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DENBIGHSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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ROBERT RICHARDS, LLANGYNOG

Ni chofiaf imi erioed glywed ei alw ar ei enw cyfarwydd—Bob Richards—yn ei fro ei hun, eithr bob amser Robert Richards, ac yr oedd ef ei hun yn ei berthynas ag eraill yn ymgorfforiad o'r boneddigeiddrwydd cynhenid hwnnw sydd mor nodweddiadol o Faldwyn a'i ffiniau.

Yn Llangynog y deuthum i gysylltiad ag ef gyntaf, a ph'le bynnag y cyfarfyddem byddem yn ôl ar unwaith yn Llangynog. Pobl y fro honno oedd ei bobl, a'i barch i'r symlaf ohonynt gymaint ag i fawrion byd. Yr oedd troeon eu bywyd a'u dywediadau gwreiddiol a threiddgar beunydd ar ei wefusau, ac adroddai amdanynt â'i lygaid yn disgleirio. Wedi dychwelyd adref o deithiau pell ac o gymysgu â'r mawrion, adroddai sylwadau syml a chywir y "Brawd Tibbott" yn y seiat, a sylwadau pert a byw a gogleisiol John Evans y Garreg Fawr—gŵr byr, cadarn fel craig yr olwg arno, a barf fel swp o redyn hydref—â'r fath eiddgarwch â sylwadau arweinwyr y wlad y cymysgasai â hwy yn rhinwedd ei swydd ar y pryd. Mewn llawer seiat y bûm yn syllu ar ei wyneb a oedd fel haul haf, wrth iddo wrando ar Tibbott yn dweud ei brofiad,—syml, sicr a gloyw. Pan godai John Evans byddai yntau yn ei hel ei hun at ei gilydd ar gyfer disgwyl yr annisgwyliadwy a'i fwynhau. Daw un o'r digwyddiadau hynny i'm cof ar drawiad. Yn ystod y rhyfel byd cyntaf cynhelid un Sul y chwarter yn Sul ymostyngiad, sef yn Sul o gyfarfod gweddi drwy'r dydd. Yn lle pregethu, arwain cyfarfod gweddi ym mhob un o'i dri chapel fyddai'r gweinidog. Digwyddwn fod yn Llangynog y nos ar un o'r Suliau hyn. Yn y seiat cododd John Evans i ddweud gair,—"Wel," meddai, "'dydwi ddim yn dallt y Brenin Mawr o gwbwl. Pan fyddwch chi'n anfon llythyr am gymwynas i rywun arall, hyd yn oed pan wrthodir eich cais, fe gewch lythyr yn ateb, ond 'dydi'r Brenin Mawr ddim hyd yn oed yn ateb ein llythyrau." Yna troi'n sydyn, yn ôl ei arfer, at un a eisteddai yn ei ymyl a gofyn: "Beth ydi'ch barn chi am beth fel hyn?" "Wel," ebe hwnnw, "ydech chi'n siŵr ein bod ni'n rhoi'r stampiau iawn ar ein llythyrau John Evans,—p'run ai rhoi stamp llywodraeth Prydain Fawr ai stamp Teyrnas Nefoedd a wnawn ni?" A John Evans yn ateb: "Wel ia, dene rywbeth i feddwl amdano," ac eistedd. Eithr cystal â gwrando ar yr ymgiprys ei hun oedd gwylio wyneb Robert Richards,—yn llythrennol disgleiriai o afiaith. Byddai digwyddiad fel hyn yn fêl ar ei fysedd i gyfeirio ato drachefn a thrachefn.

Ac mor felys â hynny iddo oedd dywediadau cefn gwlad a glywai oddi ar wefusau ei bobl, megis yr un gan ferch y Ty Glas, a gwynai i'w brawd gan ddweud ei fod "yn pesychu fel ceubren," a'r disgrifiad o frawd gwalltog, barfog, gwyllt ei olwg, ei fod yn edrych "fel cythraul mewn eithin." Yr oedd sylwadau fel hyn yn destun sgwrs beunydd, ac ynddynt gwelai ganfyddiad gwreiddiol yn sylfaen hen ddiwylliant amhrisiadwy.

Soniais mewn lle arall [1] am ddigwyddiadau a ddangosai gymaint rhan ydoedd o fywyd ei bobl ac ni allaf roi gwell enghreifftiau yma: Daliai ar y pryd swydd uchel dan y Weinyddiaeth Fwyd, gan fynd o harbwr i harbwr i chwilio llongau. Cyrhaeddai adref o'i grwydro pell ar y trên chwech, ond byddai yn y seiat bob amser am saith, yn eistedd yng nghanol hanner dwsin o weision ffermwyr. Pan ofynnwn am air ni wnâi byth ond dweud adnod. Teimlwn y dylai un o'i allu a'i ddiwylliant ef helpu mwy. Awgrymais hynny iddo unwaith. "Wel," meddai "pe gwnawn i hynny ni chaech air gan y bechgyn eraill, a gwell ichi gael gair gan bob un ohonyn nhw nag araith gen i a 'nhwthe'n tewi." Yr oeddwn yn mynd i Drawsfynydd ar y beic dros y Berwyn ryw Sadwrn y Pasg. Yn yr unigrwydd gwelwn lanc yn plygu gwrych, ei gap ar ochr ei ben, ac wedi torchi ei lewys Pan ddeuthum ato, er fy syfrdandod Robert Richards ydoedd, ac meddai'n ddidaro: "'Mrawd yn brysur, a meddylies yr helpwn dipyn arno." Bore Mawrth byddai yn Hull a'r swyddogion yn moesymgrymu iddo, ond iddo ef nid mwy anrhydeddus y naill waith na'r llall.

Rhyw Gyfarfod Taleithiol darllenid rhestr o enwau'r rhai a enillasai dystysgrif arholiad y Maes Llafur. Gwelwyd bod un ohonynt yn ail yng Nghymru, a gofynnwyd pwy oedd, gan mai ffugenw a oedd wrth y papur. Cododd Robert Richards ar ei draed, ac yr oedd yn aelod Seneddol ar y pryd. Chwarddodd pawb, ond dyma'i eglurhad: "'Rydwi'n athraw ysgol Sul yn Llangynog, ac mae nhw mor ddeallus, er mai gweision ffermwyr ydyn nhw, â'r dosbarth myfyrwyr oedd gen i ym Mangor, ond nid oes yr un ohonyn nhw'n gafael mewn penholder o un pen i'r ffwyddyn i'r llall, os na fydd arno eisio 'sgrifennu at ei gariad.

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[1] Gyda'r Blynyddoedd.

'Roedd arnai eisio iddyn nhw drio'r Maes Llafur, ond fynnen nhw ddim, ac er mwyn eu cynnwys mi gynigies fynd fy hun efo nhw."

Crwydrai lawer yn y dyddiau hynny, ac yr oedd ganddo lawer i'w ddweud am y bobl bwysig a gyfarfuasai, rhai ohonynt yng nghraidd amgylchiadau dyrys y rhyfel byd cyntaf. Soniai amdanynt ac am eu gwewyr a'u dryswch mawr yng nghanol y cyni hwnnw, a'r funud nesaf, ac yn yr un cywair, byddai'n ôl yn Llangynog yn disgrifio'n edmygol frwydr rhyw ddeuddyn cyffredin i gael deupen y llinyn ynghyd a magu eu plant yn anrhydeddus. Yr oedd ei anallu yn llwyr i wahaniaethu rhwng gwahanol haenau cymdeithas, a gwahaniaethau safleoedd a swyddi. Edrychai ar bawb, nid fel pechaduriaid a saint, nac fel gwrêng a bonheddig, cyfoethog a thlawd, ond fel pobl ddiddorol neu anniddorol ynddynt eu hunain. Y diffyg amgyffrediad hwn o'r safonau cyffredin a'i gwnâi'n ŵr mor arbennig yn ei holl gylch, ac mor eang ei ddiddordeb a'i gydymdeimlad.

Nid oedd dim mwy gogleisiol ganddo na hen hanesion y fro, yn enwedig y rhai â'i dad yn ganolbwynt iddynt. Ymddengys bod eisteddfod bur enwog yno yn nyddiau gorau ei dad, a'i dad yn ysgrifennydd iddi. Soniai lawer am yr eisteddfodau hynny, ac am gysylltiad ei dad â'r gwŷr amlwg yng Nghymru ar y pryd a ddeuai i'r eisteddfodau, a'r troeon trwstan ynglŷn â hwy. Y rhai ynglŷn â Llew Llwyfo sydd gliriaf yn fy nghof erbyn hyn. Ymddengys bod Llew Llwyfo yn ymwelydd gweddol gyson â'r eisteddfod, fel beirniad ac arweinydd, ac nid bob amser y byddai'n gadarn ar ei draed. Daeth cystadleuaeth y côr mawr ymlaen mewn rhyw eisteddfod, a'r beirniad ar y pryd yn bur swrth. Tua diwedd y cystadlu trodd at dad Robert Richards gan ofyn yn floesg: "P'run ohonyn nhw yr wyt ti'n ddeud ydi'r gore?" "Y côr a'r côr," ebr yntau. Yn y man cododd Llew i roi ei feirniadaeth: "Disgynned y nefoedd a rhwyged y ddaear," meddai, "rhaid yw gweinyddu cyfiawnder, y côr a'r côr ydyw'r gorau." A dyna'r digwyddiad mewn eisteddfod arall y clywais amdano ganddo droeon pan ddeuai ei dad i'r ymddiddan. Digwyddodd rhywbeth a wnaeth y gynulleidfa yn bur ystwrllyd ac aflywodraethus. Neidiodd Llew Llwyfo ar ei draed a dechrau llefaru'n fawreddog fel petai ar lwyfan

sasiwn, gan weiddi ag awdurdod mawr: "Problem fawr yr oesoedd yw problem cwsg. Y mae athrônwyr mawr yr oesoedd, megis Socrates, Plato, a llu eraill, wedi trethu eu meddyliau i ddatrys y broblem hon." Erbyn hyn gellid clywed pin yn disgyn. "Dyma rai o'r gwahanol farnau," meddai, gan eu mynegi mewn geiriau cymhleth, ffug-ysgolheigaidd. Wedi cyrraedd ei uchafbwynt, a phawb yn llwyr yn ei law, dywedodd mewn hwyl fawr: "Er y gwahanol farnau, ar ôl myfyrdod dwys yr oesoedd, daeth meddylwyr mawr dynoliaeth i'r un casgliad ynglŷn â chwsg, mai dwy ffordd sydd i gysgu,—un yw efo cap nos, a'r llall heb yr un." Y gynulleidfa'n deilchion, ond yn llwyr yn ei law o hynny allan. Llawer awr a dreuliais yn ei gwmni yn gwrando arno fel hyn yn adrodd am ryfeddod bywyd ei bobl.

Adwaenai ei fro bob modfedd ohoni, yn ei hen hanes. Ar dro i Bennant Melangell gwyddai am bob cam o lwybr Melangell ac am yr union le y dywedai traddodiad y safai hi arno pan ddaeth helwyr Brochwel Ysgythrog heibio ac ysgyfarnog ar flaen yr helfa, ac i'r ysgyfarnog neidio i'w chysgod hi ac o dan ei dillad, a galw o ysgyfarnogod y fro byth mwy yn ŵyn Melangell, a dangosai loches Melangell ei hun.

Byddai ar bob awr hamdden yn chwilota'i fro, ac wedi darganfod rhywbeth arbennig nid oedd llonydd i fod nes mynd gydag ef i'w weld. Daethai o hyd i gutiau Gwyddelod uwchben Pistyll Rhaeadr, a soniai amdanynt beunydd. Methwyd cael cyfle tra oeddwn yn y fro yn weinidog, ond llwyddwyd pan oeddwn yno ar wyliau haf. Digwyddai T. Gwynn Jones a'i deulu fod ar eu gwyliau ar y pryd mewn gwesty yn Llanrhaeadr, a minnau a'r teulu mewn ffermdy ar y cyrion. Mynnai Robert Richards drefnu prynhawn i fynd i weld yr hen gaer. Trefnwyd i gyfarfod wrth y Pistyll. Cerddodd ef yno o Langynog dros y mynydd. Wedi inni gyrraedd a gorffwyso cychwynasom i fyny ac yntau ar y blaen. Llwybr serth ac ar draws y gefnen, ac wedi dringo peth arno dyfnder mawr odanom. Aem ymlaen yn sionc, ond pan oeddym ar gyrraedd y brig clywem ochenaid ddwys o gyfeiriad T. Gwynn Jones—y dyfnder wedi ei benfeddwi, a rhaid oedd iddo ddychwelyd i ddiogelwch y gwaelod, ac un o'r cwmni yn ei arwain gerfydd ei fraich. Yr oedd aidd Robert Richards gymaint am gyrraedd yr hen gaer ag na thybiaf

ddarfod iddo sylweddoli bod dyfnder. Wedi cyrraedd y gaer ni welwn i ac eraill ond ambell garreg yn gwthio'i thrwyn drwy'r tir, ac ambell sypyn o fawn ymâ ac acw, ond gwelai ef y gaer orffenedig, a disgrifiai hi mor fanwl nes gwneud y tryblith hwnnw yn ddiddorol a gwerthfawr. Yr oedd yn hynafiaethydd i wraidd ei natur.

Syfrdanwyd fi pan oedd ar fin priodi gan agwedd arall i'w ddiddordeb a'i fedr, na ddychmygais cyn hynny y perthynai iddo. (Gyda llaw, cefais y fraint o wasanaethu yn ei briodas.) Yr oedd yn paratoi tyddyn ryw filltir o'r pentref—y Bryn Glas—at fod yn gartref i'w briod ac yntau. Wedi gorffen y gwaith o'i atgyweirio aeth â mi drwyddo i'w weled. Yr oedd wedi ei ddiweddaru heb dynnu dim oddi wrth ogoniant ei orffennol. Yr hyn a'm llygad-dynnodd ar unwaith oedd y silffoedd pen tân a'u panelau a oedd o dderw solet, a hwy a'r ffendar a'r celfi eraill wedi eu cerfio'n ysblennydd, a dihareb wedi ei cherfio i'r panel o dan bob silff. Wedi synnu at brydferthwch a pherffeithrwydd y gwaith gofynnais pwy a gafodd i'w cerfio, a'r ateb didaro oedd: "Myfi fy hun." Anodd meddwl am unrhyw grefftwr wrth ei swydd a allai wneud y gwaith yn fwy celfydd. Rhaid ei fod wedi bod wrthi am fisoedd lawer, gan roi llafur cyson, amyneddgar, anghyffredin o ofalus, a hynny ynghanol ei weithgarwch mawr yn ei swydd ei hun.

Hawdd oedd gweld bod y Bryn Glas fel cannwyll ei lygad, a hynny am ei fod wedi rhoi cymaint ohono'i hun ynddo. Eithr daeth adeg, ynghanol ei ddyddiau, y bu'n rhaid iddo ymadael ag ef i beidio â dychwelyd iddo mwy, dim ond gofalu amdano'n dŷ gwag wedi ei ddodrefnu. Merch siop oedd ei briod, a hi a'i chwaer yn ei chadw. Pan aeth Robert Richards a'i briod i Fryn Glas cadwai ei chwaer a'i phriod y siop. Bu farw'r ddau, ac yn hytrach na gadael i'r siop fynd i eraill mynnai ei briod ddychwelyd yno, ac yno y treuliodd ef weddill ei ddyddiau. Y tro nesaf yr euthum i Langynog yn y siop y trigent, ac yntau'n gwneud ei waith mewn ystafell gefn ddigon anghysurus, ond cymaint oedd ei hunanfeddiant a'i feistrolaeth ar amgylchiadau, ag yr ymddangosai'n gwbl ddedwydd, a'm croesawu fel petai'n blas brenin. Yr oedd ei afael mor llac mewn clydwch a moethau fel yr oedd yn berffaith barod i wynebu amodau'r newid, os oedd rhaid i sicrhau dedwyddwch teuluaidd.

Er mor eang ei ddiddordebau, a'r eiddo'i briod mor lleol, rhaid bod ynddi rywbeth a fodlonai'r dyfnaf yn ei enaid (ac adwaenai hi erioed), canys pan fu hi farw torrodd yntau ei galon.

A daw'r un amgyffrediad eang o fywyd, yn annibynnol ar amgylchiadau, i'r golwg yn ei berthynas â'i frawd. Gŵr syml, unplyg, oedd ei frawd, yn cadw tyddyn. Gwyddom am angerdd dirwestol Robert Richards, a ddangosodd drwy fod yn un o'r ychydig yn y Senedd a bleidleisiodd dros lwyr waharddiad, gan beryglu drwy hynny ei berthynas â llawer o'i etholwyr. Daeth tafarn y "Green," Llangedwyn, yn wag. Hen dafarn hardd ei hadeiladwaith a chyfoethog ei thraddodiad. Ymgeisiodd ei frawd amdani a chafodd hi. I ŵr mor bendant ei safle ar ddirwest â Robert Richards, gellid tybio na faddeuai byth i'w frawd. Eithr fel arall yn hollol y bu. Ei ddadl oedd tra fyddai tafarnau yng Nghymru mai Cymry ddylai fod eu tenantiaid, ac os Cymry'n dafarnwyr, Cymry glân eu carictor, a ofalai na fyddai'r dafarn yn fagl i'r fro, a chyfarfyddai'r angenrheidiau hyn oll yn ei frawd. Yn ddistaw bach, credaf mai ei ddiddordeb mawr ef yn y dafarn oedd ei bod yn adeilad mor ddiddorol, canys hyd yn oed ar ddydd ei briodas, a'r cinio yn y "Green," ni allai ymatal rhag dangos rhyfeddodau'r tŷ i'r gwahoddedigion, a'i fod yn falch mai ei frawd ef ei hun a ofalai y caffai'r hen dŷ bob chwarae teg. Byr fu'r denantiaeth, fodd bynnag, canys bu farw ei frawd yn bur fuan wedi hynny.

Gorffwysai allanolion bywyd, safleoedd, anrhydeddau, swyddogaethau, yn ysgafn iawn ar ei ysgwyddau, hyd yn oed y swydd o gomisiynydd adran y gogledd adeg y rhyfel diwethaf. Clywais gan W. J. Parry, y gŵr annwyl hwnnw o ysgrifennydd iddo, a'i gwyliai mor fanwl rhag iddo gymryd cam gwag, am amryw droeon trwstan ynglŷn â'r swydd honno. Trefnwyd cyfarfod ym Mangor rhyngddo ef a'r gwŷr a weithiai odano. Cyrhaeddodd ef Fangor cyn pryd, ac aeth i grwydro i aros yr amser. Daeth yr amser, ond nid oedd sôn am y comisiynydd. Chwilio a chwilio, a deall i rywun ei weld yn mynd i gyfeiriad Capel Tŵr Gwyn, lle'r oedd cymanfa ganu. Aed i mewn, a dyna lle'r oedd ef ar flaen y galeri yn canu gymaint fyth, wedi llwyr anghofio'i ddyletswyddau.

Yn ôl W. J. Parry, rhaid oedd ei ysbarduno o hyd ynglŷn â'r swydd hon. Bu cyfarfod o'r comisiynwyr oll â phrif gomis-

iynydd y deyrnas. Rhoddodd hwnnw ei adroddiad o'r safle gan ddweud pa mor dda neu fel arall y gwnâi comisiynwyr y gwahanol adrannau eu gwaith, ond heb enwi neb. Dywedodd fod un adran â'r gofal ohoni yn anfoddhaol iawn. Gwelai Parry ei bennaeth yn gwrido ac anesmwytho. Pan orffennodd y comisiynydd ei araith cododd Robert Richards i ymesgusodi, wedi cymryd yn ganiataol mai at ei adran ef y cyfeirid. Edrychai'r prif gomisiynydd yn ddryslyd, yna dywedodd: "Ond, Mr. Richards, eich adran chwi yw'r fwyaf boddhaol ohonynt oll." Ac enghraifft o'i gysylltiad ysgafn ag anrhydeddau yw'r digwyddiad hwn. Gwahoddesid ef i annerch ein Cyfarfod Taleithiol yn Nefyn, ac yn ôl y rhaglen yr oedd i aros y noson yn nhŷ'r gweinidog. Cadeirydd y cyfarfod oedd D. Lloyd George. Ar y diwedd daeth Lloyd George ato i'w wahodd yn gynnes iawn i ddyfod gydag ef i dreulio'r noson ym Mryn Awelon. Pwy na neidiai at y fath anrhydedd, gan ei esgusodi ei hun gorau y gallai i'r gweinidog? Fel arall y gwnaeth ef,—gwrthod gwahoddiad Lloyd George am fod y gweinidog yn disgwyl amdano. Daw enghreifftiau fel hyn i'r cof yn gyson sy'n dangos nad oedd graddau cymdeithasol ac anrhydeddau yn ddim iddo.

Ynghanol ei wasanaeth eang mewn cymaint o gylchoedd, gan mwyaf yn wasanaeth cudd, yn ôl y daw fy meddwl o hyd at ei wasanaeth i gapel bach ei hen fro. Ni chollai byth foddion os yn bosibl bod ynddo. Yr oedd yn flaenor, cyhoeddai ac âi o amgylch i wneud y casgliad. Uchafbwynt ei wasanaeth, fodd bynnag, oedd fel athro ysgol Sul ar ddosbarth o weision ffermwyr. Hanner addolid ef gan ei ddisgyblion, a'r un yw'r traddodiad amdano pan oedd yn athro ysgol Sul ar ddosbarth o fyfyrwyr ym Mangor. Deallaf mai felly yr oedd ynglŷn â'i ddisgyblion mewn cylchoedd eraill. Hyn a bair imi gredu mai athro oedd wrth natur, athro drwodd a thro. Cofiaf pan oedd ar fin bod yn ymgeisydd seneddol am y tro cyntaf inni'n dau fod yn crwydro strydoedd Croesoswallt am ddwy awr, a minnau'n ceisio'i berswadio i lynu wrth ei swydd ym Mangor, a'r gadair a gynigid iddo, mai yno yr oedd ei le, nid yn unig i gyfrannu gwybodaeth i'w ddosbarthiadau, ond hefyd weledigaeth ac ysbrydoliaeth, mewn modd na allai neb arall ei wneud. Clywais ef droeon yn annerch cyfarfodydd cyhoeddus. Llef-

arai'n glir, golau a diddorol, a phan âi'n galed arno llwyddai'n ddi-feth i ddyfod â'r oesoedd canol i mewn yn gelfydd, ond nid oedd yn un o feistri cynulleidfa. Y dosbarth bach dethol oedd ei briod le, lle byddai meddwl pob un yn fwyaf miniog, a gyrru'r aelodau allan dan ei ysbrydoliaeth, hwythau i ysbrydoli eraill. A heddiw, wedi iddo dreulio'i oes fel seneddwr, daliaf i feddwl na fethais wrth gredu mai ei le oedd mewn cadair goleg i ysbrydoli'r ychydig, ac nid ar lwyfan i gynhyrfu'r llawer, a'n bod wedi colli athro mawr mewn seneddwr nad oedd mor fawr.

Y tro cyntaf a'r tro diwethaf y cyfarfûm ag ef, yn ei le yn y capel yr oedd hynny. Yn y sêt fawr yr oedd y tro diwethaf, ar fore hyfryd o Fai. Digon bregus oedd ei iechyd, newydd gael triniaeth feddygol drom, ac yn fy mraich y daeth i'w dŷ. Yr oeddwn newydd glywed yr wythnos gynt am arwriaeth dawel gwraig, am ddeugain mlynedd, i fagu rhai annwyl drwy anawsterau fil, a fwriwyd yn ddisymwth pan oeddynt yn blant ar drugaredd y byd. Adroddais y stori wrtho. Gwrandawai â'i lygaid yn llaith, a deigryn yn llithro i lawr ei rudd. Wedi imi orffen dywedodd mewn sibrwd: "*What a beautiful story*"! Y mae'n debyg mai'r ymadrodd Saesneg hwn a ddaeth i'w wefus gyntaf fel dehongliad o'i deimladau. Plentyn y werin oedd i'r diwedd, ei harwriaeth hi oedd arwriaeth iddo. Uchelwr gwerinol, ac iddo ef nid oedd boneddwr arall.

E. TEGLA DAVIES.

THE SALUSBURYS OF LLEWENNI NEAR DENBIGH

The Salusbury family of Llewenni was the most powerful family in Denbighshire during the Sixteenth Century. Before considering the history of the family the following statement by a well known Welsh historian must be remembered: "The Welsh gentry of the sixteenth century, anxious that their family tree should appear to have its roots deep in the annals of old Wales or Norman England, forged pedigrees which gave many of them a spurious origin." (1)

Probably the statements made in the books dealing with the pedigree of the family are an attempt to justify the inscription on a mural monument in Eglwyswen Church (Whitchurch), Denbigh, erected after 1712, by the Cotton family of Cheshire, Sir Robert Cotton had married Hester, the heiress of the last male Salusbury. The first part of the inscription reads:— "In the Vault adjoining to this monument (being the burying place of the Ancient family of the Salusburys of Llewenny descended from the Royal House of Bavaria) be interred, Hester, Lady Cotton . . . ."(2)

The late Professor J. E. Lloyd told me that, in his opinion, the reference in the mural tablet to the descent from the Royal House of Bavaria was one of the greatest fabrications of the truth to be found on any monument in Wales. John Williams, the historian of Denbigh, felt sceptical about it in 1860.(3) Briefly, the story is that a German Knight from Salzburg, claiming descent from the Emperor Charlemagne, came over with William the Conqueror. One of his descendants, Adam de Salzburg, was the Captain of Denbigh Castle in the time of Henry II. (the Castle was not built until 1282 !) He founded the family at Llewenni and a Sir John Salusbury, of Llewenni, a Crusader, built the Denbigh Carmelite Friary and was buried there in 1289.

When historical documents are examined it is found that no Salusbury or Salzburg was among the original burgesses of

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1. H. T. Evans, *Wales and the Wars of the Roses*, p. 73.
2. John Williams, *Ancient and Modern Denbigh*, p. 346, where there is complete transcription.
3. *Ibid*, p. 194.

Denbigh in 1284, and in the Extent of Denbigh, 1334, the three Salusburys mentioned held very small areas of land; Alice, widow of Thomas de Salbury, held about 10 acres; Henry, son of Adam de Salusbury, 9 acres; and a John de Salusbury, 20 acres.[1]

They were three among a very large number of English settlers in the Denbigh and Llewenni districts. The Salusburys had probably come from the manor of Salesbury in Lancashire, where the first Lord of Denbigh, de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, held large estates; or possibly they came from the Salusbury district in Herefordshire, which was known as Salbur(y) or Salebiri in the Middle Ages, where de Lacy also held lands.[2]

Nothing is known of the Salusburys for over a hundred years; there are vague references in some Welsh poems of the period to the prowess of Thomas Salusbury (known as Hen Domas) of Llewenni in the battle of Bloreheath in 1459—on the Shropshire, Staffordshire border, and one of the first battles of the Wars of the Roses. However, no authority can be found for this prowess.[3] This Thomas was killed at the Battle of Barnet in 1471. Thomas had five sons, four of whom married the daughters of influential families, and his four daughters contracted quite imposing matrimonial alliances. The Salusbury family had now emerged into prominence in North Wales. The son of Hen Domas, also named Thomas like his father, supported the Yorkists and was made Constable of Denbigh Castle in 1466 and again under Richard III in 1483. When Henry Tudor marched through Wales to Bosworth in 1485 the Salusburys probably deserted the Yorkist, Richard III, and although the new King, Henry VII, did not give the Salusburys any authority in Denbigh Castle, yet Thomas Salusbury was knighted for valour at the Battle of Blackheath in 1497, when the Cornish rebels were defeated. His achievements are chronicled by Tudur Aled and some lines in the poems indicate that he gained Henry's favour by hunting out Yorkists who had fled to the Welsh mountains, and by betraying the more secret friends of the fallen Richard III. This Sir Thomas died in 1505

1. Usher, *Denbighshire Hist. Soc. Trans.*, Vol. 3 (1954) . 29-32.
2. W. J. Smith, *Calendar of Salusbury Correspondence*, p. 4.
3. H. T. Evans, *Wales and the Wars of the Roses*," p. 103.

and his wife in 1515 ; they were the last Salusburys to be buried in the Carmelite Priory, Denbigh.

