bob atalfa gyfreithiol ar ffordd y casglwyr, ond iddynt benderfynu ar nifer penodedig o ffermydd lle'r eid i'r eithafion o gynnal ocsiwn. Hyn a wnaed,<sup>25</sup> ac ymgymerodd ffermwyr mwyaf cyfrifol yr ardaloedd y cadwent hwy y dorf mewn trefn. Yn y ffordd hyn ni bu galw am un plisman ar wahân i'r Prif-gwnstabl ei hun a'r plisman lleol yn holl arwerthiannau Maldwyn.<sup>26</sup>

Y *sale* ddigrifaf o'r cwbl oedd honno yn Rhewl Fawr a Rhewl Fach, Derwen, Tachwedd 23, 1887.<sup>27</sup> Gwrthodai'r

20 *Baner* Mai 30, 1888, yn crynhoi costau saith ymweliad ag ardal Llanefydd i gasglu £240 o ddegwm: yr oedd y costau'n £245.

21 *Baner* Mai 30, 1888, a'r rhifynnau dilynol.

22 Yn y Cwt (Rich. Owens) bu'r dyrfa'n canu emynau i ddiyfyrur'r milwyr, ac yna gwnaed casgliad o 11/- i gael *refreshments* iddynt!

23 *Baner* Mai 30, 1888.

24 Dywedir hyn yn erthygl flaen *Baner* Awst 1, 1888, a rhoir hanes cydgyfarfod rhwng Prif-gwnstabl Maldwyn (yr Uchgapten Godfrey) a rhai o'r gwrthdegyrnwyr. Anfonasai lythyr yn awgrymu hyn at y ffermwyr yn Rhagfyr 1887. Gw. *Baner* Ionawr 4, 1888.

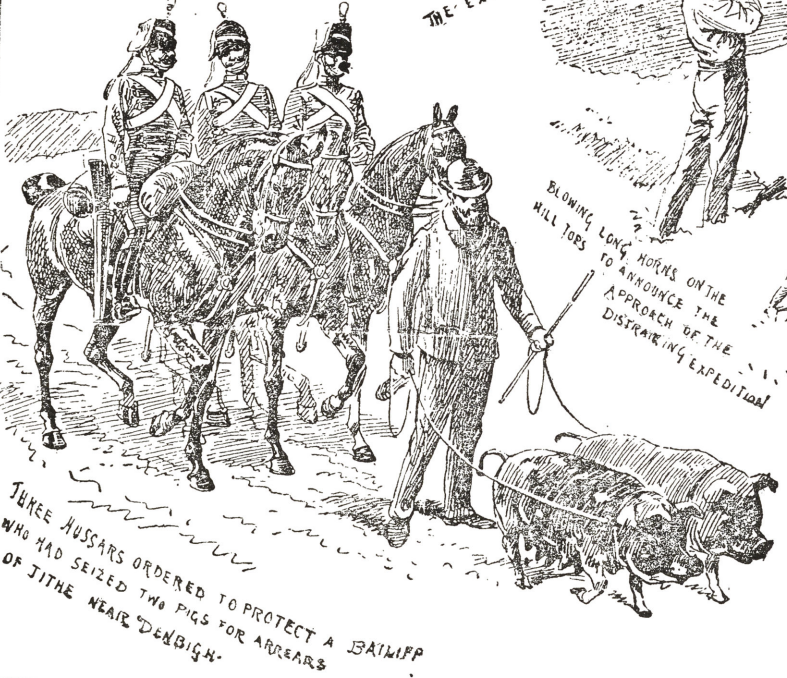
25 Ceir hanes yr arwerthiannau "trefnedig" hyn yn *Baner* Awst 15 a 22, 1888.

26 Er hyn, bu cwyno am ymddygiad y Prif-gwnstabl; anfonodd rhai o glerigwyr Maldwyn at Iarll Powis, cadeirydd Chwarter Sesiwn Maldwyn, ac at yr Ysgrifennydd Gwladol. *Baner* Ionawr 9, 1889.

27 *Baner* Tachwedd 23 a 30, 1887.



THE EXPEDITION LEAVING DENBIGH



THREE HUSSARS ORDERED TO PROTECT A BAIWIFF WHO HAD SEIZED TWO PIGS FOR ARREARS OF TITHE NEAR DENBIGH.



BLOWING LONG HORNS ON THE WILL TOPS TO ANNOUNCE THE APPROACH OF THE DISTRAINING EXPEDITION

ESCAPE OF A COW AFTER SEIZURE WAS LASSED IN A FIELD EVENTUALLY AND THE OWNER PAID UP HIS TITHE ARREARS TO RELEASE IT.

Tithe Collecting in Wales: Incidents of the Distraint operations in Denbighshire." (o'r Daily Graphic, 29 August, 1890) (Tynnyd o'r llun gwreiddiol ym meddiant W. A. Evans, Ysw., M.C., M.A., M.Sc., Dinbych)

arwerthwr, Mason o Gaer, â dwad yno, a threfnodd Alun Lloyd, twrnai'r Cynghrair, gydag Oswald Edwards, Rhuthyn, twrnai'r person, y Parch. Morris Hughes, i William Edwards, gwrthddegymwr selog, weithredu fel arwerthwr. Cytunwyd ar hynny, a mynnodd William Edwards ddwy gini o *fee* am ei waith. Fe'i cafodd a'u trosglwyddo i gronfa'r Cynghrair! Ond pwynt pwysig yr hanes yw hyn : cynhaliwyd yr arwerthiant hon o flaen tyrfa *fawr* yn hollol ddiraffferth. Nid oedd ond tri phlisman yno, ac ar y diwedd cynigiodd yr Inspector Jones, o Ruthyn, bleidlais o ddiolchgarwch i bawb.

Yn niwedd Rhagfyr 1888 yr oedd arwerthiant ddegwm yn Llwydgoed Iŷa, Mochdre, a'r gwerthwr yno ydoedd y cyfreithiwr Oliver George, y Clerc a gynghorodd yr Ynad i ddarllen y Ddeddf Derfysg ym Mochdre ym Mehefin 1887. Wrth annerch y dyrfa ar ôl y gwerthu, gwnaeth Moses Williams, Colwyn Bay, un sylw treiddgar iawn. Ddeunaw mis ynghynt, meddai, ni ddeuai Mr. George yn agos atynt ("bron i'r un llannerch") heb fyddin o filwyr a llu o blismyn i'w amddiffyn, ond erbyn heddiw gallai fentro yno â dim ond *dau* blisman. Yr oedd yn dda iawn ganddo allu hysbysu'r dyrfa fod y gallu bron yn eu dwylo hwy eu hunain yn awr i "hanner reoli yr ardderchog Leadbetter."<sup>28</sup>

O ddechrau 1889 y mae gohebwy'r y *Faner* yn sylwi fod y plismyn yn llawer cleniach wrth eu gwaith nag oeddynt cyn hynny, ar erbyn hâf 1889 y mae'r *Faner* yn cydnabod "nad ydyw yr atafaeliadau yn creu cynnwrf i'r un graddau a'r llynedd."<sup>29</sup>

Ergyd hyn oll yw cyfiawnhau cyhuddiad y gwrthddegymwyr, mai ymddygiad y plismyn ydoedd prif achos y cynhyrfaidau a fu yn y gorffennol, ond bod y plismyn erbyn hyn yn fwy gofalus, a hynny oherwydd eu bod yn rhannol o dan awdurdod cynrychiolwyr y bobl, gan fod y pwyllgor a'u rheolai, y *Standing Joint Committee*, ar ôl Ionawr 1889, yn cynnwys aelodau o'r Cynghorau Sir newydd, yn ogystal â chynrychiolwyr annemocrataidd yr Ynadon Heddwch.

28 *Baner* Ionawr 2, 1889.

29 *Baner* Gorffennaf 17, 1889.

Mae'n sicr bod sail i'r gred hon, oherwydd yn Hydref 1890 mynnodd Gee gael is-bwyllgor i chwilio i mewn i waith y plismyn yn Llanefydd.<sup>30</sup>

Wedi tri chynnis llwyddodd yr Arglwydd Salisbury erbyn diwedd Mawrth 1891 i basio Deddf yn rhoi'r cyfrifoldeb am dalu'r Degwm ar y landlôrd, a hefyd yn newid y dull o'i gasglu fel y gellid ei adfer bellach trwy'r llysoedd sirol. Ar hynny ymdawelodd y cynnwrf.

#### IV.

#### PWY OEDD YN GYFRIFOL AM YR HELYNT?

Ateb yr Eglwyswyr yn bendant ydoedd *Thomas Gee*, a dywedwyd hynny'n blaen gan J. E. Vincent, gohebydd arbennig y *Times* yng Nghymru, mewn cyfres o lythyrau i'r papur hwnnw.<sup>1</sup> Yn ei lythyr Hydref 6, 1887, dywedodd “. . . the responsible source and cause of all the troubles which have agitated Wales during recent times, exerting over his fellow countrymen an extraordinary influence . . . is Mr. Thomas Gee of Denbigh.”<sup>2</sup>

O ddarllen dim ond y geiriau a brintiwyd yn y *Faner* gellid tybio nad oedd ei pherchennog yn ddim ond un ymhlith llawer o arweinwyr y gwrthdegydwyr<sup>3</sup> a sonnir llawer mwy am ddyinion fel John Parry, Llanarmon, nag am Gee, fel areithydd y cyfarfodydd gwrthdegydol. Yn wir, mewn un rhifyn rhoddir rhaglen cyhoeddiadau John Parry yn Aberteifi am y mis nesaf!<sup>4</sup> Ond yn ei lythyr at Bridge<sup>5</sup> ysgrifenna Gee “*as one*

30 Gwelir cyfeiriad at yr helynt o safbwynt y plismyn yn erthygl Mr. Lerry yn y rhifyn hwn o'r *Trafodion*. Teg sylwi yma i Leadbetter ohebu ag Alun Lloyd yn nechrau 1888 (gw. *Baner* Mawrth 7, 1888), ag â T. Thomas Llangwm (gw. *Cefn Gwlad* 1952-3, t. 37), i geisio osgoi helynt a chostau gyda'r atafaelu a'r gwerthu.

1 Ail-gyhoeddwyd y llythyrau hyn yn llyfr: *Letters from Wales* (Llundain 1889).

2 *Letters from Wales*, t. 20.

3 Y mae eithriadau i hyn, e.e. *Baner* Awst 3, 1887, llythyr gan Elis o'r Nant “*Baner Dimbach sydd wedi dwyn yr helynt yma i'r wlad . . .*” ac ym *Maner* Medi 4, 1889, dyfynir barn y papur Ceidwadol, *The Daily Chronicle*, mai prif amcan ymweliad y Frenhines â De Cymru yn Awst ydoedd “*gwrthweithio dylanwad Baner hollalluog Dinbych. . .*”

4 *Baner* Mai 30, 1888. Rhoir braslun o hanes bywyd Parry ym *Maner* Hydref 12, 1887.

5 *Tithe Disturbances Inq.* (1887) *Minutes*, p. 148.

of the leaders of this movement," ac yn Awst 1887 y mae'n caniatáu i'r gohebydd a anfonodd hanes trip ysgol Sul Dinbych i Gaer-gybi ddweud hyn :—" . . . mawr ydoedd syndod y Monwysion pan welsant gynifer o lewion Dyffryn Clwyd yn goresgyn eu dinas. *Wedi deall mai nid ymgyrch gwrth-ddegymol ydoedd ymdawelsant i fesur.*"<sup>6</sup>

Yn aml iawn ym *Maner* y blynyddoedd hyn ceir pigiad i drigolion ambell ardal nad oeddynt yn ddigon ymosodol, a phwysir arnynt i ddilyn esiampl dewrion Iâl a Llangwm a dyffryn Clwyd.<sup>7</sup>

Y mae'n amlwg mai Dinbych ydoedd canolfan yr helynt i gyd : yno yr oedd swyddfa'r Cynghrair Gwrthddegymol a drowyd wedyn, dan gyfarwyddyd y *Faner*, yn Gynghrair Tirol. Y *Faner* hefyd a gynigiodd wobrau am y Caneuon Degwm gorau, a Swyddfa Gee a'u hargraffodd yn bamffled.<sup>8</sup> Yn y *Faner* ceid hanes manwl pob agwedd ar y cyffrawd, er y dylid cofio i bapurau eraill, megis y *Genedl*, y *Celt* a'r *Carnarvon and Denbigh Herald* hwythau wneud eu rhan.

Ond pa agwedd bynnag a gymerir ar y Rhyfel gellir ei olrhain yn ôl at Thomas Gee yn Ninbych, a gwelodd yr awdurdodau hynny'n glir, mor glir yn wir nes iddynt gyflogi'r gŵr yr wyf bellach yn gymydog drws-nesaf iddo i gyfieithu'r *Faner* yn wythnosol, yn y gobaith y ceid magl gyfreithiol i'w dal hi a'i pherchennog.<sup>9</sup>

Gwelsom eisoes i'r ymchwiliwr Bridge a'r Barnwr Wills, a'r Ynadon yn Chwarter Sesiwn Dinbych, ddatgan eu cred fod

6 *Baner* Awst 3, 1887.

7 *Baner* Mawrth 28, 1888 : llythyr gan "Teithiwr" yn holi pa fodd y mae Llanbryn Mair wedi talu degwm mor dawel drwy'r amser. "Ai pabwyr ydyw olynwyr y gwroniaid gynt?"!

8 Chwefror 2, 1887, y cynigwyd gwobrau o 10/- a 5/- am y caneuon gorau. Y bwriad gwreiddiol ydoedd eu cyhoeddi o wythnos i wythnos yn y *Faner*, ond er mwyn eu cael yn barod ar gyfer Llangwm ym mis Mai gwnaed hwy'n bamffled. Hen arfer cynhyrfwyr Radicalaidd ydoedd darparu "emynau" i'w canu gan derfysgwyr cf. *The Shakespearian Chartist Hymn Book* (1842).

9 Gwelir rhai o'r cyfieithiadau hyn gan Capt. Richard Williams yn llythyr Vincent i'r *Times* Rhagfyr 26, 1887. Gw. *Letters from Wales*, pen. IX. Blwyddyn ynghynt yr oedd y *Faner* wedi nodi bod copïau'n cael eu hanfon i'r Dirprwywyr Eglwysig. (*Baner* Rhagfyr 15, 1886).

rhyw allu sylweddol y tu ôl i'r holl helynt, ac nid oes unrhyw amheuaeth am hynny. Yr oedd y cyfan wedi ei gynllunio'n fedrus : dyna pam y gellir ei alw'n *Rhyfel*—Rhyfel y Degwm, o'i wrthgyferbynnu â *Therfysg* Rebecca.<sup>10</sup>

Yn Rhyfel y Degwm, ceir enghraifft wych o arweinydd y bobl yn manteisio ar amgylchiadau economaidd i hyrwyddo amcanion gwleidyddol. Dymuniad calon Thomas Gee ydoedd sicrhau Dadsefydliad a Dadwaddoliad Eglwys Loegr yng Nghymru, a dymuniad arall ydoedd ennill chwarae teg i denantiaid Cymru ; ac i'r graddau y credai y gellid sicrhau'r pethau hyn ynghynt yng Nghymru nag yn y Deyrnas Gyfunol, yr oedd hefyd yn bleidiol i fesur o ymreolaeth.<sup>11</sup> Chwarae teg iddo, cydnabu yn ei lythyr at Bridge<sup>12</sup> “. . . that the present state of agriculture is not the cause, but the occasion of this agitation . . . it arises from a deep-rooted objection to the principle of an establishment, a feeling which is greatly intensified by the fact that it is an 'alien' church ('The Church of England in Wales'), and includes but a small minority of its inhabitants.<sup>13</sup> The payment of Tithes to this Church is considered to be a badge of conquest which we are determined to shake off with as little delay as possible.”

Ni chafodd Gee gefnogaeth unol ei enwad ei hun, hyd yn oed yn y frwydr hon. Yn wir, condemnia'r *Goleuad*<sup>14</sup> ef yn ffyrnig am drefnu'r *Census* o gapeli ac eglwysi Cymru (Ionawr 9, 1887), ac er bod yr Annibynwyr a'r Bedyddwyr a Sasiwn y De<sup>15</sup> wedi datgan eu cydymdeimlad â'r mudiad gwrth-ddegymol, pan godwyd y mater yn Sasiwn y Gogledd yng Nghaernarfon (Awst 1887) derbyniad oeraidd iawn a gafodd.<sup>16</sup>

10 I fod yn deg â chhoffadwriaeth Becca dylwn nodi yma iddi alw ei merched ynghyd yn Hydref 1889 trwy : “RHYBUDD—Dymunir ar i'm holl ferched fod yn bresennol yn Aberteifi ddydd Mercher nesaf i drefnu materion. BECCA.” Gw. *Baner* Hydref 23, 1889.

11 Trafodais hyn mewn sgwrs radio a gyhoeddwyd wedyn yn *Y Dysgedydd*, Ionawr 1952.

12 *Tithe Disturbances Inq.* (1887) *Minutes*, p. 148. Fe'i ceir hefyd yn T. Gwynn Jones : *Cofiant T. Gee*, tt. 482-3.

13 Yr oedd Gee wedi trefnu cyfrif cynulleidfaoedd pob capel ac eglwys ymron yng Nghymru er mwyn profi ei bwnc. Ionawr 9, 1887. Yr oedd y *Leeds Mercury* wedi gwneud cyfrif tebyg yn 1847.

14 *Goleuad*, Ionawr 15, 1887, erthygl flaen “Brad y Cofrifiad.”

15 *Baner* Awst 3, 1887.

16 *Baner* Awst 31, 1887. Sylw Gee arno ydoedd : “Buasai yn llawn cystal i Gymdeithasfa Caernarfon beidio pasio penderfyniad o gwbl ar bwnc y degwm na phasio'r un a wnaed.”

Drachefn, yn Llandrindod, Medi 3, 1889, pasiodd Cyngor Rhyddfrydol Cymru (sef cyd-gyfarfod o'r *North Wales a'r South Wales Liberal Federations*) benderfyniad i wrthwynebu'r degwm ymhob dull cyfreithiol, a phenodwyd is-bwyllgor yn cynnwys Gee, Dr. Enoch Davies, Llandysul, R. A. Jones a D. Lloyd George i dynu allan gynllun i'r pwrpas.<sup>17</sup>

Erbyn canol y mis, datganodd y Deheuwr nad oedd hyn yn ddigon; dylid mynd lawer ymhellach, meddent hwy, a chefnogwyd hwy gan y *South Wales Daily News*.<sup>18</sup> Fel yr awgrymais uchod, aethant ymlaen i alw ar y ffermwyr i wrthod talu degwm o gwbl.