He was succeeded by his son, Roger Salusbury, who had married a daughter of John Puleston of Hafod y Wern. Little is known of his life, and the Llewenni Estate at his death consisted of 140 acres of arable land, 60 acres of meadow, wood and pasture, together with Llewenni mill and seven burgages in the town of Denbigh. (1)

His younger brother, John, known as Sion y Bodiau (John of the Thumbs), was a far more interesting character. He served in the Irish Wars of the period and became famous for his physical strength and outstanding courage. He is said to have had two thumbs on each hand and two big toes on each foot. According to the Welsh poets of that time he used bows no one else could handle, "long aspens" ; there was no spear he could not break, and the Welsh bards imagined that his bones were made of iron. He is said to have slain a white lioness (*llewes wen*) in the Tower of London and was afterwards commanded by the King to bear on his shield a white lioness, hence the name Llewenni—a name well known in the time of Prince Dafydd in 1282. According to local tradition he slew "Y Bych," the mythical animal which inhabited some obscure den in Denbigh, and which emerged periodically to kill and eat a Burgess. John y Bodiau, in 1536, became Chamberlain of the County of Denbigh.

But to return to Roger's heir, he also was a John who married Jane, a daughter of the wealthy David Middleton of Chester. During his long life the Llewenni estate was consolidated and enlarged by purchase of adjoining land and by other methods, and before his death the extent was 1,000 acres of arable and over 400 acres of other lands, three mills and other property around Denbigh.(2)

In 1536-39 Leland visited Denbigh and described it in his Itinerary in North Wales, but the Salusbury family in those days must have been insignificant as the "gentlemen" of Denbighshire mentioned by Leland were the Eytons, Trefors, Pulestons,

1. W. J. Smith, *Ibid*, p. 10.
2. W. J. Smith, *Ibid.*

the Edwards, and the Lloyds of Llanarmon and Llandegla.(1) However, John Salusbury represented the county in Parliament in 1547, 1553 and 1554, and the powerful influence of the family is proved by the fact that his son represented Denbigh town at the same time. This John was knighted and became Chamberlain of North Wales. He died in 1578 and is commemorated by the magnificent alabaster tomb in Eglwyswen. It was erected by Dame Jane, his wife, and spaces were left for the date of her death—they were never filled by the Salusburys.

John, the son of Sir John the Chamberlain of North Wales, was married when very young to the wealthy Catrin of Berain, the famous beauty of North Wales, who had estates near Denbigh and Penymynydd, the Tudor estates in Anglesey—for she was a granddaughter of Sir Henry Velville, a natural son of Henry Tudor, afterwards Henry VII. John died ten years after the marriage, and before his father. There were two sons, Thomas and John, and Catrin afterwards married in succession Richard Clough, Morris Wynn of Gwydir and Edward Thelwall. Thomas succeeded his grandfather when he was about sixteen years of age and a student at Oxford. He became the ward of the Lord of Denbigh, the Earl of Leicester,—a very perilous position for a minor. During his university career Thomas had become friendly with Anthony Babington, and in 1586, when the Babington plot was discovered, Thomas was apprehended in Llewenni, tried, found guilty and executed as a traitor.(2)

Catrin and Dame Jane of Llewenni exerted all possible influence to avoid the confiscation of the estate of the traitor. They were successful, and one important move, no doubt, was to arrange a marriage between John, the younger brother, and Ursula, a natural daughter of Stanley, the Earl of Derby, which took place a few months after the execution of Thomas.

The Salusbury family were, naturally, suspect in Court circles, but John Salusbury gradually rose in favour and was made a Squire of the Body to Queen Elizabeth I in 1595. He became a minor figure in the life of London, and possibly a

1. Leland, *Itinerary in North Wales*, ed. Toulmin Smith—Bell & Co., 1908.
2. John Ballinger, *Catherine of Berain*, p. 28-30.

friend of William Shakespeare. He wrote some poetry and a good account of his life is given in Carleton Brown's introduction to "Poems by Sir John Salusbury and Robert Chester." During the Essex Rising in February 1601, John Salusbury remained loyal to the Queen and was knighted. He had represented the County in Parliament and sought re-election in 1601, but he was opposed by Sir Richard Trevor, one of the supporters of the Earl of Essex. The rival factions met in Wrexham with drawn swords and there were riotous proceedings. However, Sir John Salusbury was later elected on a new writ.

Some information on Sir John's activities in the Denbigh district has been brought to light by the recent examination of the Myddelton Chirk Castle MSS. of this period.(1) Although Sir Thomas Myddelton's daughter, Hester, was later to marry Sir John's heir, Henry, the MSS. contains a list of murders committed in the Denbigh area during the years 1591–99, where the culprits had escaped the death penalty by means of bribery and cash payments to the relatives, connived at by Sir John Salusbury. Sir John's extravagant life in London had involved the estate in enormous debts, and his son Henry who succeeded him in 1612, borrowed £6,000 from his father-in-law, Sir Thomas Myddelton of Chirk Castle. He assigned to Myddelton the annual value of his estates for six years, with the exception of those of Berain, Penporchell and Gwytherin. It would thus appear that the annual value of the Salusbury estates must have been over £1,500, a very great increase over Sir Roger's modest possessions in 1530.(2) Henry was created a baronet in 1619 and died 1632.

Henry was succeeded by his son Thomas, who was a minor poet; his best known work is a "History of Joseph" in English verse, published in 1636. He was the M.P. for the county in the Short Parliament—the last time for a Salusbury to hold the County Seat. When the Civil War commenced Sir Thomas Salusbury was made a colonel of the King's Regiment, which was raised in Denbighshire and Flintshire in 1642, and possibly was present at the Battle of Edge Hill.(3) Thomas died in 1643.

1. W. J. Smith, *National Library of Wales Journal*, 1952.
2. W. J. Smith, *Calendar of Salusbury Correspondence*, p. 10.
3. A. H. Dodd, *Denbighshire Hist. Soc. Trans.*, Vol. III, p. 50-57.

His son, another Thomas, was then aged ten, so that the Salusburys of Llewenni took no active part in the Civil War; the outstanding Salusbury of this period was Colonel William Salusbury of Rug and Bachymbyd, who had fought on the Continent and defended Denbigh Castle for the King. Apparently the Commonwealth Government did not confiscate any of the Salusbury estate, and Sir Thomas died in 1658, aged 25, leaving no issue. He was succeeded by his brother John, fourth and last baronet, who led an uneventful life. He represented Denbigh town in Parliament from 1661 until his death in 1684. The Salusbury property then passed to his sister, Hester, who had married Sir Robert Cotton of Combermere, Cheshire, and the family lived at Llewenni. The estates passed to Hester's son, Sir Thomas Cotton, and afterwards to Sir Robert Salusbury Cotton, who died in 1748. Before his death the Llewenni estate had been sold to the Hon. Thomas Fitzmaurice. The subsequent history of Llewenni may be of interest. Briefly, what happened was that Fitzmaurice erected there a large bleaching works at a cost of £20,000 for the treatment of the linen woven on his Irish estate. Llewenni was sold and re-sold, and after the bankruptcy of Lord Kirkwall the works were closed down. Richard Fenton visited Lord Kirkwall at Llewenni in 1808.(1) Unfortunately he does not give any details of the hall, but after a long description of the magnificent Gloddaeth Hall near Llandudno he adds: "But this Hall is nothing to that at Llewenni either in size or perfection of costume."

Llewenni was afterwards bought by the Dinorben family for £209,000, and the remains of the ancient forest cut down. The Hall was dismantled and some of the material used in extending the Kinmel Hall. The collection of paintings, etc., was dispersed, and the organ which stood in the great hall was taken to St. Hilary's Church, Denbigh.(2) The present Llewenni Hall is used as a farmhouse, and is not mentioned by the Inspectors of the Ancient Monuments Commission for Denbighshire (1911).

(It is worth recording that the story of Sion y Bodiau's slaying

1. Richard Fenton, *Tours in Wales*, p. 200.
2. John Williams, *Ancient and Modern Denbigh*, p. 165.

"Y Bych" was being related by some of the older inhabitants of Denbigh as recently as *circa* 1925 as an onomastic tale : the climax of the story came when Sion, having slain the beast, said in a loud voice "Nid oes *dim bych* mwy !" Hence the name "Dinbych," which is always pronounced "Dimbych" by native-born Denbighites!—F.P.J.)

THE CARMELITE FRIARY IN DENBIGH

This ecclesiastical structure, known locally as "The Abbey," has been classified as an Ancient Monument for many years and about two years ago, mainly through the good offices of Alderman J. Hywel Owen of Denbigh, the property was transferred to the Ministry of Works. Under the supervision of Mr. A. J. Taylor, Inspector of Ancient Monuments in Wales, the preservation work has now been completed. The floor has been cleared of the accumulation of soil, weeds and nettles, the ivy stripped from the walls, and all parts of the remaining structure strengthened.

At the time of the Dissolution of the Monasteries in 1536 there were the following Friaries in Wales :—Black Friars in Bangor, Rhuddlan, Brecon, Haverfordwest and Cardiff, Grey Friars in Cardiff, Carmarthen and Llanfaes (Anglesey), Austin Friars in Newport, and the White Friars or Carmelites in Denbigh.(1) Richard Newcome states that "Leland speaks of White Friars in remote times being established here (Ruthin)"(2) but I can find no reference to this Ruthin Friary in the Edition of Leland's "Itinerary in North Wales," published by Bell & Co. in 1908.

The functions and duties of the Friars were to preach and teach the people. The parish priest, if one was available, celebrated the Mass and heard confessions—in his own parish. The Friars "carried the latest thoughts, teaching and news to remote farms and hamlets whose inhabitants never moved from the neighbourhood and could read no written words . . . and were always on the move on foot or on horseback down the winding, muddy green lanes" (3)

The White Friars were originally a Brotherhood on Mount Carmel in Palestine, and their work became known to the Norman barons who fought in the Crusades. One of these barons brought some of them to London in 1250 and established a Friary there.

Regarding the Denbigh Friary archaeologists appear to date the construction of the East window at about 1300. It is

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1 A. W. Clapham, *Archaeological Journal*, 1927.

2 Richard Newcome, *Town and Castle of Ruthin*, p. 25.

3 Trevelyan, *English Social History*, p. 44.

difficult to decide who founded the Friary, but there are traditions and these will be considered. The first concerns the Salusbury family of Llewenni, and probably the starting point for the alleged founding of this family may be traced to the inscription on the well known engraving entitled, "The North East view of Denbigh Abbey," published in 1742 by the brothers Samuel and Nathaniel Buck: it reads :—"To Sir Robert Salusbury Cotton, Bart. This prospect is most gratefully inscribed by his much obliged and humble servants Sam[l]. & Nath. Buck. This Abbey of Black Monks was founded and endowed by Adam Salusbury in or about the time (as is suppos'd) of K. Henry III. The proprietor is Sir Robert Salusbury Cotton."(1) Sir Robert Cotton of Combermere, Cheshire, the grandfather of the Cotton mentioned in the inscription had married Hester, the heiress of the Salusbury of Llewenni. There are obvious inaccuracies in this inscription, first of all the words Black Monks, and then the use of the word "Abbey"—which has resulted in the names Abbey Terrace, Abbey House, Abbey Garage, all situated near the Friary. There is considerable doubt whether the Adam Salusbury referred to in the inscription ever existed, and the story was subsequently modified to the following. A Thomas Salusbury of Llewenni took part in the Crusade and was probably accompanied by his son John. Thomas Salusbury distinguished himself at the siege of Acre 1189--1191, and was made a knight of the Holy Sepulchre. It is thought that his son John must have been much impressed by the devotion and charity of the Monks on Mount Carmel, which was not far from Acre, and in 1284 he built the Friary of this Order in Denbigh. To examine this story, it is clear that if he was present at the siege of Acre with his father it took this John Salusbury ninety four years to make up his mind to found the Friary. Apart from this, we know that the English settlement in Denbigh and Llewenni occurred after the Edwardian Conquest of 1282. There were no Salusburys among the original burgesses and even in the Extent of Denbigh, 1334, only three Salusburys (or Salesburys) are mentioned. They owned altogether about 40 acres of land. This proves that in 1334 the

1 Copied by Evans: *Walks through North and South Wales* and other Books of Travels.

Salusburys were only small tenants and a family of no consequence! (1)

John Williams, the author of *Ancient and Modern Denbigh*, 1856, evidently felt doubtful about this tradition and sent an inquiry to Angharad Lloyd, the authoress of *The Antiquities of Mona* (2) In reply she states that among some papers in Combermere (the family seat of the Cotton family) she saw a copy of an inscription on a brass plate taken from the Friary :— "Orata pro aja Johns Salusburie, armiger, qui quidan Johns Sals abyt ii die mensii martii, A.D. millino 1289 cujas aja proprietur Deus." It will be noted it was a copy that was inspected; also 1289 is in Arabic numerals, whereas Roman numerals were used until the discovery of printing and even in the seventeenth century. Roman numerals are inscribed on the Salusbury monuments in Eglwyswen. In the seventeenth century John Williams also wrote to the Rev. Sir G. J. Salusbury, then living at Llanwern, Monmouthshire, about the founder of the Friary, and the reply was : "The first Sir John Salusbury, who was a Crusader on his return from the Holy Land, founded the monastery in Denbigh and was interred there in 1289."(3)

John Williams states that Speed "ascribed it to John de Sunnimore, who lived in the fourteenth century." This reference to Speed cannot, however, be traced,(4) The Sunnimores are mentioned in the Extent of Denbigh in 1334. They were a far more important family than the Salusburys, for two brothers held between them over four hundred acres of land, and John Sunnimore may have been a Captain of the Denbigh Castle Garrison.

It appears to me far more reasonable to suggest that the Bishop of St.Asaph, or some other church authority, or perhaps de Lacy, the first Lord of Denbigh, may have founded the Friary to minister to the religious needs of the large number of English settlers who arrived in the Lordship of Denbigh after the Edwardian Conquest in 1282.

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1 Usher, *Transactions of Denbighshire Historical Society*, Vol. 3, pp. 29-32.

2 John Williams, *Ancient and Modern Denbigh*, p. 325.

3 John Williams, *Ancient and Modern Denbigh*, p. 325-6.

4 W. J. Smith, *Calendar of Salusbury Correspondence*, p. 4.

Little is known of the history of the Friary from its foundation until its dissolution in 1536-37. Llewelyn ap Madog, bishop of St. Asaph, who died in 1375, left forty shillings to the Friars, and just before the dissolution Henry Standish, Bishop of St. Asaph, who died in 1535, bequeathed twenty marks for building the cloisters. It appears that Thomas Salusbury of Llewenni was buried there in 1505 and his wife in 1515. There is no doubt that the neighbourhood of the Friary was extensively used as a burial ground until 1537, and possibly soldiers killed during the skirmishes around Denbigh during the Civil War were also buried there. In 1856 several of the inhabitants of Denbigh remembered seeing vaults and tombstones around the ruins(1) and when trenches are dug near the Friary for water mains, etc., human bones are usually found.

Details of the meagre property of the Friary are given in the report of the King's Commissioners in 1536, when the Prior was Richard Conway, and there were six Friars. The buildings consisted of a Chapel 60 feet by 30 feet, with a timber steeple and two bells, a small vestry, hall, kitchen, brewhouse and buttery. There were a fair orchard, a small garden and tenements in Poleflatte and Love Lane and in the street leading to the Market Place of Denbigh. The Commissioners valued the property at a small sum, and allowed the Bishop of St. Asaph to retain a chalice and a little crucifix valued at 36 shillings and 8 pence (or 36/8). Apparently a short time before the visit of the Commissioners the Prior, in the devout hope of keeping the Friary intact had leased it to Bishop Parfrew of St. Asaph for 99 years at an annual rental of ten shillings; there may be some truth in the statements that the bishops of St. Asaph occasionally made their home in the Friary, especially during the years of the Owen Glyndwr wars, because Denbigh was a garrison town.

However, this lease was declared void and the property was sold for an unspecified sum to Richard Andrews of Hale, Gloucester, and William Lisle. During the reign of Queen Elizabeth I it was bought by the Salusburys of Llewenni, and it passed to the Cotton family who owned it in 1742. In 1808

1 John Williams, *Ancient and Modern Denbigh*, p. 325.

it was visited by Fenton,(1) and he describes it: "Very small, being only a chapel now converted into a malthouse and granary. It had a fine East window with handsome stone tracery, now dark. Two stalls of stone niches south side of the Chancel for the officiating priest. Over the west door there is inserted in the wall a stone tomb of soft cut stone with the effigy of a priest with hands folded in a praying posture, ill-executed and an inscription around the edges. The outhouses near, appear by the windows stopped up, to have been the apartments of the Friars."

In 1856 it was used as a barn, "nothing but the stroke of the flail and the rattle of the crushing mill has for many a long year been heard where once the Monk chanted his matutinal Te Deum and his Vesper hymns." (2)

When the Cambrian Archaeological Society visited Denbigh in 1887 the Chapel was a malthouse and the Hall, once used by the Friars (about 60 feet south of the chapel) was a cowhouse and barn, and their small dormitory above used for a hay loft.(3)

Subsequently the Chapel served as a wool store, and a fire occurred in 1898. The roofless ruin was left to decay until the work of preservation of the Ministry in 1953.

The following is a brief description of the existing structure. (4) All that remains is the Quire and part of the nave, 60 feet by 22½ feet, the Quire occupied the eastern 33½ feet and has a large East window dating from about 1300 and altered during the fifteenth century into a window of five lights with a transom and vertical tracery. In the North wall there is an opening of doubtful age, and further West an original window set high to avoid the stalls of the Friars and consisting of five lights and a double mullion. In the South wall is a piscina and three bays of sedilla, all dating from about 1300, and further West a blocked window corresponding to the one in the North wall. In the South wall there is a doorway from the Cloisters and above it a three light window and to the west of the door a recess for a stoup.

The limits of the Quire westward were determined by the position in the North wall of seven curved wooden roof principals carried down along the main wall to a lower level and

1 Richard Fenton, *Tours in Wales*, ed. John Fisher, p. 154.
2 John Williams, *Ancient and Modern Denbigh*, p. 326.
3 *Arch. Camb.*, 1887 V, p. 266.
4 For a detailed description see A. W. Clapham *Archaeological Journal* 1927

supported by stone corbels. The same arrangement is indicated in the South wall opposite by a recess in this wall. These principals supported a timber steeple and the space under the steeple was closed to the east and west by screens. These roof principals had so decayed after the fire of 1898 that they had to be removed during the preservation work of the Ministry. Also the hall used by the Friars, situated about 60 feet to the South of the Chapel called by Fenton an outhouse, has recently been demolished or incorporated in a house built on the site.

The west wall which has been demolished during the preservation work was of modern origin and how far the nave extended in a westward direction is a matter for further excavation.

There are two other relics of interest which have a connection with the Friary.

When the Inspectors of the Ancient Monuments visited Denbigh in 1911 they wrote:(1) "In the garden of Abbey House is a sepulchral slab showing a male figure with hands uplifted in prayer from which the brass has been torn," it was probably the one seen by Fenton in 1808—then inserted in the west wall. This slab is stated to have been placed over a well near the west wall of the Abbey, but no trace of it can be found now.

The Inspectors also describe a relic at Dolhyfryd near Denbigh.(2) "In the rockery in the garden at Dolhyfryd is the weathered and mutilated capital of what was doubtless a wayside cross, said to have been brought from the neighbourhood of the Carmelite Friary. It stands about two feet high and is a little broader in one direction than the other. On one of the broader sides under a trefoiled canopy is a representation of the Crucifixion; on the opposite side is the Virgin and child. In one of the smaller compartments is the figure of a priest vested in alb and chasuble and with a maniple over his left arm, in the attitude of prayer, opposite is a male figure holding a book in the left hand. This interesting work of art appears to belong to the second half of the 14th century."

This capital was in the garden of Dolhyfryd in August 1954.

Denbigh. W. A. EVANS.

1 *Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments*—Vol. Denbighshire 1911, p. 70
2 *Ibid.*, p.71.

JOHN ROBINSON, CIVIL WAR COLONEL

Towards the close of 1643, on a drab November day when self-respecting warriors had sought their winter billets, consternation was spread through Royalist quarters in NorthWales by reason of a sudden raid by Parliamentary forces from over the Cheshire border. The combined commands of Sir William Brereton, Sir Thomas Myddelton (recently made sergeant-major-general for the six North Wales counties) and Colonel George Booth, successfully assaulted the fortified bridge which spans the Dee between Farndon and Holt. Triumphantly they swept forward to Wrexham. In a few days they were masters of Hawarden Castle, Flint Castle and Mostyn Hall.

But they did not take Holt Castle. "Holt castle," Brereton informed the Parliament, "holds out, butt is beseidged."(1)

A small garrison—it must, of necessity, have been small—defied the invaders, and the spotlight of national publicity was directed for the first time on the castle commandant.

This colourful Cavalier was known by the prosaic name of John Robinson.

When Archbishop John Williams castigated the Royalist commanders for allowing themselves to be dispersed by such "contemptible numbers" he excepted Holt, "the castle whereof, defended by young Robinson, who hath lived much at Dublin, holds still out for the King."(2)

It is a brief reference but not devoid of significance. That informal expression "young Robinson" suggests admiration. It must have been his enterprise rather than his youth which evoked the description for he was not so very young—about twenty-seven.

What do we know of this romantic Cavalier with the unromantic name? Not many details have survived the centuries yet it is possible to piece together a record of a sort. We know he fought in sieges and battles, was wounded, hid as a fugitive in North Wales, followed the fortunes of the royal exile, and ultimately came into his own again.

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1. *Journal, Chester and N.W. Arch. and Hist. Soc.*, Vol. XXV, p.40.
2. Carte's *Life of Ormond*, Vol. V, p. 514.

A ponderous Latin epitaph in Gresford Church testifies that he served Charles the Martyr and energetically upheld his fortunes—the Church and the Monarchy. This was to be expected of the grandson of a bishop—Dr. Nicholas Robinson, Bishop of Bangor when Elizabeth I was queen. On the rugged coast of Anglesey, not far from Holyhead, is a house known as Monachdy from its association with the Cistercian Abbey of Aberconwy. This, the bishop alienated from the See of Bangor in favour of his eldest son William, little dreaming of the day when it would provide a refuge for his grandson John. The bishop also purchased the estate of Gwersyllt Ucha near Wrexham for his son William. It was here John was born in 1616.

There are to-day in the possession of Mr. A. D. H. Pennant, of Nantlys, Tremeirchion, two miniatures.

The older depicts a florid Porthos and bears on its silver back the name of William Robinson. In the second miniature more refined features look forth from a Restoration periwig. On this is inscribed the name of Colonel Jno. Robinson.

At first glance the older miniature represents one's conception of a fighting Cavalier. Have the frames been exchanged? The features, however, are too mature to be those of "Young Robinson." John's father, William, who died in 1644, was an ardent Royalist and he might well have sat for his portrait about the time war broke out. Lord Strange (soon to be the Earl of Derby) as Lord Lieutenant appointed him as one of the commissioners to collect money for the loyal regiment of Denbighshire and Flintshire volunteers who were to be commanded by Colonel Sir Thomas Salusbury of Lleweni.

And what of William Robinson's son John ? Following the fashion of the times he was sent to Oxford where he matriculated on September 26, 1634. He then became a student of Gray's Inn.(3). He seems to have been attracted by a military career and gained experience in Ireland, probably serving in the army which crossed in 1641 to quell the Catholic revolt. The archbishop, it will be noticed, commented that John had "lived much at Dublin." Whether he returned in time to serve in the

3. D.N.B.

regiment his father helped to raise, and marched with these luckless Welshmen to Edgehill, remains in the misty realm of speculation.

The regiment suffered severely. Sir Thomas Salusbury, the poet-scholar who commanded it, seems to have been unequal to the strain. The following August he was dead, and the task of raising another regiment of foot in Denbighshire fell to Colonel Robert Ellis, or Ellice, of Gwesnewydd, another Denbighshire warrior. Trained under Gustaphus Adolphus, Ellis attracted attention by capturing, at the King's command, Sir Thomas Myddelton's stately home, Chirk Castle, in January 1642/3. He it was who designed Chester's first mud-wall perimeter. He was taken by the Parliamentarians at the Middlewich fight on January 15, 1642/3, but was soon released. He is of particular interest to us because he had to assist him in raising the regiment, John Robinson, who is thus known to have been in North Wales before the landing of the English-Irish forces. By this time John Robinson is referred to as lieutenant-colonel.

Though Brereton's raid proved a surprise, it was not wholly unexpected, for it is recorded that the Welsh bank of the Dee was held by Colonel Ellis' regiment of foot and Major Trevor's regiment of horse.(4)

During the fighting "Young Robinson" and his portion of Ellis' Foot, resisted the invasion from the stout red sandstone walls of Holt Castle. They successfully defied the rebel fire.

"For Holt Castle they had never taken!" exults Orlando Bridgman when the tumult subsided.(5)

"Captain Robinson kept Holt Castle from them all the while they were at Wrexham," asserts another writer.(6)

It is a matter of history that the English-Irish fleet, bearing ragged veterans from Dublin, dropped anchor off the Wirral on November 18 causing the Parliamentarians to beat a hasty retreat over Holt Bridge. They left a forsaken garrison of 120 to hold Hawarden Castle. No sooner had the enemy withdrawn than the intrepid Colonel Robinson rode forth to Chester.

4. *Journal, Chester, and N.W. Arch. and Hist. Soc.*, Vol. XXV, p. 46.
5. R. Phillips, *Civil War in Wales*, Vol. II., p. 107.
6. Parry's *Royal Visits and Progresses*, p. 391.

Hawarden must be recaptured. It was surrounded by the troops from Ireland, augmented by Welshmen under Colonel Mostyn and Colonel Thomas Davies. At a council of war held in Chester it was resolved that 300 men of the city train bands must assist in the capture of Hawarden, "and that this detachment shall be commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel John Robinson."(7) He is, you will notice, officially cited as a lieutenant-colonel. Surely he must have possessed some particular qualification for the authorities to fetch him from Holt to take charge. Hawarden capitulated on December 4.

About this time Lord Byron came to Chester. The arrival of the English-Irish turned the tide in favour of the king and Byron was not slow to take advantage of it. Soon after Christmas he inflicted a defeat on the Parliamentary party between Middlewich and Nantwich and, encouraged by his success proceeded vigorously to besiege the mud defences of the latter town. Did Robinson accompany him? It seems likely. His name is not included among the prisoners taken when Byron was defeated by Sir Thomas Fairfax and Brereton. He resumed his governorship of Holt.

William Maurice, in his diary, under the date of March 12, 1643/4 records :—

"forty of the parl: taken at Farn(don) by Holt bridge by Capt. Robinson, Governor of Holt Castel."(8)

This would seem to be a sortie inspired by the approach of Prince Rupert, who marched to the relief of beleaguered Chester and entered the loyal city on March 15.