Yn y Gogledd, cadwodd y Cynghrair Tirol yn dawel am ryw dri mis, gan ddisgwyl i'r *North Wales Liberal Federation* weithredu ar benderfyniad Llandrindod, ond ni symudodd ddim. Mewn cyfarfod o'r *Federation* yng Nghaer, Rhagfyr 13, 1889, cynigiodd Howell Gee drosglwyddo gwaith y Cynghrair iddo, ond nis mynnai.<sup>19</sup> Yr oedd rhaglen y Cynghrair yn rhy eithafol Radicalaidd i Ryddfrydwyr parchus Gogledd Cymru, fel yr oedd Rhyfel y Degwm yn destun rhy fydol i'w drafod gan Fethodistiaid parchus Sasiwn y Gogledd.<sup>20</sup>

Mae'n ddigon amlwg fod yna sblit yn rhengoedd Rhyddfrydol ac Anghydfurfriol Cymru, a chredaf fy hun y gellir ei olrhain i'r sblit a ddigwyddodd yn y Blaid Ryddfrydol yn 1886.

Cyhuddir Gee gan Vincent yn y *Times*,<sup>21</sup> a chan lu o rai eraill, o gychwyn Rhyfel y Degwm er mwyn gwneud i fyny'r golled a gafodd yn haf 1886 pan ddechreuodd y *Faner* ddilyn Chamberlain yn ei ffrac gyda Gladstone. Dywedir fod cylchrediad y *Faner* wedi gostwng yn sylweddol<sup>22</sup> am na fynnai'r

17 *Baner* Medi 11, 1889.

18 *S.W. Daily News*, Medi 17, 1889.

19 *Baner* Rhagfyr 18, 1889.

20 Y mae Gee'n chwerau iawn oherwydd claearineb Cynghrair Rhyddfrydol Gogledd Cymru ym *Maner* Rhagfyr 25, 1889, ond y mae'n addo yr â'r Cynghrair Tirol ymlaen â'r frwydr.

21 *Times*, October 7, 1887. *Letters from Wales*, p. 23. Dygir yr un cyhuddiad yng nghwestiwn Mr. Maurice Lloyd i Howell Gee yn *Tithe Disturbances Inq.* (1887) *Minutes*, qn. 2995a.

22 Gwerthai'r ddwy *Faner* tua 50,000 copi yn wythnosol yn ôl Howell Gee: *Tithe Disturbances Inq.* (1887) qn. 2973.

darllenwyr droi oddiwrth Gladstone. Gwadodd Gee stori Vincent,<sup>23</sup> a rhoddodd ffigurau'n dangos na chollodd y *Faner* ddim yn y cyfnod dan sylw.

Teimlaf yn bur sicr fy hun fod yna *rywbeth* yn y stori : fe'i clywais gyntaf gan rai o'r gweithwyr yn ei swyddfa ef ei hun, a phrin y meiddiai ei elynion, hyd yn oed, ei hail-adrodd mewn print os nad oedd rhyw gymaint o sail iddi.

Ond a gadael y cymhelliad lled annheilwng hwn o'r neilltu, y mae *amseriad* y cyffro'n bur arwyddocaol, mi gredaf. Yn Chwefror 1886, ffurfiodd Gladstone Weinyddiaeth Ryddfrydol a dygodd ymlaen gynllun i roddi ymreolaeth i Iwerddon. Ar y pwynt yma ymddiswyddodd Chamberlain a Trevelyan o'r Cabinet. Ym *Maner* Ebrill 14 yr oedd Gee yn cefnogi'r ddau wrthgiliwr. Ganol mis Mai, dywedai prif-erthyglau'r *Faner* fod y Golygydd yn gwybod nad oedd ei syniadau ef ar bwnc Iwerddon yn dderbyniol gan lawer o Gymry, ond apeliai atynt i anwybyddu pwnc Iwerddon a chanolbwyntio ar sicrhau mesur o Ddatgysylltiad a Mesur Tirol i Gymru.<sup>24</sup> Yna, ar Fehefin 8, 1886, trechwyd Gladstone a daeth Etholiad Cyffredinol. Dangosodd canlyniadau'r etholiad yng Nghymru fod y Cymry'n solet yn eu cefnogaeth i Gladstone, a'u bod am wneud popeth i'w helpu i roddi Ymreolaeth i Iwerddon.

Ond Datgysylltiad a Mesur Tir i Gymru ydoedd dymuniad Gee, a thra gwyddai na cheid hwy gan Lywodraeth Doriaidd yr oedd yn amheus iawn a geid Datgysylltiad gan yr Eglwyswr Gladstone chwaith. Nid oes amheuaeth nad oedd gan Gee bryd hyn, beth bynnag, fwy o feddwl o Chamberlain nag o Gladstone.<sup>25</sup> Pe gellid cyfannu'r rhwyg yn y Blaid Ryddfrydol, a chael Chamberlain yn ôl ynddi, yna byddai gwell gobaith am fesur o Ddatgysylltiad i Gymru. Felly, er i'r *Faner* (Gorffennaf 10, 1886) droi cefn ar Chamberlain, ac esbonio y gallai

23 *Baner* Hydref 19, 1887. "Yr unig argument y mae'r *Faner* yn ddeall yw colli cylchrediad." Barn Pan Jones, *Cofiant y Tri Brawd*, t. 143 n.

24 *Baner* Mai 19, 1886.

25 Mor ddiweddar a Mawrth 1887 y mae'r *Faner* yn hyderu y daw Chamberlain yn ôl i'r rhengoedd Rhyddfrydol, e.e. *Baner* Mawrth 9 a 16, 1887, Prociwyd Gee gan Dr. John Thomas, Lerpwl, wrth annerch cyfarfod Rhyddfrydol yn Ninbych Hydref 13, 1887, pan ddywedodd "na bu ef erioed yn credu yn Mr. Chamberlain ond yr oeddynt hwy yn Ninbych wedi bod."

bellach gefnogi cynlluniau Gwyddelig Gladstone gan ei fod wedi newid rhai pethau ynddynt, ni pheidiodd ag apelio am gyfannu'r rhwyg. Tybiai Gee mai'r ffordd orau i wneud hyn ydoedd trwy ymosod ar y Llywodraeth Doriaidd, a hefyd, yng Nghymru, trwy geisio tynnu sylw'r Rhyddfrydwyr oddi ar bwnc a'u rhannai (sef Iwerddon), a chanolbwyntio ar ddau gwestiwn a fyddai'n sicr o'u huno, sef Datgysylltiad a'r angen am ddeddfau tirol. Hyn oll yn Ngorffennaf 1886.

Yr oedd ffermwyr Llandyrnog a Llanrhaeadr yn Cinmerch wedi gofyn am ostyngiad yn eu degwm yn nechrau 1886, a ffermwyr yr ardaloedd cylchynol wedi eu dilyn: er hyn, nid oes awgrym ym *Maner* y dyddiau hynny bod angen unrhyw gymdeithas i'w cynorthwyo nac i ledaenu'r ceisiadau a'r protestiadau. Ond yn y rhifyn lle ceir y newydd am ymddiswyddiad tebygol Gladstone, ar ôl etholiad 1886, ceir llythyr gan "Gwrth-ddegymwr" yn awgrymu ffurfio "Cymdeithas y Degwm" ymhob plwyf.<sup>26</sup> Erbyn Awst yr oedd y *Faner* yn gwneud môr a mynydd o'r helynt yn Llanarmon, ac erbyn Medi yr oedd wedi llwyddo i gael gan ffermwyr Dyffryn Clwyd i ffurfio Cynghrair Gorthrymedigion y Degwm, y gymdeithas gyfrwys honno a drefnodd yr ymgyrch o'r dydd hwnnw ymlaen.

Wedi hyn, am bum mlynedd, rhoddwyd colofnau lawer i adrodd pob un o fanylion yr helynt: anogwyd ardaloedd i godi yn erbyn gormes, cyhoeddwyd llythyrau o gydymdeimlad o'r U.D.A., Canada ac Awstralia,<sup>27</sup> ac argraffwyd colofnau o ffeithiau (ac o opiniynau) am y Dirprwywyr Eglwysig a'r modd y gwerid arian y degwm mewn ffyrdd nad allent fyth ddwyn unrhyw fudd i Gymru Anghydfurfiol.<sup>28</sup> Mewn gair, gwnaed popeth posibl i ganolbwyntio sylw'r Cymry ar y ddau gwestiwn, Datgysylltiad a Phwnc y Tir, ac yr wyf yn weddol sicr mai erfyn yn llaw Gee i gyrraedd yr amcanion hyn ydoedd Rhyfel y Degwm.

Nid oes amheuaeth na lwyddodd i raddau helaeth iawn, a sylwyd ar ei lwyddiant gan rai o bapurau'r Cyfandir. Anfonodd

26 *Baner* Gorffennaf 21, 1886.

27 O'r U.D.A. *Baner* Chwefror 2, 1887, Hydref 5, 1887, Hydref 26, 1887, Rhagfyr 28, 1887. Gwelir ôl Americaneiddio ar iaith llythyr Chwefror 15, 1888, lle sonnir am "*tithe sharks* degwm-addolgar"! O Canada. *Baner* Gorffennaf 27, 1887, ac o Awstralia Medi 14, 1887.

28 "Nothing makes Radicals so quickly and so extensively as corrupt and costly ecclesiastical administration." Maccoby: *English Radicalism* 1832-52, p. 66.

Samuel Evans (Cairo) ddyfyniad o'r *Republique Française*<sup>29</sup> yn sylwi bod "y symudiad yn erbyn y Degwm yn ymledu, ac yn debig o wneud niwed i'r Llywodraeth Dorïaidd."

Ond er i Gee geisio tynnu sylw ei ddarllenwyr oddi ar Iwerddon, nid oedd ef ei hun yn ddall i'r hyn a ddigwyddai yno,<sup>30</sup> ac y mae'n eglur ddigon mai ar batrwm Gwyddelig y bwriadai ehangu Cynghrair Gorthrymedigion y Degwm i fod yn Gynghrair Cenedlaethol Cymru, neu, yn ôl ei fanifesto, "Cynghrair Tirol, Masnachol a Gweithiol Cymru,"<sup>31</sup> Nid Vincent a gelynyon eraill yw'r unig rai i ddweud hyn :<sup>32</sup> fe'i ceir yn sylwadau cyfeillgar y *Liverpool Mercury* (sydd hefyd, gyda llaw, yn dweud yr union beth a ddywedai'r gelynyon, fod Radicaliaid a phapurau radicalaidd Cymru'n llawer peryclach na rhai'r Iwerddon, gan eu bod yn gallu trafod eu gwaith mewn iaith nas deëllid gan yr awdurdodau), a hefyd yn *Reynold's News*.<sup>33</sup> Yr oedd y *Times* wedi dweud mai'r Cynghrair a ddaeth â Michael Davitt drosodd i areithio yng Nghymru, a hynny yn ofer.<sup>34</sup> Ond gwada Gee hyn, yn hollol gywir, wrth gwrs. Fel y gwelir o dystiolaeth Dr. Pan Jones gerbron Bridge, ef a'i gyfeillion, llawer mwy eithafol na Gee, a ddaeth â Davitt drosodd.<sup>35</sup>

Er hyn oll, ochr yn ochr â hanes helyntion y Degwm yng Nghymru, cyhoeddai'r *Faner* adroddiadau calon-rwygol ar yr *evictions* yn Iwerddon: ceir hefyd fod rhai degwm-dalwyr yn gwneud eu protest ar ddull y *Plan of Campaign* dros y dŵr, ac yn sicr, ceir anogaethau i *foicotio*'r gelyn.<sup>36</sup>

29 *Baner* Medi 29, 1886.

30 Ym *Maner* Mawrth 16, 1887, galwodd ar A. Sau Cymru i "ddangos gradd o'r ysbryd Gwyddelig gan fynnu atal hynny a allasant ar gwrs gweithrediadau'r Tŷ."

31 *Baner* Rhagfyr 14, 1887.

32 *Times* December 2, 1887,—lle disgrifir T. E. Ellis fel "a cheap pocket edition of an Irish prototype!" Rhoes y *Times* eithaf crynodeb o Fanifesto'r Cynghrair Rhagfyr 26, 1887.

33 *Baner* Ionawr 11, 1888.

34 *Times*, Rhagfyr 26, 1887.

35 *Tithe Disturbances Inq.* (1887), qns. 3947-67, a'i lythyr yn *Denbs. Free Press* March 13, 1886.

36 Dywed *Baner* Mawrth 23, 1887, fod ffermwyr Dehau Mynwy'n talu eu degwm "Ar ddull y *Plan of Campaign* yn Iwerddon," ac mewn llythyr gan Elis o'r Nant Awst 3, 1887, dywedir "ni fuasai'r bobl yn meddwl am gynhyrfu oni bai iddi hi (sef y *Faner*) *Wyddeleiddio*'r wlad." Ar boicotio, gw. *Baner* Hydref-Tachwedd 1887 *passim*. Sylwer yn arbennig fod Ishmael Jones, Pentre Isaf, Groes, Dinbych, yn *gwadu*'r stori ei fod ef wedi talu ei ddegwm. Mae'n amlwg mai ofni boicot y mae.

## V.

## GWERTH YR HELYNT

Nid oes amheuaeth na wnaeth yr helynt lawer iawn i wenwyno ysbryd Cymru, ac y mae bai am hyn o boptu. Yr oedd Anghydfurfwyr poeth fel Dr. O. O. Roberts wedi dechrau taflu baw at yr offeiriad er yn gynnar yn y tri-degau :<sup>1</sup> tafasant hwythau faw at eu plwyfolion yn y *Llyfrau Gleision* “bradwrus” yn 1847.<sup>2</sup> Ymosodai'r *Celt* (papur Pan Jones) a'r *Werin* (papur dimai o Gaernarfon) yn ffyrnig ar yr Eglwyswyr, gan dalu'n ôl beth o'r ddyled i Brutus a'r *Haul*.

Wrth gynhyrfu'r bobl yn erbyn y personiaid yn ystod Rhyfel y Degwm, datguddiodd y *Faner* lawer o bethau annheilwng ym mywyd a gwaith y clerigwyr : ymosododd yn fwy ffyrnig fyth ar y Dirprwywyr Eglwysig<sup>3</sup> a sefydliadau lled-eglwysig fel Colegau All Souls a Christchurch, Rhydychen, a odrai ddegwm o Gymru dlawd.<sup>4</sup> Ac yn 1890 a 1891 cyhoeddai'n gyson adroddiadau gan ohebwy'r a ymwelai â'r llannau, yn dweud mor fach ydoedd eu cynulleidfaoedd.

Nid oedd pob Eglwyswr “o dani” gan y *Faner* : rhoddir canmoliaeth uchel i Llawdden, er enghraifft;<sup>5</sup> ac y mae hefyd yn bur gyfeillgar tuag at Joshua Hughes, Esgob Llanelwy a fu farw yn nechrau 1889. Ond nid oes ganddi air da i'w olynydd, A. G. Edwards (archesgob cyntaf Cymru wedi hyn), ac ni ellid disgwyl hynny, oherwydd ynddo ef ceir gŵr a allai daro llawn mor galed â Gee ei hun, a threfnydd-ei-luoedd teilwng i'w gymharu â Gee.

1 Gw. e.c. *Church Revenues Revealed—The True Origin of Tithes* (1831). *The Curate* (1832) a hyd yn oed ei *Llythyr at H. Vaughan Johnson* (1847) ar Addysg yng Ngogledd Cymru ; ni all ymatal rhag cyhuddo offeiriad o bob anfoesoldeb.

2 Gw. yn arbennig *Reports* Pt. II., pp. 56-64, 290-4, a Pt. III., pp. 63-68.

3 O Rhagfyr 1886 ymlaen ceir cyfres o erthyglau'n trafod y Dirprwywyr Eglwysig, gan nodi pwy ydynt, beth yw eu cyflogau, faint o swyddi a bywiolaethau sydd ganddynt.

4 *Baner* Tachwedd 16, 1887, Christchurch yn derbyn £62,689 y flwyddyn ar gyfer dysgu 259 o efrydwyr. All Souls yn cael £25,924 ar gyfer pump! Atebwyd yr erthygl gan y papur Eglwysig *The Record*.

5 Gw. yn arbennig *Baner* Hydref 10, 1888, lle canmolir anerchiad y Canon Howell i Gynghres yr Eglwys ym Manceinion Hydref 2. Hoffasai Gee weld Llawdden yn olynydd i Joshua Hughes yn Llanelwy, a dywedodd hynny (*Baner* Chwefror 20, 1889) wrth gyhoeddi'r newydd am benodiad A. G. Edwards.

O'r ochr arall, nid oedd yr Eglwyswyr yn barticiwlar o gwbl beth a ddywedent am yr Ymneilltuwyr : cyhuddai Venables-Williams o Golwyn Bay hwy o losgi ei eglwys i'r llawr<sup>6</sup> ac o anfon llythyrau bygwth dienw iddo<sup>7</sup> yn y dull Gwyddelig. Y personiaid ffyrnicaf yn erbyn yr Anghyddfurfwyr ydoedd y rhai a elwir mewn rhannau o Sir Drefaldwyn yn "barladiaid,"<sup>8</sup> h.y., dynion a fagwyd yn Anghyddfurfwyr, ac a droes yn Eglwyswyr yn ddiweddarach. Sir Aberteifi ydoedd magwrfa'r mwyafrif ohonynt—un felly ydoedd ficer Llanarmon yn Iâl a roes gychwyn i'r holl helynt.

Er hyn yr oedd Rhyfel y Degwm yn ddigwyddiad pwysig iawn yn natblygiad gwleidyddiaeth Cymru. Yn ystod yr helynt canolbwyntiwyd sylw'r etholwyr (a chofier bod eu rhif wedi ei chwyddo'n fawr gan Ddeddf Helaethu'r Etholfraint 1885) ar waith eu haelodau Seneddol.<sup>9</sup> Pwyswyd hwy yn y glorian, a chael llawer ohonynt yn brin ;<sup>10</sup> ac wedyn rhoddwyd eraill yn eu lle, ond rhai llawer mwy democrataidd eu gwreiddiau a'u syniadau oedd y rheini.<sup>11</sup>

Rhoddodd yr helyntion hefyd gyfle i aelod ifanc fel T. E. Ellis i wneud ei farc yn y Senedd : gwelir hyn yn eglur yn adroddiadau Seneddol y cyfnod. A rhoddodd y cyfarfodydd gwrth-ddegymol gyfle i ymgeiswyr y dyfodol ymarfer eu doniau areithyddol : diddorol dros ben ydyw gweld ym *Maner* Chwefror 2, 1887, mai "Mr. D. L. George" a ategodd y cynnig i ffurfio cangen o'r Cynghrair i Lŷn ac Eifionydd ym Mhwlheli,<sup>12</sup> ond

6 *Liverpool Courier*, July 5, 1887.