From this time onward Robinson's connection with Chester increases. It is possible that it was little suited to his temperament to sit idle behind Holt's stout walls while brave blows were being struck. For some reason the governorship of Holt Castle changed hands and as the war progressed it was held, equally stoutly, by Sir Richard Lloyd, another Denbighshire worthy whom the King knighted during his second visit to Wrexham.(9) John Robinson appears to have gained and

7. *Journal, Chester Arch. and Hist, Soc.*, Vol. XXV, p .52
8. *Arch. Camb.*, Vol I.
9. *King made him Governor.*—R. Symonds' Diary, p. 246.

held the confidence of Byron, a nobleman who, though brave, antagonised many by his arrogance. It will be remembered that Colonel Roger Mostyn could not agree with him and withdrew his Welsh soldiers from Chester. On several memorable occasions Byron chose Robinson to act as his commissioner during negotiations, and when Byron was a fugitive in Anglesey it was Robinson's roof which gave him shelter. In view of this long association would it be stretching the bounds of probability too far to imagine he accompanied Byron to Marston Moor, and perhaps to the equally disastrous field of Montgomery? Robinson's body (the epitaph states) was broken but at the same time glorified by wounds.

Clio is a capricious muse. She preserves such prosaic details as Colonel Robinson searching Chester for corn, meal, bread, peas, bran or fitches,[10] but remains mute when decisive battles are fought.

The following year Robinson steps into the picture again. The tide of war had set against the Royalists. Chester was in such jeopardy that Prince Maurice hurried to the rescue. Beeston Castle, too, was besieged.

"Beeston Castle is every day more and more distressed so, unless speedily relieved, I hope a good account may be given thereof," wrote Brereton to the Committee of Both Kingdoms. Troops of the Parliament possessed themselves of Holt Bridge and garrisoned Wrexham, but Prince Maurice broke through and Chester was saved. After his arrival on February 19, 1644/5, one of the Prince's first acts was to order Colonel Robinson to relieve Beeston Castle. The attack failed. Robinson was beaten back with the loss of Colonel Owen.[11]

On March 4 Prince Maurice ordered a test of loyalty to be made in the city. Every inhabitant was required to "protest" against the rebellion. Colonel Robinson was one of the commissioners appointed to administer the Prince's "protestation." Once the Prince quitted the city on March 13 the enemy resumed the siege.

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10. *Chester Arch and Hist. Soc.*, XXV., appen. 11, p. 238.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 73.

It was probably at this time that Gwersyllt was pillaged by roving bands of Roundheads, as it was in the spring of 1645 that Gwysaney was captured, and Major David Pennant's home at Downing attacked. Robinson's tombstone records that at Gwersyllt all his goods were destroyed by rebel hands.

When the King came to Chester John Robinson would have looked on the luckless monarch he served so faithfully. The colonel had charge of one of the foot companies which marched out from Chester on September 23, 1645, to try to retrieve the day on Rowton Moor.(12)

After Charles had departed from Chester, Robinson remained to assist Byron in defence of the doomed city. He appears to have had command of one of the gun-mounts, probably to the north of the city. Alderman Randle Holme (junior) received a command on October 28.

> "You are hereby desired and required to deliver unto Lieutenant Colonel John Robinson for the use of the fort twelve woolpackes."(13)

On the back is written "for mount," so it would appear that the packs were required for stopping a breach in the ramparts of one of the gun-mounts.

Week by week the siege dragged on. By the following January scarcity of provisions caused Byron to take stock. Colonel Robinson, who had charge of the Northgate Ward, was commissioned to search for grain and other food.

At length, when tenacity and loyalty no longer served, Colonel Robinson was one of the commissioners chosen by Byron to negotiate the surrender with Brereton.

When the Royalist troops marched out with the honours of war, Robinson must have made a point of visiting his old home at Gwersyllt, finding it ransacked. For some reason he was "marked out for special vengeance."(14) Parliamentary search parties were on his trail. He escaped from Gwersyllt disguised

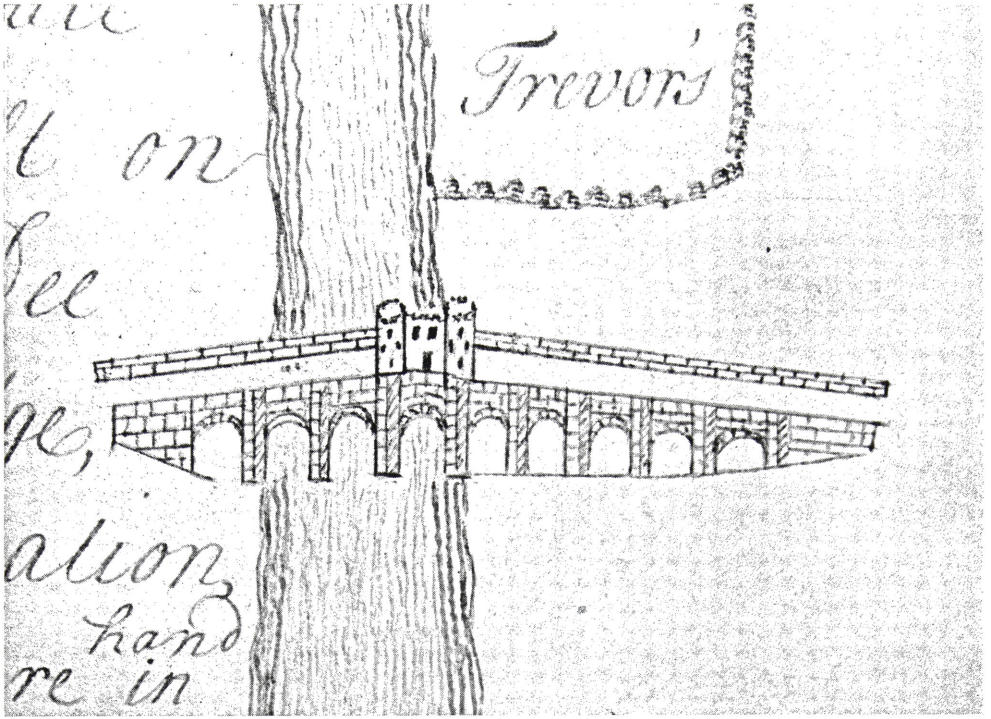
12. D.N.B.
13. *Journal, Chester Arch and Hist. Soc.*, XXV., p. 109.
14. D.N.B.



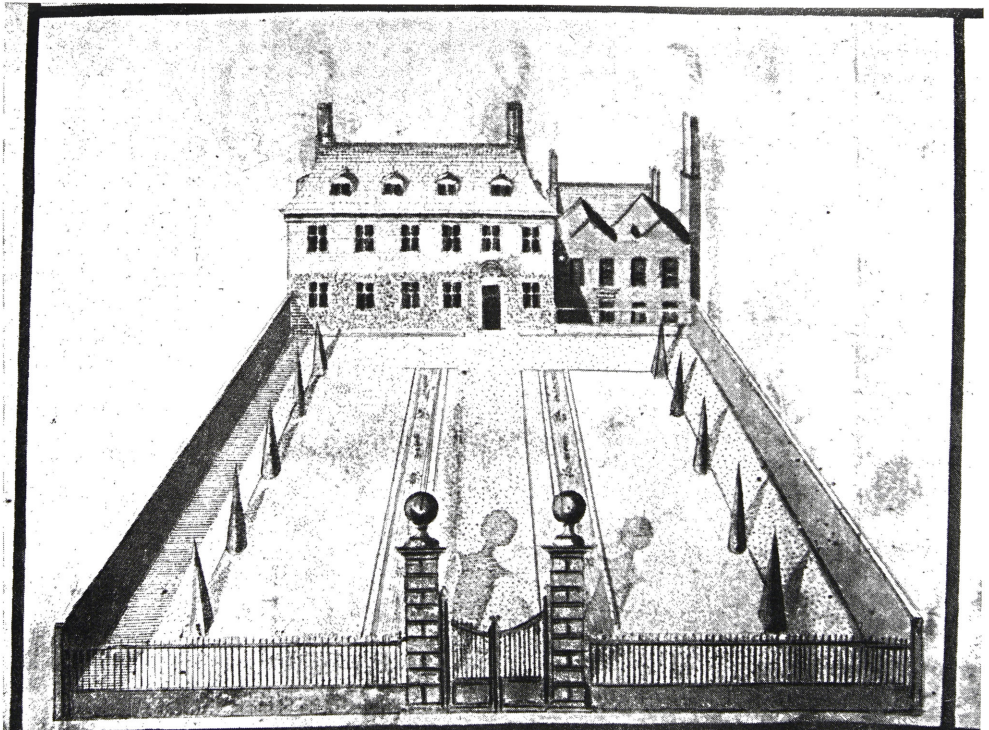
COLONEL JOHN ROBINSON
From a miniature in the possession of A. D. H. Pennant, Esq.



WILLIAM ROBINSON.
From a miniature in the possession of A. D. H. Pennant, Esq.

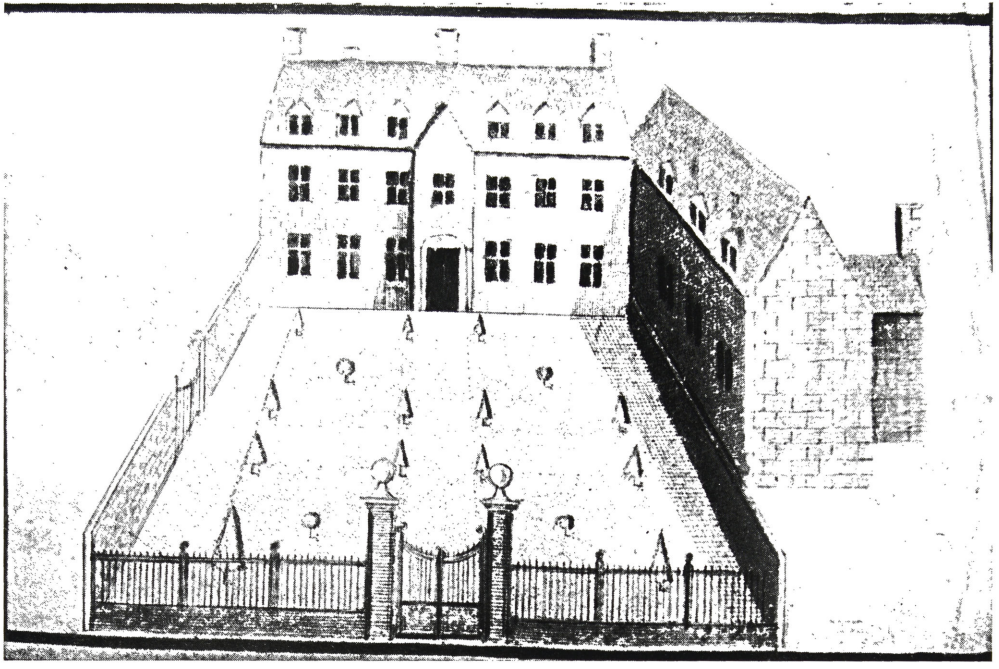


HOLT BRIDGE. By the courtesy of A. D. H. Pennant, Esq.
This illustration, extracted from a survey of 1734, shows the Holt Bridge gatehouse which Brereton's troops stormed in November, 1643



GWERYSYLLT, 1734. By the courtesy of A. D. H. Pennant, Esq.

The Gwersyllt to which Colonel Robinson returned after it had been "well rebuilt by some usurping hand." It must be visualised set in a spacious park and approached by a long drive.



MONACHDY, 1734. By the courtesy of A. D. H. Pennant, Esq.

Monachdy on the rugged coast of Anglesey as it looked in 1743. It sheltered the fugitive Colonel Robinson. Lord Byron took refuge here.

as a labourer.(15) Mr. A. D. H. Pennant has a water-colour of the Gwersyllt Robinson knew. In front of the house is a great tree. The story goes that Robinson, while hiding in that very tree, overheard a Parliamentary trooper say he would hang him from one of its branches if he could catch him.

The colonel got safely through to Byron at Caernarvon Castle, for his name appears in the articles of surrender, signed on June 4, 1646, with those of Sir William Byron and Colonel Shakerley and others, as particularly having "the benefit of the articles."(16)

By June 14 John Robinson signed as one of the three commissioners acting for Colonel Richard Bulkeley in arranging the surrender of Beaumaris Castle.(17)

Though Gwersyllt was denied him, John Robinson still had Monachdy, and circumstances were carrying him in that direction. About this time he appears to have been bearing arms for the king in Anglesey for Pennant links his name with the capture of the little fortalice at Aberlleiniog, which appears to have gone under the name of Lady Cheadle's fort.(18)

"This fort," writes Pennant, "was garrisoned so lately as the time of Charles I; when it was kept for the Parlement by Sir Thomas Cheadle; but it was taken by Colonel Robinson in 1645 or 6." Pennant quoted the Plas Gwyn MSS. as his source. Professor A. H. Dodd comments: "the relevant document cannot now be traced."(19)

Meanwhile the value of Gwersyllt had appealed to a man who lived no farther away than Holt, Captain Roger Sontley of Common Wood. When Gwersyllt was seized by the Committee for Compounding on account of Colonel Robinson's "delinquency" it was let to Captain Sontley for £70 a year. He, it was, who undertook the restoration which later rejoiced Robinson's heart. This is apparent from the petition made by Sontley on November 28, 1651, to have the rent reduced to £60, he "having been at great charge for repairs."(20)

15. D.N.B.
16. Phillips, ii, 311.
17. *Ibid*, 313.
18. Pennant (1883 ed.), iii, 35.
19. *Trans. Anglesey Antiquarian Soc.*, 1952.
20. Palmer. *A History of the Old Parish of Gresford*, p. 61.

The application was successful. The Committee for North Wales reported that "the buildings being much decayed and Sontley repairing them, they had let the estate to him for £60." This new lease was confirmed by the Committee for Compounding. Palmer dismisses as a myth the story that Sontley built a new house on the site, pointing out that later Piers Robinson, evidently John Robinson's uncle, purchased back the property from the Treason Trustees, having faith that one day the rightful owner would come into his own again.([21])

Robinson's name appears in the bill for the sale of delinquent's estates, September 26, 1650. ([22])

A home near Wrexham and another on the rocky coast of Anglesey to-day strike us as a strange juxtaposition, but when Colonel Robinson was hounded out of his pleasant Denbighshire mansion beside the Alun River he must have found Monachdy ideally suited to his purpose. It afforded both concealment and comfort.

Here he obtained temporary security.

Strange tales still cling to the old grey farmhouse of Monachdy. Though no trace of treasure concealed by a legendary Spaniard has been found, the story persists. A tunnel, it is claimed, connected the house with a seashore cave. Here, we may be sure, a boat lay in readiness for the time when a Parliamentary posse should be seen riding towards the house. No wonder Lord Byron found it a convenient *pied à terre*, and a fugitive Bulkeley sought the cave.

Byron had been trying to stir the loyalists of Anglesey to revolt, intending to place himself at their head. His haughty lordship, however, found that local men desired a local leader and that young Colonel Richard Bulkeley had forestalled him. Byron "had to withdraw to Colonel Robinson's house near Holyhead, there to await a favourable wind to escape to the Isle of Man."([23])

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21. *Ibid*, p. 61.
22. D.N.B.
23. *Transactions, Hon. Soc. of Cymmrodorion*, 1930-1, p. 31. —Sir Frederick Rees, " The Second Civil War in Wales."

On the night of September 29, 1648, General Thomas Mytton's troops crossed the Menai Straits. The following day he defeated Bulkeley's Royalists. "Colonel Robinson," writes Sir Frederick Rees, "when he heard of Mytton's landing, attempted to come to Bulkeley's assistance, but he met fugitives coming from the fight at Beaumaris and his men refused to continue their march."(24)

It was time for Robinson to follow Byron's example and flee to the Isle of Man and thence to France.

After the surrender of Anglesey "John Robinson," writes Professor A. H. Dodd, "scorned to take advantage of any offer of composition. He fled abroad, and his lands were put up for sale; their later repurchase left the estate permanently crippled."(25)

According to the painted board in Gresford Church "being in danger of his life he was forced to go beyond ye seas where he lived in exile w'th ye present King Charles ye second for ye space of twelve years."

This accounts for Robinson's whereabouts between the abortive Anglesey uprising in the autumn of 1648 and the return of King Charles II in 1660. Of his movements during these twelve years abroad little is known. His life is easier to follow during the placid days of peace than in the adventurous years of the protracted hostilities.

Colonel Robinson, now in his 45th year, was not forgotten by his sovereign. His name appears among those in Anglesey nominated as a knight of the Royal Oak. After the death of Sir John Owen in 1666 he was made Vice-Admiral of North Wales, holding that office until his death in 1681.

In 1666 he was colonel of the company of foot militia, or trained bands, in Denbighshire, when that regiment was called out on the apprehension of a rising in July.(26)

He succeeded Sir Heneage Finch as Member for Beaumaris

24. *Ibid*, p. 32.
25. "The Civil War in Anglesey," p. 25.
26. Cal. State Papers.

in 1661 at a by-election and retained the seat until 1679. He is said to have been in receipt of a pension of £400 a year.(27)

The painted board again provides a little information :

"After His Majesty's most Happy Restauration Being then restored to his Estate he married Margaratt ye daughter of Coll. Edward Norris of Speak."

As the Robinsons claimed descent from a Norris of Speke Hall this must have been in the nature of a happy reunion of branches of the same stock.(28)

There were two sons, William and John, and two daughters. "He left his house in a most ruinous condition," writes Pennant, "but on the restoration returned and repossessed himself of it, and had the satisfaction of finding it well rebuilt by some usurping hand."

A pleasing touch is provided by the purchase of the adjoining estate of Gwersyllt Issa by Colonel Sir Geoffrey Shakerley, he who, during the battle of Rowton Moor, when sent for reinforcements, crossed the Dee in a wooden tub.(29)

These two comrades-in-arms, who had shared so many dangers during the siege of Chester, were thus able to spend their declining years as near neighbours.

Having reached the age of 65, Colonel John Robinson died on March 15, 1680/1.(30)

NORMAN TUCKER

APPENDIX

The courtesy of A. D. H. Pennant, Esq., of Nantlys, Tremeirchion (a descendant of Colonel Robinson through the marriage of the Royalist's granddaughter), makes it possible to illustrate this article with pictures hitherto unpublished.

The original miniatures are mounted in silver frames with the names engraved on the backs.

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27. D.N.B.
28. Griffith's *Pedigrees*.
29. Pennant, Vol. III, Append. IV, p. 284.
30. *Ibid*, Append. V, p. 286.

The remaining illustrations are copied from a series of estate maps in Mr. Pennant's possession. These, executed on sheepskin, are bound in wooden boards, covered with leather, measuring 36 inches by 31 inches.

The first map from which the picture of Gwersyllt is taken is headed :

MAP OF GWERSYLLT HOUSE, PARK, &c., 1734

The map itself bears the inscription :

"A Map of Gwersyllt New Park and Demain Scituate in the Parish of Gresford in the County of Denbigh for William Robinson Esq^{r}., August 1734 by Wm. Williams."

In the estate map the formal garden shown in the illustration is approached by a long, straight drive through a deer park. The river "Alen" meanders within sight of the house.

On another page is the Anglesey estate of "Monachtû." In addition to an illustration of the house (reproduced) there is an outline of coastal hills showing several towers from the crest of which smoke emerges—evidently a form of beacon-lighthouse.

Another page is devoted to property in the vicinity of Holt. One map is entitled "Bradshaw's Tenement" and includes a bend of the River Dee between Holt Bridge and Holt Castle. A sketch of the castle is inserted. The bridge illustration reveals a gate-house—the one referred to by Sir William Brereton in his dispatch reporting its capture in November 1643 when Colonel Robinson was governor of the castle. It might be inferred that both bridge and castle were reasonably intact when the map was prepared. The map is inscribed :

"This Tenement is Scituate in the Corporation of Holt on the Banks of the River Dee between ye Castle and ye Bridge, the Ho^{s}.; Och^{d} &c. Occupation of Mrs. Bradshaw, ye Meads are in hand."

DENBIGHSHIRE MANUSCRIPTS AND RECORDS IN THE LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF NORTH WALES, BANGOR

1. THE KINMEL PAPERS.

This collection, comprising over 1,800 deeds, documents, manuscripts and papers, was deposited in the College Library in the Spring of 1953 by the kindness of Capt. D. H. Fetherstonhaugh of Kinmel Manor, Abergele. Covering as it does the period from the reign of Henry VIII down to the present century, but including also a few isolated documents belonging to the fifteenth century, it affords a fairly detailed picture of the origins and growth of the Kinmel estate in the parishes of Abergele and St. George (or Cegidog) and the neighbouring areas of Denbighshire and Flintshire.

The nucleus of the estate consisted of the manor of Dinorben Fawr, with its demesne farm of Y Faerdref in St. George, and the hamlet of Kinmel in Abergele—all part of the Lordship of Denbigh and included in the survey made by Hugo de Beckele in 1334. By the end of the fifteenth century Faerdref was in the possession of a branch of the prolific Holland family, which then held considerable estates in Conway, Berw in Anglesey and Pennant Ereithlyn in the parish of Eglwysfach. It was first occupied by Griffith ap David, grandson of Robin Holland, who supported Glyn Dŵr, and it was he who built the massive house which still remains. Early in the following century Kinmel was added to the patrimony by the marriage of Griffith's great-grandson, Piers Holland (d. 1552), to Catherine, daughter and heiress of Richard ap Evan ap Dafydd Fychan and Alice his wife, daughter of Griffith Lloyd and heiress of Kinmel. Meanwhile, at Hendrefawr, also in the parish of Abergele, yet another estate was being founded by William Holland, a grandson of Griffith.

Dinorben Fawr itself, in which the family had obtained a firm foothold at least since February 22, 1534/5, the date of the first extant Crown lease of the manor (No. 615), was finally in 1614 sold outright by James I for the sum of £512 13s. 4d. to David Holland, the fourth of that name, who was sheriff of Denbighshire in 1596 and died in 1616 (No. 619). Throughout the preceding half century, David's father, the second Piers Holland, and grandfather, David Holland, had, as deeds in the

collection so amply testify, been busy buying land in the townships of Towyn, Gwrych, Hendregyda, Bodtegwel and Bodoryn, thus securing virtual dominion over the whole of the parish of Abergele. In St. George, too, the process of consolidation had been going on apace ever since the days of the first Piers Holland.

The death of the fourth David Holland in 1616 appears to have ushered in a period of some uncertainty in the fortunes of the Kinmel-Faerdref estate. His marriage to Dorothy, daughter of Jenkin Lloyd of Berthlwyd in Montgomeryshire, had failed to provide him with a son, and the inheritance would eventually fall to two daughters and co-heiresses, Mary and Elizabeth, then in their infancy. His father, Piers Holland, was meanwhile still living in the old *plas* at Faerdref, but how effective was his management of the property during the next fifteen years may be judged by his action in July 1633 in demising for a term of sixty years to his daughter-in-law, Dorothy, and her three brothers, Sir Edward Lloyd of Berthlwyd, James Lloyd of the Inner Temple, and John Lloyd of Jesus College, Oxford, Faerdref itself and its demesne lands in St. George purchased by his grandfather, Piers Holland; Kinmel and its demesnes, and other lands in Bodtegwel, Bodoryn, St. George, Dinorben, Hendregyda, Gwrych, Abergele and Meifod—all these in consideration of their paying his debts, which amounted to some £5,000, and allowing him £60 a year for his maintenance (Nos. 690, 691). Eight years later, "at or before Michaelmas," 1641, the elder of the two co-heiresses, Mary, became the wife of William Price of the Merionethshire house of Rhiwlas, who was to become a captain in the Royalist army; while in 1647, her sister Elizabeth followed suit by marrying a man from the opposite camp, Colonel John Carter, who was at the time military governor of Conway castle, became its constable in 1649, was knighted by Cromwell in 1657/8, and during the Interregnum played a leading part in the military and fiscal affairs of North Wales. From these two pre-nuptial settlements, the one dated 2 June, 1641, and the other 19 October, 1647 (Nos. 696, 697), we gather that the estate at that time consisted of the two capital messuages of Faerdref and Kinmel, together with lands in Bodtegwel, Bodoryn, Cegidog, Abergele, Llaeth-

faen, Trofarth and Gwrych; what was known as the ancient estate of David Holland III and his son, Piers Holland II, now descended to the two brides, Mary and Elizabeth; lands in Denbighshire, Flintshire and Caernarvonshire, purchased by the above-named David Holland, and which he settled on his grandson David Holland IV, father of the two girls; and Meifod Mill, together with some lands in St. George which Dorothy Holland, the mother, had bought from a Surrey gentleman by the name of Ferris. By the first of these deeds, James Lloyd of the Inner Temple, acting as guardian of the two daughters, and the latter's mother, Dorothy, contracted to settle on Mary Holland and William Price the moiety of the capital messuages and other appurtenant lands together with all the rest of the estate, subject to certain specified limitations, including the provision of a jointure for Dorothy Holland and annuities for the surviving children of Piers Holland. As for the 60 years lease, which the latter had granted to Sir Edward Lloyd and his confreres in 1633, William Price was to have a seven years renewable lease of the property concerned during the residue of the specified term.

It is somehow difficult to believe that there was much real love lost between the staunch Royalist, William Price, and such an out and out Parliamentarian like Carter; nevertheless, domestic and family considerations must have prevailed, for Price, together with his wife Mary and her mother, Dorothy Holland, figures as a principal party to the settlement preceding the marriage of Carter and Elizabeth Holland. This assured to Carter and his prospective wife the mill at Meifod, the lands settled by David Holland III and a reversionary interest in the 60 years lease of 1633. By a deed dated 20 October, 1647, the very next day after the settlement was signed, Carter, with the assistance of his brother William, a wealthy London merchant, obtained an assignment of the unexpired term of the 1633 lease, thus freeing the property from a troublesome incumbrance.

And so Colonel John Carter and his young bride—"the best piece of Holland in the county," as a contemporary wag is said to have observed—settled down to country life at Kinmel, where he soon established himself as a man to be reckoned with in the social and political circles of North Wales, being elected

high sheriff of Caernarvonshire in 1650 and lord lieutenant for the same county in 1651 and 1656, besides representing Denbighshire in the parliaments of 1654, 1656 and 1658-9. March 1657/8 saw him knighted by the Lord Protector, and soon afterwards he was raising an army for the defence of the six North Wales counties. But a keen awareness of the veering political wind and his expulsion from the Rump Parliament must have influenced his decision to turn his coat and declare for Charles II. Nor did he regret his action, for the Restoration brought him honours in plenty : a second knighthood in June 1660, a seat in parliament (for Denbighshire), and the stewardship of the manor of Denbigh—both that same year; and in 1665 the Denbighshire shrievalty.

The Carter regime at Kinmel brought, however, little stability to the fortunes of the estate. Sir John died in November 1676, leaving as heir his eldest son, Thomas Carter, whose chronic financial embarrassment caused the property to become grievously saddled with incumbrances. Nor did his marriage to Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Thomas Style of Watringbury in Kent, help to alleviate his condition, for a deed of 1695 describes him as being a prisoner in the Fleet (No. 719). The estate which his son, William Carter, inherited sometime before 1703 was heavily mortgaged to various creditors. Eventually, in 1729, William, who twenty years earlier had married Sarah, daughter of Roger Price of Rhiwlas, through an Act of Parliament passed that year, obtained sanction for the outright sale of the Kinmel estate to Sir George Wynne of Leeswood for the sum of £29,925, he retiring with his family to Redbourn in Lincolnshire, where he owned other lands. There followed a further period of instability in the history of Kinmel, with mortgage succeeding mortgage, until, in June 1781, it was by a decree in Chancery again sold, this time to one David Roberts of London for £42,600; and five years later, in 1786, Roberts together with other interested parties finally disposed of the estate for £42,399 to the Rev. Edward Hughes, who was described in the conveyance as of Greenfield Hall, Flintshire.

There is much about the origins and career of this latest proprietor of Kinmel—the founder of a dynasty which was to hold sway there for well over a century—that still remains to

puzzle the modern enquirer, as indeed it appears to have done his own grandson, Hugh Robert Hughes of Kinmel, who was a keen amateur genealogist. It can, however, now be established on the evidence of documents preserved in this collection, as well as from information obtained from other sources, that Edward Hughes was descended from an ancient Flintshire family of that name settled at Llewerllyd in the parish of Dyserth. Ralph Hughes of Llewerllyd, who died in 1660, was obviously a man of no little consequence in the county, for he was twice made sheriff—in 1637 and 1657. By his will, dated 1 May, 1657 (No. 1396, p. 59), he left his landed estate to his eldest son and heir, Eubule Hughes ; and in the same document he thus refers to his second son, William :

> "I will that my son William Hughes (who hath already been chargeable unto me) shall have 40 li to put him into such service as his eldest brother and his good friends and mine can procure him."