7 *ibid.*, August 26, 1887.

8 Gan y Parch. E. Tegla Davies y cefais y gair *barlad*. Ei ystyr yn y geiriadur yw "ceiliog hwyaden," ond mewn rhannau o Sir Drefaldwyn, medd Mr. Davies, fe'i defnyddir am hwyaden a ddeorwyd o dan iar— a dyna'r hwyaid a fydd fwyaf ffaidd wrth ieir wedi iddynt dyfu!

9 *Baner Medi* 21, 1887, yn rhoi manylion am weithgarwch yr A. Sau Cymreig yn ystod Sesiwn 1886-7. T. E. Ellis wedi pleidleisio 327 o weithiau ; y nesaf ato dim ond 254.

10 Llythyr John Jones, Bryniau Iâl. *Baner Medi* 7, 1887, yn cael y cwbl ond rhyw hanner dwsin ohonynt yn brin, ac yn galw am ymgeiswyr mwy cydnaws ag anghenion y werin.

11 Diddorol fyddai chwilio efaith estyn y bleidlais i werin Cymru yn 1885 : awgrymodd yr Athro J. Glyn Davies wrthyf mai Cymreictod yr etholwyr hyn sydd yn cyfrif bod T. E. Ellis wedi rhoi cymaint o sylw i'r Gymraeg.

12 Lloyd George ydoedd ysgrifennydd Cangen Llŷn ac Eifionydd o'r Cynghrair.

esbonia'r golygydd mai "diffyg gofod yn unig a barodd i ni fethu cael araeth ragorol Mr. George" !

Ar lefel ychydig yn is, gwnaeth y cyffrawd yr un peth. Ddiwedd 1888 yr oedd yn rhaid dewis aelodau i'r Cynghorau Sir newydd, ac y mae'n amlwg i'r profiad a'r enwogrwydd (lleol o leiaf) a enillodd gwŷr fel John Parry, Llanarmon, Robert Lumley, Rossa Fawr, ac Edward Thomas, Bryntirion, Dinbych, Thomas Thomas, Tŷ Nant, Llangwm, ac eraill, eu helpu i chwyddo mwyafrifoedd y Radicaliaid ar bob cyngor ond cynghorau Maesyfed a Brycheiniog.<sup>13</sup> Gwelwyd yr un effeithiau ar etholiadau'r Byrddau Ysgol mewn ambell ardal. Ceir syniad o'r pellter sydd rhwng Cymru *Baner Gee* a Chymru *Gair yn ei Amser* Thomas Jones o Ddinbych, yng ngeiriau hyderus John Morgan, newyddiadurwr profiadol o'r Wyddgrug: "We did not want a certain gentleman from Ireland [Davitt] to interfere in our business at all. *We thought ourselves perfectly competent to manage our own affairs.*"<sup>14</sup>

Ac yn sicr ddigon, rhoes y cyffrawd ysbardun i dwf yr ymdeimlad cenedlaethol yng Nghymru: Eglwys yr *Estron* oedd yn ei chael hi byth a hefyd. A chan fod Rhyddfrydwyr Lloegr a Rhyddfrydwyr Seisnigaidd Cymru'n teimlo fod cynlluniau'r Cynghrair a'r Radicaliaid yn rhy eithafol,<sup>15</sup> dechreuwyd trafod y syniad o Blaid Annibynnol Gymreig, a hefyd sôn am Ymreolaeth i Gymru.<sup>16</sup>

FRANK PRICE JONES.

13 *Baner* Mawrth 13, 1889.

14 *Titbe Disturbances Inq.* (1887) *Minutes*, qn. 4604.

15 Daw hyn i'r amlwg yn y sblit rhwng y Cynghrair Tirol a'r North Wales Liberal Federation yn niwedd 1889.

16 Codwyd y waedd "Ymreolaeth i Gymru" mewn llawer *sale* ddegwm, c.e. yn Llanddewi Aberarth Rhagfyr 16, 1887 (*Baner* Rhagfyr 28). Wrth drafod Ap Mwrog hefyd, yr oedd llawer o ohebwy'r *Faner* yn gresynu bod *Cymro* i'w gael i wneud y gwaith budr.



## THE POLICEMEN OF DENBIGHSHIRE

The Denbighshire Constabulary came into existence on the passing of the County Police Act of 1839. This Act permitted—but did not require—the Justices of the Peace for each county to maintain a paid police force for the whole area, or for any particular portion of it. The Force was not to number more than one officer for every 1,000 of the population; the members of the Force were not to engage in any other paid work; the cost of their maintenance was to be borne by the general county rate; and certain control was to be exercised by the Home Secretary, whose approval was necessary to the appointment of a Chief Constable.

It has to be borne in mind that at that time, and for years (outside the chartered boroughs), county justices sitting in Quarter Sessions, exercised many of the local government functions now discharged in the main by County Councils which came into existence in 1888.

Before the passing of the County Police Act of 1839 legislation had been passed setting up the Metropolitan Police in 1829, and in the boroughs of the country, the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835 made provision for the election of Watch Committees, who appointed and controlled their own borough police forces. Prior to these decisions by Parliament, parish constables had been appointed by the old manorial courts, by the parish vestries, and in some cases by the justices. The parish constables were unpaid. Their jurisdiction was limited, and so were the expenses allowed to them when called out for duty. Everyone in the parish was required to act if chosen, unless exempted, or incapacitated. At times of crisis special constables were sworn in by the justices, but in the first half of the nineteenth century the police arrangements in most county districts were often ineffective. Opposition to a paid constabulary for rural areas was of a determined nature. The magistrates themselves were divided in opinion, and long after the Denbighshire Police Force was first set up, efforts to abolish it were made by the justices themselves sitting in Quarter Sessions. With the growth of population and the social changes brought about by the industrial revolution in the mineral districts of Denbighshire, the opposition waned, but it flared up on several occasions in

the first two decades after the establishment of the original county force. The general opposition in the kingdom to paid forces was first weakened when the Chartist agitation began a few years after the passing of the Reform Bill. In 1838, the People's Charter was issued and a petition was presented to Parliament demanding manhood suffrage, equal electoral districts, voting by ballot, annual Parliaments, the abolition of the property qualification in the parliamentary representation and the payment of Members of Parliament. The petition to the House of Commons was signed by 1,380,000 people. It was rejected, and disorders occurred in various parts of the country. Just at this time a Royal Commission had recommended the establishment of a rural constabulary, but its recommendations were not accepted by the Government of the day. The continual disturbances led to a change of front. The County Police Act was quickly passed and, although the Denbighshire magistrates, by a majority, implemented it and appointed a force, attempts to disband it continued to be made by influential magistrates for a number of years, chiefly on the grounds of expense. It was also felt that a paid constabulary was unnecessary and that parish constables under the control of the justices were sufficient to preserve law and order in the county of Denbigh.

### THE FIRST CHIEF CONSTABLE

When the Court of Quarter Sessions met in 1840 to consider the adoption of the County Police Act, it was decided by 17 votes to 4 that the Act should be applied to the whole of Denbighshire, and to appoint one Chief Constable at a salary of £250 per annum, three superintendents at salaries of £100 per annum, and 24 constables, of whom three were to receive 18s. per week, and the other 21 to receive 15s. per week, with clothing and accoutrements for the 24. The magistrates agreed to appoint Mr. Richard Miles Wynne of Eyarth House, Ruthin, as Chief Constable, but as the Secretary of State did not confirm this appointment the Court had to reconsider the matter. The justices then chose Mr. John Denman and he became the first Chief Constable of Denbighshire. He established his headquarters at Ruthin in 1840. Born in 1802, Mr. Denman

was the eldest son of the Rev. John Denman, Rector of Llan-degla, and Perpetual Curate of Bryneglwys (1796—1831), and also Vicar of Llanarmon yn Iâl (1820—31).

Chief Constable John Denman was 38 years of age at the time of his appointment. He lived at Glanrafon, Llanfair Dyffryn Clwyd, near Ruthin. He was known as a keen and daring horseman. It is related of him that on his noted horse "Black Bess" he chased a fox along the narrow and dangerous ledge of Graig Llwm, after a long trail of his hounds, the fox leading the van. The edge of Graig Llwm is a perpendicular cliff of twenty feet or so, and is half a mile long. It is in the neighbourhood of Efenechtyd. An old resident once declared that he would not venture even to walk along it! A variant of the story is that Denman undertook the venture for a wager and won.

When he was appointed Chief Constable he found himself responsible for policing an area which extended from the valleys of the Dee, Ceiriog and Tanat in the east, across the Clwydian hills, and the Hiraethog to the Vale of Conway and the sea-board in the west. In his day the horse was monarch of the highway, and for years the Chief Constable's remuneration always included provision for a horse and forage. Telephones, police cars, motor cycle patrols and all the modern aids to police work—all taken for granted to-day—were not dreamt of then. The means of communication between one district and another, in such a scattered county, were so poor that even at a much later date, the justices assembled in quarter sessions were discussing the delays which took place before the Chief Constable received news at Ruthin of riotous behaviour at Hafod Colliery, Ruabon.

When the Denbighshire force was established the eastern portions of the county—the hundreds of Bromfield and Chirk—were in an unsettled state owing to the closure of blast furnaces, and trade depression at the coal mines. Contemporary records show that about this time—1840—gangs of unemployed colliers laid the countryside under contribution to relieve their starving condition. At such a period, the task of those responsible for the preservation of the peace was not easy in the industrial portions of the county. The "men in blue" were

few in number. In the rural areas they were regarded as unnecessary, and even in the populous districts of Wrexham, opinion was divided as to whether full-time police officers were really needed to support the justices in maintaining law and order.

A determined attempt to abolish the Denbighshire Force was made at the autumn quarter sessions held at the County Hall, Denbigh, in 1844 with Mr. John Heaton in the chair. The magistrates were almost equally divided on the question. A number of petitions in favour of disbanding the Force were presented to the Court. Colonel Yale objected to the continuance of the force on the grounds of expense. The annual cost was £2,000, and the county was £5,000 in debt. He described Denbighshire as eminently peaceable and pointed out that it was bordered by Welsh counties in which no police force existed. One of the reasons advanced by the magistrates who voted for the force on its establishment, he continued, was that it would be the means of suppressing crime, but the contrary was the fact, proved by experience. The reason for the increase in crime to which the Judge had called attention at the last Assize was that the officers of the Force, for the sake of carrying the appearance of activity, ran after every little petty offence, by which members of the legal profession had had a prodigious increase in their business and at no small expense to the county. Colonel Yale called the attention of the Court to the fact that since the passing of the Act of Parliament under which the police force was organised, another measure had been passed making provision for the appointment of parish constables who would be under the jurisdiction of the magistrates, and the members of this force would be paid only while on duty. Mr. Townshend Mainwaring, M.P. (of Galltfaenan and Marchwiel Hall) supported Colonel Yale. He told the Court that although he was amongst the number who first voted for the police force, he had become converted to the opinion that it was quite unnecessary and wholly inefficient! He added:—"Crime is more general; and those who commit it do it with more boldness than ever. It affords neither security to property, nor protection to the lives of the community."

In presenting a petition from Llanfairtalhaiarn, Mr. Brownlow Wynne, of Garthewin, alleged that the force was not rightly

conducted. He said the only service he was aware of that the police officer at Llanfair T. H., had rendered was to put a donkey into the Pound occasionally, and at one time he brought up a boy for gathering mushrooms in his meadow ! Colonel Yale moved and Mr. Townshend Mainwaring seconded, a resolution " that a report be made to Her Majesty's Secretary of State declaring it to be the opinion of the meeting that a police force was no longer required for the county of Denbigh, and that such force be discontinued from the 8th day of May, 1845." Mr. Myddelton Biddulph, of Chirk Castle, expressed the opinion that the existing force would be less expensive than a rural constabulary, and that police were very necessary in the hundreds of Bromfield and Chirk. He intimated his intention of voting against the resolution to abolish the force, and Dr. F. J. Hughes, M.D., Chairman of Wrexham Petty Sessions, stated they would not be in the present orderly state at Wrexham if the Force was discontinued. Mr. Fitzhugh of Plas Power, was convinced that the Force was essential to the maintenance of order in the mineral district where he lived. These contentions were countered by Mr. Townshend Mainwaring, who announced that it was the unanimous opinion of the Board of Guardians that the town of Wrexham was in a worse state since the establishment of the police force than they ever remembered it !

When the resolution was put to the court, thirteen justices voted for the abolition of the police, and twelve were against it. As the Act of Parliament required a majority of three-fourths, the resolution was lost. The Chairman, Mr. Heaton, said he had not voted as there was a majority without his vote, but in the records of the day he is shown as voting " against." The magistrates voting to abolish the Force were : The Rev. E. Thelwall, Wilson Jones, W. Parry Yale, John Williams, M.D., the Rev. E. Evans, George Griffiths, Townshend Mainwaring, M.P., T. P. Jones-Parry, J. Ll. Wynne, J. Price, the Rev. J. F. Roberts, H. Ll. Williams, M.D., and B. W. Wynne.

Those who voted against the abolition of the Force were :— the Rev. R. Newsome, Joseph Ablett, John Heaton, Geo. Naylor, F. J. Hughes, M.D., Thomas Fitzhugh, W. Hanmer, the Rev. T. G. Roberts, R. M. Biddulph (Lord Lieutenant), J. J. Ffoulkes, Thomas Downward and J. W. Watling.

The acute division of opinion amongst the magistrates continued during the next few years. Meanwhile, a superintendent and four men were allotted to the town of Wrexham out of the county police force. At this time Wrexham had not gained its charter of incorporation. This was not to come until 1857, but the movement that ultimately led to the creation of the borough was beginning to take shape in 1848. In that year parish constables for the two divisions—Wrexham Regis and Wrexham Abbot—were being appointed at the annual vestry as will be seen from the following account which appeared in the *Wrexham Recorder* for 1848 (page 47) :—

#### PUBLIC OFFICERS FOR THE ENSUING YEAR

The following inhabitants of the Town have been appointed Public Officers at Easter last, for the ensuing year, viz. :—

##### WREXHAM REGIS—

Overseers of the Poor : Mr. John Evans, Currier, and Mr. Joseph Clark, Wine Merchant. Assistant : Mr. Evan Morris.

Surveyors of the Highways : Mr. Meredith Jones and Mr. Edward Rogers, both of Charles Street. Assistant : Mr. Evan Morris.

Constables : William Charnley, Hope Street, Veterinary Surgeon ; William Owen, Hope Street, Tin-plate Worker ; Simon Phillips, Henblas Street, Tin-plate Worker ; William Evans, Lampit Street, Tailor ; Edward Jones, Chester Street, Glazier ; Benjamin Crumpton, Chester Street, Ironmonger ; Samuel Davies, Beast Market, Stone Mason ; Robert Jones, Holt Street, Coach-Maker ; Ephraim Knibbs, High Street, Smallware Dealer ; John Williams, Church Street, Draper ; Ambrose David Jones, Church Street, Draper.

##### WREXHAM ABBOT—

Overseers of the Poor : Mr. William Williams, Saddler, and Mr. Robert Roberts, The Cannon. Assistant : Mr. Richard Clarke.

Surveyors of the Highways : Mr. Edward Jones, Penybryn, and Mr. Francis Lloyd, Bowling Green. Assistant : Mr. Richard Clark.

Constables : John Booth, Beast Market, Smith ; Edward Edwards, St. Draw, Maltster ; Robert Wright, Brook Street, Smith ; Charles Jones, Penybryn, Bricklayer ; James Stokes, Penybryn, Coach-builder ; Joseph Roberts, Penybryn, Book-binder ; Charles Rogers, Penybryn, Shoe-maker ; Thomas Simon Jones, Brook Street, Clerk.

Church Wardens for the Parish : Mr. J. E. Price, High Street, Mr. J. Hughes, Fennant, Mr. R. Parker, Borrás, Mr. Powell, Minera.

The Wrexham newspapers of 1848 and 1849 contained frequent criticisms of the police. A correspondent in the *Wrexham Registrar*, in July, 1848, inquired :—

“ Why are the police seldom, if ever, to be seen either in Tuttle Street, Madeira Hill, Wrexham Fechan, the Beast Market, or Pentrefelin ? Can it be because these places are more orderly and quieter than either High Street, Hope Street, or Chester Street ? Why are the whole force located in Wrexham always to be found at certain hours exclusively about the Cross in Church Street, or near to the Church gates ?—while the approaches to other places of worship in the town are never favoured with their visits, although those who frequent them have to contribute towards the support of the Police in the same ratio as those who frequent the Parish Church. Surely it cannot be that there is more disorder and irregularity generally among Churchpeople than amongst those who frequent other places of worship.”

This letter was signed by “ A Ratepayer and a Churchman.” Commenting on local affairs in August, 1848, the Editor, of the *Wrexham Registrar* had this to say :—

“ We must not omit to say one word about the Police, a force which has been introduced of late years into this county and town. It was for some time after its formation very badly conducted—it is now improved ; but there is still room for further improvement. A well regulated Police is certainly still much wanted among us.”

By May, 1849, the people of Wrexham were upset by the number of robberies which had taken place and by the failure

of the police to bring the offenders to justice. This was reflected in the *Wrexham Registrar* which published the following comment :—

#### THE POLICE AGAIN

“ Verily our blue coated Gentlemen are determined not to be a whit behindhand with our Legislators ; for they seem determined to do nothing except walk about at their ease, in twos or threes together. Surely they must be in league with some persons or other—or else the numerous and serious robberies and house breakings which have occurred within this last month in this town and neighbourhood would not have occurred. It is evident that it is useless to appeal for redress to the Quarter Sessions. Under these circumstances, ought not an appeal at once be made energetically to the Secretary of State for redress ? Doubtless Sir William Lloyd and T. Mainwaring, Esq., would give every assistance to the Ratepayers as to the best mode of proceeding, etc., etc. Since writing the above we have learnt that a preliminary meeting was held at the Lion Inn on Saturday last, R. H. Jones, Esq., in the chair, when it was resolved to hold a public meeting in the Town Hall this day at three p.m. for the purpose of taking into consideration the defective and inefficient state of the Police, as manifested by the numerous and serious robberies which have recently taken place, and that the Chief Constable be informed of the same.”

Evidently the condition of Wrexham at this period was not very creditable. The Report made to the General Board of Health in 1849 includes statements by Mr. E. Griffiths, Superintendent of Police, which are illuminating. Here they are :—

“ There are in the town of Wrexham 41 lodging houses the majority of these houses are of the very worst description, and situate in the worst locality of the town. I have known on certain occasions such as at fairs and bands, as many as 200 extra lodgers taken in at these houses. What I mean by extra is that 200 persons have been admitted without suitable accommodation, and on these occasions I have seen as many as 12 dogs accommodated at one house thereby increasing the nuisance. . . . Drunkenness among the lower classes, male and female, is very

frequent, and difficult to check, owing to the bad state of the lodging houses ; prostitution is also to be complained of ; scarcely a lodging house in the town refuses to harbour for this purpose. Thefts are very numerous ; and altogether I consider the town as regards crime and immorality, among the worst in North Wales."

### " A DIVIDED EMPIRE "

Dissatisfaction with the police administration continued, especially in the Eastern part of Denbighshire. Matters came to a head in 1850, and it was decided to reorganise the force and to divide the county into two districts with a superintendent for each of them. The Chairman of Quarter Sessions, Mr. Thomas Hughes, of Ystrad, Denbigh, speaking of what took place, later said : " We did away with the Chief Constable to save expense."

And so Mr. Denman ceased to be Chief Constable and control of the police was vested in two superintendents—Mr. G. M. King at Wrexham, and Mr. J. Bradshaw at Denbigh. These changes created what was called a " divided empire," but the manuscript records of the period that are still preserved seem to show that an effort was made to improve the service. The force was small ; parish constables were still being appointed and this appears to have led to some doubts as to their respective functions. In June, 1851, Superintendent King issued a general order with regard to the attendance of police at Coroners' inquests. This order read : " Some of the magistrates of this district having expressed a desire that the police constables should not be taken from their regular duties for the purpose of attending Coroners' inquests, or conveying to him information of accidents or sudden deaths, the members of this force are hereby directed not to interfere in such cases, but to leave it altogether in the hands of the parochial constables ; except there is some reason to suppose that the result of the inquest will be a verdict of Murder, or Manslaughter, in which case the police will take all requisite steps to aid the Coroner's inquiry and receive his commands."

Less than three years after it was issued this order was cancelled, and constables were ordered to summon the jury, warn witnesses and to assist the Coroner. Superintendent King, however, added these words to his general order :—" Should the

services of the P.C. be required in his district in any case of Felony, or at any petty session, or other inquiry before the Magistrates, he is to hand over the Coroner's warrant to the local Constable and direct him to attend the inquest as the Police must not neglect the chief duties for which they were appointed, although they are in every way bound to facilitate the Coroner's inquiries when not otherwise specially engaged."

When the magistrates met in Quarter Sessions at Ruthin in January, 1852, they resolved that "no more than twopence per meal, for three meals, or threepence per meal for two meals, be allowed per day for any prisoner when in custody of the police, or other constables."

Following upon this resolution, Mr. King directed that "when a prisoner is detained in the Lock-up for a night or more, and needs refreshment, he must if he have the means, be made to pay for it himself, but in cases where from poverty the prisoner is absolutely unable to procure provisions, he must be supplied at the public expense at a cost not exceeding sixpence in the 24 hours. On no account whatever shall beer or spirits be supplied to a prisoner or admitted into the Lock-up except by order of a Medical Gentleman who may be in attendance upon any such prisoner."

In 1855 an Act of Parliament came into force prohibiting the use of dogs for the purposes of draught or burden. The police were called upon to see that the Act was observed and they were directed by Mr. King to inform the toll bar keepers on the turnpike roads of the purport of the Act, and to ask them to warn all persons who passed through the toll gates with dogs drawing their carts that they were violating the law. The police were also instructed to call at each lodging house "where the class of people who use dog carts usually lodge, and acquaint them that this Act of Parliament will be strictly enforced."

But even after the reorganisation of the Force, and the division of the county into two districts for police purposes, public criticism of the service did not cease. Mr. R. Humphrey Jones of Willow House, Wrexham, wrote to the newspapers to complain of the "lamentable apathetic and disgraceful inefficiency of the police located at Wrexham." A series of robberies

and a burglary at Marchwiell Hall led to the following outspoken leading article in the *Wrexham Advertiser* :—

“ Our police we shall dismiss very summarily. They can neither catch a thief, nor keep him when he is caught. Of bone and muscle and fat and big sticks there is more than enough, and to give the men their due, they are docile and active and affable. What is wanted is not so much ‘ guts ’ as brains, and these they have not got. They cost us £1,000 a year, and the inadequacy of the *quid* to the *quo* must be apparent to everyone.”

#### THE ACT OF 1856

In 1856 Parliament changed the whole position in the counties. By an Act passed in that year the justices were required to establish a paid police force in each county. Crown inspectors of constabulary were to visit the county to report as to the efficiency of the force to the Home Secretary. In Denbighshire the new Act meant that one chief constable would have to be substituted for the two superintendents appointed when the force was reorganised.

When the justices met in Quarter Sessions at Ruthin in October, 1856, the Chairman said the police force which they had divided into two districts now had to be consolidated. “ It is the wish of the magistrates to do so with as little expense as possible,” he continued, “ and we shall perhaps do better with a Chief Constable, although the present force works well and we have no reason to complain, but we must comply with the provisions of the Act.”

The justices decided to appoint a chief constable on the 8th of January, 1857, and the two superintendents—Messrs. King and Bradshaw — were told that the county would have no further need of their services after that time, if they were not elected to offices in the new force. The Clerk of the Peace, Mr. Joseph Peers, issued an advertisement inviting applications for the post of chief constable at a salary of £250 per annum, with £50 per annum for horse and forage. It was stated that a knowledge of Welsh would be a recommendation to a candidate. The force was to consist of about 37 men including superintendent, sergeants and men.

With the issue of this advertisement, and probably before it appeared in print, the fun began. It became known that Mr. John Denman was to be a candidate for appointment as Chief Constable—a post he had held prior to the reorganisation of the force in 1850. Letters appeared in the newspapers objecting to his candidature, and others gave him support. Later, memorials were sent to the Home Secretary by both sides. Before this stage was reached, however, the magistrates were to discover from the Press that considerable feeling had been aroused. A Ruthin correspondent, signing himself “Freeholder,” wrote to *The Wrexhamite* of October 24th, 1856, as follows:—“My chief object in now troubling you is to make the public issue through your columns of a circumstance which transpired at our county sessions last week and has caused no little surprise amongst the respectable families in this quarter, that Mr. John Denman, whose past official and private career everyone in the county is so well acquainted with, is not only a candidate for the office, but makes sure that certain influential houses, whose heads are freely named, will insure his election, and also shall be enabled to induce the Secretary of State to relax the rules of qualification in regard to age in his favour. . . .

“I cannot believe it possible a majority of the county magistrates numbering such names as are seen in the roll for Denbighshire will outrage public propriety by countenancing the selection of a man in every way so unsuitable for the head of the police service in so populous and spirited a county as this.”

Commenting on this letter the Editor of *The Wrexhamite* wrote: “We agree with our correspondent in thinking it impossible the magistracy of this county would go out of their way to reinstate a party whose previous tenure of office was marked by a continued series of complaints and general dissatisfaction as to the mode in which the duties were fulfilled. The two divisional forces have worked well, at least satisfactorily since Mr. Denman ceased to be chief. Why then re-import the very element of discord which the public seem to have been well satisfied by being relieved from during the last six years. Mr. Denman is no doubt an excellent fox-hunter—a crack shot—first-rate judge of a horse or dog, and a very amusing companion

for young bachelors—but we are bound, as public journalists, to pronounce our opinion that such is not the style of man fitted for the head of a police force. We do not wish to indulge in personal reflections upon any man further than we are compelled to do so in defence of the public service, but whoever aspires to public office must submit to have his qualifications criticised. We regret he has stepped forward to lay himself open to public strictures and hope for his own sake he will reconsider the matter, but at the same time we strongly recommend the ratepayers to watch the progress of events and be prepared if necessary to memorialise the Home Office upon the subject.”

“Debt Payer,” writing to the Press from Llanrwst, in November, 1857, declared it would be “a heavy blow if the leading houses forced Mr. Denman again upon us,” whilst “Radical,” writing from Wrexham, predicted that if “any attempt be made to foist such an unfit man into the responsible office of Chief Constable here such a storm of agitation will be raised by the ratepayers in this town and neighbourhood as the county magistrates will be sorry to have created.”

But Mr. Denman was not without support in the Press. A letter signed by “A Ratepayer” from Ruthin, was published in the *Chester Chronicle*, stating that for ten years he discharged the duties of the office in a most satisfactory and exemplary manner.

The writer of the letter added :—

“Whenever there was a case of any importance, even if on the limits, or at the most, distant part of the county, there was Mr. Denman active and ready.”

To this the Editor of *The Wrexhamite and Denbighshire and Flintshire Reporter* replied :—

“*Credat Judeus Appella!* (Let the circumcised Jew believe that). This may pass in a Cheshire paper taken in by a few of Mr. Denman’s friends in Denbighshire, but it will not go down with the public in this county. From past experience we all know the facts were quite the contrary. We all know that owing to Mr. Denman’s inefficiency and marked indifference, and the blindfold and indiscreet zeal manifested by a knot of

sporting friends in his favour, was brought about a discontinuance of the office of Chief Constable, and the severance of the county force into two divisions since which under proper superintendence the Constabulary have shown every efficiency and given every satisfaction . . . We hear it is admitted that he is past the age prescribed by the rules as to qualification, and we think that he also now virtually, if not ultimately, comes within the terms of another rule of disqualification. This being the case, still we are told "Oh ! with influence at the Home Office that can be got over." Is Mr. Denman such a model man and such a clever police commander that the county must go out of its way to have him ? We fearlessly assert he is not, but on the contrary, a very unfit party for the office."

Strong words, but they had little effect on the general body of magistrates. At the Quarter Sessions held at Ruthin in January, 1857, Mr. Denman was again appointed Chief Constable. Twenty-two out of the thirty-eight magistrates present voted for him. Seventeen applications were received for the post and the four selected for interview were Mr. Denman, Superintendent G. M. King (Wrexham), Captain Frazer and and Lieutenant Pechell. Speaking on the second day of the Sessions, Mr. Thos. Hughes, Ystrad, the Chairman said : "Yesterday we were engaged in appointing a Chief Constable for this County in accordance with the Act of Parliament recently passed, and I hope he will give every satisfaction to the county. It is to be hoped that we shall have a more efficient force if we can." An attempt was made to persuade the Home Secretary not to sanction Mr. Denman's appointment by means of petitions to Sir Geo. Gray. The ratepayers of Ruthin, to the number of 400, and the Town Council of Denbigh, both sent memorials to the Home Secretary, supporting Mr. Denman. A memorial was also sent from Wrexham in his favour.

In the Wrexham memorial the following statements were made :—"Mr. Denman is Welsh, and speaks the English and Welsh languages fluently, and this in a chief constable for a Welsh county is not only an asset but, in our opinion, is an essential qualification. He is also a gentlemen of business habits, active, intelligent, of a kind disposition, and of a cool

judgment and quick perception with, in addition, a thorough knowledge of the duties of the office that he previously filled for some years with tact and ability. We have every reason to remember the valuable services of Mr. Denman as Chief Constable when the colliers from the neighbourhood of Brymbo marched in a body to the Union Workhouse soon after it was opened and afterwards the colliers and miners from Cefn Mawr. We remember how by his tact and ability and speaking to the rioters in their native language, he succeeded in persuading them to go quietly and peaceably to their homes."

Apparently the new Chief's appointment did not comply with the rules. The Home Secretary sent down a modified code of rules. On February 17th, 1857, Mr. Denman was re-elected Chief Constable by the magistrates at a special meeting held at Ruthin. His appointment was confirmed and he remained in office for the next twenty years, with his headquarters at Ruthin.

#### MR. JOHN DENMAN'S SECOND TERM OF OFFICE.

One of the first orders issued by Mr. Denman after his re-appointment related to the appearance of the police. He wrote :—

" I order that the men on this Force do have their hair cut once in every month on pain of being fined for neglect one shilling for each offence.

" Dated 28th April, 1858.

JOHN DENMAN,  
Chief Constable."

One of Mr. Denman's first appointments was that of Chief Clerk J. Sheehan—an officer who was to serve the county for forty years, and one who was still acting at the age of 71. He was then described as probably the oldest policeman serving in England and Wales. Mr. Sheehan joined the Metropolitan Police in 1846 and was selected for special duty at the Exhibition of 1851, for which he was presented with a Commemoration Medal by H.R.H. Prince Albert. When the Crimean War broke out in 1854, the Metropolitan Police were asked for a number of well educated and intelligent men to act as clerks on the Commissariat. Sheehan was one of those selected. He

landed in the Crimea with the Allied Forces, and served until the fall of Sebastopol. For his services he received the Crimean and Turkish medals. His medals were framed and are still exhibited at the Chief Constable's office at Wrexham. Although he probably was unaware of it at the time, two Denbighshire men—Sir Roger Palmer of Cefn Park, Wrexham, and Captain B. T. Griffith Boscawen—both served in that campaign, and the latter was later to become Chairman of the Standing Joint Police Committee for Denbighshire. Sir Roger Palmer rode in the famous charge of the Light Brigade at Balaclava, and his souvenirs of that campaign are still preserved by Lieutenant-Colonel R. Fenwick-Palmer at Cefn Park. Captain Griffith Boscawen lived at Trevalyn, Rossett, and in one of the entertaining rooms is an oval-shaped wooden box strengthened with brass hoops, and containing flowering plants. This was the Captain's bath tub which he took with him to the Crimea! When the Crimean War was over, Mr. Sheehan happened to meet Superintendent John Bradshaw who had also been in the Metropolitan Force. Superintendent Bradshaw induced him to join the Denbighshire Constabulary, and the Chief Constable appointed him Chief Clerk at Ruthin. He rose to the rank of Superintendent and continued to hold the office of Chief Clerk under Mr. Denman and his successor. He was said to be a walking compendium of police law and an expert in the compilation of Government returns. A stray document from the year 1874 reveals the humour with which he communicated with members of the force. It apparently relates to the despatch of a messenger carrying police pay to one of the stations. Here it is:—

Denbighshire Constabulary,

Ruthin,

December 28th, 1874.

A Son of Adam, at 12 noon to-morrow (Tuesday)—an Angel—will appear unto thee at Abergele laden with Gold and other precious metal, some of which he will give unto thee, that thy days may be happy in the land wherein thou dwellest. Get P.C.s Hughes and Harvey to meet this messenger from the Upper Regions, as he will have a little of the precious metal for them also, though I doubt whether it is for their good

actions, let it be a consolation to them, however, to find that they are not forgotten.

(Signed) J. SHEEHAN,

Superintendent.

Within a year of Mr. Denman's re-appointment as Chief Constable, in 1857 the formation of an association at Ruabon throws an interesting sidelight on the situation with regard to the frequency of crime. The following is a copy of a poster issued in July, 1858 :—

R U A B O N  
A S S O C I A T I O N  
for the  
prosecution  
of  
F E L O N S

---

WHEREAS,

DIVERS Burglaries, Felonies, and Larcenies have been Committed, and the offenders/have frequently escaped Justice for want of Immediate Pursuit and effectual Prosecution./ The Members of the above Association, in order to prevent any Person or Persons from/Committing any of the Undermentioned Depredations upon their Persons or Properties ; / and for Effectually bringing such Offender or Offenders to Justice, at their United/Expense, and in Aid of Each Other, do offer the Following REWARDS :—One Half/to be Paid upon Committal—The Remainder on Conviction./

	£	s.	d.
For Burglaries and Highway Robbery.....	10	0	0
For Stealing any Horse, Mare, or Gelding.....	10	0	0
For Stealing Cattle, Sheep, or Pigs.....	5	0	0
For Stealing Poultry.....	2	0	0
For Breaking into, or Stealing any Goods or Chattels out of any Out-Building.....	2	0	0
For Robbing any Garden, Orchard, or Fishpond.....	1	0	0
For Stealing Corn, Beans, Grass, Potatoes, Hay or any Grain or Pulse Whatsoever ; or Stealing or Damaging any Plough, Waggon Cart, or other Implement in Husbandry	2	0	0
For Breaking or Stealing any Lead, Iron, Copper or Brass.....	2	0	0
For Stealing or Cutting Down any Timber Trees, or Underwood Gate, Fence, Pale, &c., Stealing Coal, or of Committing any Felonious Act, Theft, or Damage not before Specified .....	1	0	0

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## MEMBERS' NAMES.

Sir W. W. Wynn, Bart.	Mr. Wm. Wright, Gwernydd,
G. H. Whalley, Esq., Plas Madoc.	Llanger.
John Lewis, Esq., Solicitor.	„ Jonathan Clark, Gutter Hill.
Edward Tench, Esq., Plasnewydd.	„ Thomas Jones, Duke, Ruabon.
Mr. John Allen, Ruabon.	„ Charles Wigan, Ruabon.
„ John Thompson, Knolton.	„ Exuperius Pickering,
„ David Jones, Foxes, Ruabon.	Pen-y-bryn.
„ Robert Wright, Tyn-y-pistill.	„ Daniel Owens, Jun., Rhos.
„ Thomas Madeley, Ruabon.	„ C. Wainwright, Christionydd.
„ Charles Wright, Pant.	„ Charles Roberts, Ruabon.
„ Joseph Hughes, Ruabon.	„ John Roberts, Parkside.
„ Peter Wright, Plas Issa.	„ Joseph Owens, White Horse,
„ George Powell, Ruabon.	Rhos.
„ Robert Morris, Talbot,	„ Joseph Lee, Saddler, Ruabon.
Ruabon.	„ Thomas Smith, Publican,
Mrs. Sarah Morris, Goat, Ruabon.	Eyton.
Mr. Thomas Wright, Ty-mawr,	„ Joseph Hobson, Rhos-y-medre.
Ruabon.	„ Edward Davies, Buildings.
„ Edward Davies, Druggist,	„ Samuel Lewis, Pen-y-bryn.
Ruabon.	„ John Ingman, Ruabon.
	„ Joseph Owens, Rhos.
	JOHN LEWIS, Esq, Solicitor.
	Mr. GEORGE POWELL, Treasurer.
Ruabon, July 1858.	Mr. THOMAS MADELEY, Secretary.

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GEORGE GRIFFITHS, PRINTER, BANK STREET, WREXHAM.