How matters stood between this same William and his brother Eubule is amply revealed in the latter's will, dated 20 May, 1664. "As for my unnatural brother William Hughes," he states,

> "I do hereby declare and make it my last will and testament that he have not to do at all with this poor estate, and that neither he nor his shall enjoy one foot of land. In case my wife or my brother John may happen to leave the estate, it is my desire that either of them or betwixt them both that they give him fifty pounds, he disclaiming and releasing all right title or interest he may suppose he may have in my lands and tenements after my decease provided he doth not molest my dear wife not in the least, nor my brother John, but suffer them quietly and peaceably to enjoy the premises." (ibid. pp. 87-8).

What was William's particular sin that he should have been so unceremoniously cast out of the bosom of his family we have unfortunately no means of knowing, and if H. R. Hughes was aware of the circumstances, he certainly gave nothing away in the correspondence he had in 1905 with a fellow squire and genealogist, Charles Mainwaring of Rhyl. What Hughes, however, did disclose was that William had married as his first

wife a South Wales lady, and having buried her in her native soil came up to Anglesey and married there in 1692 Margaret Owen, daughter of Nicholas ap Hugh Owen of Llechylched by Elizabeth, his wife, who was the daughter and heiress of Richard Bodychen senior of Bodychen. He then took his new bride to St. Asaph, perhaps to show her his old home, and there she was delivered of a son in April 1693, whose baptism was duly recorded in the register of St. Asaph parish church (No. 1616). The boy died about a year later, however, and his parents returned to Anglesey, where they lived for the rest of their lives. H. R. Hughes does not refer to any children of William by his first wife, but a pedigree of the Hughes family preserved among the Sir Bernard Burke collection in the College of Heralds mentions three sons : Robert, John of Llynon and Edward of Llanfaethlu. Whether William himself actually settled at Llanfaethlu, as this same pedigree states, or whether the three sons ascribed to the first marriage were in fact those of the second, are questions which as yet remain unanswered ; and it is rather significant that H. R. Hughes himself should have gone to the expense of employing a London record agent in his efforts—inconclusive it seems—to track down this elusive ancestor to his ultimate place of settlement in Anglesey.

Another of H. R. Hughes' forebears—his great grandfather Hugh Hughes—figures prominently in this correspondence with Mainwaring. His origins, no less than those of William Hughes—his grandfather, if the Burke pedigree is to be believed —had, it seems, given rise to considerable speculation, much of it patently malicious, among the Anglesey and Caernarvonshire squirearchy. There were rumours that he had been, variously, a cowman at Penrhos, Holyhead, a stable boy at Lleweni, a servant to Chancellor Robert Lewis of Llysdulas, and a tailor. What is rather surprising, however, is that H. R. Hughes, though professing to find such gossip amusing, had allegedly himself no inkling of how Hugh Hughes was employed in early life. He was not to know that the information he would have doubtless given much to acquire lay hidden among the private archives of Dr. Edward Wynn of Bodewryd, Chancellor of Hereford, which, incorporated in the papers of the Owen and Stanley families of Penrhos, near Holyhead, were deposited in the College Library in 1939.

In one of Dr. Wynn's personal memoranda there occurs this succinct reference to Hugh Hughes : "He came to my service in July 1725" ; and there follows an account of the money laid out in equipping him with such items of clothing, etc., as he needed : a wig, a stuff coat, a blue riding coat, a hat, waistcoat and a brown broadcloth suit. In the same memorandum Wynn records that he had discharged a former secretary, one Edward Holland, in May of that year "for his rashness at Hereford" (Penrhos I, 390). For Hugh, who, according to the Kinmel pedigree given by J. E. Griffith (*Pedigrees*, 332-3), was twenty years old at the time, there thus began a long, intimate and for him undoubtedly fruitful, association with a churchman, scholar and a Welshman of unimpeachable integrity. From the papers in the Penrhos collection nothing is more evident than that Wynn reposed the fullest confidence in his new servant and secretary : "he kept his accounts, went for journeys to Ross, Plas Einion, Bodewryd, etc., laid in stocks of hops and cider at Hereford, wrote letters to the Chancellor at Bodewryd, keeping him well versed in diocesan happenings and the procedure at church courts in his absence"—all written in a neat,clear,exact script that is a pleasure to read. (U.C.N.W. Library, Catalogue of Penrhos Papers I : Introduction). In 1735 he married Mary, daughter of Rowland Jones of Carreg y Farian in the parish of Llechylched, who joined him at Hereford, where, between 1736 and 1752, their seven children—three sons and four daughters—were born. Chancellor Wynn's death in 1755, however, abruptly severed what must have been an ideal relationship between master and servant. For his faithful services Hugh was left a tenement called Chwaen Wen for life at a rent of 2/6 a year, and very soon this same property became the cause of some unpleasantness between him and the Owens of Penrhos, who were now masters of Bodewryd. There were allegations that he was withholding from the Owens some of his late master's rent accounts, and more particularly, that he was trying to obtain full possession of Chwaen Wen by fraud. Nothing, however, seems to have been definitely proved against him, and the matter was apparently settled by compromise.

By 1762 the erstwhile secretary was evidently in a fair way of becoming a man of property, for a deed in this collection, dated 19 September, 1762 (No. 1303), records the sale to "Hugh

Hughes, gent., of Chwaen Wen" by Paul Panton of Plas Gwyn and Thomas Kyffin of Maenan of three tenements in the parishes of Llanfechell and Llanbabo for the sum of £650. When exactly he acquired Lleiniog, a small estate on the coast a mile or so east of Beaumaris, it is difficult to say; but it was there that he died in 1774, being buried at Penmon.

Of the three sons who survived him, it is Edward Hughes, the eldest, born in February 1738/9, who calls for most attention here. At the age of 18 he went up to Jesus College, Oxford, in 1756 with an eye to the Church as a career, took his B.A. in 1760, and proceeded M.A. in 1762, when he was also licensed as curate of Llangadwaladr (Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, ii, 705; H. Ivor Pryce, *Diocese of Bangor During Three Centuries*, 112). In 1765 he became curate to Robert Lewis, rector of Trefdraeth and Chancellor of Bangor (U.C.N.W., Bangor MS. 6452), and on August 16th of that same year he married Mary, the latter's third daughter, who inherited Llysdulas, a smallish estate near Amlwch, under the will of her uncle, William Lewis. This marriage and the inheritance which accompanied it was not only to change the whole course of Edward's career, but was also to lead to consequences which none but the wildest seer would have dared to prophecy.

Adjoining the Llysdulas property was a "barren hill" called Parys Mountain, which the heiress held in common with Sir Nicholas Bayly, squire of Plas Newydd in the parish of Llanedwen. Papers in this collection reveal that in or about 1764 Bayly discovered a rich vein of copper on his part of the mountain, the working of which he entrusted to Messrs. Charles Roe, a Macclesfield copper company. The operations soon extended to the other half of the mountain, the lease of which Bayly had obtained from William Lewis, and it was this development which in 1769 brought about a clash between the former and Edward Hughes (then described as of Porthllongdy) and his wife. For six years, between that date and 1775, the litigation dragged itself through Chancery, producing a large crop of affidavits and other documents. The charge against Bayly was that of working the mines in an improvident and irresponsible manner, selling the ore at a price below the market price, employing inexperienced agents and neglecting to keep proper accounts. The

upshot was that the court in December 1775 ordered that all the ore produced be equally divided between the parties by the three mine agents employed, one of whom was to be impartial and appointed by the court itself (Nos. 1807-9). In July of the previous year, however, it appears that Edward Hughes, with the help of the successful lawyer, Thomas Williams of Llanidan, himself began to work the mine on the western half of the mountain. The two partners were joined by a London banker of the name of Dawes, and the three men formed the Parys Mine Company, which in a few years, thanks mainly to Thomas Williams' undoubted genius, came to occupy a dominating position in the copper trade. Meanwhile, the Bayly property had been inherited by Lord Uxbridge, and he in 1785 made Thomas Williams his agent not only for the eastern half of the Parys Mine but also for the nearby Mona Mine. By the end of the century the Anglesey copper mines had a virtual monopoly of the trade, owning smelting and other works in the St. Helens area of Lancashire, in Buckinghamshire, at Greenfield near Holywell, and at Swansea. Michael Hughes, Edward Hughes' youngest brother, entered the business in 1780, establishing himself at Sutton Lodge near St. Helens as general manager of the Ravenhead and Stanley Works, whence, in the course of the next 45 years he proceeded to carve out a remarkable career for himself as a financier and investor of national repute (see J. R. Harris, "Michael Hughes of Sutton" in *Trans. Hist. Soc. of Lancashire and Cheshire*, Vol. 101, 1949, pp. 139–67). Another brother, John Hughes, was manager or agent of the Upper Bank Works, Swansea, around the year 1800.

To Edward Hughes himself, as one of the principal partners, the enterprise brought a vast fortune. H. R. Hughes states that "Lord Anglesey and the Rev. Edward divided more than once upwards of £300,000 in a year, and their average income must have been very large." (No. 1616). How large, indeed, was Hughes' share is strikingly revealed by the enormous sums which he laid out between 1786 and 1813 in the building up of an extensive landed estate. Having, as we have already seen, paid over £42,000 for the Kinmel property in 1786, he then proceeded systematically to add to it by the purchase of lands in Abergele, St. George, Henllan, Llan Nefydd, Rhuddlan, St. Asaph and Tremeirchion, his largest single acquisition being

the Lleweni and Cotton Hall estate in the parishes of Denbigh, Bodfari, Henllan and Llanrhaeadr, for which he paid Lord Kirkwall £209,000 in 1813. Large tracts in Anglesey, too, came into his possession, notably the Bodowen and Parkia estates, which cost him £93,000 and £20,000 respectively. By 1815, the year of his death, he had spent over £496,000 in satisfying his territorial ambitions, and the Kinmel Estate as he left it was among the most extensive in North Wales.

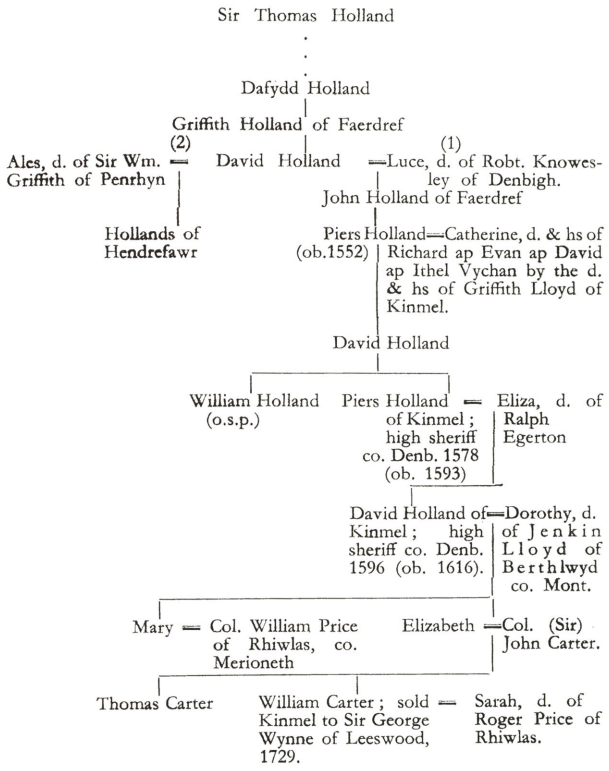
The heir was William Lewis Hughes, Edward's eldest son, who, in 1836, was created first Baron Dinorben, and died in February 1852. The second son, Hugh Robert Hughes, settled at Bache Hall in Cheshire, while a third son, James Hughes, chose the army as a career, rose to the rank of Colonel in the 18th Hussars, and left behind him a diary and other papers of considerable interest, recording the part which he and the troops under his command played in the Peninsular and Waterloo campaigns (Nos. 494-8). William Lewis Hughes, who succeeded to the estate and title as 2nd Baron Dinorben, died unmarried in October 1852, eight months after his father, the first Baron, and Kinmel then descended to his first cousin, Hugh Robert Hughes (the H. R. Hughes frequently mentioned above), son of Hugh Robert Hughes of Bache Hall, who was a partner in the Chester and North Wales Bank, another of the enterprises of the Hughes family founded in 1792.

Although he was twice high sheriff—of Anglesey in 1855, and Flintshire in 1871,— a colonel in the Denbighshire Yeomanry and lord lieutenant of Flintshire in 1871, H. R. Hughes' main and abiding interest was not in public life but, as papers in this collection testify, in the study of Welsh heraldry, genealogy and antiquities, on which he was regarded as an authority of no mean standing. He died 29 April, 1911, leaving Kinmel to his eldest son, Hugh Seymour Bulkeley Lewis Hughes, on whose death seven years later in 1918 the estate came to his brother, Henry Bodvel Lewis Hughes. The latter sold Kinmel Park in 1934, but retained the greater part of the property, in which, dying unmarried in 1940, he was succeeded by his great-nephew, Captain David Henry Fetherstonhaugh, the present owner.

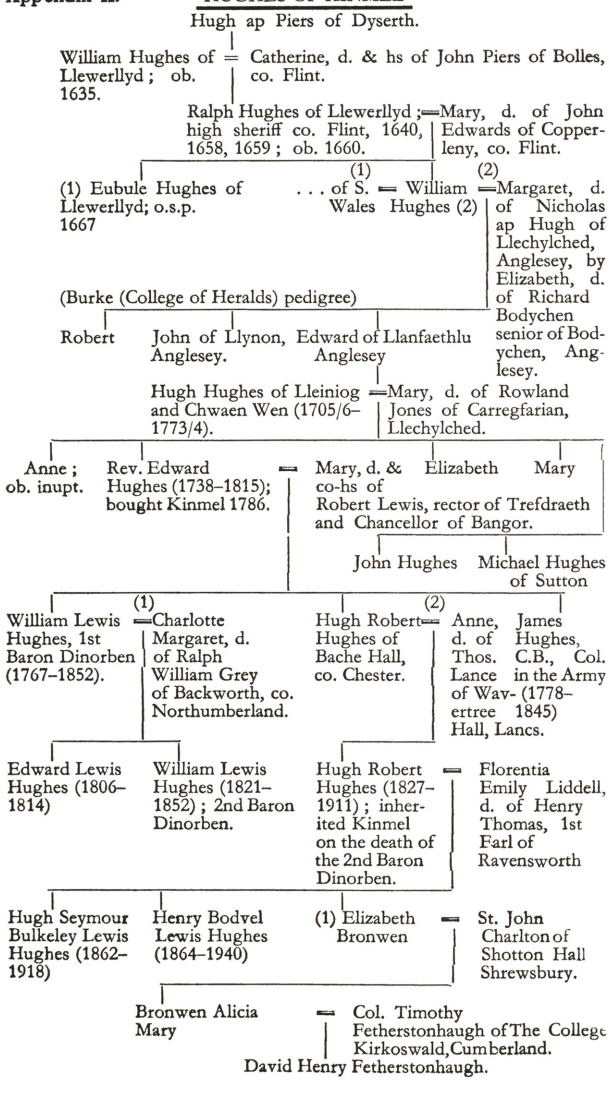
E. GWYNNE JONES

Appendix I.

HOLLAND AND CARTER OF KINMEL



Appendix II. HUGHES OF KINMEL



THE CONWAY AND THE ELWY VALLEYS—SOME LITERARY MEN OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

(Read to the Society at Colwyn Bay 27th November, 1954.)

I. THE DISTRICT AND ITS WRITERS

This subject was suggested by the important article on "The Literary Tradition of the Vale of Clwyd and its Borders" from the pen of Professor G. J. Williams, which appeared in Welsh in Volume I of the *Transactions* of this Society. I was privileged to listen to it as an address when it was delivered by Professor Williams at the Llanrwst National Eisteddfod in 1951. It was illuminating to hear and afterwards to read that it was Denbighshire (and Flint) that was the centre of the ancient Welsh traditional learning in the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries. It was this part of Wales that revitalised, nourished and disseminated it and handed it down to later times. Through the labours of Tudur Aled and Gruffydd Hiraethog, both from this district of West Denbighshire, and others, the closely guarded secrets of the Guild of Bards, which had been transmitted orally, were made known. The old poems, grammar books and prose works were diligently copied; this knowledge passed from an esoteric corporation to gentlemen, clergymen, lawyers and doctors, and permeated to humble sextons and country rhymers. Literary activity was great in the 18th century among all these classes; to this, focussed in the Cymmrodorion and notably in the Gwyneddigion, those famous London Societies, we owe the publication of a vast amount of ancient Welsh literature in the *Myvyrian Archaiology*, and eventually the National Eisteddfod and Chairs of Welsh and Celtic. That is the importance of the Denbighshire literary tradition.

After stating and emphasizing this, Professor Williams says: "This new Society"—i.e., our own Denbighshire Historical Society—"can do a great service by mapping the field, and urging research workers to study the history, not only of the great and important figures, but also of the small literateurs and obscure men referred to in the old manuscripts . . . ."

It was these considerations, and this appeal that prompted me to try, by no means as a "research worker," but as a mere amateur, to glean a few sheaves from a corner of this vast and rich field, by attempting to follow the history of some of the

minor literary men, as well as of one prominent figure, connected with Llanrwst and district—the old Nanconwy and Hiraethog.

This part of West Denbighshire—the Conway and the Elwy Valleys—extends from Ysbyty Ifan as far as Llanfair Tȧlhaearn. It has produced many remarkable men during the last four centuries, who took a leading part in the literary and religious life of that long period, as translators, grammarians, poets and preachers. Only the most prominent need be mentioned here. William Salesbury of Llansannan and Llanrwst translated the New Testament; Bishop William Morgan of Penmachno was the translator of the Welsh Bible: though his birthplace, and those of a few others mentioned in this paper, is just over the border in Caernarvonshire, he and they belong to the Conway Valley. This is also true of Dr. Thomas Wiliems of Trefriw, the Dictionary maker. All these belong to the sixteenth century. Add Robert Roberts, *Y Sgolor Mawr* (The Great Scholar), another learned dictionary maker, and the philosopher Sir Henry Jones—both of Llangernyw, and both of the 19th century. Of poets the district claims Tudur Aled and Gruffydd Hiraethog, both of the Llansannan area, two of the greatest bards and Welsh scholars of the 15th and 16th centuries. Thomas Prys, Plas Iolyn, near Pentrefoelas, was an Elizabethan sea dog, as well as a poet. Among later poets are Ieuan Glan Geirionydd, Talhaearn, Trebor Mai, Tudno and Elfyn. Finally, three of the outstanding preachers of the last century came from these parts—the brothers Henry Rees and William Rees (also a novelist and journalist) from Llansannan, and John Jones, Talysarn, from Dolwyddelan in the Lledr Valley.

II. THE LITERARY REVIVAL OF THE 18th CENTURY

But it is not of any of these that I wish to treat in this paper, nor would time or knowledge permit of my ranging over four centuries. The period chosen is the middle of the eighteenth century: the men discussed are, a sojourner, who was perhaps the most outstanding research scholar of his age, together with a few of his humbler neighbours and associates, whose names are mentioned in Professor Williams' article. I propose in short to attempt a sketch of the bard and scholar Ieuan Brydydd Hir

during the few years of his stay in this district, together with some of his more lowly fellow-workers, Dafydd Jones of Trefriw, Hugh Jones of Llangwm, Robert Thomas of Llanfair Talhaearn, Sion Powel of Llansannan, Siôn Dafydd of Pentrefoelas, and a more uncouth figure, Ellis Roberts of Llanddoget. All in their way, except perhaps Ellis Roberts, were personally connected with the leaders of the literary activity of that time of awakening.

The period then in which these men lived and laboured was the middle years of the eighteenth century; just two hundred years ago. It was the era of the great Welsh literary revival, which was led by the three Morris brothers of Anglesey —Lewis, Richard and William—and the poets Goronwy Owen, Ieuan Fardd and William Wynn. These were supported by lesser lights throughout North Wales, who corresponded with them. There emerged what was little less than a cult of the old Welsh poetry, grammar, history and prose. The main shrines of the cult were London, where Richard Morris was the president of his newly formed Society of Cymmrodorion, and Gallt Fadog and, later, Penybryn, near Aberystwyth, a sort of Welsh Delphi, where the able and versatile Lewis Morris presided like an oracle.

There was a spate of collecting, collating, and copying of old manuscripts, research in the ancient private libraries of the gentry, mainly by Ieuan Brydydd Hir, and original composing of cywyddau. But all this at first remained in manuscript. This activity produced a voluminous correspondence between the votaries and the three brothers, which is preserved in the Morris Letters and the Additional Morris Letters, to the latter of which I am much indebted for this compilation. The workers and writers were chiefly learned laymen, like the Morrises themselves, erudite clergymen like Ieuan, Goronwy Owen and William Wynn, self-taught sextons and minor poets like Robert Thomas of Llanfair Talhaearn, or poor publishers like Dafydd Jones of Trefriw, as well as some gentlemen. It was felt, as was constantly emphasized by Ieuan himself, that the great need was to print and make accessible to the public the treasures of Welsh literature which were either locked in the libraries of the gentry or scattered in manuscript copies in the cottages of humbler enthusiasts.

Yet it is a remarkable fact that practically the first books printed by the movement were published, not by the learned leaders but by two of their lowlier followers, namely David (Dafydd) Jones of Trefriw, a self-taught villager, and Hugh Jones of Llangwm, a farm labourer, and that mainly at their own risk. What must not be forgotten therefore is that this district contributed substantially to the literary revival, was in constant touch with its leaders and was well abreast of its aims and work. Here is an attempt to sketch how and by whom that contribution was made.

III. IEUAN BRYDYDD HIR

1. HIS ACHIEVEMENT

Ieuan Brydydd Hir (Evan the Tall Bard), so called from his tall stature, or Ieuan Fardd (1731-1788), was the bardic name of the Reverend Evan Evans, who spent seven years as a curate in this district. This is what the *Bywgraffiadur* says of him

"There is no doubt that Ieuan Fardd was the greatest Welsh scholar of his time : he knew more than any of his contemporaries about the contents of the Welsh manuscripts which were to be found in different private libraries, and he was versed in the works and aims of the great Welsh scholars from the Renaissance onwards. He realised that the chief need of the Welsh scholarship of his time was to print the texts of the principal manuscripts which dealt with the history and literature of Wales. That was his goal, and he had the ability for the task, and was well acquainted with the duties of an editor of such an undertaking. But he had not the support to fulfil his purpose. Nevertheless, under great disadvantages, he performed brilliant work, which has ensured him a place of undoubted importance in the history of Welsh scholarship."

Such were the talents and performance of the luckless genius who spent most of his adult life in ill-paid curacies in Wales and in England. He was a native of Lledrod, Cardiganshire, and was educated at Ystrad Meurig Grammar School and Merton College, Oxford. Like Goronwy Owen, he was a feckless rover, a bird of passage who too often fouled his own nest. What was perhaps the steadiest and happiest period of his life was spent in his young manhood as a curate at Trefriw (1759–1761) and Llanfair Talhaearn (1761–1766).

2. IEUAN AT TREFRIW—RESEARCH

When he came to Trefriw after a short curacy at Llanllechid he had been corresponding with the Morris brothers since his college days, was styled "The Bard of the Cymmrodorion," and had begun that study of Welsh literature and language which were to benefit so substantially from his diligence and critical insight.

It was when he was at Trefriw that we first hear of the work which established his fame, even beyond the bounds of Wales and London. This was the "Dissertation on the Bards" in Latin, a treatise on the most ancient of our poets, with specimens of their work. It was originally a very modest undertaking. Writing to Richard Morris in October 1759 Ieuan says (in English): "Your brother told me that you were going to publish Goronwy's poems. If that be the case, I should be willing to contribute all in my power to render the edition complete; and for that end have wrote a Dissertation on the Bards in Latin. It consists of twenty-four leaves."(1) . . . . Apparently Richard Morris never published Goronwy's poems. There is frequent mention of the *Dissertatio de Bardis* in subsequent letters; during the weary years it was awaiting publication Ieuan amplified it and supplied an English translation of the ancient poems it contained. It was at last published in 1764, through Barrington's agency and with the aid of Richard Morris. It is interesting to note that specimens of the work in manuscript had been previously shown to English literary men like the poet Gray, the author of Gray's Elegy, and Dr. Percy, the author of Percy's Reliques, with whom Ieuan corresponded. They thought highly of the work, and Gray was impressed by the Welsh poems in it. This intercourse, according to Richard Morris, might not have been as disinterested as it looked. "I have waited on Mr. Justice Barrington," writes Ieuan in December 1760, "with the Dissertation on the Bards, who approved of it. . . . He says he will show it to Mr. Grey, to have his judgment of it." (2) In his reply Richard Morris warns

1. *Additional Letters of the Morrises of Anglesey* (1735–1786) (Ed. Hugh Owen: *Y Cymmrodor* XLIX (2 parts), 1947 and 1949), 203. This work will be abbreviated to A.M.L. *infra*. The references are to the number of the Letter.
2. A.M.L. 230.

him: "I wonder whether Mr. Gray and other Englishmen, who have seen your Essay about the ancient poets, may not rob you of the honour of interpreting them? You had better send them all here to be published—and not let mere English or Scots strangers bring them to the birth." (3)

In a later letter, the impecunious author very naturally asks :—"As for my Treatise . . . I should be glad to get something for my pains in compiling it . . . ten or eight pounds at least."(4) A more wordly man would have written "eight or ten pounds at least," or, better still, "ten pounds at least." This would be a third of his annual stipend.

Unfortunately, Richard Morris replies (June 1761): "Woe is me that I am not richer! instead of eight you should have twenty pounds. But God knows, the Cymmrodorion have nothing but poverty and debts." (5)

However, the Treatise, when eventually published, was, as the *Bywgraffiadur* states, "a methodical and very successful attempt to interpret the work of the poets of the period of the Princes, and it firmly established Ieuan's fame as a scholar." Begun at Trefriw, it was published when the author had been two years at Llanfair Talhaearn. Its publication illustrates the difficulties experienced by impecunious authors, their need for patrons and the necessity of printing in London, or at Shrewsbury or Chester.

A glimpse of his studying and collecting of manuscripts is afforded in a previous letter(6) from Trefriw. "I have got a very curious piece by me," he writes. "I think it deserves place in your book before anything I know. It is Thomas Williams the Physician's Preface to his Dictionary, wrote (sic) in the British (i.e., Welsh) Language." It is odd to think that scholars are still working at Dr. Thomas Wiliems' work, or at any rate have been invited to do so. In the list of subjects of the Llanrwst National Eisteddfod, published in 1950, a prize of £100 was offered, with three years to do the work, for a study of the "Life and Works of Thomas Wiliems of Trefriw." Sad to

3. A.M.L. 262 (Dec. 1760).
4. A.M.L. 271
5. A.M.L. 278
6. A.M.L. 230

relate, at the Rhyl National Eisteddfod in 1953 there was no competitor.

During the Trefriw period, Ieuan speaks (7) of visits to the library of Sir Roger Mostyn at Gloddaeth, from which the owner allowed him to borrow two valuable manuscripts of *Brut y Brenhinoedd*, which were four hundred years old. He also succeeded in borrowing a very ancient manuscript from Llannerch, Flintshire. Nor does he forget to implore his influential friend to help Dafydd Jones to sell his books. It is astounding to read of the light-hearted carelessness with which the poet treated the rare books be borrowed. In one letter William Morris of Holyhead takes him to task—this was during the Llanfair Talhaearn period—for his negligence : "I received two books (named) by the hand of a drunken fellow, without so much as a little brown paper wrapping" . . . Of another book he tells Ieuan : "Do not send it without sealing it, lest fools laugh at it." (8)

In the Trefriw letters we get a few hints of the headaches and melancholy which may perhaps partly account for Ieuan's later irregularities.