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Prior to 1858, the borough of Denbigh had a police force of its own (Wrexham was only incorporated as a borough in 1857, and did not have a borough force). In 1858, however, the magistrates of the county meeting in Quarter Sessions at Ruthin on the 8th of January, and the Mayor and Corporation of Denbigh meeting at the Guildhall, Denbigh, on the 18th of January, 1858, reached an agreement by which the Denbigh Borough Force was consolidated with the County Constabulary. Under this agreement, the Denbigh Borough magistrates and Watch Committee were to be given the same authority over the police in the borough that the county magistrates had over the policemen in the county. The police constables stationed in the borough were to obey the orders of the magistrates and the Watch Committee, and to enforce the Borough Bye-Laws.

Many years after the conclusion of this agreement, the Denbigh Borough Council complained that the police officers stationed at Denbigh were "county officers" and not the servants of the Borough Council. They claimed the right to receive a report from the Chief Constable of the dismissal of every police constable within the borough and the right of appointment of constables in the places of those dismissed. There is nothing in the counterpart agreement consolidating the police force of the borough and the county that specifically supports the claim of the Denbigh Town Council to appoint constables, in place of those stationed in the borough and dismissed. After consolidation the police were maintained out of county and central funds, and control over them (except in so far as they were obliged to obey the lawful orders of Justices of the Peace) really passed to the Chief Constable and Quarter Sessions (and, at a much later period, to the Joint Committee of County magistrates and County councillors.)

A return, signed by Chief Constable Denman, and probably prepared by Chief Clerk Sheehan, in 1861, shows that the expenditure on the Denbighshire Force then amounted to £3,618, and the receipts (for serving summonses, executing warrants, conveying prisoners to gaol, plus a grant of one quarter of pay and clothing) to £987, leaving £2,631 to be found by the rate-payers, equal to a rate of 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. in the £. During the year 53 indictable crimes were committed, and 1,193 persons were proceeded against and dealt with summarily by the magistrates. The largest number of offences disposed of at petty sessions were for drunkenness.

From time to time during Mr. Denman's term of office, the strength of the force was increased. By 1861 it had grown from 37 to 53, and consisted of the following: 1 Chief Constable, 2 superintendents, 4 inspectors, six sergeants, and forty constables. The Chief was paid £250 per annum, the superintendents £100 per annum, the inspectors £75 per annum, the sergeants 23s. per week, and the constables 19s. or 17s., or 16s., per week, according to the class in which they were placed. By 1871 the force had been increased to 63, the Chief Constable was paid £300 and had a chief clerk at £95; the pay of the superintendents ranged from £105 to £150, and that of the inspectors from £80

to £95. The sergeants received from 25s. 8d. to 27s. 5d. per week, and the constables from 18s. 4½d. to 23s. per week. The Chief Constable and the Superintendents were given allowances for forage and travelling. Even allowing for the changes in the value of money, police pay could hardly be described as attractive.

On the 26th of October, 1876, Mr. Denman resigned. A letter from him was read at the Michaelmas Quarter Sessions intimating his intention to resign the office of Chief Constable on the 20th of February, 1877. His resignation was accepted. Mr. Denman only lived for three years after his retirement. He died at Glanrafon, Llanfair D.C. on November 8th, 1880, and was buried in the old churchyard at Llanfair. Thirty-five members of the force attended his funeral under the command of Deputy-Chief Constable Wilde. A number of his friends erected a monument over his grave on the north side of the church. It bears the following interesting inscription :—

Sacred to the Memory  
of  
JOHN DENMAN,  
eldest son of the late Rev.  
John Denman,  
Vicar of Llanarmon-yn-Yale.  
Twice Appointed Chief  
Constable of the County of  
Denbigh,  
which appointment he held  
for 30 years.  
He Died at Glanrafon in this  
Parish on November 8th, 1880,  
Aged 78.  
Erected by a number of his  
old friends.

#### CAPTAIN A. W. PRICE.

In January, 1877, a new chief constable was appointed. Sixty-three applications were received for the post. Captain Augustus William Price, of Llanrhaiadr, was chosen. The final voting at Quarter Sessions was as follows :—Captain Price

39, Major T. J. Leadbetter 22, Mr. G. L. Fenwick 8. Captain Price set up his police headquarters at Denbigh.

In 1877 the total strength of the force (excluding the Chief Constable) was 68. It was made up as follows :—Superintendents 3, Inspectors 3, Sergeants 7, Constables 55. In this year the magistrates agreed to an increase in the force, but there was some opposition to the proposal. At the Sessions criticism of the police in reference to a riot at Hafod Colliery was voiced, and Captain Griffith Boscawen said they had heard from the late Deputy Chief Constable that all the policemen in Wrexham, or a great portion of them, were given to drinking so that Mr. Bradshaw could not rely upon them ! ! !

During those early years there are frequent references in the records to penalties imposed upon members of the Force for drunkenness. Several offenders were fined ; others were dismissed. Even at a later period—in 1879—three constables were fined and dismissed “ for drunkenness being in a low public house in prohibited hours and fighting.” This led to the publication to the whole force of the following :—“ The Chief Constable regrets exceedingly he had to punish the above men and cautions the force generally to be most careful to select only the most respectable houses for the purpose of refreshment. As a policeman is constantly under the eyes of the public, his conduct and example should be exemplary, and any conduct calculated to bring the Force into such disgrace as has been brought on it by the three men lately dismissed, is eagerly seized upon by some people to scandalise the Force at large for the bad conduct of a few men. The Chief Constable trusts that all the men in his force will unite in showing by their good conduct that they are anxious to wipe out this disgrace upon us.”

### MAJOR T. J. LEADBETTER

Captain Price only held office as Chief Constable for a little over a year. He resigned in August, 1878, and in the same year Major T. J. Leadbetter was appointed in his stead. Six candidates were selected to appear before the justices, but one—Colonel Pearce—withdrew. The final voting was as follows :—Major Leadbetter 35, Major Edwards 15, Captain Fair Jones 14, Captain Carnegie 3, Captain Berthon 0. Major Leadbetter had a

majority of three over all the other candidates put together. He was given permission to reside out of the county until March, 1878. Born at Alder Bank, Bothwell, Lanarkshire, Major Leadbetter obtained a Commission in the Army and served at home and abroad in the King's Own Scottish Borderers (25th Foot). He was afterwards attached to the Metropolitan Police Force, where he gained valuable experience which stood him in good stead when he was appointed Chief Constable of Denbighshire.

Within a month of his appointment the new Chief Constable issued the following general order to the Force :—  
 “Major Leadbetter, in assuming office as Chief Constable of Denbighshire, hopes that all ranks of the police force will give him their unstinted support in promoting a system of police management which will tend to the efficiency of the Force and the suppression of crime. The Chief Constable trusts he will have no occasion to complain of negligence on the part of any member of the Force, and he need scarcely point out the necessity of every man refraining from temptations to which, as a public officer, he is frequently exposed through the mistaken kindness of others, thereby endangering that freedom of action so necessary in a police constable.

“The Chief Constable will at all times be glad to acknowledge and reward the activity and zeal of deserving men, but at the same time, he will have it distinctly understood that he will never pass unnoticed those who may neglect their duty or bring discredit on the Force.”

This general order is dated 1st November, 1878. It seems to indicate the opening of a new era in the history of the Denbighshire Constabulary. It was the first of a series of commands which were to extend over a period of thirty-three years. Police headquarters only remained at Denbigh until the end of 1878. In 1879 the Chief Constable's office was removed to the County Buildings, Wrexham (the new name given to the old Militia Barracks which was converted into a court house, bridewell and police headquarters for the county).

Many of the general orders issued to the police reflect the manners of mid-Victorian times, and recall occasions when the peace was disturbed by riots and strikes. An order of June,

1879, intimated to all ranks the desire of the Chief that men who could grow good beards and moustaches should do so. He added: "Those who cannot are not to wear chin tufts, but to shave as formerly." In the same year constables were instructed not to attend shooting parties or private balls, or entertainments, unless on requisition to Headquarters.

In 1881 (when the Force had been increased to 79), complaints were made that when constables were moved to new stations, they left debts behind them. Major Leadbetter said he wished it to be distinctly understood that he would not allow such conduct, and that in future he would dismiss such men, "who by their misconduct bring discredit on the whole Force."

Cutlasses were issued to the Denbighshire Police in April, 1882. This was about the time when a colliery riot occurred at Moss and Cerney, and a detachment of the Royal Welch Fusiliers was sent into that district to assist the civil power in keeping order. When cutlasses were issued to the police Major Leadbetter gave the following order to the Force:—

"In issuing cutlasses to the Denbighshire Constabulary in consequence of the disturbed state of the district, and rumours of intended riots, the Chief Constable strictly wishes each man to understand that they are to be used only in extreme cases of self-defence when in actual danger to life or limb, or when in conjunction with the military power they are charging the mob after the Riot Act has been read. Even then, the Chief Constable hopes no man will be carried away by excitement, and will only use the weapon when necessity requires him to do so, and as far as possible abstain from causing injury to life or limb."

In the county buildings at Wrexham, a number of these cutlasses are still preserved in a fan-shaped frame over the fireplace in one of the Inspectors' offices.

In 1883 complaints must have been made to the Chief Constable about the treatment of prisoners by the police. Major Leadbetter instantly felt very concerned about the allegation and he caused the following order to be sent to the Force:—

"Cases of constables abusing persons when taken into custody have been brought to the notice of the Chief Constable; such conduct as to strike a man who cannot at the time

properly defend himself is cowardly and unmanly, and constables are particularly warned to govern their tempers. When once a prisoner is secured let bygones be bygones. Any further complaints brought to the Chief Constable's notice will be visited on the offending constables by instant dismissal."

There are frequent references in the old order book to police being treated to refreshments when on duty, or to constables being given beer in public-houses. At a time when each year about 400 people were being convicted for drunkenness in the county on week-days and a hundred for similar misconduct on Sundays, the Chief Constable strove to raise the tone and credit of the Force. In 1885 the following order was issued :—

"A case having again been brought before the Chief Constable of a constable going home to his station without being relieved off his beat—the Chief Constable reminds the men of the Force that such misconduct will be visited by heavy fines, and he therefore cautions the men to be careful when on special duty, not to allow themselves to be treated, or leave their posts for refreshments without proper permission to do so. The credit of the Force suffers in the eyes of the public by such conduct. Duty first ; pleasure afterwards. Don't mix the two."

In the same year the following direction was given :—  
 "Cases of constables receiving beer in public-houses have again been brought before the Chief Constable. Any further report against a man for this offence will be probably punished by dismissal as the Chief Constable is determined to repress it. He regrets having to publish such an order, but as some of the men seem not to care for their independence as policemen, or their character before the public, he is obliged to make the above alternative. When constables are on duty they must be very careful to preserve the good name of the Force. Gossiping, smoking, eating or any slovenly conduct is quickly seen by the public, and they are apt to form an opinion of the whole Force by the conduct of one man. The Chief Constable himself noticed lately a gross case of such conduct in an old officer who ought to have known better."

## THE TITHE RIOTS.

During the first ten years of his service as Chief Constable, Major Leadbetter was called upon to deal with the serious disturbances which took place—chiefly in 1886-88—owing to the agitation amongst the farmers against the payment of tithe. At this time the Church in Wales was a church by law established, and the Nonconformist farmers objected to paying tithes either to the parson or to the representatives of a church to which they did not belong. The police, of course, had nothing to do with this political issue, and constables were warned when attending tithe sales not to have any communication with the Anti-Tithe League, or with hostile members of any crowds which might assemble. Violent scenes, however, occurred in several upland districts, especially at Llangwm and Llanefydd when bailiffs and auctioneers attended to seize cattle and dispose of them to satisfy the legal claims of the tithe owners. In the early months of 1888, extensive proceedings were taken by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners and the Church Defence Association for the recovery of tithes due to them. The police were called upon to afford protection to the men employed to seize cattle. In the course of four months 615 farms in Denbighshire were visited, and the number of police engaged was 706. They were employed on 54 days, and 80 were employed at Llangwm. Before the legal proceedings began Major Leadbetter, wrote to Mr. Alun Lloyd, the solicitor to the Anti-Tithe League, stating he had no wish to burden the rates with charges for police protecting the agents of the tithe owners, preferring to leave it, if possible, to the farmers themselves to show respect for law and order, but that if compelled to protect the agents he would do so.

Reporting to the magistrates on the riots which occurred later, the Chief Constable wrote :—“ Until 313 farms had been visited I had no great reason to complain of the conduct of the crowds who constantly were in attendance, and were as a rule very noisy and demonstrative. It was not until the parish of Llanefydd was visited that resistance of a thoroughly organised nature was encountered. On the 10th of May, two policemen only were sent to Llanefydd to protect Mr. Stevens and his party which was done with a wish neither to incur expenses,

nor to irritate the people by sending many men and cause the grumble often made : ‘ Why do you bring so many men to irritate the people ? ’ These two policemen were quite unable to protect Mr. Stevens and his party. A large mob of several hundred people followed him from farm to farm and became so threatening that he had to return to Denbigh after visiting only four farms. On the 16th of May, Superintendent Vaughan went back to Llanefydd with eleven men, and again the resistance and menacing of a large mob became so violent that he considered it advisable in the interests of peace to return to Denbigh after visiting 10 farms. The conduct of the mob on this day was most disgraceful. In consequence of these two abortive attempts, I ordered 32 men with Superintendent Vaughan, to go there on the 17th, and also went there myself. The conduct of the mob on this day was even more impudent and aggressive than on the preceding days, and at the second farm visited a breach of the peace took place, and the police in going to protect the emergency men were themselves attacked. They drew their truncheons and beat off the mob injuring, I regret to say, some 20 or 25 persons. Many of the police and emergency men received several blows (two had scalp wounds). I arrived on the scene shortly after the occurrence referred to, and found a very disorderly lot of persons congregated in the village of Llanefydd. Their conduct continued most aggressive and threatening, but some of their leaders here advocated better conduct with some good effect and we were little molested afterwards. Although everyone must regret that they were struck, there can be no doubt that the row was provoked and instigated by the conduct of the mob, whose overbearing and unruly conduct on the 10th and 16th led up to the catastrophe of the 17th, and they themselves and their leaders must bear the consequences and responsibility of the riot. On the 18th, the day following, distrains were continued in the same parish, and but for the strength of the police present in the area a row would undoubtedly have occurred. Matters now having assumed a serious aspect, I considered it a proper step in the interests of order, and to save further bloodshed, to ask the magistrates for a troop of cavalry—the constant strain on a small police force being excessive, and besides unfair to the general ratepayers of the county as well as to the very great detriment of many places

which were denuded of their constables. Consequent upon my application a troop of the 9th Lancers were ordered and arrived at Denbigh on the 23rd May, under the command of Major Gough, and Lieutenant Colvin. With their assistance 223 farms were visited in the parishes of Llanfairtalhaiarn, Llansannan, Llanefydd and Mochdre, with the result that no further breach of the peace took place, and the work was finished on the 22nd of June." After alluding to the presence of magistrates to read the Riot Act, if necessary, the Chief Constable wrote the following in a report to Quarter Sessions :—" I should also like to recommend to your notice our police force which has had a most trying time. This agitation has now lasted two years, and amid any amount of irritation and insult they have to my mind, conducted themselves in a marvellous manner. It is a matter of great regret that the police have been brought into antagonism with the farmers and agricultural classes, and this from a cause which it is impossible for them to avoid ; and the bad feeling to a very great extent is fostered and encouraged for certain purposes by those who are perfectly aware of the responsible and difficult position the police are placed in. Superintendent Vaughan in particular has proved himself a thoroughly reliable and efficient officer, and has, I may say, been at almost every farm that has been visited in the last two years."

When the magistrates met in Quarter Sessions to consider this report, they resolved on the motion of Colonel Cornwallis West, seconded by Sir R. A. Cunliffe, " that this Court, whilst deeply regretting the disturbances which have arisen in some parts of the County, connected with the payment of tithe rent charge, and having heard the special report of the Chief Constable respecting the proceedings of the police in the protection of persons engaged in the exercise of their legal rights, is of opinion that the Chief Constable and police have acted with discretion, and that the magistrates were fully justified in deciding to call out the military in aid of the civil power for the maintenance of law and order in the county."

The riots and the calling out of the military led to discussions in Parliament, and to an inquiry, but a year or two later, a measure was passed making the landlord rather than the tenant, responsible for the payment of tithe. This put an end

to the Tithe agitation, but the earlier events had created great bitterness. The farmers often hung up in their homesteads the horns of the cattle seized by the law officers under warrants for the recovery of tithe, but the violent scenes did not recur. The battle was transferred to the political sphere and the police were not called upon to deal with riotous crowds in the farming districts. (In later years industrial disputes occurred in East Denbighshire, and on one occasion a detachment of the 14th Hussars was sent to Wrexham in consequence of a strike at one of the collieries.)

### A NEW CHAPTER

#### JUSTICES AND COUNTY COUNCILLORS IN CONTROL

The passing of the Local Government Act of 1888 brought about a change in police administration. In the counties Standing Joint Committees were set up. They were composed of justices appointed by Quarter Sessions, and members chosen by the County Councils which came into existence at this time. The "old order" changed, giving place in part to the newly-elected county councillors, but the time-honoured position of the magistrates was maintained in one respect. It was laid down in the measure that "nothing in this Act shall affect the powers, duties and liabilities of justices of the peace as conservators of the peace, or the obligation of the Chief Constable, or other constables, to obey their lawful orders given in that behalf."

What really happened was that whereas prior to 1888 matters relating to the police, county halls, bridges, etc., were dealt with by the justices at Quarter Sessions, afterwards the business was in increasing measure gradually delegated by Parliament to County Councils, but the police administration was reserved to a new authority composed of an equal number of justices and councillors, with the Home Secretary exercising central control. In Denbighshire this new Standing Joint Police Committee was for a considerable time composed of public men who differed in their political outlook. In the main, the justices were drawn from the ranks of those who for generations had become county leaders through their appointment to the roll of magistrates. The county councillors, as democratically elected representatives, tended to range themselves in a body against the justices selected by Quarter Sessions.

As each side had twelve members, there were frequent clashes, particularly in regard to the choice of chairman, but in time the annual difficulty was overcome by an agreement to appoint a representative of Quarter Sessions one year, and one of the county councillors on the next occasion.