At Trefriw Ieuan wrote two touching elegies. The first is in memory of Siôn Owain (John Owen), a young nephew of the Morris brothers, who was himself a poet and who died towards the end of 1759 at Gibraltar on board H.M.S. *Eagle*, of which he was purser. Here are some extracts :

Galar mawr a gai lawr Môn,
A deugwr Ceredigion,
A Chaerludd : chwerw fu y loes,
Ddyn anwyl, ddwyn ei einioes.
Nid oes gerdd, na dysg urddawl,
Na dawn i'n mysg yn dwyn mawl ;
Ni wyddiad, gwiwfad gyfoeth,
Hwn i'w ddydd yn gelfydd goeth.
Teilwng wrth ganu telyn
Oedd ei lais a'i ddwylaw yn'.
Pur ydyw'n iaith Prydain hen
Ei bêr gywydd brig awen ;
Ei ddatgan a'm diddanai
Mal cân adar mân ym Mai.
Y mae heddyw gwyw y gwŷdd,
Ac ir ddail a gwyrdd ddolydd.

* * * *

7. A.M.L. 263
8. A.M.L. 299.

Torwyd blodeuyn tiriawn,
Aur ei wedd, yn iraidd iawn :
Duw a'i dug, a dăed oedd,
Fry'n iefanc i fro nefoedd.
* * * *
Hoenus a fydd heb henaint,
A hardd, heb na gwŷn na haint.

The other elegy is in memory of his fellow-poet and friend, the Rev. William Wynn of Llangynhafal, Denbighshire, who died 18th January, 1760. These are the opening lines :

Y mae hiraeth i'm hoeri
A mawr nych yn fy mron i ;
Marw fu Wiliam, mawr f'alaeth,
A phrudd yw'r deurudd od aeth.
Och, mor freued fu'r edau,
Diweddiad tant fu'r dydd tau
Doe'r oeddud ŵr dewr addwyn,
Llon i'n mysg, llawen a mwyn,
A gorwedd yr wyd heddyw
Yn fud, ni'th wêl neb yn fyw.
Tristach yw Cymru trosti,
Y Bardd doeth, o'th briddo di :
Gorddwywyd gerddi awen
Gau arch am eu parch a'u pen :
Ac mae'r iaith, Gymro ethol,
A'n dysg yn myned yn d'ôl.
Minnau â'm bron (s)y mewn braw,
Dy gyfaill wrth dy gofiaw,
Yn gostwng dan flin gystudd
A dagrau hallt hyd y grudd. (9)

3. IEUAN AT LLANFAIR TALHAEARN

In 1761 Ieuan left Trefriw for Llanfair Talhaearn, the country of Tudur Aled and Gruffydd Hiraethog, where he remained a curate at the salary of £26 a year till 1766. During these five years he kept up a fairly regular correspondence with the Morris brothers, largely about his Dissertation with Richard Morris, who gives the impression of being a kindly, obliging, but busy man, whose duties as clerk at the Navy Office took up most of his time. The letters show that the poet-curate-scholar followed his pursuits of studying and copying manuscripts, amplifying his Dissertation, and trying to get it published writing an occasional cywydd, chiefly elegies, and performing the duties of his sacred office in a quiet country village of the eighteenth century.

To us the most memorable duty he performed was officiating at the marriage of Twm o'r Nant. It was with a melan-

9. A.M.L. 212 and 230.

choly interest that I recently copied the marriage certificate from one of the registers of Llanfair Talhaearn Church :

No 57.

Thomas Edwards of the Parish of Henllan, Batchelor, and Elizabeth Hughes of this Parish, Spinster. Married in this Church by Licence this nineteenth day of February in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty-three by me.

Evan Evans.

This marriage was solemnized between us

Thomas Edwards
The mark E of Elizabeth Hughes.

In the presence of David Lloyd
William Hughes.

The signatures of the two young poets are still beautifully clear. The bride, like many other brides of that day, could only affix her mark.

No doubt, though he complains of his isolation, these studious exertions were often lightened in the company of the intelligent sexton, Robert Thomas, and of the rustic poets, Dafydd Jones Pirs, bard, tutor and schoolmaster, who, like Talhaearn, was a son of the Harp Inn, and Sion Powel, the bard and weaver of Llansannan.

(i) His Learning.

He travelled to South Wales and visited Lewis Morris at Penybryn, where he admired his host's library and his host admired his guest's extensive and ready learning. "I was in South Wales lately," writes the poet, "and stayed with Llewelyn (L. Morris) at Penybryn for three or four days. I heartily wish I were near him, to copy many of the excellent things which are in his library: a man would take years to do it."(1) And "Llewelyn" writes to him a month later : "A person told me he had seen you at Hengwrt on your way home from me ; and that you were permitted to see what MSS. you pleased ; and that you translated them off-hand into English, as if they had been the common text of the Welsh Bible."(2) Others repeatedly pay

1. A.M.L. 301
2. A.M.L. 302

high tribute to his scholarship and abilities. There are references to correspondence with the poet Gray and Dr. Percy, the collector of old ballads, who was a fellow member of The Club with Dr. Johnson, Boswell, Goldsmith, Garrick and Sir Joshua Reynolds.

(ii) POEMS.

Nor was his Muse idle at this period of hope, though he complains now and again of her hardness ; sometimes he thinks of abandoning poetry and literature in favour of Divinity, and of devoting himself to the providing of books in Welsh to meet the religious needs of his countrymen, to which he was by no means blind. But he wrote several excellent *cywyddau.* As the Bard of the patriotic Cymmrodorion, their Poet Laureate, at the instigation of William Morris, he was commissioned by them to compose an ode on the birth of the Prince of Wales, afterwards George IV. Apparently such an event had not occurred for over 130 years, since the birth of Charles II [3] This ode, while containing many of the conventional extravagances of the official poem, yet has some pleasing lines, like the following :

Croeso, Dywysog grasawl,
Dy feirdd a ganant dy fawl ;
Dy nerth yn destun a wnant,
Dy glod dros fyd a gludant.
Mae Cymru yn gwenu ar goedd
Yn llawen a'i holl luoedd,
Gael iddi ymgeleddwr
A theg amddiffyn a Thwr ;
Y beirdd fil o beraidd fant
I'th gynnyrch fyth a ganant,
Pob Telynor cerddor coeth
A boen ei fysedd beunoeth.

. . . . .

Cynnydd, Dywysog ceinwych
A dedwydd beunydd y bych ;
Mewn campau a doniau da
I anrhydedd iawn rhodia,
Hyfforddiad dy Dad odiaeth,
A'th fam, godidog yw'th faeth.

. . . . .

Pan êl Sior ein hior mewn hedd
Wiw dëyrn yn y diwedd,
Ar ddir hynt o'r ddaear hon
I gyrraedd nefol goron,
Aed y mab ffynadwy mawr
I Brydain yn Briodawr.[4]

3. A.M.L. 295
4. A.M.L. 296

In this period also, two of the Morris brothers, his friends and patrons, died; William in 1764 and Lewis in 1765, and Ieuan composed fine elegies on them in the *cywydd* metre.

William Morris of Holyhead was a dabbler in literature, medicine, botany and geology, and was a noted gardener. This is how Ieuan describes his interests :

Cai glod ; adnabod a wnaeth
Yn gywraint ffisygwriaeth
A meddyg orau moddion,
I dlawd oedd: e dal Duw Iôn.
A chwiliai ef yn wych lân
Berthynas barthau anian.
(Ddawngar bryd) gan ddwyn gerbron
I'r golau ei dirgelion ;
Camu, llawenu yn llwybr
Linnaeus, yn lân ewybr,
Llysiau a'u nodau heb nam
Eilwaith adwaenai Wiliam.
. . . . . .
Blodau, heirdd deganau haf,
Fil a wyddiad, fel Addaf.
Trin gardd, wr tirion a gŵyl
A'i gwarchadw, ei gu orchwyl ;
A'i hoew ardd dirion lon lwys
Oedd o brydwedd Baradwys ;
Ail i Eden loew ydoedd
Mor lân ac mor araul oedd.
Llawn o ros ac effros gwiw
A'r lili wawr oleuliw ;
A'r tiwlip ar eu tyle
Mor wych eu llewych a'u lle !
A'u lliw hefyd a'u lleufer,
Glan syw fel goleuni ser.(5)

The elegy in memory of Lewis Morris is a fine performance. After dwelling on the dead savant's versatility, the poet describes the irreplaceable loss caused by the death of the patron and teacher of bards and scholars in these vigorous lines :

Darfu cynnydd dydd canu
Och! feirdd, eich harddwch a fu!
Heddyw nid oes ddyn hoewddawn;
Pwy a gais ddysg ym mysg mawn ?
Du yw gwlad Cymru a dall
Yr awran ni cheir arall.
Ni welir yno eilwaith
Un gŵr mor enwog ei waith.
Oer wyler am a dderyw
Gwae mor oer i Gymry yw !
Ni chanaf fi na chân fwyn
Nod uchel onid achwyn ;
(Ac ni chân, drwg yw'r waneg
Un bardd da yn beraidd deg.)

5. A.M.L. 315

The poem ends with this high tribute :

Gan i Lewis gain lywydd
Ddarfod, gwae ddyfod ei ddydd!
Hir a fydd, a rhyfeddod,
A glwys y cenir dy glod.
Ni ddaw tra byddo awen,
Na doniau na llyfrau llên,
Cymro iawn, cymhar ei waith
Teilwng i'n bro it eilwaith.(6)

It has been mentioned that a few years before he had written an elegy on the death of his fellow-poet, the Rev. William Wynn of Llangynhafal in the Vale of Clwyd, whose *Cywydd y Farn* (Ode on the Judgement Day) was reckoned by many to be equal if not superior to Goronwy Owen's famous ode on the same subject.

To the same period belongs his elegy in memory of another patron, Robert Davies of Llannerch, Flintshire. This is his tribute to that patron's generosity :

Angau a wnaeth ing in oll
O'i gyrchu, a gwaew archoll ;
Dwyn hael, a gadael y gwan
I'w orweddfa i riddfan ;
Bei dug, buasai byd iawn
Ddeg i'w bedd o gybyddiawn ;
A gadael un hael o'n hoes
Yn ddi-ing i fyw ddengoes.
Mae rhain, rif y brain i'n bro
Och anwyr, yn iach heno!
Rhai ar led yn rhoi ar log
Er ennill, wŷr ariannog ;
Cael ceiniog yn llog i'r llall
Pentyrru canpunt arall :
Ac eraill heb seguryd
Crinaf wŷr yn cronni ŷd.
Llorio er ennill arian
Drud werthu, gwasgu'r dyn gwan.
. . . . . .
Och fyned o'i wych faenol
Y gŵr a aeth, gwae ar ei ôl ;
Goreu un gŵr a aned
Rhwydd i gant y rhoddai ged ;
Gwedi hael, ni cheir mael mwy
I dlawd a fo dyladwy.(7)

It was many years later, when he was at Bassaleg (Maesaleg) in Monmouthshire, and still a curate, that he wrote the best known of all his pieces, the famous "*Englynion* to the Court of Ifor Hael," which contain the oft-quoted couplets :

6. A.M.L. 337
7. A.M.L. 312

Y llwybrau gynt lle bu'r gân
Yw lleoedd y ddyllhuan.

and :

Drain ac ysgall mall a'i medd
Mieri lle bu mawredd.

(iii) LACK OF PREFERMENT.

It would have been expected that the most excellent scholar and poet of his time, who had such influential friends, would have received preferment in the Church by the time he was thirty-five at least. But he never did ; he remained a needy and roving curate all his life. It is true that unlike men like William Wynn of Llangynhafal, he was of humble extraction, but poor boys had before now climbed to high positions in the Church. Ieuan and his friends ascribed his lack of advancement to the anti-Welsh prejudice of the English Bishops ("Esgyb Eingl" as he calls them), who filled the Welsh sees throughout the eighteenth century. There is too much truth in this, at any rate with regard to his earlier applications.

But unfortunately there was something else. The Morris Letters make it only too clear that the main reason lay in Ieuan himself. Like his contemporary curate-poet Goronwy Owen, or Roberts Roberts, Y Sgolor Mawr, a century later, he had fallen a victim to the prevailing vice of his century. He had succumbed to drink. Richard Morris later chides him severely and bewails his dissoluteness, as do others of his acquaintances. To be reprimanded for excess in that hard-drinking century indicates that his case was indeed a bad one.

It is quite possible that his disappointment at failing to obtain preferment while at Llanfair Talhaearn led to despair and intemperance. The Letters tell of two occasions when his friends hoped he would have obtained the living of Llanbadarn Fawr, near Aberystwyth. Whether those friends exerted themselves on his behalf is at least doubtful.

In May, 1761, Lewis Morris writes to Edward Richard of Ystrad Meurig : " Pray have you heard anything of our friend E. Evans ? I wonder Llanbadarn is not supplyd (*sic*) with a Vicar before this." (1). There is no hint of help. A month later

1. A.M.L. 277

Richard says in a letter to Ieuan ; "God make you Vicar of Llabadarn Fawr, which the Fat Man of Penybryn (*i.e.*, L.M.) expects to see."(2). Again there is no hint of help. Three years later, while the poet was still at Llanfair Talhaearn, Lewis Morris thus addresses the expectant curate : " Our Williams after all, got Llanrhystyd and Llanstffred, but we know not who got Llanbadarn. A plague on the hearts of these English Bishops, curse them." (3)

4. HIS WANDERINGS—THE END.

It can well be argued that had the Reverend Evan Evans received a benefice like Llanbadarn Fawr when he was at Llanfair Talhaearn, he would have turned out a respected vicar, able to pursue his researches in comfort and ease, and that his besetting weakness would never have conquered him. But he deteriorated after leaving Llanfair Talhaearn. He subsequently held several transitory curacies in the South of England and in Wales, the longest being at Towyn, Merioneth,—from 1772 to 1777. During the Towyn period he was patronised by Sir Watcyn Williams Wynn, and had access to the fine library at Wynnstay. Paul Panton and Thomas Pennant also befriended him. He died at Cynhawdref, his old home, in 1788.

Before leaving this unfortunate genius I cannot omit one episode which is like a gleam of sunshine on a cloudy day. It was soon after he had left Llanfair Talhaearn. He was curate at Newick, near Lewes, in Sussex, which even to-day is a small country village of the utmost tranquillity. Speaking of his position there, he stated he had just been offered a curacy by Dr. Percy. "But," he says, "as I am content with my place here I will not leave."(4) "Thanks to the Almighty, I am now enjoying very good health—I am in a healthy district, with a good-tempered, gentlemanly man. I dine with him every day, but lodge out."(5) And here is a glimpse of a happy holiday, an interval of simple, idyllic, unalloyed pleasure : "A fortnight ago I was bathing in the sea at a place called Seaford, where I

2. A.M.L. 278
3. A.M.L. 331
4. A.M.L. 368
5. A.M.L. 365

had plenty of cockles for fourpence a pound, and a good bed at night and a cosy parlour for the daytime for sixpence." (6) He seems to have been altogether happy at Newick.

Poor Ieuan—in a few months he had forfeited this pleasant post of £40 a year. *Sunt lacrimae rerum.*

All told, he was a brilliant scholar and fine poet. Had he lived to-day he would have been Professor of Celtic and a Doctor of Literature of half a dozen Universities.

Let us leave him, in the words of his contemporary and acquaintance Gray, lines which Ieuan himself must have known well :—

> "No farther seek his merits to disclose,
> Or draw his frailties from their dread abode;
> There they alike in trembling hope repose,
> The bosom of his Father and his God."

IV. IEUAN'S LOCAL LITERARY ASSOCIATES

Associated with Ieuan and the new movement were several humbler literary men who were interested in the awakening and shared in it by publishing and distributing Welsh books containing the works of the poets of the day, like the poems of Ieuan himself, of Goronwy Owen and of William Wynn.

This service was performed by Dafydd Jones of Trefriw and Hugh Jones of Llangwm. Though Trefriw is just in Caernarvonshire and Llangwm is not strictly in this district, yet these two men must be noticed because of their association with Ieuan and the Morrises, their community of interest and activity, and their pioneer publishing work. Independently of one another they both edited—clumsily enough, it is true,—and brought through the press, the chief works of the poets above mentioned. David Jones' book, an anthology called *Blodeugerdd Cymru*, came out in 1759 ; it was followed in 1766 by *Y Cyd-ymaith Diddan* (The Pleasant Companion). Hugh Jones published his *Diddanwch Teuluaidd* (Family Entertainment) in 1763. Great credit is due to the labours of these self-taught countrymen.

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6. A.M.L. 368

1. DAFYDD JONES, TREFRIW, lived from about 1708 to 1785. He was a collector of manuscripts, a publisher, and, as was the fashion with many literary men, a minor poet, and finally a printer. He seems to have got through an astonishing amount of work; the stock of manuscripts he collected is now in the British Museum or in the National Library at Aberystwyth. He was not an isolated bookworm. During Ieuan Brydydd Hir's curacy at Trefriw, and later at Llanfair Talhaearn, he must have had much of the poet's company and help. Then, too, the Additional Morris Letters show that he was in frequent correspondence with Lewis and Richard Morris. The former not only gave him much practical and sensible advice about the publishing of his book (but no money), but also asked for and discussed with him information on antiquarian, geographical and botanical matters. David Jones travelled all over the country obtaining subscribers for his books and afterwards selling them. We can picture him and Hugh Jones perhaps tramping or riding along the quiet roads, or meeting at some fair, or running across each other and the curate-scholar in Llanrwst market. Of his abilities, Ieuan says to Richard Morris: "There is Dewi Fardd of Trefriw who would fill the bill, under your supervision, as well as anyone I know. I name him specially, as he is a truthful, honest man, who has more knowledge of the (Welsh) language than anyone of his rank and calling."(1) Ieuan in the letters also appeals to his friends to help the sale of his protégé's books. That there were limits to his knowledge, which perhaps he did not realize, is bluntly stated to him by Richard Morris: "But do not be offended at my telling you that you are not learned enough to publish a Grammar. Leave that to the clergy."(2)

But perhaps his best-known achievement is his establishment at Trefriw of the first continuous printing press in North Wales. An interesting story is told about its acquisition, which may or may not be true. The usual tale is that it was the press which Lewis Morris had set up in Anglesey in 1735 and discarded and that David Jones bought it and carried it all the way on his back from Holyhead to Trefriw. It is difficult to accept this

1. A.M.L. 325
2. A.M.L. 357

tradition, as Lewis Morris had left Anglesey in 1742, never to return, and he says in a letter to David Jones in 1757: "My printing press is in pieces, lost this many a day, and the letters are scattered all over Anglesey by now, I guarantee."(3) But William Morris, in a letter dated 1760, says that a large screw belonging to it was then in his custody at Holyhead.(4)

Be that as it may, David Jones established his printing press at Trefriw in his old age in 1776. His son Ishmael Jones removed the press and the business to Llanrwst. His grandson, John Jones (Pyll) was an enterprising publisher and skilled craftsman, who made his own new machines and made and cut his own type. "Gwyndodwryf," or the "Venedotian Press," as he called his press, published an extensive variety of books, some of them curious and now extremely rare. Last century it was one of the famous publishing houses of Wales. The business continued in Llanrwst till about twenty-five years ago; the name "Printing Office" still remains over its doors. On its cessation John Jones' hand-made machines and fount of types were acquired by the British Museum.

2. HUGH JONES, LLANGWM (1700(?)–1782).—The other publisher, bard and itinerant bookseller of the same circle is Hugh Jones of Llangwm. He was one of the chief balladists of the 18th century and a leading player in Interludes. The *Bywgraffiadur* states that he worked all his life as a farm labourer; if so, one wonders how he found time to frequent markets and fairs with his ballads, to go up to London to see his books through the press, or to tramp the country to sell them.

To quote the *Bywgraffiadur* (in translation): "He composed over a hundred ballads, which were published during his lifetime. They dealt with religious subjects, like repentance, death and eternity, or attacked miserliness, drunkenness, greed, envy and Sabbath-breaking; there were also songs and political ballads. As literature they are without merit." Many ballads in those days dealt with murders and accidents and supplied the place of our more lurid Sunday papers.

3. A.M.L. 150
4. A.M.L. 222

As one of the early publishers of Denbighshire, he brought out *Caniadau yr Oes* (Songs of To-day) in 1759, which contained the poems of the contemporary poets, together with some of his own pedestrian efforts. In 1763 he published, on similar lines *Y Diddanwch Teuluaidd* (The Family Entertainment). Apparently he did not ask the consent of these various poets. As he naively told Lewis Morris when he asked him to contribute an English preface: "He owns that some things therein contained are published without leave of the authors, but hopes to be forgiven, as he has no intention of harming any man."(1) It may be questioned whether he was as ingenuous as he is here described; the letters contain several references to his cheating his subscribers and ruining his printer.

By the way, one often wonders how much money these amateur country editors and publishers made, especially when one considers the difficulties of publishing modern Welsh books in Wales, where a much larger reading public might be expected now. We are told in one of these letters that Dafydd Jones' profits from his *Blodeugerdd* (1,000 copies) were estimated by Lewis Morris at £63 (say £200 to-day), while the price of a single copy was 2/6 (about 8/- to-day).(2)

There is a thumbnail sketch of Hugh Jones by Lewis Morris in the letter mentioned: "The Editor (i.e. H. Jones) being an Itinerary Bard, in the manner of the Ancients, hath given me leave to tell his Readers, that he pretends to neither Learning nor Languages: he despises them all except his own:—He can hardly be persuaded, that the English or French Nations have anything that may properly be called Poetry."(3) So his culture must have been narrower than that of Dafydd Jones, or of Robert Thomas, the sexton of Llanfair Talhaearn.

But these two pioneer editors and booksellers performed a great service in kindling and sustaining the interest of the populace in their own language, and it is not surprising to find that they were both members of the Cymmrodorion. In 1762,

1. A.M.L. 304
2. A.M.L. 155
3. A.M.L. 304

Hugh Jones was a full member and Dafydd Jones a corresponding member.(4)

3. A DIFFERENT REVIVAL.—These two, and their more famous supporters, must have known of another poet who, during these very same years, was publishing poems of his own composition, and riding about South Wales selling them round the country. His name was William Williams of Pantycelyn, the Sweet Singer of Wales, one of the greatest hymnologists of all time, who might never have existed for them or their learned patrons. He is never mentioned in the letters. As a matter of fact, the Morrises and their correspondents never realised that there was another awakening, another revival, going on about them; there is nothing to show that the writers had the slightest idea that they were living in the midst of the Methodist Revival, and that it was this movement that was to change the face of Wales culturally and politically out of all knowledge. The few references to it in the Letters are casual and slighting. The writers of these letters were contemporary with the first and greatest of Welsh Romantic poets in Williams of Pantycelyn. Little did they think that the hymns of Williams and of Ann Griffiths would be sung or recited by the mother over her baby's cradle, by the farmer and the labourer, by the countryman and townsman, in trains and even in taverns, and by football crowds of 60,000 at Twickenham and Cardiff Arms Park.

4. ROBERT THOMAS, LLANFAIR TALHAEARN (b ?–1774).—Perhaps the most cultivated and the most likeable of Ieuan's associates was Robert Thomas, the sexton of Llanfair Talhaearn, who had five years of his company. The year of his birth is apparently unknown; he died in 1774. The Church Registers at Llanfair Talhaearn from 1740 to 1774 are in his handwriting.

In a letter to Richard Morris from Newick, soon after he had left Llanfair Talhaearn, Ieuan pays his former sexton a high tribute—possibly too high as regards his learning: "The sexton there is an excellent old man: it is rarely that even clergymen of his calibre are found in Wales. He understands Latin, Hebrew,

4. Jenkins & Ramage *History of the Hon. Soc. of Cymmrodorion*, pp. 261, 267

English and Welsh well. He understands the old bards very well. . . . He liked me, despite all my faults. He is a good Christian and very knowledgeable in many ingenious arts."[1]

He then goes on to say that he has recommended the sexton to write to Richard Morris. The sexton did so, and the correspondence which followed well illustrates the learning, intelligence and piety which Ieuan had claimed for him. Robert Thomas writes to Richard Morris thanking him with a kind of yearning sympathy for "news of my old master, God help him! Only a day or two ago I heard from D. Jones of Trefriw that Mr. Evans was somewhere in South Wales, officiating in two churches. It is pitiable that such excellent learning and parts as his should be sunk under such human weakness."[2] And again: "I thank you for letting me know that my old master is still alive. I am sorry for all the troubles that have come upon him. May God lead him till the end."[3]

Robert Thomas, though but a country sexton, was evidently in touch with the main currents of Welsh literature and with the activities of the Cymmrodorion.

To judge from these letters his chief interest, apart from literature, appears to have been the religious instruction of the people in Welsh, through the medium of Welsh Bibles and Welsh Books of Common Prayer. He asks Richard Morris to obtain for him a supply of these two books in Welsh. Zealous churchman that he was, he attacks the neglect of Welsh in the Church services ; his plea for the due recognition of the language might have been written any time within the last thirty years : "Doubtless," he says, "everyone warms more to his mother tongue and harsh is the sound of a tongue which is not understood. Every sincere heart loves the word of God, praise and prayer, in the tongue he understands best." He writes a natural, vigorous Welsh style, refreshingly free from the finicky mannerisms of some of the Morris Letters, especially William Morris'.

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1. A.M.L. 365
2. A.M.L. 383 (Oct. 1768)
3. A.M.L. 386 (Jan. 1769)

5. SION POWEL (JOHN POWELL), LLANSANNAN, AND JOHN PRICHARD.—Robert Thomas' literary interests are shown in this correspondence by a few *cywyddau*, not his own work, which he encloses for Richard Morris. One is by Siôn Powel of Llansannan, and another by a certain John Prichard, called *Y Gwir Fardd* (The True Poet), who is said to have died at 28 somewhere about 1600. Siôn Powel (d. 1767), a weaver and sexton and a rustic poet of Llansannan, is one of the lesser figures mentioned by Prof. G. J. Williams, alluded to at the beginning of this paper. Not much seems to be known about his life; he died in 1767. But he belongs to Ieuan Fardd's circle, and to the Denbighshire tradition.

In the letters mentioned, Robert Thomas sends to Richard Morris a "Cywydd of the Sun," composed by Siôn Powel, which is printed in the Additional Morris Letters. It is short, and though the *cynghanedd* is not always sound, it contains some vigorous descriptive lines. Let one short passage suffice to show what some of these rural poetasters were capable of:—

Duw a'i gŵyr, mwy yw dy gylch,
Na'r eigion a'r tir ogylch;
Creadur mal cawr ydwyd,
Yn dy lwybr ewybr wyd.
Pa raid march dihafarch daith
Yn y byd na cherbyd chwaith
I ddwyn (nag un olwyn all)
Dy derudr i dud arall?
Henaidd wyd, hyn a ddodir,
Huan teg, 'run oed â'n tir,
Nag oerach, man y gyrri,
Na'r dydd a'th wnaeth Dofydd di. (1)

He was good enough for Ieuan Brydydd Hir to write an elegy on his death (1767), and while it is unsafe to take the tributes in most elegies literally in every case, yet this appreciation does not seem insincere. It was written at Newick. Only the first dozen lines bear directly on the dead poet:

Prudd yw wyneb barddoniaeth,
Mae'r gerdd a'r Gymraeg waëth
Marw o Siôn, mawr was hynod
Ap Hywel glân—pwy ail glod?
E aeth i gyd waith y gân
Yn sothach neu us weithian;
A'r gwr a aeth i'r gweryd
A wnai'r gerdd yn aur i gyd;
Ef a lifai fel afon
Ei awen frwd yn ei fron;
A dawn gamp, priod angerdd
Y beirdd gynt a'r beraidd gerdd.(2)

1. A.M.L. 375; 2. A.M.L. 370

In the same letter Robert Thomas also enclosed a long *cywydd* on the Nativity by the unknown John Prichard mentioned above. This is a lengthy ode, the best part of which is the opening lines which describe melodiously the singing of the angelic choir :

Clywn nefawl blygeiniawl gân
Fywiol oslef felyslan ;
Clown, wyr bawb, clown aur bibau,
Clown gwyraidd glod, clown gerdd glau ;
Clown lais gwin, calon lais gwyr,
A chowydd entrych awyr ;
Cantorion gwynion eu gwedd
O Gaersalem gre' sylwedd.
Miwsig per mewn mwynder mawl,
Nifer y ddinas nefawl.(3)

In a later letter, R. Thomas sends a series of moral stanzas, or *englynion*, on "The Week" of his own composition. While impeccable in sentiment, most of them are incorrect in metre, from which it appears that he was a better Christian than a poet. Nevertheless, his letters breathe sound sense and sincerity, and show the connections established by this literary sexton, who had somehow inherited and in his own way propagated the classical tradition.

V. OTHER LOCAL FIGURES

1. SION DAFYDD (JOHN DAVIES), PENTREFOELAS (1675–1769).—A similar but less known figure mentioned by Prof. Williams is Siôn Dafydd of Pentrefoelas, a clogmaker, who was also a literary sexton. He used to read the lessons in Ysbyty Ifan Church and hence was called "Siôn Dafydd Berson" ("The Parson"). The *Bywgraffiadur* states that he used to collect and copy the works of the poets, but that no work by him himself is known. He was versed in grammar and the strict metres (*cynghanedd*). His house was a meeting place for the literary enthusiasts of the district like Hugh Jones, Llangwm, Ellis the Cooper of Llanddoget, David Jones of Trefriw, Jonathan Hughes of Llangollen and Twm o'r Nant. He died in 1769 at the age of 94, and was buried in Ysbyty Ifan churchyard: his tombstone bears two *englynion* (stanzas) by Twm o'r Nant.

3. A.M.L. 375

It is of these men than Prof. G. J. Williams says: "However poor and unlearned they were, they were the heirs of the poetic learning. They were men of the 16th century, who had survived and lost their polish." (1)

2. ELLIS ROBERTS (ELIS Y COWPER) (b?–d. 1789).—Before concluding there is one alluded to above, as an associate of the men just discussed who seems destitute of even what polish they had, but must be mentioned for two reasons. He is the only one among them from Llanrwst itself, or at any rate from Llanddoget close by, and he was immensely popular. He is Ellis Roberts of Llanddoget, who was generally known as Elis y Cowper (Ellis the Cooper). He does not seem to have belonged to the collectors of manuscripts and classical poems, but he practised the more rough-hewn and popular ballads and interludes. Indeed, Llanrwst was long a notable centre of balladists. Some of them survived to within living memory; in fact, I myself, as a schoolboy, saw and heard one of the last of them on Caernarvon Square—*Bardd Crwst*, whose real name was Abel Jones.

Ellis Roberts, who styled himself "Bard and Cooper" was a prolific writer of ballads and interludes, pleasing, though broad and coarse enough in his earlier days, but moral and penitential in his later years. In fact he is said to have overloaded his later pieces with prosaic moralization. The *Bywgraffiadur* states that nine of his interludes survive, and that he was as fertile as Twm o'r Nant himself. He is mentioned several times, but always slightingly, in the Additional Morris Letters.

We get a glimpse of his wide popularity and his lack of polish in a letter from a correspondent from Flintshire in 1757. "I have not seen," says the writer, "an *englyn* (stanza) or anything else worth reading since coming to this unpleasant region; there is nothing here but fulsome praise of Ellisa Cowper; but I cannot bear to hear his name or his dull singing."(2) That is

1. G. J. Williams: Traddodiad Llenyddol Dyffryn Clwyd a'r Cyffiniau, in *Denbighshire Historical Society Transactions*, Vol. 1, p. 29.

2. A.M.L. 421

what the purists thought of him. Perhaps what fame he had has been tarnished for us by the biting series of *englynion* in which Goronwy Owen lampooned him, in which he dubs him a mere hedge-writer (*pastynfardd*) and counsels him to procure string to measure his verse, a saw to cut it into lengths, and a plane to trim it. So there cannot have been much of the traditional classicism about his compositions. For all that, he was famous and entertaining in his day and appealed to a large but unlettered audience.

VI. THEIR CONTRIBUTION

So we leave the brilliant but feckless scholar and poet, Ieuan Brydydd Hir, and the lesser men who were interested in the old tradition of letters, who all flourished round Llanrwst two hundred years ago. Ieuan Fardd's fame is securely established. The lesser figures,—poetasters, publishers and itinerant booksellers—though well below the stature of their learned contemporaries, were yet substantially assisted and advised by them, and they helped to hand on the torch.

It seems no exaggeration to say that the field of their interests is still largely confined to academic circles. The lives and works of humble sextons and travelling booksellers have become subjects of intensive study or of talks like this to Historical Societies. They would be astonished to learn that their labours have become the themes of learned degree theses and that their contribution to Welsh literature yet remains to be fully assessed by erudite Professors from University Chairs.

N.B.—I am indebted to the Additional Morris Letters and to the *Bywgraffiadur Cymreig* (The Welsh Dictionary of Biography) for most of the information contained in this paper. Many extracts have, of course, been translated from the original Welsh. My warmest thanks are due to the Rev. R. T. Evans, Rector of Llanfair Talhaearn, for kindly showing me the Church Registers.

H. PARRY JONES.

Llanrwst.

Y BARDD CLOFF
1768—1828

Er mai "Thomas" a "Thomas Jones" yn gyflawnach a rodded arno ar achlysur ei fedydd, er hynny, fel y deuai yn adnabyddus gofalai pawb ymron gromfachu â'i enw priodol "Y Bardd Cloff." Y rheswm pennaf dros ei adnabod wrth yr enw deublyg hwn ydoedd i osgoi ei gamgymryd â rhywun o'r nifer Tomosiaid y gwybu'r Cymry yn dda amdanynt yn ei gyfnod, megis Thomas Jones, rheithor Creaton—cyfaill Thomas Charles o'r Bala. Hefyd y mathemategwr o'r un enw a fu'n "diwtor" i'r bardd Byron, heblaw Thomas Jones, Dinbych, sydd wedi cadw ei blwy' yn serch y bobl.

Ychydig a wyddom am ddyddiau cynnar y Bardd Cloff, ond y mae yn ein cyrraedd swrn o wybodaeth am ei hynt a'i helynt ymysg Cymry adnabyddus y Brifddinas; yno y treuliodd y rhan helaethaf o'i oes, a hynny ar gyfnod yr edrychai y werin Gymreig ar bigion Cymry Llundain am arweiniad. Dyledus arnom ydyw ei gyfrif yn un o'r "pigion," ac nid ydym fel cenedl hyd eto wedi pwysleisio yn ddigonol ei bwysigrwydd.

Un o feibion enwog Sir Ddinbych ydoedd. Ond pa le yn y sir y ganwyd Thomas Jones sydd gwestiwn astrus iawn. Y mae dau blwy cyfagos yn ymryson am yr anrhydedd o'i hawlio; yn Llangollen ebr rhai, ac yn eu mysg y D.N.B. (1). Felly hefyd a ddywaid William Davies Leathart—"his birth place was Llangollen in Denbighshire" (2) Y mwyafrif o'r bywgraffyddion a ddywaid mai yn Llandysilio y ganwyd ef, felly y Canon Robert Williams yn ei "Eminent Welshmen"; Isaac Foulkes, ac Asaph ac eraill a ddywedant yn gyffelyb. Ebr y *Bywgraffiadur Cymreig*: "ganwyd *y mae'n debyg* yn Llandysilio, Sir Ddinbych." Diddorol ydyw sylwi mai "Thomas Jones of Llangollen, Bard (*sic*) Cloff" a ddyry awduriaid y "Cymmrodor" (3).

Cywreinrwydd a gwanc am wybod y cywir a bair inni hamddenu gyda mater a ymddengys yn syml. Arfer rhai ohonom mewn penbleth o'r fath ydyw trwblo y cyfaill medrus Mr. Evan D. Jones, pennaeth y llawysgrifau yn Aberystwyth, a dyma a ddywaid ef: "Y mae yn ddrwg gennyf na allaf dorri'r ddadl am fan geni'r Bardd Cloff. Petai dim ond un Thomas

1. *Dictionary of National Biography.*
2. *The Origin and Progress of the Gwyneddigion Society*, pp. 73-74.
3. Vol. I., page 106.

Jones wedi ei fedyddio yn 1768, neu o gylch hynny, yn Llantysilio, neu Llangollen, byddai'n haws, ond fel y mae, bedyddiwyd rhyw wyth yn y ddau blwy yn ystod y tair blynedd o gylch 1768," ac aiff ymlaen i fanylu.

Fy marn syml i yw mai yn Llandysilio y ganwyd y Bardd Cloff. Seiliaf hyn ar bwys ei gyfeillgarwch mawr â Gwallter Mechain. Credaf y gwybu Walter Davies fwy amdano na Leathart, ac meddai Gwallter: "Gŵr genedigol o *Landyssilio* yn swydd Dinbych oedd y Bardd Cloff."(1) Credaf mai digon ydyw tystiolaeth cyfaill a ohebai yn gyson â Thomas Jones, heblaw, at hynny, y teip manwl o hynafieithydd a oedd Walter Davies ei hun.

Mae'n amlwg ei fod yn ymhel â barddoniaeth yn bur gynnar ar ei oes; gwybu llanc o'i ysfa ef am y traddodiad barddol a fu ar gerdded yng ngodreuon y Berwyn ymhell cyn ei eni. Nid cloffni ei awen a barodd i neb ei adnabod fel "Y Bardd Cloff." Cyfarfu â damwain pan yn hogyn, a'i chraith arno oedd ei gloffni a arhosodd iddo i'w anfantais hyd ddiwedd ei oes. Ni chafwyd trafferth i roi enw barddol iddo ef, canys gŵr cloff ydoedd. Haws gennym gredu y D.N.B. pan ddywedir mai 15 oed ydoedd (ac nid 12 fel a roir weithiau) pan adawodd ei gartref i wynebu ar Lundain fawr.

Cyflogwyd ef i wasanaethu ffyrm a adwaenwyd gan Gymro a Sais "The Coach and Military Lace Line." Yn Long Acre (Erw Hir) y cerrid y busnes ymlaen. Yno, yn y cyfrifdy y setlodd Thomas Jones i lawr, ac yn yr "Erw Hir" y tariodd am weddill ei oes. Bu'r Bardd Cloff yn ffodus o gael Cymro pybyr yn feistr—Mathew Davies wrth ei enw, gŵr o Sir Aberteifi ydoedd, a gwelwn ei enwi ar restr aelodau'r Cymmrodorion am 1778.(2)

Buan y daeth Thomas Jones yn ffefryn ei feistr a'i gyd weithwyr, oblegid yn 1803 dywedir: "Mr. Davies made him the head manager of his business, and becoming a partner in 1813."(3)

1. *Gwaith Gwallter Mechain*, Cyf. I, t. 179.
2. *Y Cymmrodor*, Vol. L, page 275.—Hon yw'r flwyddyn yr ymaelododd mae'n debyg, gan na welir ei enw yn rhestr Gwilym Llŷn yng "*Ngolud yr Oes*," 1863, am y flwyddyn 1759.
3. *Eminent Welshmen*, Robert Williams.

Stori eitha diddorol ydyw sôn am lwyddiant masnachol rhai o'r Cymry yn y Brifddinas o bryd i bryd, ond nid hynny yn gymaint a bair inni aros encyd gyda'r Bardd Cloff, eithr yn hytrach oherwydd ei gariad at Gymru a'i wasanaeth iddi.

A bwrw i Thomas Jones gyrraedd Llundain yn llanc 15 oed, yr oedd Cymdeithas Gynta'r Cymmrodorion yn prysur ddirwyn i ben (1751–1787), ond bu ar ei thraed yn ei thymor cyntaf yn ddigon hir i osod i lawr sylfaeni'r bywyd Cymreig. Gwyddis, wrth gwrs, ys dywaid Mr. G. John Williams yn un o'i liaws ysgrifau, "Mai Llundain ydoedd unig ganolfan posibl mudiadau Cymreig yn y ddeunawfed ganrif."(1) Brodorion Sir Ddinbych oedd yr aelodau blaengar yn y "mudiadau" hynny, fel y dywaid yr Athro G. J. Williams eto yn yr un ysgrif—"Gwŷr Sir Ddinbych sydd amlycaf ym mywyd Cymreig Llundain o hyn ymlaen (o 1765) hyd ddiwedd y ganrif."

Cofir mai ar steil y Cymmrodorion cyntaf—ac allan ohoni hefyd—y sefydlwyd Cymdeithas y Gwyneddigion yn 1771. Gŵr ifanc un ar hugain oed oedd Thomas Jones pan ddewiswyd ef yn aelod o'r Gwyneddigion. Ebr Leathart yn ei "*Origin and Progress*"—"He was elected in 1789." Mae'n amlwg ei fod yn hysbys i aelodau'r Gwyneddigion cyn iddo ymuno, a'i ragoriaeth fel gŵr ifanc meddylgar wedi ennill eu serch, oblegid dywaid Leathart ymhellach—"Acted as secretary for 1790 and 1791," a mwy na hynny—"passed the chair three times, viz., in 1802, 1806 and 1821."(2)

Gyda llaw, o sôn am 1789 fel blwyddyn yr etholwyd y Bardd Cloff yn aelod o'r Gwyneddigion, cofir mai honno yw blwyddyn Eisteddfod Corwen, a ystyrrir gan *rai* yn flaenffrwyth yr eisteddfod fodern. Thomas Jones (yr exciseman), Colomendy Corwen, a welwn yn big ac yn ben i'r eisteddfod honno. Yn anffodus, gwelir yn aml aml gamgymryd y ddau enw.(3)

Ymwthiodd y Bardd Cloff i fywyd llawn Cymdeithas y Gwyneddigion a daeth yn fuan i'w ystyried yn un o'i cholofnau. Daeth yn awdurdod ar ei hanes o'r dechrau. Eddyf William

1. *Llenor*, Cyf. XVIII, rhif 2, tud. 73.
2. Leathart, op. cit. pp. 73-74.
3. Gwêl "Llythyrau Ynglŷn ag Eisteddfodau'r Gwyneddigion." *Llen Cymru*, Ionor 1950.

Davies Leathart hynny yn ei ragymadrodd i'w lyfr (tud. vi): "*Origin and Progress of the Gwyneddigion Society in London*" (1831), ac meddai: "A list of members with their addresses was prepared (a task that had remained unattended to since the year 1790, when it was done by the late Bardd Cloff, as well as a list of the Presidents, or Llywyddion, from the Society's establishment to the present day." (Tud 72). Ac wrth sôn am ei llywyddion, dywaid Leathart: "One member filled the chair 5 times." Owain Myfyr, ei sylfaenydd oedd hwnnw, "two filled the chair 3 times." Y ddau hynny oedd y Dr. William Owen-Pughe a'r Bardd Cloff. At hynny penodwyd Thomas Jones yn drysorydd y gymdeithas yn 1816 (tud. 100).

Ac efo yn fardd wrth anian a chyffes, naturiol a oedd ei ethol yn Brifardd y Gwyneddigion, a llanwyd y swydd honno ganddo ar bedwar tymor gwahanol—1804, 1809, 1811–1812. Soniwyd amdano yn llywydd am y flwyddyn 1821, honno y flwyddyn olaf iddo eistedd ynddi, ys dywaid rhwng "wir-gu-freichiau" y gadair hyglod. Jiwbili'r Gymdeithas oedd yn y gwynt y flwyddyn bwysig honno, ac meddai'r croniclydd: "The Chairman, Mr. Jones, once more had recourse to the awen."

"Anerch i Gadair y Gymdeithas."

Ti yr hen gadair! hynod wyt heddyw
Mewn tueddawl gyfnod; . . . .
Cofleidiaist, ceraint, modd cu,
Bun ethawl! heb wenieithu,
Ar dro, lawer Cymro cain,
Mwyn, llon-deg, yma'n Llundain:
Llawn bri, yn llenwi heb rus
Dy freichiau difrawychus,
Y bu gwŷr difyr a doeth
Ie'n bonedd yn ben-noeth.
A mwyn iawn y bum innau dair gwaith
Yn dy wir-gu-freichiau;
Ac er yn *gloff*, caru'n glau
A wnaf dy ddyddanaf ddoniau.
Canu a wnaf fwynaf fawl
Iti heddyw, wyt haeddawl.
Ti yw'r hon geidw—o'r hen gadair ddedwydd!
Yn hywaith beunydd ein hiaith heb anair,
Llawen rhy'r awen rywiawg
I'th gyfarch, air hybarch 'rhawg.
Tan dy ber nawdd tyner tau,
Addfedwyd Eisteddfodau.

Diwedd y gân hir o 110 o linellau ydyw a ganlyn:

Eto y troaf atad, Gadair hen
A chwi wŷr addien, am eich arwyddiad
O draserch, gloew-serch in gwlad, mi roddaf
I chwi deilyngaf, gywiraf gariad . . . . .

Doeth sail y Gymdeithas hon,
Rhy nawdd i'r Awenyddion :
Llwyddiannus y bo holl ddynion a unant
Yn gant, neu ddeugant â Gwyneddigion!
A llyna cawn, yn llawn llad,
Hoen gynnydd i'n hen ganiad,
Er rhoddi efo Rhyddiaith
Oes y Byd o hyd i'n Hiaith. (1)

Manteisiodd Thomas Jones droeon ar ei ddawn i brydyddu i gyflawni ei swydd o Gofiadur y Gwyneddigion. Diddorol i'r "gwyddfodolion" oedd gwrando ar gofnodion mewn rhigymau, a phryd arall wedi eu gosod yn daclus mewn englynion—"The books of this time are interspersed with Englynion, the effusions of Thomas Jones, Bardd Cloff. On one occasion (October 1790) he very whimsically informs us that there was nothing particular done, excepting Sion Ceiriog getting up to preach, but forgetting his text, broke down ; . . . . on the night in question they received a *new harp*, of the same size as the old one, and concluding with the following englyn :—

Dywenydd heunydd, heb wad—i ddyn
Sydd dda lle bo cariad ;
Yn dilyn drwy'r adeilad,
Ond hyll y bri lle bo brâd. (2)

Lluniodd awdl i'r Gymdeithas ar achlysur gwledd penblwydd yn 1799. Noson o adloniant oedd honno, ond brithir y gerdd ag acenion hiraeth :—

Iawn lwyddiant inni wledda !
Dyma'r dydd, mae'n dymor da.
Yfwn, na soniwn am sen
Fêdd a gwin a fawdd gynnen,
Borau ethawl y Brython.
Llon yw hwn, llawn o hedd
Di 'gwyl teg—wedd
Ogonedd agwedd Gwyneddigion.
. . . . . .
Sain eos weision Awen,
Deuwch, neseuwch,
Cenwch, cynhyrfwch y nen !
Onid hoff gan Feirdd goffa
Am wyr doeth mewn marwnad da ?
A son am gyfeillion a fu
Yn addas awenyddu ?
Robin Ddu gu' ganu gynt,
Doethaf dad ein cymdeithas, (3)

1. *Origin and Progress*—Leathart, pp. 59-61.
2. *Ibid*, p. 23.
3. Cywirodd ei hun yn nes ymlaen gan ddweud mai Owain Myfyr oedd —"*doethaf dad ein cymdeithas*."

Eang lid angau, a las ;
A'r enwog *Geiriog* arab —*Sion Ceiriog.*
Wr gwiw ddoeth coeth cyweithas,
Yntau fu hynotaf fab.
Diddan eneidiau oeddynt, ond och! nid ynt.
Un bardd sy'n huno'n y bedd,
Wr llonydd er y llynedd,
I'r gweryd symud *Samwel*(1)
Angau wnaeth—ing yw a wnel!
Lle byr—iawn yw llwyder einioes,
Breuddwyd ar fin borauddydd
A dry' darth wrth doriad dydd,
Neu naws y dail einioes dyn,
Brys eheda'n bur sydyn,
Gwireion hyn, gwnawn y gorau o'n hoes."(2)

Yr oedd Thomas Jones yn fardd hysbys yn ei ddydd, a myn Leathart ei restru ymysg y prif feirdd : "He ranked among the best Welsh poets of his days, and many times gained prize medals in different poetical contests." Bu'n cyd-gystadlu ag Eben Fardd yn eisteddfod Powys 1824 ar "Dinystr Jerusalem." Pan ail sefydlwyd y Cymmrodorion yn 1820, Thomas Jones a wahoddwyd i fod yn drysorydd iddi, ac nid hynny yn unig, ond y Bardd Cloff a ddyfarnwyd yn orau am yr awdl i goffau yr achlysur, ac iddo ef y rhoddwyd y fedal aur yr ymrysonai'r beirdd amdani.

Ar achlysur ail benblwydd sefydlu yr *ail* Gymmrodorion, cynhaliwyd eisteddfod o fri mawr, ys dywaid "Monthly Register" yr ail Gymdeithas :—"The second anniversary of the Cymmrodorion was celebrated at the Freemason's Tavern." "*Hu Gadarn*" a roddwyd yn destun i'r beirdd i ganu arno, a dywaid y croniclydd : "The Welsh poem, or cywydd, on 'Hu Gadarn'—adjudged to the Rev. Edward Hughes, Bodvari. There were eight other candidates for this prize, and one of whom, Mr. Thomas Jones (Bardd Cloff), who gained the prize last year, honourably withdrew his composition, between which and that of Mr. Hughes the judges would otherwise have had great difficulty in deciding."(3)

Gellir dyfynnu yn helaeth o'i gynhyrchion barddonol, megis ei "Awdl ar Ddydd Gwyl Dewi Sant" 1802. Mynych y cyfeirir ato yng nghofnodion y Cymdeithasau yn Llundain, gan gynnwys y Cymreigyddion a sefydlwyd yn 1794.

1. Am y tri gwêl *Y Cymmrodor*, Vol. L, pp. 97, 100, 107.
2. *Origin and Progress*—Leathart, pp. 30-31.
3. *Cambro-Briton*, Vol. iii, page 508.—Hefyd cyfeiriad ato tud. 61 & 62 "Edward Hughes" ydyw'r "Dryw," awdur "Elusengarwch " Dinbych 1819. Ond i Ddewi Wyn o Eifion y rhoddes amser y clod am yr awdl orau.

Mewn trem fras fel hon eitha ydyw holi am farn ei gyfnod amdano, a oedd iddo le fel bardd yn syniad ei gyfoedion barddol? Wrth gwrs, ni feddyliai neb ei gymharu â'r beirdd modern, trwsgl ddigon oedd y dechneg a'r arddull yn nyddiau'r Bardd Cloff. Cyfeiriwyd at ei gyfeillgarwch â Walter Davies (Gwallter Mechain). Hwnnw, fel y cofir, yn ŵr a chryn gamp arno fel bardd a hynafiaethydd ym mlynyddoedd y Gwyneddigion. Ymddengys i'r Bardd Cloff anfon cywydd ar "*Foddlondeb*" i Wallter, i edrych drosto. Credaf mai cywydd ateb Walter Davies iddo a rydd inni'r syniad cywiraf am Thomas Jones fel bardd :—

" Cefais, derbyniais bennill,
Adail a sail i bob sill
Gwe o farddonawl gywydd
Dan y rhif, heb edeu'n rhydd ;
Canai y bardd acen ber
Boddlondeb, buddiawl lawnder
Tan flinderawg, groesawg graid,
Mae'n rhinwedd mwyn i'r enaid.
Da yw y gwaith, Duw ai gŵyr
Mewn awr san mae'n wir synwyr.
. . . . . .
Dos, fardd, dewis fwy urddas,
Yn iaith rwydd awen a thras ;
Di wyd eryr dadwyrain,
Hed i'r entrych—cyrch wawl cain.
. . . . . .
Dod alaw yn dy delyn,
Alaw clod, clod y glyn ;
Seilia broest is ael y bryn,
Cân fawl Ynys Cynfelyn ;—
Lle i fardd, heb well i fod
Yn sylfaen ei breswylfod.
. . . . . .
Aed dy gerdd, ddichlyn gerddawr,
O Gynwy i'r Fyrnwy fawr,
I'r Deau gyr dy awen
I lewyrchau Eleirch (1) hen.
. . . . . .
O dy ddawn yn dyddenir
O eiriau had yr *Erw Hir*.
. . . . . .
Hir einioes mewn hoew rinwedd,
A hir barch cyn oriau bedd,
Fo i Domas—haf-dymor
Gwawl a dawn goleuad Ior,
I ganu, emynu mawl
I'r rhieddawg Ior haeddawl.
Gwedi bedd caed wledd ail oes
Anfarwol y nef eirioes."(2)

1. Hen enw afon Rhymni—terfyn Gwent a Morganwg
2. Gwaith Gwallter Mechain, Cyf. I., tt. 179-181.

Cyhoeddwyd casgliad o farddoniaeth y Bardd Cloff yn 1828—gwaith sydd erbyn hyn, gwaetha modd, yn bur brin.

Serch inni bwysleisio pwysigrwydd Thomas Jones fel bardd a Phrifardd droeon yng Nghymdeithas y Gwyneddigion, nid barddoni, cystadlu mewn eisteddfodau a llenwi swyddau ydoedd y cwbl o'i gyfraniad i ddiwylliant ei gyfnod. O byddai cymdeithas a lliw Geltaidd arni yn Llundain ni allasai Thomas Jones ymatal rhag ymddiddori ynddi. Dywaid Leathart: "Dr. W. O. Pugh and Thomas Jones, Bardd Cloff, joined a newly established society, composed chiefly of gentlemen from the Highlands of Scotland, whose idea was the embodying of natives of all kindred countries, and by comparisons and enquiries into their respective dialects, so endeavour to elucidate question which it is a *desideratum* with all should be the case."(1) Thomas Jones yn bennaf y tro hwn a lwyddodd i selio cyfathrach hyfryd rhwng y Gwyneddigion â'r Gymdeithas a adwaenid fel "The Sons of Morven," ac felly hefyd â'r "True Highlanders"—"Cymdeithas y Gwir Uchel Frodorion." Ymunent â'i gilydd am dymor: "The Gwyneddigion proceeded in form accompanied by their harper."

Bu'r Bardd Cloff hefyd yn gyd-gyfrifol âg eraill o'r Gwyneddigion am y gohebiaethau rhyngddynt â'r Gymdeithas Geltig yn Ffrainc. Y gymdeithas honno, maes o law, a gyhoeddai y "*Revue Celtique*" a roddes gyfle i hynafiaethwyr Cymreig megis Silvan Evans a'i debyg i sôn am Gymru a'i defion rhwng ei gloriau.

A beth am y chwarterolyn gloew hwnnw—"*Greal y Gwyneddigion*"? Ebr T. M. Jones: "Cychwynwyd hwn, yn benaf, gan Mr. Owen Jones (Owain Myfyr)."(2) Wrth gwrs, Owain Myfyr oedd llyw y gymdeithas megis yr hyn ydoedd Rhisiart Morris i'r Cymmrodorion cyntaf; eithr cywirach cofio mai'r Bardd Cloff a'r Dr. Owen Pughe a ysgwyddodd y baich pennaf—yn llenyddol—ynglŷn â'r Greal. Dr. Owen Pughe oedd y golygydd. Meddai Leathart eto: "On the Cymreigyddion being consulted, Glan y Gors and others were appointed on their part, and Dr. W. Owen Pugh and Mr. Thomas Jones, Bardd Cloff, on the part of the Gwyneddigion."(3)

1. *Origin and Progress*, page 49.
2. *Llenyddiaeth fy Ngwlad*, tud. 113.
3. *Origin and Progress*, page 44.