These administrative changes, however, did not affect the work of the Chief Constable, and it is good to read in the old general order books of the Denbighshire Force of the steps taken by Major Leadbetter to keep the police independent servants of the public and clear of party politics. In 1892 he issued this instruction :—

“ The Chief Constable hopes that the Denbighshire Police will not in any way show any political bias. Let them vote as they please. No one knows how they vote ; but their independence will be sacrificed and their usefulness destroyed should they show any party spirit.”

In 1895 the Chief Constable told his men that he did not wish to interfere as to their political views. He wrote :—“ Vote as you think best for yourselves and your country but the Chief Constable thinks it unwise for constables to express their views ; as public servants they are sure to offend one party or the other, and thereby lessen their influence. The Chief Constable wishes to say he has never attended a meeting in Denbighshire of any shade of political opinion, nor tried to influence anyone politically. He hopes his men will follow his example in this respect. The Police newspaper, he is sorry to say, made proposals as to the political work to be done by the police, and suggested what he considers an underhand way of redressing wrongs which is certain to produce a feeling of mistrust between the superiors and their men. The Chief Constable hopes the Denbighshire Force will have more reliance on themselves and their Chief.”

This order was made known to the Force just at the time a tribute was paid to Major Leadbetter. He was presented with an illuminated address from his men. Acknowledging the gift in May, 1895, he wrote :—“ The Chief Constable wishes to express to all ranks of the Denbighshire Constabulary his sincere thanks for the beautiful illuminated address they have presented to him. Such an expression of kindly feeling existing between

the Force and their Chief is one to be proud of, and they may be assured of the permanent position the address will have in his memory and his home.”

In 1900 at a meeting of the Standing Joint Committee, Mr. J. Watkin Lumley, a well-known figure in the public life of the county, and an outspoken member of the police authority, made a complaint in public with regard to the police frequenting public houses. This obviously caused much distress to Major Leadbetter, who sent out the following general order to the Force :—

“ I feel very much, as all the Force must do, the remarks which Mr. Lumley made at the last meeting of the Standing Joint Committee with regard to police frequenting public-houses. He did not make a specific charge, but a general one which has this effect—instead of pointing out any individual member of this Force who might be to blame, and thereby bringing that man to my notice, he publicly threw a stain on the whole of the Denbighshire Force which we, as members, are unable to disprove, and through the Press an impression has been conveyed to the world with this effect to us—that the public may think us unworthy of their confidence. It is difficult to point out the far-reaching injury that has been done to us—a body of men of whom I am vain enough to state that I am proud, and which for 22 years of my service as Chief Constable have most efficiently carried on the arduous duties of their office. If there is a black sheep among us to whom these public remarks apply, it is for him to avoid any repetition of conduct which may be made use of to the common disgrace of us all. But it seems hard that constables who, with honest intentions, visit public-houses at closing times, or on Sunday, or on the very many occasions when their presence is required on licensed premises, are to be accused of going there for the purpose of drinking. That such is done by ignorant observers who are unacquainted with police duties, I am fully aware. But still duty must be strictly carried out, although the remarks must have a strong tendency to cause constables to hesitate before risking their characters, and the reputation of the Force by visiting public houses on duty.”

Major Leadbetter was Chief Constable at the time of the Brynkinallt Jewel Robbery, when 54 articles valued at £40,000,

mysteriously disappeared one Sunday evening. A reward of £500 was offered for information leading to a conviction, but despite all efforts by the police, nothing was heard of the valuables for four years, when they as mysteriously re-appeared. The jewels were found in some ashes in an outhouse. They were wrapped in a newspaper. Their recovery confirmed the opinion held by Major Leadbetter that they had never been in professional hands.

On one occasion, a man calling himself a commercial traveller, had been staying at the Wynnstay Arms Hotel, Wrexham, for three days. After he had left it was found that the place had been stripped of nearly all its plate. Major Leadbetter heard of the robbery as he was passing through Wrexham on his way home to Hafod Alyn, Rossett. He travelled by train. He had been given a description of the thief. At Gresford station a man entered the train and the Chief's suspicions were aroused. When Rossett station was reached he apprehended the man and found in his possession the greater part of the missing property, a burglar's jemmy and a "flash" banknote. The thief was sentenced to ten years penal servitude. Major Leadbetter personally assisted in the arrest of a famous burglar at Gobowen in 1887, he having been the means of tracing the criminal to that village.

### A NEW PENSION SCHEME

The Police Act of 1890 made provision for the grant of pensions, allowances and gratuities to police constables in England and Wales. Recommending the Standing Joint Committee to adopt the maximum scale, Major Leadbetter pointed out in a special report that between 1840 and 1890, three hundred and twenty-nine men of all ranks joined the Denbighshire Force. Of this number, only 18, or 5.47 per cent., were pensioned. Their average ages when superannuated was 59 years, and length of service 23.6 years. Only six of the pensioners were then living. Their annual pensions amounted to £308 2s. 0d., to meet which the  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. deducted from the pay of the Force, and the moieties of penalties on police informations left only £77 17s. 8d. to be charged to the Police Rate. The county was never called upon to contribute one penny towards the

superannuations and gratuities paid to the police until 1887, when the fund became exhausted. Under the new Act of 1890, the fund would in time become self-supporting and sufficient for the purpose for which it was intended without any expense to the ratepayers. Urging the Police Committee to adopt the higher scale permitted, Major Leadbetter said :—“ At the very worst, or the very best, a man cannot take his pension without a medical certificate under 25 years, and all sick deductions which are in use in some Forces it might be 26 or 27 years, surely long enough to earn a pension for long nights and exposure. The great advantage of a good scale of pensions is to keep your Force in a state of efficiency by pensioning men off when they become unable to bear the fatigue and hard work which a policeman at any moment may be called upon to exercise. As regards the minimum scale, I do not think I would be doing my duty if I concealed from the Committee that its adoption would be most unacceptable to the Force, and be the cause of great dissatisfaction, especially to those who were over 25 years of age when they joined. The maximum scale has been adopted by all the large Boroughs and most Counties, and the result of any County adopting the minimum scale will be to have an inferior class of men, and old and inefficient men, hanging on doing their duty in any kind of way to gain their pension. The Secretary of State’s rules allow of men being taken on till 35 years of age, but taking, for example, a man who joins at 25, a better age and an age above which I do not propose taking candidates unless under special circumstances, he would have to serve 35 years before he could get his maximum pension ; he would thus be 60, an age, generally speaking, when most men are not fit to be policemen—a 35 man would be 70. Another consideration is our proximity to large towns requiring constant additions to their police forces ; their rate of pay is higher to begin with, and they have adopted the maximum scale ; the result would be if we get men in this county dissatisfied, they can transfer their services elsewhere and carry their service as to pension with them after three years, and I assume it takes about that time to make a policeman, and as the amount of pension is in proportion to the annual pay, it follows that men serving in better-paid Forces will not only enjoy that benefit, but will also obtain on retiring a sum equal to our highest attainable pension in a much shorter

period. . . . I would therefore conclude by strongly recommending to you the maximum scale allowed by the Act with no limit as to age. I can say that the Police Force of this county has during its history maintained a very high repute, and an honourable record which character is supported by Government Inspectors, and I trust that the Joint Committee will see fit to encourage the prestige gained by the Denbighshire Constabulary."

When the Police Committee met to consider this report, they agreed unanimously to adopt the maximum scale—a decision which gave great satisfaction to the Force.

### MAJOR LEADBETTER'S CLOSING YEARS

Major Leadbetter had charge of the arrangements on the occasion of the visit of Queen Victoria to Wrexham in 1888. Queen Victoria stayed at Palé with Mr. Henry Robertson (father of Sir H. B. Robertson). She visited Bala, Llangollen, Ruabon and Wrexham. Major Leadbetter led the Royal procession at Wrexham. After the visit he was presented with a silver cup by the Denbighshire Standing Joint Police Committee. In 1887 he was selected by his brother Chief Constables as one of a deputation who presented an address of congratulation to Queen Victoria at Windsor on the occasion of her jubilee, and ten years later he fulfilled a similar duty in the Diamond Jubilee year of 1897.

With Sir John Dunn, who was then Senior Chief Constable of England, Major Leadbetter attended the Coronation service of King Edward VII, and received from His Majesty the Coronation medal. At the Coronation of King George V he represented the British Constabulary and again received the Coronation medal. He had charge of the arrangements when King George and Queen Mary (then Prince and Princess of Wales) visited Wrexham in 1903, to unveil the Royal Welch Fusiliers' memorial in Wrexham Church. He had personal charge of Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman (Prime Minister) when he visited Wrexham in 1906. He held the office of President of the Chief Constables' Association and at the time of his retirement was Senior Chief Constable of the United Kingdom.

On his retirement from the police service he was presented by the magistrates of the County with a silver salver and a cheque for £136, in appreciation of his long and efficient service and as a mark of the high esteem in which he was held by all classes. The Lord Lieutenant, Colonel Cornwallis West, who made the presentation at Denbigh in April, 1912, said that after 33 years' service it could be said of Major Leadbetter that he had made a large number of friends and no enemies.

In his leisure hours Major Leadbetter devoted himself to wood carving, to black and white drawing and to writing humorous verse. He was a keen fisherman and served on the Dee Conservancy Board, who presented him with a silver salver in appreciation of his good work. He was also president of the Wrexham and District Angling Association, and of the Cheshire Caledonian Association.

When he left the Force he wrote the following lines :—

But yesterday I was a Chief  
 Now all is changed to-day.  
 I am only now plain Major " L "   
 And much reduced in pay.  
 Farewell, farewell, a long farewell.  
 To some, alas! for ever.  
 For friends may meet and friends must part,  
 But all must cross the river  
 That Wonderland that lies beyond.  
 We live in hope to see  
 And meet again our dearest chums,  
 How happy then we'll be.

T. J. L.

His farewell order to the Force was printed and was in the following terms :—

G.O., December, 1911.

Under most circumstances a farewell is a sad incident, and when it severs, and possibly for ever, associations which have lasted for over 33 years between the Officers and Men of this Force and myself as their Chief Constable—it becomes a painful ordeal. The only Officers who were members of this Force in '78, when I joined, are Mr. Edward Jones, your new Chief, and P.C. Phoenix.

In the many years I have been with you I have not, I am proud to say, had many cases for putting in force the severe measures a Chief has, and I have managed, by careful selection and enquiry as to recruits, to gather around me a Force second to none in the kingdom, and as a proof of what I say, I have only had, in two years, one man before me for a breach of discipline, and that was not a serious one.

I think now, knowing the men I have on the Force, that the task of maintaining a high class of conduct and discipline is so established that it will never die out. You have been with me in trouble and also in peace, and the Denbighshires were never said not to have done their duty. The older men make the younger ones, and by their influence and character give a tone which the younger Constables, as they grow older, forward on.

As your Chief, I have represented this Force at each of Queen Victoria's Jubilees, the Coronations of Edward VII, and George V, and had the honour to receive from the King's hands the Merit Police Medal. I regard this honour as also an honour on this Force and the County, and in the future my Children will be able to point to those 3 Medals as a souvenir of my Police Service with you.

I hope you may render to your new Chief Constable the same faithful services you have given me.

Now I must say an official farewell, time won't wait for anyone, and I hope you will long remember me as I shall you until I leave this world.

Faithfully yours,

T. J. LEADBETTER (Major),

Chief Constable.

To all ranks of the  
Denbighshire Constabulary.

During his long term of office Major Leadbetter had the following Deputy Chief Constables under him :—William Wilde, Thomas Vaughan and Edward Jones (his successor).

After his retirement in 1911, Major Leadbetter went to live in London with a married daughter. He died on November 26th, 1915, at Hazeldene, Peel Avenue, Bowdon, while on a visit to his son. He was 76 years of age. He was buried at Rossett, Denbighshire.

#### CHIEF CONSTABLE EDWARD JONES

After the Standing Joint Committee had accepted the resignation of Major Leadbetter and passed a resolution expressing appreciation of his services, the members at once proceeded to consider the question of appointing a successor. The opinion was expressed that the post should be advertised; the competence of the Committee to proceed to make an immediate appointment was challenged, but the Clerk of the Peace gave a ruling enabling the members to act at once. It was stated that the Lord Lieutenant of the County was in favour of appointing a military man. On the other hand, the view was taken by several members that a police officer should be chosen as Chief Constable. When the Committee began to propose the name of a new Chief, Colonel T. A. Wynne Edwards and a number of the magistrates representing Quarter Sessions withdrew from the meeting. The Committee then unanimously appointed Deputy Chief Constable Edward Jones as Chief Constable. Reference was made to his age, but his proposer pointed out that he was 54 or 55 years of age, and that Major Leadbetter was 73. In due course, D.C.C. Ed. Jones was confirmed in his appointment and he held office as Chief for the next nine years—a period which covered the First World War of 1914-18, when many additional duties fell to the lot of the police all over the country, although it could hardly be said that they approached either in volume or variety, the tasks which were imposed upon the police when the Second World War broke out in 1939. Even so, at the time, the anxieties of the Chief Constable and his men were many; a force of Special Constables had to be enrolled, and long hours of duty were served by all ranks. During Mr. Edward Jones's time, too, a police strike occurred in other parts of the country. In this connection he issued one general order. It read as follows:—

## THE THREATENED POLICE STRIKE

“ Any officer or man of whatever rank who fails to report in the ordinary course of duty, or as called upon, will be forthwith dismissed from the Force. Such officer or man will under no circumstances be permitted to rejoin this Force, and dismissal will result in the loss of all service counting towards pension. The Government have definitely decided not to recognise the existing Police and Prison Officers’ Union. Particulars of the organisation which is to be set up within the police service to enable the men to protect their own interests will be issued as soon as possible, but the Secretary of State states that it will not be confined to a purely local organisation, but will include provision to enable the men to make their representations on a national basis on questions of pay, etc., which affect the police as a whole.

EDWARD JONES,  
Chief Constable.”

The strikes of police in London and Liverpool in 1919 were the culmination of a feeling of grievance as to pay and conditions—although these had been improved—but a clause in the Police Act of 1919 prohibiting constables from becoming members of trade unions, brought matters to a head. During the war police pay was lower than the wages paid to war workers and this created much discontent, but the strikers were not reinstated !

A native of Llanarmon, Dyffryn Ceiriog, Chief Constable Edward Jones joined the Denbighshire Constabulary at Ruthin in 1874. He served at Llanrwst, Ruthin and Llangollen. In 1891 he was promoted Superintendent and went to Llanrwst. He was transferred to Denbigh in 1892. Three years later he was made Deputy Chief Constable and stationed at Wrexham. There he remained until 1911 when he succeeded Major Leadbetter and became Chief Constable. When he retired in 1921, he had served in the Force for 47 years. After his retirement he was placed on the Commission of the Peace for Denbighshire. He celebrated his golden wedding in 1930. His only son was killed in action during the first World War. When he died in 1934 it was said :—“ He displayed admirable tact on all

occasions, always acting with unfailing courtesy and consideration." The regard in which he was held by the police was shown when his long period of service came to an end in 1921. He was then presented with a smoker's cabinet, a case of pipes, a pipe rack and a tobacco jar, and a gold mounted umbrella was given to his wife. A silver plate on the cabinet recorded the fact that the gift was from all ranks in the Force. Mr. Edward Jones's Deputy Chief Constable, Mr. John Tippett, also retired in 1921, after 29 years' service. He had served in various parts of the county and had been D.C.C. and Superintendent of the Wrexham Division since 1912. D.C.C. Tippett was succeeded by Superintendent Thomas Beresford of Colwyn Bay (formerly of Wrexham), and in 1922 Superintendent J. H. Evans was appointed Deputy Chief Constable—a post he held at Wrexham until 1942, when Superintendent Philip Tomkins, of Colwyn Bay, was appointed in his place.

#### MR. GEORGE T. GUEST

In May, 1921, Mr. George T. Guest was appointed Chief Constable in succession to Mr. Edward Jones. A Welsh-speaking Welshman, Mr. Guest was brought up and educated at Bala, Merionethshire. He joined the Caernarvonshire Constabulary in 1899 and served in that Force for 22 years. For the first eight years he was a constable at Caernarvon. He was promoted from time to time, and in 1913, was appointed Deputy Chief Constable of Caernarvonshire and was in charge of the Conway division. He held this position at the time of his election as Chief Constable of Denbighshire. He will be remembered for the smooth and efficient manner in which he administered the Denbighshire Force from 1921 to 1946. He was awarded the King's Police Medal for efficiency, the Coronation Medal and the King George the Fifth Jubilee Medal.

In 1935 Mr. Guest and his men had to deal with a serious industrial disturbance at Bersham Colliery near Wrexham. Seven hundred miners ceased work owing to a dispute as to the terms of an agreement regulating the conditions of employment. Efforts to reach a settlement were unsuccessful, and the North Wales Miners' Federation decided to take a coalfield ballot as to whether notice should be given to terminate contracts at all

the pits in the area. The Bersham miners were still idle when the owners of the colliery took a course of action which aroused considerable feeling. A number of miners employed by the owners in another area were brought by road to work at Bersham. This caused great resentment. Crowds assembled at the colliery, the vehicles in which the miners travelled from the other district were stoned and a police officer—P.C. William Jones—and the driver of one of the lorries were injured. Police reinforcements were summoned and angry scenes were witnessed on the colliery banks and along the nearby roadways. Each day the situation became more menacing, and ultimately D.C.C. J. H. Evans ordered his men to draw their truncheons and to clear everyone from the approaches to the colliery. The police moved forward in a body and dispersed the crowd. From twenty to twenty-five civilians were injured and a number of police officers were also hurt in the scuffle. It was a most unfortunate occurrence. For several days the police had to discharge unpleasant duties which brought them into conflict with a large body of men and women who bitterly resented the action of the colliery owners in bringing in a number of their employees from another village to replace the miners who were on strike.

Mr. Guest took an active part in organising the St. John Ambulance service in the county, and he was made an officer of the Order (Priory of Wales) in appreciation of his services.

When war broke out in 1939 Mr. Guest was called upon to perform many responsible duties in connection with Civil Defence. They involved constant residence at the county centre at Ruthin. He was at first co-ordinating officer for Air Raid Precautions, and from 1942 to the Armistice, A.R.P. Controller. Meanwhile, all the increased calls upon the police had to be met and administered from the police headquarters at Wrexham, where under his direction, the highly confidential work was carried out by D.C.C. J. H. Evans (and after 1942 by D.C.C. Philip Tomkins) and by Chief Inspector (now D.C.C.) Charles Davies. Two years before his retirement the King honoured Mr. Guest by conferring upon him the rank of an Officer of the Order of the British Empire. When he retired in 1946, the Standing Joint Committee appointed Mr. Philip Tomkins as Chief Constable.