Bu "Greal y Gwyneddigion" yn drysorfa o gyfoeth i gylchgronau a ddaeth ar ei ôl, ac yn batrwm i'w ddilyn, yn hynafiaethol, hanesyddol, a mwy.[1] Y dydd hwyaf o Fehefin 1805 y daeth allan gyntaf, ond byr a fu ei oes ef; erys ei naw chwarter yn dystion i anturiaeth y tri gŵr a enwyd, a'r "Bardd Cloff" yn un ohonynt. Gofod a ballai imi fanylu ar ei ragoriaethau fel bardd, llenor a Chymro mawr. Dywaid William Davies Leathart, llyfrgellydd y Gwyneddigion, ei fod yn fonedd-wr hynaws a hael—"his disposition was most benevolent, an agreeable companion." Er gadael bro ei eni yn bymtheg oed nid ymwelodd â'r erw honno ond un waith yn ystod ei drigias yn Llundain—od iawn onide. Daeth ei daith i ben yn yr "Erw Hir" yn y flwyddyn 1828. "He lies buried in the new burial ground of St. Martin in the Fields,"[2]

DANIEL WILLIAMS

1. Gwêl "Ceinion y Greal." *Cambro-Briton*, Vol. ii. 358 483.
2. *Origin and Progress*, pp. 73-74.

THE SOCIETY OF ROYAL BRITISH BOWMEN (1787)

The introduction of firearms—albeit at first of a primitive and inefficient kind—resulted in the decline of the longbow as a major weapon of war. The process was gradual, and even as late as Elizabeth's reign the English armies in the field contained a proportion of archers.(1) Down to the end of the sixteenth century text books were being produced on the subject: one of the most famous being the *Toxophilus* of Roger Ascham, tutor of the young Princess Elizabeth, and author of the better known *Schoolmaster*. In this book there is a wealth of technical lore, but this is prefaced with an advertisement of the advantages, social and moral, of a revival of the ancient skill for purposes of recreation:

> ". . . howe fit shootinge is for all kindes of men; howe honest a pastime for the minde; howe holsome an exercise for the bodye; not vile for great men to use, not costly for poor men to sustayne, not lurking in holes and corners for ill men at their pleasure to misuse it, but abydinge in the open sighte and face of the worlde, for good men, if it fault, by theyr wysedome to correct it . . ."(2)

Classless, potentially, it may have been, but the longbow had no aristocratic traditions. It had been the weapon of the lower orders: now that it had declined to the status of a piece of sports equipment, it was not much handled by the gentry until the later 18th century. Then, under the patronage of the Prince of Wales (the future George IV), a number of genteel archery societies sprang into being. It was only to be expected in an age when the "Gothick" was just coming into its own that these exclusive societies should adopt romantic names: two examples are the "Woodmen of Arden," and "John of Gaunt's Bowmen," both founded in 1785. East Denbighshire had a society of its own: The Royal British Bowmen, founded two years later, which enjoyed the patronage of the Prince of Wales, and later that of King William IV. The advent of royal favour was celebrated by the President and members by the publication of a new edition of the *Toxophilus*, printed at Wrexham by R. Marsh (1788), and edited with an introduction by

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1. Cruikshank, *Elizabeth's Army* (Oxford, 1946), especially, pp. 60-61.
2. Wrexham edition, described below. Author's introduction, p. xiv.

the Rev. John Walters, M.A., Master of Ruthin Grammar School, and formerly fellow of Jesus College, Oxford. The old manual was now intended for the use of ladies as well as their husbands and brothers, and this transported the editor to the heights of eloquence :

> "The bow, in the hands of the British fair, presents a new era in archery : without losing anything of its effect, it has released much of its stubbornness : to its ancient honours it has added novel and unexpected graces . . . . and, no longer exercised to wound and to destroy, bends to assimilate with the arts of peace, and forms a new link in the chain of society." (3)

A good deal of information about this society can be found in a letter written during the reign of William IV by Sir Foster Cunliffe of Acton Park, near Wrexham, to Philip Davies Cooke, Esq., of Owston, near Doncaster, and Gwysaney, near Mold. (4) The latter had written asking for information about the society's organisation in the hope that this would assist him in the setting up of a similar society in Yorkshire. Mr. Cooke was doubly interested, for his father, the dashing Colonel Bryan Cooke, had been one of the Wrexham society's most enthusiastic supporters. (5)

Sir Foster's reply to Mr. Cooke's queries is given below. The document throws some interesting light on changes in manners during the later Georgian era, when the original austerity of the society had been put somewhat out of countenance by a riper indulgence. Some of the writer's comments, particularly where the ladies are concerned, display a wry sense of humour.

The illustration is taken from a print (6) depicting a meeting

3. *Ibid*, editor's introduction, p. vii.
4. Gwysaney MS. B. 1145. Part of a valuable collection of family papers deposited at University College, Bangor, by Col. P. R. Davies—Cooke, T.D., D.L., of Gwysaney, Flintshire, by whose kind permission the letter is here printed.
5. Col. Bryan Cooke, of Owston, near Doncaster, married the beautiful Frances Puleston, heiress to the Davies family and also of the Pulestons of Hafod-y-Wern, near Wrexham. For evidence of his patronage of the Society, see below, p 87.
6. Kindly lent by Messrs. John Player & Son, Castle Tobacco Factory, Nottingham. The print formed part of a recent advertisement by the firm.



of the society in the grounds of Erthig, Wrexham, in September 1822. Many of the details mentioned in Sir Foster's letter are here to be seen. In the background are the great house and its woods. Under the still clouds of an Indian summer, the British Bowmen draw their bows, or retrieve their shafts: most are dutifully clad in green, their tall hats surmounted with high plumes of the same colour: miraculously they succeed in retaining these even when bending low to pick up their arrows. Small children sit or stand demurely by, in less danger, it appears, than their elders, who converse nonchalantly, with their backs to the line of fire. Comparatively few of the "British fair" are shooting: most are seated gracefully on benches, or take a turn in the grounds. But in the centre sits the Lady President, holding a bow and wearing the "handsome hat, ornamented with feathers" with which the society, in accordance with its rules, was bound to present her.

GWILYM USHER

A large party having met at Norton Priory(7)—when Sir R. Brooke had erected Butts according to the Lancashire method, and collected a large assortment of Bows and Arrows, etc., etc., archery became the employment of both Ladies and Gentlemen—when we returned home we were so delighted with the amusement that we immediately communicated with our neighbours and proposed the establishment of an Archery Society, to be confined to the families in the neighbourhood of Wrexham. A meeting was accordingly held at Acton on February 27th, 1787. The Ladies having intimated their wish to become *members* of the society (for according to the first plan they were to be considered as *guests*), at once gave importance to it. The original title of British Bowmen was still retained—as taken in a comprehensive sence (*sic*) applicable to both. The following rules were then resolved upon.

1. That a society of Archers be established, to be called The Society of British Bowmen.
2. That the first meeting in every year be held on 1st Friday in May, and continued every fortnight during the summer.
3. That all members who have a proper situation on their own grounds, do erect Butts, and that the meetings be held in rotation at the houses of those members who have erected them.
4. That a tent be provided at the expense of the society, and that the member who holds the next meeting remove it to his own house at his own expense.
5. That the dinner be provided in the tent, to consist only of cold meats and hot vegetables: wines confined to Port and common white wine.
6. That each Gentleman pay one guinea admittance and one guinea annually.

7. Sir Richard Brooke, 5th baronet, of Norton Priory, Cheshire, married 1780, Mary, 2nd daughter of Sir Robert Cunliffe, Bt., of Acton Park. The 6th baronet married his cousin, daughter of Sir Foster Cunliffe, writer of this letter.

7. That eight members form a committee competent to do business : that all questions be determined by a majority of voices ; the casting voice to be in the President, or in his absence, in the host of the day.
8. That any member wishing to make new resolutions do give notice thereof the meeting before they are voted.
9. That every Candidate be proposed by a member, and seconded, and ballotted for at the next meeting : 2 black-balls excluding—and that an unsuccessful Candidate be not proposed twice in the same year.
10. That members be allowed to bring their friends who are *bona fide* resident in their houses, giving notice thereof to the person holding the meeting.
11. That when it may not be convenient for a member to hold a meeting on the day which falls to him by rotation, he may be allowed to change it with any other member, giving public notice thereof.
12. That no member residing beyond 80 Bowshots[8] from the Town of Wrexham be expected to hold a meeting at their (*sic*) own houses.
13. That the Society be limited to 110 members.

LADIES

As several Ladies have honoured the British Bowmen by desiring to become members :

14. *Resolved* : That they have the right of voting and ballotting—and that they be free of all expence except the fines. Those Ladies who are not original members be ballotted for by the same rules as the Gentlemen—and appear in uniform under penalty of one guinea.
15. That the number of names now offered being 37 Ladies and 37 Gentlemen—they are to be now registered as original members, and in future no names to be enrolled without a ballot. Afterwards children of members holding meetings admitted.

Many other rules were made at this meeting respecting Shooting at Butts : games at 32 yards—and at Targets : for Ladies, at not less than 60 yards, for Gentlemen at not less than 90 yards.

A Tent was provided according to order : circular : now in existence. 27½ diameter ; walls 6 feet high : Door 7 feet high : 4½ feet wide : with circular Tables and Benches—original cost £36. It holds very comfortably 70 ; it has since been altered to hold more.

At the second meeting, May 14th, 1787, an official notice arrived to the President that his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales had been graciously pleased, unsolicitated (*sic*) to take the Society under his patronage and protection, and that it should assume the title of Royal—and further that he should annually give 2 prizes to be shot for by the Ladies and Gentlemen at their respective Target distances.

16. Sir Ashton Lever[9] was voted an Honorary member, as the reviver of Archery.
17. Resolved that in future no person should become Honorary, except those original members, who residing at a distance could not conveniently attend meetings.

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8. But see below, p. 90

9. Of Alkrington Hall, Lancs. High Sheriff of Lancs., 1771. A famous eccentric, he had a passion for archery and horsemanship, and collected a museum of curiosities, valued at £50,000, which was disposed of by public lottery in 1788. (D.N.B.)

18. Medals were provided by the Society emblematical of Archery, called Captain and Lieutenant Medals for Ladies and Gentlemen—to be won by the first and second best shots—that is, nearest the Center (*sic*). Also, other medals, called the medals of merit, to be won by the greatest number of shots in the Target.
19. The dinner was ordered to be on the table at 3 o'clock—and in order to insure sobriety, the tent to be cleared for tea, exactly at six.
20. That the children of members who hold meetings be admitted without ballot, as Extra members, as soon as their Parents shall approve, paying their entrance and subscription.
21. That no servants be permitted to stay at any meeting except they have tickets given them by the Host of the day.
22. That Table linen be provided for the use of the Tent, and afterwards knives, forks, spoons, plates and dishes, and glass, as well as Bosses for shooting at, and a large caravan was built at the expence of the society to convey all articles necessary.
23. That no gratuity on any pretence whatever given to the Serjeants who attend the Tent, as they are amply remunerated by the Society.
24. That subscriptions be paid in advance.
25. That the Lady who wins the first gold medal at the first meeting, that is, who has the shot nearest the center, shall be the Lady Patroness of the year, and that the Society present her with a handsome hat, ornamented with feathers.

    The office of Lady Paramount, named by the President of the year, was to settle the uniform of the Ladies, and to order fines in case of any deviation therefrom.

(*Remark.* 45th meeting at Bryn y ffynon (*sic*),[10] June 10th, 1791, held by Bryan Cooke, Esq.—he presented the Society with a small Tent, to be used with the large one, that tent being frequently too small to accomodate the society and their friends. If I had not found this remark, I should have said that the old tent always held as many as was required—that is, from 30 to 80.)

The account I have here written is taken from a book containing the transactions of the first Bow-meeting, established in 1787, and ending in 1794—when on account of the War, most of the Gentlemen were obliged to give up the Bow for the Musket. It revived for a short time during the peace in 1802 and 3, and again in 1818 which is the present one. As you are probably in possession of the printed books belonging to the present Bow-meeting, I will not trouble you with any of our new regulations, especially as you desire only an acct. of the origin.

You will observe that economy was particularly attended to, and the consequence was that we had regularly 12 meetings attended every summer, and no one ever refused to hold one in his turn, whereas at present, I am sorry to say, that the old rules are disregarded, and except in one or two places, the principal object appears to be to collect as great a number of guests as possible, which has of course increased the expence. A remark was made to me a few days ago, upon hearing that so many members had declined holding meetings this year: "It is too extensive and too expensive." Sumptuary laws are made, but not observed, and tho' every one is delighted to go to a meeting, when it comes to their turn to give one, they hang back,—

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10. It seems unlikely that Brynyffynnon is meant. (See Palmer, *Town of Wrexham* (1893,p.58ff) for the ownership of this house.) Can it be that the meeting was held at Hafod-y-Wern? Colonel Cooke had a house in the town of Wrexham itself: Gwysaney MS., B. 729.

and therefore, between ourselves, I prognosticate their being given up upon the present plan, and, I think, to be revived upon a smaller scale, something like the old ones—confined to a few families in the neighbourhood. But, of course, this must not be mentioned.

If you want Bows and Arrows—the best Artists in that line live in Lancashire: 1st, Pickering, Bowmaker, Manchester; 2nd, Ainsworth, Walton le Dale, Preston: both most excellent, much better and cheaper than Waring in London. The Bowmakers we had at Wrexham are gone.

In looking over the first part of this paper I forgot to mention that the President orders the Gentlemen's uniform and the members forfeit a guinea if they neglect to wear it, or alter it. And that the Prince of Wales continued his prizes, after he became King, and his present Majesty the same.

It added greatly to the gaiety of the early meetings that many ladies not only sung (*sic*) but composed songs, and as they were surrounded only by their intimate friends, had no hesitation in singing when asked, whereas now, those who can sing say they could almost as soon perform in public. Even many of our Gentlemen feel the same reluctance. The expence of one of the old meetings was usually calculated at about £15: more wine was drank (*sic*) then than now, as I guess from a verse in one of the songs:

"At ——— the other day,
The clouds were in a passion,
His art no archer cd. display,
So *Grape-shot* came in fashion."

and every effort was made to discourage this *grape-shot* fashion. What the expense of a meeting in the present day is difficult to say, as every method is tried to evade the sumptuary laws, for instance, a law is made that no forced fruit shall be allowed at table so the lunchion (*sic*) tent is loaded with every delicacy, and every kind of the most expensive fruit. I mention all these matters as they come into my head—so you are not to expect any regularity in my observations.

Having written so far, I have looked over your letter again, to observe if I have omitted any information I can give you. The 1st establishment is mentioned, and the expense of tents, crockery and glass cost about £30, but there is an annual expense for breakages. The original distance was limited to 80 bow-shots—*supposed* 10 *miles*—but by Bow-shots was intended a little discretionary limitation. The original admission of £1 1s. 0d. and the annual £1 1s. 0d. from the Men was sufficient for all expenses, after the 1st year. But as upon its last renewal, the Society gave prizes, which was not done in old times, the subscription is now raised to double, and this is quite sufficient, leaving always a surplus in the Bankers' hands. The tents are under the care of 2 Men called Serjeants, who attend likewise as waiters: their pay 3/- a day each, for every day employed, which is generally 6 days. Of course they are found with board and lodging while in attendance.

I conclude it is your wish to form a society of the two sexes—nothing else will do—and if possible, get them to shoot together—this may be done in an infant society—in case the Ladies shoot so much better than the Gentlemen, at their own distance, that the latter cannot compete with them, and decline from downright shame. In some places, they have tried to engraft other amusements upon the noble science of Archery, such as Cricket, or Chess, but it did not answer, only spoiled both.

So, wishing you all possible success, I shall be happy to give every further information in my power.

Yours,

F.C.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

(The following contribution has been taken from the papers of the late Mr. Emlyn Rogers.)

Articles for regulating and reducing the Expenses attending the Office of Sheriffs of the Counties of Flint, Denbigh and Montgomery, Agreed to the Seventeenth Day of March, 1747.

1st. That the Sheriffs of the said several counties shall not for the future keep any House or Table during the Assizes or be at any Expence in Entertaining or treating the Gentlemen of the Grand Jury, the Council or any other Gentlemen at the Assizes. Nor shall the Sheriff of any of the above Counties make any present to the Judges or give any Gratuities to their Officers or Servants during the time of their Shreevalty the same being against the Statutes of the 13th and 14th of Car 2nd. And whereas it has been unusual till of late years for the Sheriffs to provide any coach to attend the Judges at an Assizes, and the same is oftentimes of great inconveniency to Sheriffs, especially to such Gentlemen who have none of their own. It is therefore hereby agreed, that for the future no Sheriff shall bring his own or find any Coach to attend at the Assizes for any of the Counties above mentioned.

2ly. That the Sheriffs hereafter shall be at no other Expence for the cloathing, Entertainment, Maintainance or Wages of the Javelin-men or Trumpeters, save as herein is after mentioned.

3ly. That the Javelin-men shall each of them be Furnished with a surtout decently trimmed a Hat and Javelin, and Trumpet Banners shall be Provided upon one side of which shall be Painted the Arms of the Principality and on the other such Device as shall be thought convenient.

4thly. That the Coats Hats Javelins and Banners shall be from time to time renew'd as there shall be occasion out of the Interest Money arising from the Fund herein after mentioned and shall be lodged in the hands of an Agent to be appointed as herein after mentioned who shall take care of the same from one Circuit to another.

5thly. That the Agent shall find Twelve persons to be Javelin-men who shall all provide their own Horses and be handsomely mounted to meet and attend the Judges and Sheriffs as usuall in the severall Counties aforesaid. And they shall have such allowances for the same as the Agent shall with the Consent of the Committee for the time being, contract or agree for at Each Assizes. And these allowances shall be paid at Each Assizes by the Sheriffs for the time being into the hands of the Agent, who shall pay over the same to the Javelin-men, which Expence is to be eased when the Fund will allow of it without impairing the Capital. That two Trumpeters shall be appointed by the Committee hereinafter mentioned, and shall receive for their trouble in Each County Five Pounds six Shillings and Eight pence to be divided between them, which sum shall be paid out of the Yearly Produce of the said Fund.

6thly. That the Agent shall from time to time be appointed by a majority of the Committee and be removeable at their Pleasure. And shall receive for his trouble the Annual Sum of Six Guineas to be paid out of the Produce of the Fund. To which office for the Present Daniel Payne of Wrexham is hereby appointed.

7thly. That in order to raise a Fund for the several purposes intended by these articles It is agreed that every Person who is not already a subscriber and who shall become a Subscriber hereto before the Second Day of August next shall at the time of Subscribing, Pay down the sum of Five Guineas into the Hands of Ellis Yonge Esq. (who is appointed Treasurer) or into the

hands of one of the Gentlemen of the Committee hereby appointed who shall pay over the Same to the Treasurer, which Subscription shall be added to those already paid in, and shall altogether be called the Sheriffs Stock ; and that no Person hereafter shall be admitted a Subscriber but by and with the consent of at least nine of the Committee for the time being nor shall be entitled to the Benefit of this Subscription but upon such Terms and under such Circumstances as are herein Expressed.

8thly. That Infants and such as are now in any respect unqualified to serve the office of Sheriff of any of the said Counties shall with the Consent of the Committee be admitted Subscribers thereto on Payment of Five Guineas into the Hands of the Treasurer for the time being within Six Calendar Months after they shall have arrived of full age or shall become qualified to serve the said office so as the same be not done during any vacancy in the said office and provided such Subscription and Payment be made between the Twelfth Day of February and the Last Day of October and at no other time of the year.

9thly. That that any Person who omits to become a Subscriber hereto before the Second Day of August next or within Six Months after he becomes of Age, or is qualified to serve the said office of Sheriff, shall with the approbation of the Committee be any time afterwards betwixt the Twelfth Day of February and last Day of October in any year (Except when the office of Sheriff is vacant by Death) be admitted a subscriber hereunto on Payment of Twenty Guineas into the hands of the Treasurer for the time being to be added to the Sheriffs Stock and not otherwise.

10thly. That no person whatsoever shall after the Second Day of August next be admitted a subscriber hereunto after he shall be Pricked or named Sheriff of any of the said Counties until his Shrievalty shall be determined unless he pays down Forty Pounds into the Hands of the Treasurer for the time being to increase the Sheriffs Stock. And to avoid Inconveniences that may arise on this Head by private Intelligence or a previous Knowledge who shall be appointed Sheriff. It is expressly agreed that no Person shall at any time after the Second Day of August next be admitted a Subscriber hereunto between the last Day in October and Twelfth Day of February in any year (in which time Sheriffs are usually appointed) unless he pays down Forty Pounds into the Hands of the Treasurer for the time being to Increase the Sheriffs Stock. And whenever a Sheriff Dies in his office or the office becomes otherwise Vacant, no Person whatsoever shall be admitted a Subscriber between the time of his death and the appointment of his successor unless such Person pays down Forty Pounds into the Hands of the Treasurer to increase the Sheriffs Stock. And it is hereby expressly agreed that this tenth Article shall in every part thereof be inviolably observed as long as this subscription subsists ; and shall not on any Sollicitation, Account or Consideration whatsoever be violated, infringed, varied, or altered in otherwise. And the subscribers hereto expressly promise, declare and agree that they will not on any account whatsoever agree, sollicit, or apply to have the same altered, varied or in any wise departed from . . .

11thly. That the said Coats, Hats, Javelins and Banners or any of them shall not be used by or for any Sheriff who shall not be a Subscriber hereto.

12thly. That no Subscriber hereto shall at any time hereafter make, fit, or furnish out any Javelin or Livery Man for any Sheriff that shall not be a Subscriber, or be at any Expence whatever on that account.

13thly. That two Books shall be provided in each of which shall be fairly entered these Articles and the Names of the Several Subscribers with the amount of the Several Subscriptions, and the Securities taken for the same, together with the Application of the Interest or Produce thereof, and wherein

all accounts relating to this Subscription shall from time to time be carefully entered and kept. One of which Books shall be deposited with the Treasurer and the other with the Agent for the time being, And every Subscriber shall at all times be at Liberty to Inspect the said Books, and take such Copies or Extracts therefrom as he shall think convenient.

14thly. That the Treasurer shall be removeable by the Committee who shall be impowered from time to time to nominate a new one as often as they shall see convenient. And that all the money raised by this Subscription shall be paid to the Treasurer who shall take care to dispose thereof and lay out the same at Interest, in the manner herein after directed, and shall keep a Regular Account of all money paid in and how the same has been laid out and applied, and of all Receipts and Disbursements relating to this subscription, wherein he is to be assisted by the Agent, and shall have the Custody of all securities for Money Papers and accounts relating thereto.

15thly. That whenever a Treasurer Dies or is removed or changed he or his Executors or Administrators as the case happens shall on Request, Pay, and deliver over to the New Treasurer or to such Person or Persons as shall be appointed by a Majority of the Committee for the time being, All such Moneys and Securities for Money Books, Papers and accounts as shall be in his custody or Power relating to this Subscription.

16thly. That a majority of the Committee for the time being may direct all or any part of the Stock, to be put out to Interest, the Security or Securities to be taken in the names of Three Subscribers (To Witt) Sr. Robt. Grosvenor, Sr. Jno. Glynn and Edward Kynnastin, Esqr., and lodged with the Treasurer for the time being. And in Case of the Death of any of the Said Trustees the Committee are to name such others of the Subscribers as they shall think fit in the Room of the Person so dying.

17thly. That five Subscribers of each County are hereby impowered to be of a Committee to admit of Subscribers and to assist advise and give Directions to the Treasurer and Agent for the time being. And to do such other acts as are hereby referred to the Committee, which Committee shall from time to time be appointed by a majority of the Subscribers at any General Meeting and shall all or any of them be removeable at Pleasure at such General Meeting, of which meeting Publick Notice shall be previously given in the Chester Courant, and that the Committee for the said Several Counties shall be as follows.

Flintshire Committee.
Sr. Thomas Mostyn Bart.
Sr. John Glynn Bart.
William Hanmer of Isgoed Esqr.
Thomas Eyton of Leeswood Esqr.
Bagot Read of Flint Esqr.

Denbighshire Committee.
Ellis Yonge of Acton Esqr.
Robert Pryce of Bathaven Esqr.
Pierce Wynn of Dyfrinalet Esqr.
Robert Wynn of Plasnewydd Esqr.
John Mostyn of Segroit Esqr.

Montgomeryshire Committee.
Sr. Watkin Williams Wynn Bart.
William Mostyn of Bryngwyn Esqr.
George Devereux of Kefngwernfor Esqr.
John Pryce of Corfronnydd Esqr.
Pryce Jones of Glanhafren Esqr.

18thly. And it is hereby declared that no Committee shall be held unless five or more of the Persons appointed to be of the Committee shall

meet at a time and place for that purpose to be appointed by a Publick Notice to be inserted in the said Courant. And it is also declared that if any five or more of the Persons appointed for the said Committee shall attend at any such meeting any act done by them or the majority of them who shall be then present shall be esteemed the Act of the whole Committee and be as effectual as if all the members of the said Committee were then present: except only in the Case of admitting any new Subscriber which is not to be done without the Consent of Nine at least of the said Committee.

19thly. And Lastly. It is declared and agreed that it shall and may be lawfull to and for the Committee by writing under their Hands from time to time to make any additions to or alterations in these Articles or any of them or to make any new orders or Regulations touching the matters aforesaid. And all additions or alterations new Orders or Regulations to be made from time to time as aforesaid shall be entered in the said Books to be kept as aforesaid, and shall be submitted to, and observed as fully to all Intents and purposes as if the same had been originally inserted therein: Provided always and it is hereby declared, That neither a majority of the Subscribers nor any Committee appointed by them shall have Power to repeal, alter, or vary, the tenth article herein contain'd, or any part thereof.

The following Gentlemen are Subscribers to the Articles . . . .
(137 names)

(*Note*.—The above appears to be taken from a MS. copy. In the printed copy N.L.W. 106/134, the articles are numbered in Roman figures, and there are other minor differences. There is no MS. copy in the bundle N.L.W. 106/131-41.)

Nuneaton Church—visited 9th March, 1946

Tablet on wall of south aisle, near Chapel :

"Sacred to the memory of the Rev[d] Hugh Hughes, of Tynymynydd in the County of Denbigh, Rector of Hardwick, Northamptonshire, Vicar of Wolmey, Warwickshire, thirty years Head Master of the Grammar School, and fifty-two years Curate of the Parish of Nuneaton, Having Discharged the Duties of his Sacred Office During that Long Period with Diligence and Integrity He departed this life Aug[st] 3rd, 1830, in the 76th year of his age.

Also to the memory of Sarah, his Wife, Who during 46 years was the faithful partner of his lot and whose character was distinguished by a rare union of moral virtues and of Christian grace. She was the only daughter of Mr. Joseph Warden of this town, where she died May 16, 1830.

Below :

Near to the remains of their excellent parents rest those of Thomas Smart Hughes, who died in his infancy, and of Edward Hughes, I.L.B., Rector of Hartwell, who died December 11, 1831, aged 38 years."

Late Rev. Henry Isham Longden's *Northamptonshire and Rutland Clergy from* 1500," Vol. 7 (1940), p. 143. Hughes, Edward—LL.B., R. of Hardwick, Northants (and patron), 10 Nov. 1830, on death of Hugh Hughes, on his own petition, d. 1832.

Hughes, Hugh—b. at Caen-y-druideon, ca. Denbigh, Jesus Coll., Oxf. B.A. deac. B. March 1725-6, aged 23, on the title of Scholar (Pet.).
Hughes, Hugh,—R. of Hardwick, 5 Sept. 1805 (himself patron).
p. 147. Hughes, Thomas Smart,—B.D. Canon of Pet. (6th stall), 26 Feb. 1827. R. of Hardwick 11 April, 1832, on pres. of Louisa Hughes and Sarah Jane Hughes, spinsters.