## MR. PHILIP TOMKINS

A native of Penycæ, and a Welsh-speaking Welshman, Chief Constable Philip Tomkins first served as a law clerk, and later was on the staff of the Land Valuation Department (Inland Revenue). On the outbreak of the First World War in 1914, he joined the Forces, serving overseas as a warrant officer in the Royal Welch Fusiliers. On the 3rd of November, 1919, he joined the Denbighshire Constabulary. On the 5th of July, 1922, he was promoted to the rank of Sergeant and Chief Clerk in the Chief Constable's office at Wrexham. On the 2nd of July, 1930, he was promoted to the rank of Inspector, continuing as Chief Clerk until October, 1931, when he was placed in charge of the Colwyn Bay Division with the rank of Superintendent. In April, 1942, he was appointed Deputy Chief Constable, and on the 4th of August, 1942, was transferred to Wrexham and placed in charge of the largest police division in North Wales. In 1946 he was unanimously chosen as Chief Constable. On his recommendation Chief Inspector Charles Davies became Superintendent at Wrexham and Deputy Chief Constable. D.C.C. Davies was born at Llanrwst in 1902. After serving as a law clerk he joined the R.N.V.R. and served during the First World War. He joined the Denbighshire Force in 1924, and was Chief Inspector and Chief Clerk at Wrexham headquarters throughout the 1939-45 war.

In January, 1951, the name of Mr. Tomkins appeared in the New Year Honours List. The citation sent to him on December 31st, 1952, was as follows :—

“ His Majesty the King has been pleased to award you the King Police and Fire Service Medal for distinguished service, and to convey to you an expression of the pleasure the Secretary of State feels in intimating the award of this well-deserved honour.”

## CONCLUSION

By 1951, the authorised strength of the Denbighshire Force was 220 men and 5 policewomen. The first woman to be appointed was Policewoman Glenys Jones, a native of Penycæ. She was appointed in February, 1944. The Force is distributed over 45 stations of one constable, six of two constables, nine

of four or more constables. During a normal year over a thousand indictable offences and over nineteen hundred or two thousand non-indictable offences have to be investigated by the county police. In 1950, only 56 people were proceeded against for drunkenness, and there was no case of Sunday drunkenness in the records. The police were present at 86 fires during 1950, and reported 221 cases to H.M. Coroners. They had to deal with many road accidents involving the deaths of 20 people, serious injuries to 259, and slight injury to 439.

These figures reveal the very great increase that has taken place in the duties and responsibilities of the Denbighshire Force. The growth of the population, and the revolution that has taken place in road transport—not to mention civil defence calls—have created problems as onerous as the primary obligations on the police—the prevention and detection of crime. The constant stream of regulations and restrictions that has flown from Parliament and duly accredited Ministers during and after two world wars has not made it easy for the police always to maintain good relations with the public ; but on the whole, the bulk of the population accept the position and recognise that every constable is an officer of the Crown charged with the task of preserving the peace and of seeing that the law of the land is duly observed.

In times of political or industrial upheaval, the role of the police is especially difficult, and is not always appreciated by those involved in these unhappy disputes. They have to prevent disorder and to afford protection to law-abiding citizens, even when the actions of the latter are ill-advised. Over the years Denbighshire has had its share of strikes and lock-outs, and while the clashes between the police and excited crowds are remembered, too little is heard of the influence often exercised by a tactful local constable. This was illustrated during one stoppage in the East Denbighshire coalfield when masters and men were at loggerheads and the pit was out of production. An attempt to keep the colliery working was bitterly resented and a crowd assembled on a pit bank strewn with stones and slag. The chief police officer present called upon the men on the bank to disperse and they moved away. A little later they re-assembled at the other end of the bank overlooking the main

approach to the pit-head. Another officer appeared on the scene waving his stick and telling the men that he would bring a force of police to remove them. His orders were not obeyed and he went off to the colliery offices to secure assistance. An old constable—almost due for retirement, but known to the miners—stood at the foot of the bank and when his superior officer had disappeared, he spoke to the crowd in Welsh. He told them not to be — fools, and invited them to come down and sit by him. They responded, and when reinforcements arrived, they found the strikers sitting quietly by the roadside with the veteran constable in their midst. Of course, disputes do not always end as happily as this one did, and, in point of fact, the disorder at this particular mine increased at a later stage and stern measures were taken to keep order.

During the mining crisis of 1912 the Denbighshire police were called to Brynkinallt Colliery, Chirk, where the men decided to work when the miners at the other collieries were on strike. Owing to the unsettled state of the district, a large body of police were drafted to the colliery under Deputy Chief Constable Tippett. Soldiers belonging to the Suffolk Regiment were summoned to the neighbourhood and were encamped in tents in Brynkinallt Park. One day a large crowd of miners from the Ruabon and Cefn districts marched in procession to Chirk. When they reached Brynkinallt Colliery, neither police nor soldiers were to be seen. The police were in the colliery offices and the soldiers were not far away. Shortly after the procession arrived the veteran coal-owner, Mr. W. Y. Craig, came out and addressed the demonstrators. He wore a cap and was leaning on a stick, and was without any protection when he faced the crowd. He said that in all his fifty-seven years' experience of the mining industry he had never broken his word to his employees, that his men had decided to work and that there was no dispute between them. He advised the crowd to return home and not to bring trouble on themselves. There were a few calls for the Brynkinallt miners' delegate, and a little heckling, but after a brief interval, the crowd dispersed. Neither police nor military were called out. The coalfield, however, was in a disturbed state for some time, and until work was resumed, the police had many anxious moments.

From time to time national sporting events are held in the county and very large crowds assemble. It is always gratifying to see the way in which a mere handful of police keep the ring and control the traffic. This is especially noticeable when twenty, and sometimes over thirty thousand people come together to witness international football matches at Wrexham Racecourse. Conflicts between police and spectators are unknown, and even in less important, but nevertheless, exciting games, when feeling runs high, the calls for police protection to players or officials are rare.

On ceremonial occasions in the county, the police are always accorded a prominent place. They lead the civic processions and by their presence emphasise the civil character of the Force, and its link with the magistracy and local government institutions. When the Assizes are held at Ruthin, the police in full uniform, many with a row of war medals on their breasts, escort Her Majesty's Judges to church, and to and from the Judge's lodgings. The trumpeters sound a fanfare, and the senior police officer follows the Judge, the High Sheriff and his Chaplain into Court, when the Queen's Commission is read and the Assize is opened. On one occasion, it is said, the Judge's lodgings at Ruthin were not available, and the Judge spent the night before the Assize at a mansion in a village two or three miles away. Orders were given to a constable stationed in another parish to report for duty in the village where the Judge was staying. He had not seen the Judge, but he was instructed to be there at a very early hour. He arrived on foot and had just begun his patrol when he met an old gentleman walking along the road. The old gentleman wished the constable "Good day," and inquired why he was out so early in the morning. According to the story—it may be a legend—the officer replied that it was because the old Judge was staying somewhere in the neighbourhood and he had to leave his bed and be there to see that he was all right. The old gentleman made a courteous reply and proceeded on his way. Later in the day the constable arrived at the Assize Court to find that the old gentleman was the Judge himself!

Many stories are told of police officers and special constables no longer living. One of the most amusing relates to a

popular character who was frequently on point duty near the street leading to Wrexham Church. He was regularly spoken to by American visitors who wished to see the grave of Elihu Yale, founder of Yale University. After leaving the church, one visitor from America asked the constable whether there were any other interesting places at Wrexham. "Oh, yes," he replied, "but they don't open until 11.30 a.m."

During the first World War, a large force of special constables was enrolled owing to the release of police for military duty. The "specials" did daily and nightly turns of duty. They wore armlets and as a rule patrolled the streets in pairs. Before the general public became accustomed to the new order, many bystanders were inclined to look upon the "specials" as poor substitutes for the regular police. One evening a crowd collected in one of the main streets of Wrexham. In the centre of it was a well-known rag-and-bone gatherer. He had taken off his cap and coat, and had begun to challenge anyone in the crowd who was prepared to fight. Two well-known special constables came along and a wag in the crowd exclaimed "Now we shall see what our volunteer police are made of." The two "specials" knew that the rag gatherer was a tough customer. After conferring together, one of them suddenly buttoned up his coat, and walking boldly into the centre of the crowd, whispered a few words into the ear of the disturber of the peace. To everyone's surprise, he picked up his cap and coat, and walked away down Lambpit Street. Fifteen minutes later the "special" might have been seen talking to him in Chester Street, where he fulfilled a promise by giving him a few coins of the realm which no doubt were soon converted into a generous measure of liquid refreshment! The "special" concerned, now deceased, was one of the best-known sportsmen in the county.

The special constables called out during the 1939-45 war had more arduous duties to discharge. They also had to undergo courses of training in various branches of A.R.P. work, including instruction in regard to poison gas. In those districts of the county where enemy bombs were dropped and people lost their lives, they had to co-operate with the permanent police and wardens in making the civil defence organisation effective.

The Denbighshire Constabulary has been in existence for well over a century. The pioneers began their work when the four-horse Royal Mail coaches passed along the roads of the county and coal from the mines was conveyed to the ports and manufacturing centres by canal ; Robertson had not arrived to build the railways, and traffic on the highways was halted at the numerous toll bars of the turnpike trusts. No doubt the old prophecy of Mother Shipton that "carriages without horses would go" was sometimes heard, but most of the good folk who lived in Denbighshire then—many of them under distressing conditions in the coal and iron ore districts—would have been astonished if they had been told that their grand-children would see the dawn of the petrol and aeroplane age ! They would have been equally surprised to learn that the tiny band of twenty-four "Peelers," as the police were called, would grow into a constabulary ten times the size of the original Force. "The policeman's lot is not a happy one," runs the refrain in one of Gilbert and Sullivan's operas ; but by to-day, with improved conditions as to pay, pensions, training and rest-days, the Denbighshire Force attracts a body of intelligent, bi-lingual recruits. The duties of the police have greatly increased with the years, and many unpleasant tasks have to be performed to secure obedience to unpopular statutory orders. The certificates received year by year from the Crown Inspectors of Constabulary are a good guarantee to the ratepayers of the efficiency of the Force. Unlike the police of many States, our constables are unarmed and even their traditional foes—the law-breakers—can take comfort in the reflection that they live in a land where the cruelties of a Gestapo are unknown. Long may it continue so !

GEORGE G. LERRY.

Wrexham.

January, 1952.



## NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

### Cave Exploration at Maes Hafn, Llanferres.

**Site.**—The cave is situated in the Big Wood, about three-quarter of a mile east of Llanferres village.

**Exploration.**—This was taken in hand in 1948 by Mr. G. E. Hesketh, of Ruthin School, and Mr. R. A. Wyke, who, to begin with, concentrated on clearing the “old rubble seal,” where the cave was blocked some 60 yards from the entrance.

In October 1949 the explorers penetrated about 20 yards further, to a “chamber” where were found bone deposits which could not then be properly examined owing to wet weather having flooded the “chamber.” When the exploration was resumed in the spring of 1950 it was discovered that others had been at work in this chamber.

They were Mr. Norman Pritchard, of Gorsedd Vicarage, and two friends, who independently and apparently in ignorance of Mr. Hesketh’s previous excavation made their way into the cave, being interested in speliology. Coming upon bones embedded in lime deposit they discovered among them a Romano-British brooch (see below).

Mr. Hesketh and friend also directed attention to the same ossiferous deposits and dispatched a quantity of bones to the National Museum of Wales, upon which it was reported that they belonged to at least two individuals, one being a child.

Yet another party visited this chamber in 1950 and picked up a pen-annular brooch, which found its way to the National Museum (see below).

In July 1950 Mr. Hesketh, assisted by his father, dug in a chamber near the entrance of the cave where they turned up a “trumpet” fibula and a small flint arrowhead. In 1951 a few more bones were collected, but nothing further was done.

**Mine Level?**—About 50 yards from the entrance Mr. Hesketh came across what he regarded as an artificial excavation resembling a mine level. Mr Hesketh thinks the rubble blocking the cave might have come from this “level.” Some of the rubble showed tool markings: a piece of ore was also found there. Could this “level” have been made during the Roman

occupation? In addition to the Romano-British brooches discovered, a Roman coin was picked up on the surface of an old lead mine at Maeshafn in 1923. (See *The Prehistoric and Roman Remains of Denbighshire*, 1929, p. 230.)

**Finds.**—(1) Bones. Those found by Mr. Hesketh and sent to the National Museum will, it is understood, be fully reported upon by Mr. L. F. Cowley.

(2) Brooches : (a) The pen-annular brooch has zoomorphic cast-terminals projecting at right angles and moulded in the likeness of ducks' heads—an unusual type. (b) The "trumpet" brooch, found by Mr. Hesketh, is described by Dr. Savory, of the National Museum, as "of Collingwood's group R (i), dated by him to the late first century A.D." (c) The brooch discovered by Mr. Pritchard is of bronze, in the shape of a fish, one inch long, the face enamelled dark blue. The pin is missing, but there are traces still remaining, much corroded, of the spring and of the catch. The brooch is retained by Mr. Pritchard.

(3) Flint arrowhead : This is barbed and tanged, and very small, 16 mm. long—"moderately well finished." It would belong to the Bronze Age.

[*Bulletin of Celtic Studies*, Vol. xiv, May 1951, p. 174 ; *Arch. News Letter*, 1950 (July), p. 29].

ELLIS DAVIES.

### Floods at Abergele.

The following document, taken from the Llewenny papers at the National Library of Wales, brings out the fact that the disastrous floods which overwhelmed the sea coast of Glamorgan and Monmouth in 1607 were also a source of damage, to a minor extent, on the North Wales coast. For references to these floods see *Studies in Stuart Wales*, page 18, where "1606" should read "1607." Contractions in the text have been expanded.

Llewenny Letter 39 (3.45) : John Lloyd to Sir John Salusbury.

Sir John it is not vnknown vnto you howe that the sea banke at Abergeley is broken and so it is to the vorryd and howe it is come over a greate parte of our cuntrey and hath don much harme and is like to doe more vnles some good meanes may be

had for the preventing of yt, in regarde whereof wee the neighbours have agreed that the best gent in the cuntrey Justices of peace and others shall meete at Abergeley vppon Tuesdaie next by Xen of the clocke, and to make view and survey of the decayes of the sea banke there. And I for my parte haue vnder-taken to giue you notice thereof and to praie you to take the paines to repaire thither at the tyme aforesayd that you may be an eye wittnes of the imminent danger there. Wee do meane to be petitioners to his Majestie and to the highe Court of parliament to be releued. Your presence there shall do greate good. . . .

Thus with my verie hartie comendacions I commend you to the Allmightie.

Your kinsman to vse and

Vaynol 5°

comaunde

ffbruary

John Lloyd

1606

To the Right worshipfull

my verie loving Coosin

Sir John Salusburie

knight at llewenie . . .

A.H.D.



## EDITORIAL NOTES

The reception accorded to the first volume of the Society's *Transactions*, and the healthy state of the balance sheet presented by our Treasurer, have tempted the Editors to embark on a bulkier volume this year, and to include in it a few illustrations. We are happy to be able to print, in fuller form than was possible for oral delivery, two of the lectures given to the Society in the course of the session: Mr. A. H. Williams's authoritative enquiry into the origins and early history of the county's grammar schools, and Mr. Frank Price Jones's re-examination (appropriately in Welsh) of accepted accounts of the so-called "Tithe War" of the late nineteenth century in the light of contemporary evidence. In addition, Mr. George Lerry contributes a comprehensive account of the county police force from the time of its inauguration, and Mr. G. M. Griffith, of the National Library, has made himself responsible for the first of a series of descriptive accounts of manuscript material relating to Denbighshire at the Library. We are much indebted to him and to Mr. E. D. Jones, the Keeper of Manuscripts, for responding so readily to our request that members of the Library staff should provide for our readers periodically this invaluable guide to the materials at their disposal at Aberystwyth. Although book reviews are outside our normal scope, the appearance during the past year of two major works on Denbighshire history by two of our most active members could obviously not pass unnoticed in these *Transactions*; and we are grateful to the Librarian of the University College of North Wales for contributing a short appreciation of them. Incidentally, it is pleasant to know that the Royal Historical Society has recognised the value of Mr. Tucker's work by electing him to a Fellowship.

It speaks well for the vitality of the Society that even after sending this mass of material to press we are left with several manuscripts which have to be held over till the next issue for lack of space. On the other hand, we should welcome a wider range of contributions to "Notes and Documents," which could in time become a very useful sort of county miscellany. This is the place for items of historical interest in the county, not substantial or complete enough to form material for an article, yet not easily available to readers: newspaper clippings, scraps

of letters and diaries, public notices, playbills and tradesmen's circulars, family relics—even well-authenticated traditions in danger of disappearing from memory.

The Society has again suffered a grievous loss by the death of its senior Vice-President, Mr. D. R. Hughes. We owe to the kindness of Dr. R. T. Jenkins the short tribute to him which is included in this issue.

Our sister societies in North Wales have had an active and productive year, and we acknowledge with thanks the receipt of their publications. The 1952 *Transactions* of the Anglesey Antiquarian Society and Field Club contain a short report on preliminary excavations at Barclodiad y Gawres (which have now proceeded much further) in the summer of 1951, a long account of the part played by the island in the Civil Wars of the seventeenth century, and a biographical sketch of Dean John Jones, one of the pioneers of the S.P.C.K. in Wales. The Caernarvonshire Historical Society has added no fewer than three volumes to its publications since we last went to press. The delayed twelfth volume of *Transactions* (1951) was given up entirely to reproductions of prints of Caernarvonshire interest in the National Library, with a descriptive catalogue by Miss Megan Ellis, Keeper of the Department of Prints. Volume 13 (1952) appeared close on its heels, and includes articles on the Denbighshire Civil War colonel (also deeply concerned in Caernarvonshire affairs), Sir John Carter of Kinnel; on the old post road through the county; on Bangor Cathedral in the eighteenth century, social life in the city in the nineteenth (the last contribution from a devoted local antiquary and topographer, whose loss will be keenly felt), and the history of one of the older Methodist "causes" in the county; in addition, there is a full transcript of a parochial tithe schedule preserved in the National Library. Not content with this output, the Society has inaugurated a new series with the publication of Mr. David Thomas's eisteddfod essay *Hen Longau Sir Gaernarfon* (1952, 252 pp.)

Volume 13 (1952-3) of the Flintshire Historical Society's *Publications* ranges from Roman lead-mining to the colliery riots at Mold in 1832, and includes a description and history (with photographic illustrations) of the historic church of Whitford by Canon Ellis Davies. Publication of the fourth number of

the Merioneth Historical Society's *Journal* has been delayed by the long illness and much-lamented death of Sir William Llewelyn Davies, its first editor, but in the meantime there has appeared the first of a series of extra publications projected by him for the Society: *The Memoirs of Samuel Holland* (1803-92), transcribed from the MS. in the National Library and edited, with appendices and frontispiece, by Sir William himself (1952, 32 pp.). Volume 25 of the *Proceedings* of the Llandudno, Colwyn Bay and District Field Club contains summaries of several historical lectures, notes on a wide range of historical excursions, and a transcript of a diary of a holiday in Llandudno in 1877, the whole profusely illustrated with photographs and portraits of historic sites and personages connected with the locality, some of them hitherto unpublished; special mention should be made of a reputed portrait of Colonel Hugh Wynne of Bodysgallen (now at Gloddaeth) which serves as frontispiece.

The Editor wishes to record once more his deep indebtedness to the Assistant Editor, who has undertaken all the more thankless parts of the editorial duties.

## NOTICES OF BOOKS

*Valle Crucis Abbey*, by G. Vernon Price ; Liverpool, The Brython Press, 1952 ; xi + 293 pp., 44 plates ; 30/-.

*Colwyn Bay : Its Origin and Growth*, by Norman Tucker ; Colwyn Bay Borough Council, 1953 ; viii + 288 pp., illus., maps ; 15/-.

Both these books have appeared since the publication of the first number of the *Transactions*, and both command the attention of the serious student of Denbighshire history.

Between the covers of the first, Mr. Vernon Price has brought together all that historical research and excavation has hitherto revealed of the story of that most romantically situated of our abbeys—Valle Crucis. And in so doing he has been animated with the desire not merely to provide his readers with a compendium of accurate facts, but to infuse in them, too, some of the sympathy which he himself so patently feels with the aims and conduct of the white-robed community who lived and toiled and sought God within the Abbey's walls.

Of the twenty chapters which make up the work, each one dealing with a particular facet of the story, those on the outlying property owned by the Abbey and its numerous appropriations and tithes will be especially valued by all of us who have had the experience of delving for the information they contain among the various authorities cited by the author in his notes. The student of architecture, again, will find here as meticulous a description of the existing fabric as expert authority and careful personal examination on Mr. Price's part can possibly provide. And it is indeed gratifying to see due attention being given to the literature associated with Valle Crucis, and notably the poetry of Iolo Goch, Guto'r Glyn, Gutyn Owain and other contemporary bards who have left us such unrivalled descriptions of life at the Abbey at the close of the medieval period. Mr. Price has rendered a further service to the general reader by reproducing in translation in one of the appendices some of the celebrated *cywyddau* which Guto'r Glyn and Gutyn Owain addressed to the abbots of Valle Crucis ; while in another appendix will be found an useful selection of charters and documents relating to the Abbey and ranging in date from 1207 to 1651. The notes and references at the end of the volume fully testify to the vast amount of laborious research which has gone to the compiling of this work, which one can scarcely imagine will be superseded for many years to come.

Beside the Abbey's life span of 300 odd years that of Colwyn Bay, the youngest of the North Wales boroughs, appears insignificant indeed. But in the tastefully produced volume which the Borough Council have published to commemorate Coronation Year, Mr. Norman Tucker has successfully shown how even this stripling of a town of a mere 66 years' standing can rightly lay claim to history, set as it is in an area steeped in tradition and rich in tangible evidence of the nation's past.

Against the eternal background of sea, marsh and mountain, there passes before us in the first part of the book a procession of figures, some shadowy and wraith-like, others substantial and heroic, but all having in one way or another left their imprint on the life of the district—the Ordovices in their hill fort on Bryn Euryn, Saint Trillo, Ednyfed Fychan lordling over his manor of Creuddyn, the Cistercians with their farm and fish weir at Rhos Fynach, Robin ap Gruffydd Goch and the intricately ramified Conways at Llys Euryn, that house of mystery which is so reluctant to yield up its secrets.

It is the story of the rise of the modern community that will, however, have most appeal for the average reader. And this is fascinatingly told with

a wealth of illustration and reminiscence drawn from contemporary records or elicited from the mouths of local inhabitants. Led by an agreeable, well-informed guide, with an unflinching eye for picturesque detail, we move from the Colwyn of 1860 with its "pretty bay and rural valley," past the momentous year of the Pwllcrochan sale of 1865, past the "pretty and rising watering place" of ten years later, and on finally to September 20, 1934, the date of the presentation of the Charter of Incorporation to a modern town of over 20,000 inhabitants. Religious institutions, schools, public undertakings and amenities—all receive their due share of attention, and for good measure we are given striking descriptions of such memorable incidents as the Mochdre tithe disturbance of the late eighties. By no means the least noteworthy feature of this book is the remarkable collection of old views and photographs, which must surely evoke many a nostalgic memory in the minds of the older generation, both of inhabitants and of summer visitors to Colwyn Bay.

E. GWYNNE JONES

## EXCURSIONS

### Llandrillo-yn-Rhos

The first of the summer excursions took the Society to Llandrillo-yn-Rhos, where the rendezvous was at the parish church lych-gate which bore the date 1677. When the company assembled in the church a message of welcome was conveyed from the Vicar, Rev. Canon Jenkyn Jones, M.A., who was unable to be present as he was in residence at St. Asaph Cathedral.

The parish of Llandrillo-yn-Rhos was originally one of the most ancient and extensive in North Wales. Originally known as Dinerth, the parish acquired its present name in the reign of Henry VIII. Browne Willis mentioned that the whitewashed church on its knoll was a landmark for mariners using the port of Liverpool. That the parish was sparsely populated was borne out by Lewis, who in his *Typographical Dictionary* of 1834 wrote: "The village of Llandrillo is composed of two houses only, one of which is the vicarage." The other was probably Bryndinarth. Lewis, obviously, did not include farms or cottages.

The Norwich Taxatio of 1254 and the Lincoln Taxatio of 1291 both referred to the parish as Dinerth, and in the charter of 1230, whereby Llewelyn ap Iorwerth sanctioned the purchase of the land of Rhos Fynach by Ednyfed Fychan, a clause required Ednyfed to "pay yearly to God and the Church of Dineyrth two shillings towards lamps at Easter-tide."

The church had been enlarged on a number of occasions. The oldest portion was the north-western section. The two arches incorporated in the wall were regarded as remains of Ednyfed's private chapel, which some writers consider was pulled down to provide material for the extension of the northern nave.

The family of Conwy which lived in the manor house of Bryn Euryn or Llys Euryn hard by for two centuries were great benefactors, and they were credited with the erection of the south nave and the tower.

The "Ednyfed tombstone," now built into the porch, was held to be that of a pre-Reformation vicar.

When the church was restored in 1857 antique glass in the east window was destroyed with the exception of two fragments which were rescued by the late Rev. W. Venables Williams, and incorporated in the vestry window. Fenton writes (circa. 1808): "The east window has some painted glass in it, and in two places I observed Ednyfed Vychan's old Coat."

The second Hugh Conwy, in his will of 1540, left £5 to provide a chancel and a porch. The font was probably of Norman origin.

Members crossed to the ruins of Llys Euryn, several hundred yards away, to see the excavations recently attempted. The building measured roughly 64 feet by 66 feet, and parts of three walls remained. The foundation of the fourth wall had been uncovered, and this appeared to prove that this structure was distinct from the ruins in the bushes to the east, which probably represented either demolished outhouses on another (perhaps older) fabric. It was proved these easterly walls did extend in a northerly direction, but much work remained before any definite decision could be reached.

The present building seemed to fit in with the description left by Tudor Penllyn of the hall of Huw Conwy, son of Robin ap Gruffydd Goch of Graianllyn, who figured in the Wars of the Roses. Traditionally the ruins were those of the "chiefest manor house" of Ednyfed Fychan who purchased the land of Rhos Fynach in 1230. Experts considered that Ednyfed's dwelling would have been of timber; if so, the rough boulders discovered under the foundation of the present limestone walls immediately south of the great fireplace might represent the foundations of Ednyfed's home. On

the other hand, the present walls have no windows, only arrow-slits, as if the place had been built for defensive purposes. This problem had never been solved. Fenton considered the building "of such an architecture as puzzles one to decide on its age or use, for though by the chimneys in it it must have been a mansion, yet it appeared not to have any apertures that could be called windows, there appearing none but oblique eyelit holes."

Hughes's illustration in "The Beauties of Cambria" (1823) showed the ruin much as it was at present, save for a hole gaping under the great chimney. This was repaired at the instruction of Mr. Whitehall Dod in the 1850's, which accounted for the incongruous chimney facing of dressed stone. Excavations revealed a fireplace near the centre of the dwelling with a hearth of dressed red sandstone. In the north wall a splayed window appeared to have been built up for use as a fireplace. The tall chimney was obviously a later addition, but the small wall fireplace seemed incorporated in the general scheme and counted against the building being contemporary with Ednyfed. Lewis mentioned that the place was burnt by Owain Glyndwr, but did not mention his source of information. If the llys could be established as the home of Ednyfed Vychan it merited more attention on account of its association with the Tudor dynasty.

The old farm known as Rhos Fynach, and St. Trillo'r Cell on the foreshore were next visited, but gathering rainclouds prevented more than a cursory examination. The date on Rhos Fynach was 1717, though some of the interior might be older. Extensive outbuildings which stood nearer the sea had been demolished. The chapel of St. Trillo was derelict in the 1890's and was restored by the late Mr. William Horton when he purchased the estate. An illustration in *Arch. Camb.* 1855 showed the building with a high peaked roof.

Tea was served in Penrhyn Creuddyn, known locally as Penrhyn Old Hall, portion of which bore the date 1590 and was associated with the important recusant family of Pugh. Leland wrote of: "Place Penrine an auncient stone house by est north est on the shore longing to Mr. Poel of Flintshire."

A vote of thanks to the leader was passed on the motion of Mr. O. Granville Morris.

(The leader of this very successful excursion was Mr. Norman Tucker, who also contributes this interesting account.—*Ed.*)

### Other Excursions.

In July 1952 the Society visited Holt, and through the kindness of the Holt Town Trust we were able to inspect their exhibits. Mr. Edwin Bellis, one of the members of the Town Trust, explained them to us. After this we visited the remains of the Castle and after tea were shown around the Church by the Vicar.

The Annual Meeting was held in May, 1953 at Ruthin Castle, through the kindness of Dr. and Mrs. Patterson. Dr. Patterson then addressed the meeting on the history of the castle, illustrating his talk with lantern slides. He afterwards led us on a tour of inspection of the ruins.

On the 18th July, 1953, our President, Mr. Robert Richards, led an excursion to Sycharth and the Churches of Llansilin and Llanrhaeadr ym Mochnant, discussing their history in his own inimitable manner.

All the excursions have been very well attended and most successful.

I. BRYAN HUGHES.

**DENBIGHSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY**  
Statement of Receipts and Payments for the year 1952.

	RECEIPTS		PAYMENTS	
	£	s. d.	£	s. d.
Balance in hand 31/12/51 .....		136 2 5		
Subscriptions received:				
3 Life Members .....	15	0 0		
2 at 20/- .....	2	0 0		
1 at 11/- .....	0	11 0		
1 at 10/6 .....	0	10 6		
20 at 10/- .....	10	0 0		
1 at 7/6 .....	0	7 6		
320 at 5/- .....	80	0 0		
		108 9 0		
Donation from Executive Committee		50 0 0		
Llanrwst National Eisteddfod.....		50 0 0		
		£294 11 5		£294 11 5

*Membership 31/12/52:*

As above .....	348
Life Members .....	7
Paid in Advance .....	6
Unpaid .....	47*
	408
Deceased .....	2
	406

\*22 of these had paid before audit.

D. B. JONES, *Hon. Treasurer.*

Audited and found correct,—

WILLIAM BURD, *Hon. Auditor.*

9th February, 1953.

# CYMDEITHAS HANES SIR DDINBYCH

## DENBIGHSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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- Roberts, Mr. Llew. E., Midland Bank, Holyhead.
- Roberts, Miss Lucy A., Haflys, Esplanade, Penmaenmawr.
- Roberts, Miss M. E., Mansfield, Groes Road, Colwyn Bay.
- Roberts, Miss M. Wigley, Cilestyn, Ruthin.
- Roberts, Dr. Peggy, M.B., D.P.H., Greenfield Road, Ruthin.
- Roberts, Mrs. R. J., O.B.E., Bryn, Greenfield Road, Ruthin.
- Roberts, Mrs. Stanton, Braid House, Abergele Road, Colwyn Bay.
- Roberts, Mr. W., Cambrian House, Brymbo, Wrexham.
- Roberts, Miss W. E., Tegwel, Abergele.
- Roberts, Miss W. M., Y Wernol, Cerrigydrudion, near Corwen.
- Robertson, Mr. Eric, Minffordd, High Street, Rhos, Wrexham.
- Rogers, Mr. Emlyn, M.A., Ruel, Wrexham Road, Johnstown, Wrexham.
- Rogers, Mrs. K. Beech, Bryn Eryl, Ruthin.
- Rowlands, Mr. W. J., County Offices, Ruthin.
- Samuel, Mr. and Mrs. A. T., 3, Acton Hall Gardens, Wrexham.
- Schreiber, Miss G. M., 16, Gerald Street, Wrexham.
- Shaw, Miss E., 112, Park Avenue, Wrexham.
- Shone, Miss N., 52, Bradley Road, Wrexham.
- Simister, Mr. T. S., 39, Edward Street, Wrexham.
- Taylor, Miss Irene, B.A., 55, Norman Road, Wrexham.
- Taylor, Mr. and Mrs. Norman, Plas Gwyn, Llannerch Road, Rhos-on-Sea, Colwyn Bay.
- Teare, Miss, Osbourne House, Llangollen.
- Thomas, Mrs. A. M., 28, Ruabon Road, Wrexham.
- Thomas, Miss C. Eluned, 7, Well Street, Ruthin.
- Thomas, Mr. C. L., B.Sc., The Bungalaw, Erddig Road, Wrexham.
- Thomas, Mr. and Mrs. Dan, Coedfryn, Llangollen.
- Thomas, Mrs. Elsie, Cae'r Person, Llanrwst.
- Thomas, Dr. Goronwy E., M.Ch., F.R.C.S., 31, Rodney Street, Liverpool.
- Thomas, Mr. Graham, H.M.I., 18, Foster Road, Wrexham.
- Thomas, Dr. J. G., M.B., Ch.B., Bridge Street, Denbigh.
- Thomas, Mr. J. R., Berwynfa, Osborne Street, Rhos, Wrexham.
- Thomas, Mr. Oswald, Gelli, Ruthin.
- Tucker, Mr. Norman, F.R.Hist.S., Penschurst, Lansdowne Road, Colwyn Bay.
- Unwin, Mrs. M., 5, Garth Terrace, Portmadoc, Caernarvonshire.
- Vaughan, Mr. Edward, Brynllan, Efenectyd, Ruthin.
- Walford, Capt. W. A., Tigh-na-Mara, Peulwys, Old Colwyn.
- Watkins, Alderman R. F., Plas Bodyngharad, Llanfwrog, Ruthin.
- Williams, Mr. Aneuryn, J.P., 66, Park View, Wrexham.
- Williams, Mr. A. H., M.A., Garth, Wenallt Road, Rhiwbina, Cardiff.
- Williams, Mr. C. P., Sandeth House, Gwersyllt, Wrexham.
- Williams, Rev. Daniel, Coed-y-Garth, Wynn Avenue, Old Colwyn.

- Williams, Mr. David, Llys Aled, Coed-poeth, Wrexham.
- Williams, Miss E., Garmonfa, Capel Garmon, Llanrwst.
- Williams, Alderman Edward, J.P., Newlands, Ffordd Estyn, Garden Village, Wrexham.
- Williams, Miss Elizabeth, Pengwern Gwydyr, Llanrwst.
- Williams, Miss Ella, 44, Victoria Road, Wrexham.
- Williams, Miss Eluned, Islwyn, 96, Ruabon Road, Wrexham.
- Williams, Mr. E. H., Bryngwyn, Holyrood Avenue, Old Colwyn.
- Williams, Mr. E. Wynne, B.A., The Modern School, Abergele.
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- Williams, Miss Gwyneth, c/o Midland Bank, Abergele.
- Williams, Miss G. M., 25, Alexandra Road, Wrexham.
- Williams, Miss C. E., Mount Pleasant, Ruabon, Wrexham.
- Williams, Mr. and Mrs. Howel, 6, Belgrave Road, Wrexham.
- Williams, Mr. and Mrs. H. M., Waterloo, Glascoed, Abergele.
- Williams, Mr. J. Bancroft, Dolforgan, Kerry, Newtown.
- Williams, Sir J. L. Cecil, M.A., LL.D., 20, Bedford Square, London, W.C.1
- Williams, Rev. J. Rhosydd, Tawelfan, Poplar Avenue, Rhos, Wrexham.
- Williams, Mrs. Llewelyn, Osborne House, Market Street, Llangollen.
- Williams, Mrs. Llewelyn, Y Drefflan, Llwyd Grove, Old Colwyn.
- Williams, Miss Menai, 37, Court Road, Wrexham.
- Williams, Miss M. C., 25, Alexandra Road, Wrexham.
- Williams, Miss M. E., Hafoty, Abbey Road, Llangollen.
- Williams, Mr. and Mrs. O. Maldwyn, Pennant, Ruthin.
- Williams, Misses Parry, Crown House, Ruthin.
- Williams, Mr. R. Bithel, Aboyne, Denbigh Road, Ruthin.
- Williams, Rev. R. Bryn, M.A., Rhosydd, Ruthin.
- Williams, Mr. and Mrs. R. R., Coetmor, Ruthin.
- Williams, Miss Una, B.Sc., Gwynedd, Greenfield Road, Ruthin.
- Williams, Mr. William, Grapes Hotel, Llangollen.
- Williams, Mr. W. U., M.A., Bod Eryl, Rhewl, Ruthin.
- Woolley, Mr. E. T., The Bungalow, New Hall, Ruabon, Wrexham.
- Wright, Mr. L. Newton, The Villa, Cefn Mawr, Wrexham.
- Wynne, Mr. Ifor Lloyd, 2, Bayley Mansions, Bayley Street, Bedford Square, London, W.C.1.
- Wynne, Miss G. A., 19, Quarry Road, Brynteg, Wrexham.
- Wynne, Mr. R. O. F., Garthewin, Llanfair T.H., Abergele.
- Wynne-Edwards, Lt.-Col. J. C., Plas Nantglyn, Denbigh.