Budbrooke, near Warwick—visited 10th March. 1946

Grave in churchyard, south of south transept :—

Near this place lie the remains of
JOHN EDWARDS

a native of Denbighshire, who long conducted the concerns of an extensive business at Warwick, and as the fruits of his successful industry purchased the estate and built the villa of Stankhill,

where he resided nineteen years, sustaining an estimable character enjoyed by the possession of wealth. He died at Leamington in the 78 year of his age, October 5th, 1835.

To preserve from oblivion a name worthy of respectful remembrance these lines are inscribed by Hannah, his grateful widow, January 1st, 1845.

Same grave :—

In loving memory of

Eleanor Amy Eyton Luana Eaden,

wife of Edward Eaden, of Yardley, Worcestershire,

born 8th June, 1846, died 28 March, 1901.

Also of

Edward Allen Eaden,

their eldest son, born 17th March, 1871, died at

Bulawayo, South Africa, 8th July, 1896.

(You pass Budbrooke by G.W.R. from Birmingham to London just before Warwick, close to railway).

J. B. WILLANS.

EDITORIAL NOTES

Since our last issue the Society has suffered three grievous losses by the death of members who have been intimately associated with it from its foundation. Mr. Robert Richards was our first President. The history of Wales, and of Denbighshire in particular, was always a special interest of his, and it is a matter for congratulation that we were able to print in the first number of these *Transactions* the inaugural lecture on the Cistercians in Denbighshire which marked the inception of his presidency and the beginning of the active life of the Society. Many of his friends have regretted that he felt impelled to abandon academic life, which was his natural bent, for the world of politics. I have very vivid recollections of the walks we had together when I was his junior colleague as extra-mural tutor under Bangor in the Wrexham area in 1919—a post to which he had just inveigled me—to my eternal gratitude—from the murky recesses of a government office in London where we had also been colleagues. It was then he told me of his invitation to stand for Parliament, and his reasons for accepting the invitation. I thought, and still think, that he was mistaken, but I was never in doubt about the sense of duty and public spirit that led him to judge differently. I also call to mind that first election campaign of his, with meetings far more like those of an extra-mural class, ending with a volley of questions which had more to do with books than with party politics ! And I am told that in latter years he was far more often to be seen in the House of Commons library than under the eye of the party whips.

We can be thankful that he found time to complete his *Cymru'r Oesau Canol*, which has given joy and enlightenment to many readers ; some day I hope to see published the able memorandum on "German Social Democracy during the War," which was his principal task at the Ministry of Labour, and of which I am proud to possess a copy he gave me there. A memoir by his friend the Rev. Tegla Davies will be found on another page.

Mr. Hugh Ellis Hughes, who died early this year at the ripe age of 78, was in a very real sense the father of our Society. He was one of a type that Wales has reason to be proud to find so often among what our American friends would call her "educators"—the country schoolmaster who knows and

loves the history of his own village and district, makes that love and knowledge the basis of his teaching, and enlists the help of his pupils to advance it. A map which he himself produced to show the homes of eminent Denbighshire men who have played a part in history and literature became so widely known and valued that the county education authority had it printed and circulated to schools; then other teachers wanted to increase the usefulness of the map by access to the store of biographical information with which Mr. Hughes was known to enrich his teaching, and this too he generously placed at the disposal of the local authority, with the result that a small editorial committee was set up and, under the final editorship of Mr. Hughes the admirable little volume *Eminent Men of Denbighshire* was printed and published for the use of schools. The committee in turn became the nucleus of a standing Local History Committee of the L.E.A. out of which this Society sprang. But the existence of the Historical Society does not, nor ever will, dispense with the need for teachers of the type of Hugh Ellis Hughes.

A very active member of the committee referred to above was the late Mr. Emlyn Rogers. A coal miner after he left school, Mr. Rogers met with an accident which resulted in long confinement to bed. He read assiduously, and prepared himself for matriculation in the University of Wales, where he won Honours in the newly-founded school of Civic Studies—an extremely exacting compound of History, Philosophy and Economics. I had the pleasure of supervising his postgraduate research on the history of trade unionism in the North Wales coal field, which brought to light a great mass of valuable information. Extreme conscientiousness in verifying details of the work and filling gaps, and also (as I can testify from personal knowledge as Director) in the carrying out of his duties as an extra-mural tutor, postponed the appearance of any of this work in print, but it is gratifying that before his death (at the early age of 61) he had published some few sections of it in *Lleufer* and in the *Transactions* of the Flintshire Historical Society.

He has left extensive material, which it is hoped may some day be put into shape for publication, not only in this field of

his earlier interests, but on the history of local government in Denbighshire, on which in more recent years he spent much of his scanty leisure time among the county archives at Ruthin and at the National Library. He was an active member of this Society from the start, and the *Transactions* have been enriched by several important documents which he has transcribed for us—one of them in the current number. The lecture on local government in the county which we were privileged to hear from him at the Annual Meeting in 1954 was never written out in full, and the editors felt that it would be unfair to his memory to print it in the unfinished form which would certainly not have satisfied his own exacting standards, but it is hoped to make use of it in some form in a future number. The sympathy of the Society goes out to his widow, who has not allowed a shattering burden of ill-health or the care of a growing family to prevent her from full and helpful participation in her husband's work.

It is with complete confidence that your editor vacates the editorial chair in favour of Mr. Frank Price Jones, who has uncomplainingly borne the burden of preparing these *Transactions* for press since they first appeared. In thanking him for his unstinting co-operation over these four years, may I also wish him a long and successful tenure of office?

A.H.D.

DENBIGHSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Secretary's Report

The Annual General Meeting of the Society was held in the Town Hall, Ruthin, on Saturday, 19th June, 1954, at 2.30 p.m. The meeting was well attended. Mr. Edward Rees, M.A., LL.B., tendered his resignation as Hon. Secretary of the Society. His resignation was accepted with deep regret and it was resolved to record in the minutes the appreciation of the services rendered to the Society by Mr. Rees during the most difficult period in its history—namely, the first years of its existence. The firm foundation on which the Society rests was laid by Mr. Rees.

The Assistant Secretary, Mr. I. C. M. Dodd, B.A., also resigned, and it was resolved to thank Mr. Dodd in similar terms.

After the business had been completed a lecture was delivered by the late Mr. Emlyn Rogers, M.A., on "Some notes on the History of Denbighshire during the 18th Century." The speaker's mastery of the subject emphasises the great loss which the Society suffered in his death.

During the summer two excursions took place. On Saturday, 17th July, members visited Denbigh and were conducted through the ruins of the Carmelite Friary by Mr. W. A. Evans, J.P., who also lectured on the history of the Friary. Members then visited St. Marcella's Church, Whitchurch, and the Rector of Denbigh, the Rev. Hywel Davies, M.A., lectured on the history of the Church. All agreed that it was a most enjoyable meeting and our thanks are due to Mr. Evans and the Rev. Hywel Davies.

On Saturday, 18th September, the Society visited Ruabon. Under the leadership of Mr. Hubert Parry, B.A., we saw Wat's Dyke and then inspected the Parish Church, where Mr. Parry lectured on the history of the Church and of Ruabon. We are grateful to the Vicar the Rev. Canon B. P. Jones-Perrott, M.A., for his co-operation and allowing us to see the Church silver and records.

After tea members visited Wynn Hall, by the kind invitation of Mr. Wynn Kenrick and Mrs. Kenrick. Great interest was shown in the rich store of family archives kept in the house and shown to members by Mrs. Kenrick. We are very grateful to Mr. and Mrs. Wynn Kenrick for their kind welcome.

On Saturday, 27th November, a lecture was given at Colwyn Bay by Mr. H. Parry Jones, M.A., of Llanrwst, on "The Conway and Elwy Valleys, some literary figures of the 18th Century." It goes without saying that Mr. Parry Jones gave us a most interesting lecture, revealing the depth of his erudition and his infectious enthusiasm for his subject. He also deserves our sincere thanks.

I wish to thank all who helped to make 1954 such a successful year for the Society, and trust that I may receive the support of all members in the future. I would be very pleased to receive suggestions for lectures and lecturers and excursions from members.

BLEDDYN LL. GRIFFITH

DENBIGHSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Statement of Receipts and Payments for the Year 1954

RECEIPTS	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Balance in hand 31.12.53				144	5	6
Subscriptions received :						
421 at 5/-	105	5	0			
1 at 5/6	0	5	6			
13 at 7/6	4	17	6			
37 at 10/-	18	10	0			
1 at 11/-	0	11	0			
1 at 14/-	0	14	0			
4 at 15/-	3	0	0			
1 at 15/8	0	15	8			
3 at 10/6	1	11	6			
4 at 20/-	4	0	0			
2 at 21/-	2	2	0			
				141	12	2
Proceeds of Tea at Ruabon				1	1	4
				£286	19	0

PAYMENTS	£	s.	d.
Printing 600 Transactions and Reprints	220	17	4
Postage of Transactions	9	15	10
Postages—Circulars, Receipts, Reminders	17	15	10
Stationery, Circulars, Envelopes	5	8	9
Sundry Expenses	2	12	0
Balance in hand 31.12.54	30	9	3
	£286	19	0

Membership 31.12.54 :

As above	488
Life Members	10
Paid in advance	48
Unpaid for 1954	28*
	574
Late payers 1953	90
	484

(*14 of these had paid before audit)

D. B. JONES, *Hon. Treasurer.*

Audited and found correct, 16*th February*, 1955.
WILLIAM BURD, *Hon. Auditor.*

DENBIGHSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

OFFICERS 1954

President:

ROBERT RICHARDS, Esq., M.P., M.A.

Vice-Presidents:

The Right Rev. D. D. Bartlett, D.D., Bishop of St. Asaph.
Mr. W. E. Bufton, LL.B., Clerk to the County Council.
Sir John Cecil-Williams, M.A., LL.D.
Professor A. H. Dodd, M.A., Bangor.
Mr. Cyril O. Jones, B.A., Wrexham.
Sir William Jones, C.B.E., Ruthin.
Mr. G. G. Lerry, Wrexham.
Dr. S. W. Paterson, M.D., D.Sc., Ruthin.
Mr. Edward Rees, M.A., LL.B., Director of Education.
Dr. Kate Roberts, Denbigh.
Alderman W. Emyr Williams, C.B.E., LL.B., Wrexham.

Hon. Secretary:

Mr. Bleddyn Ll. Griffith, M.A., Brynhyfryd School, Ruthin.

Hon. Assistant Secretary:

Mr. James E. Morris, B.A., Ruthin.

Hon. Treasurer:

Mr. D. B. Jones, J.P., M.A., Colwyn Bay.

Excursion Secretaries:

Mr. Bryan Hughes, Wrexham. Mr. Norman Tucker, Colwyn Bay.

Editor of the Transactions: Professor A. H. Dodd, M.A.

Assistant Editor of the Transactions: Mr. Frank Price Jones, B.A.

Auditor: Mr. William Burd.

Members of Council:

(i) *Colwyn Bay and Abergele Districts*:
Mr. Norman Tucker, the Rev. Daniel Williams, Miss Nellie Morris and Mr. R. D. Griffiths.

(ii) *Llanrwst District*:
Mr. H. Parry Jones, Mr. Robert Jones, Mr. R. J. Parry.

(iii) *Denbigh District*:
Mr. W. A. Evans, Mr. Gwilym R. Jones, Mr. Hywel Owen and Dr. J. G. Thomas.

(iv) *Ruthin District*:
Mr. D. W. Pugh, Mrs. Bowen-Jones, Miss A. Parry-Williams.

(v) *Rhos, Ruabon and Cefn Districts*:
Mr. Emlyn Rogers Mr. J. T. Jones, Mr. J. Idwal Jones and Mr. Hubert E. Parry.

(vi) *Wrexham District*:
Mr. G. Vernon Price, Mr. H. Ellis Hughes Mr. Hywel Williams and Mr. I. C. M. Dodd.

(vii) *Llangollen, Glynceiriog and Llanrhaeadr ym Mochnant Districts*:
Mr. J. Iorwerth Roberts, Mr. J. W. Davies Dr. Wynne Davies and Mr. J. Iorwerth Williams,

(viii) *Uwchaled District*:
Dr. Ifor Davies, Mr. Joseph Owen, Miss Myfanwy Roberts and Mr. R. O. F. Wynne.

Co-opted Members:

Mr. Emyr Gwynne Jones, M.A.
Mr. A. H. Williams, M.A., H.M.I.
Rev. Canon Ellis Davies.
Mr. Leslie Davies.
Mr. T. Hughes Jones.
Mr. H. M. Lloyd.
Mr. Eric R. Luke.
Mr. Ifor Davies.
Mr. C. Harris.
Rev. R. H. Owen.

LIST OF MEMBERS

(*Note*: The list includes names of members on 30th June, 1955)

LIFE MEMBERS:

Ashmore, Mr. S. E., B.Sc., 11, Percy Road, Wrexham.

Bufton, Mr. W. E., LL.B., County Offices, Ruthin.

Denbighshire Society in London (Mr. Elwyn Dorkins, 61, Goldhurst Terrace, London, N.W.6.)

Elliss, Mr. W. J., F.R.S.A., Ship Hotel, Aberdaron, Caernarvonshire.

Jones, Lady Clement, Trevalyn Hall, Rossett, Wrexham.

Jones, Dr. E. Wyn, 31, Rodney Street, Liverpool. 1.

Knowles, Councillor Wm., Glan Hafod, Penmaenrhos, Colwyn Bay.

Richards, Mr. Robert, M.P., M.A., House of Commons, Westminster, London, S.W.1.

Thomas, Mr. David, The Cottage, Llanrwst.

Williams, Alderman W. Emyr, LL.B., Cyfeiliog, Foster Road, Wrexham.

ORDINARY MEMBERS:

Aldrich, Miss G., Arden, Greenfield Road, Ruthin.

Appleyard, Mrs. L., 2, Glanyrafon, Llanfwrog, Ruthin.

Arrowsmith, Mr. J. W. P., 147, Shernhall Street, Walthamstow, London, E.17.

Ashcroft, Mr. G., Garn, Henllan, Denbigh.

Bagnall-Bury, Mr. J., 7, Grove Road, Wrexham.

Beer, Miss M. E., Brackenhurst, Vardre Avenue, Deganwy.

Beckett, Mr. J. H., Stanmore, Park Avenue, Bodelwyddan, Flintshire.

Bellis, Mr. and Mrs. Edwin, The Cottage, Holt, Wrexham.

Bevan, Mrs. Hilda, 24, Sandringham Road, Wrexham.

Right Reverend The Lord Bishop of St. Asaph, The Palace, St. Asaph.

Blease, Mrs. A. M., Aelybryn, Singleton Crescent, Mochdre, Colwyn Bay.

Bowen, Miss C., 20, Sandringham Road, Wrexham.

Bowen, Mr. Geraint, M.A., Grammar School, Ruabon.

Bowyer, Rev. R. A., The Vicarage, Connah's Quay, Flintshire.

Brassington, Mr. W. J., 49, Castle Hill, Denbigh.

Brown, Mrs. A., Gredington Arms, Llanypwll, Wrexham.

Burton, Mr. O. W., Deputy Librarian, County Library, Ruthin.

Cardiff City Library, c/o City Treasurer, City Hall, Cardiff.

Chambres, Mr. John, c/o Ruston, Clark & Ruston, 14, Norfolk St., London, W.C.2.

Cadwaladr, Mrs. Mair, Tynygroes, Henllan, Denbigh.

Cheshire, Mr. J. H., 53, Percy Road, Wrexham.

Collick, Mr. F. J., Estoril, Oak Drive, Colwyn Bay.

Cooper, Misses J., M. and E., Fir Grove Cottage, Llanfwrog, Ruthin.

Crewe, Miss Hilda M., East Avenue, Ruabon.

Cross, Mr. Mark, B.A., Y Felin, Llanddulas, Abergele.

Cymdeithas Gymraeg Rhuthun (per Mr. H. B. Lewis, Tandderwen).

Davies, Mr. A. C., Bodchwil, Dolwen Road, Old Colwyn.

Davies, Mr. A. D., 35, Bro Gwilym, Cefn Mawr, Wrexham.

Davies, Miss A. R., Bwlchyfen, Clayton Road, Broughton, Wrexham.

Davies, Mr. A. R., Hill Crest, Station Road, Chirk.

Davies, Miss B., 48, Rhosddu Road, Wrexham.

Davies, Mrs. Eryl, Wern Ucha, Ruthin.

Davies, Mr. D. Garfield, M.A., Rhianfa, Box Lane, Wrexham.

Davies, Mr. D. Leslie, 19, Westminster Drive, Wrexham.

Davies, Mr. D. Wheway, Fire Service H.Q., Colwyn Bay.

Davies, Mr. E. E., 10, Bersham Road, Wrexham.

Davies, Miss Edith V., 22, Foster Rd., Wrexham.

Davies, Mr. and Mrs. Edward, Maes Sied, Bodfari, Denbigh.

Davies, Rev. Canon Ellis, M.A., Bryn Derwen, Caerwys, Flintshire.

Davies, Rev. Evan, 141, Chester Road, Wrexham.

Davies, Alderman Gethin, Bro Dawel, Park Avenue, Wrexham.

Davies, Mr. Glyn, Montgomery County Library, Newtown.

Davies, Mr. Glyn, Orllwyn, Rhewl, Ruthin.
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Davies, Mr. Haydn, H.M.I., Oakleigh, Queen's Road, Old Colwyn.
Davies, Rev. Hywel, M.A., The Rectory, Denbigh.
Davies, Mr. Ifor, Borough Librarian, Colwyn Bay.
Davies, Dr. and Mrs. Ifor, Bronfallen, Cerrigydrudion, Corwen.
Davies, Mrs. Ivor, Carwardine, Ruabon, near Wrexham.
Davies, Mr. J., Bryn Clwyd, Glan Conway.
Davies, Mr. J., Station Hse., Ruthin.
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Davies, Rev. W. A., The Rectory, Llansannan.
Davies, Mr. and Mrs. W. Morgan, Melin y Ddol, Groesffordd Marli, Abergele.
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Dodd, Professor A. H., M.A., Brynhyfryd, Bangor.
Dodd, Mr. Idwal C. M., B.A., Education Offices, Ruthin.
Dodd, Mr. Llywarch P. C., B.A., 78, High Street, Coedpoeth, Wrexham.
Dodd, Mr. a Mrs. W. P., Arenig, Holyrood Avenue, Old Colwyn.
Dorkins, Mr. R. W., Marle Bank, Norcliffe Avenue, Old Colwyn.
Edwards, Mr. A. H., B.A., Penlan, Trefriw, Caernarvonshire.
Edwards, Mr. D. S., B.Sc., Principal Llysfasi Farm Institute Llanfair, D.C., near Ruthin.
Edwards, Mr. John, M.A., Bryn Leiol, Llanfihangel G.M., near Corwen.
Edwards, Mr. John, B.A., School House, Betws yn Rhos, Abergele.
Edwards, Mr. Llewellyn, The Nook, Llanfair D.C., near Ruthin.
Edwards, Mr. Llew. H., Ty'r Ysgol, Llysfaen, Colwyn Bay.
Edwards, Miss M., 20, Salisbury Rd., Wrexham.
Edwards, Mr. Ossian, B.A., Bryn Derw, Wynnstay Rd., Old Colwyn.
Edwards, Mr. P. V., School House, Llanfair D.C., near Ruthin.
Edwards, Mr. R. R., B.A., Ysgol Brynhyfryd, Ruthin.
Ellis, Mrs. Mary, M.A., 4, Laura Place, Aberystwyth.
Edwards, Miss S., Bryn Celyn, Prince's Road, Rhos, Wrexham.
Evans, Mrs., Gwynant, 33, Kensington Avenue, Old Colwyn.
Evans, Dr. D. Aneuryn, Gwendon, 9, Minydon Avenue, Old Colwyn.
Evans, Dr. D. B., Pen-y-Garth, Coedpoeth, Wrexham.
Evans, Mr. E. A., B.Sc., Adwyn, Castle Street, Ruthin.
Evans, Mr. E. P. K., Glaniwrch, Llanrhaiadr Y.M., nr. Oswestry.
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Evans, Mr. J. I., Council School, Rhiwlas, near Oswestry.
Evans, Mr. Llewelyn, 40, Ffordd Glyndwr, Llysfaen, Colwyn Bay.
Evans, Miss M. Broadhead, c/o Ty Graig, Berwyn, Llangollen.
Evans, Mr. Maurice V., Solicitor, Ruabon, near Wrexham.
Evans, Mrs. O. Caradog, Tu Hwnt i'r Bont, Llanrwst.
Evans, Rev. R. T., B.A., The Rectory, Llanfair T.H., Abergele.
Evans, Mr. Robert H., B.A., 27, Llywelyn Estate, Denbigh.
Evans, Mrs. T. G., Llys Mair, Llysfasi, Ruthin.
Evans, Mr. T. R., Vale Prospect, Acrefair, near Wrexham.
Evans, Mr. and Mrs. T. W., Rosewood, Llanrhaiadr, near Denbigh.
Evans, Mr. William, 8, Rock Point Avenue, New Brighton.
Evans, Mr. W. A., M.Sc., Grammar School, Denbigh.
Evans, Rev. W. J. Elias, Hafod y Dail, Abergele.

Evans, Mr. W. R., Abernant, Glan Conway.
Flintshire County Library, c/o County Treasurer, County Buildings, Mold.
Fairclough, Mr. A. B. R., Carfax, Riverside, Twickenham.
Foster, Major G., Elford, near Tamworth, Staffordshire.
Forder, Miss M. G., M.A., Cartrefle Training College, Wrexham.
Fortey, Mr. W. N., Llwyn Ceirios, Mold Road, Ruthin.
Fosberry, Mr. Charles L., Bod Elwy, St. Asaph.
Ffoulkes-Thomas, Mr. R., Pebble Hall, Cheddingworth, Rugby.
Francis, Mrs. M. J., Plas y Ward, Ruthin.
Gallagher, Dr. M. A., Llangwyfan, Denbigh.
Gee, Mr. G. H., Bryngwyn, Coetmor Estate, Bethesda.
Genner, Mr. L. J. E., L.R.I.B.A., Mostyn House, Denbigh.
Gough, Mr. and Mrs. Dyer, Nantclwyd House, Ruthin.
Griffith, Mr. and Mrs. Bleddyn Ll. M.A., Brynhyfryd Secondary School Ruthin.
Griffith, Mr. D. J., 45, Warwick Ave., Whitegate, Wrexham.
Griffith, Miss H. M. S., Wayside, Minera, Wrexham.
Griffith, Miss Peggy, 5, King Street, Aberystwyth.
Griffith, Mr. R., Police Station, Llandyrnog, near Denbigh.
Griffith, Mr. R. D., M.A., Fron, 24, Wynnstay Road, Old Colwyn.
Griffith, Rev. William, M.A., 104, Crescent Road, Rhyl.
Griffiths, Mr. Alun, 5, College Road, Rhos-on-Sea.
Griffiths, Miss B., Hillside, Penycae Road, Ruabon, Wrexham.
Griffiths, Miss Bronwen, Gwylfa, Coedpoeth, Wrexham.
Griffiths, Mr. and Mrs. Caswallon, Avalon, Windsor Road, Rhos, Wrexham.
Griffiths, Rev. G. Ll., M.A., B.D., Holmehurst, Woodhill Road W., Colwyn Bay.
Gruffydd, Miss Olwen, Bodruffydd, Abergele.
Grime, Mr. and Mrs. W. F., Ednyfed, Stanley Road, Ruthin.
Guest, Mr. G. T., O.B.E., Yr Erw, Penmaenmawr.
Gwyn, Miss E., B.A., Cartrefle Training College, Wrexham.
Hamer, Miss E. J., 48, Saxon Street, Wrexham.
Harries, Mr. W. Gerallt, Bro Deg, 3, Diana Road, Llandilo, Carm.
Harrison, Mrs. Sunter, Tweedside, 26, Chester Road, Wrexham.
Heaton, Mr. and Mrs. R. B., B.Arch., A.R.I.B.A., Bron Offa, Adwy, Coedpoeth, Wrexham.
Heptonstall, Miss M. E., 37, Beach Avenue, Old Colwyn.
Hewitt, Mrs. M. E., 8, Salisbury Rd., Wrexham.
Hirst, Miss D. M., Maes y Llan, Ruabon, Wrexham.
Historical Society, Cartrefle Training College, Wrexham.
Hitchin, Miss E., Woodside, Ruthin.
Holloway, Mr. H. A. R., Bella Vista, Bodfari, Denbigh.
Hooson, Mr. J., M.A., 43, Frewin Road, London, S.W.18.
Hopkins-Jones, Miss W., Llanrhydd Hall, Ruthin.
Hopwood, Mr. William, 31, Talwrn Road, Coedpoeth, Wrexham.
Howells, Mr. R. B., B.A., 79, Parc y Dre, Ruthin.
Hughes, Mrs., Pengwern Gwydyr, Llanrwst.
Hughes, Mr. and Mrs. Bryan, The Willows, Farndon, near Chester.
Hughes, Mr. C. Gwyn, J.P., 49, High Street, Denbigh.
Hughes, Mr. D. J., J.P., Hafryn, Cerrigydrudion, near Corwen.
Hughes, Miss Doris, 12, Bersham Road, Wrexham.
Hughes, Mr. D. Kenneth, A.C.A., Bryn Melyn, Meols Drive, West Kirby.
Hughes, Dr. Enid, The Manor House, Ruthin.
Hughes, Miss E. M., 12, Bersham Rd., Wrexham.
Hughes, Mr. E. W., Isallt, Queen's Road, Old Colwyn.
Hughes, Mr. G. Tegai, M.A., Bathafarn House, Ruthin.
Hughes, Mrs. Henry, Bachymbyd Isaf, Rhewl, near Ruthin.
Hughes, Dr. Hubert, Burcot, Abergele.
Hughes, Mr. H. Ellis, School House, Coedpoeth, Wrexham.

Hughes, Mr. H. P., B.Sc., Haddef, Wrexham Road, Johnstown, Wrexham.
Hughes-Jones, Mr. T., M.A., Cartrefle Training College, Wrexham.
Hughes, Miss I. M., Bryn Hedd, Coedpoeth, Wrexham.
Hughes, Mrs. Maud, Hill Crest, Vinegar Hill, Rhos, Wrexham.
Hughes, Miss Menna W., B.A., Lynwood, Station Road, Old Colwyn.
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Huws, Miss Mair Pari, Brithdir, Old Colwyn.
Irvine, Mr. A. F., Brynllwyn, Corwen.
Jarvis, Mr. Ifor, 9, Yale Street, Johnstown, Wrexham.
Jenkins, Mr. E. W., Arwel, Gardden Road, Ruabon.
Jenkins, Mr. Emrys, B.A., 12, School Road, Rhos, Wrexham.
Johnson, Mr. T. W., Wynford, Rhyl Road, Denbigh.
Jones, Mr. Alun, Rhiwlas, Llanelian Road, Old Colwyn.
Jones, Mr. A. Gwynn, School House, Tanyfron, Bylchau, Denbigh.
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Jones, Mr. and Mrs. C. O. Midland Bank House, Rhos, Wrexham.
Jones, Mr. Cyril O., Solicitor, 17, Egerton Street, Wrexham.
Jones, Dr. C. W. L., Rhianfa, Ruthin.
Jones, Mr. and Mrs. D. B., 5, Marine View Crescent, Colwyn Bay.
Jones, Mr. Dewi W., Brynffynnon, Efenechtyd, Ruthin.
Jones, Miss Elizabeth, 9, Gamer, Glynceiriog, Wrexham.
Jones, Miss E. Harris, 15, St. Peters Square, Ruthin.
Jones, Mr. Emyr, Aelybryn, Love Lane, Denbigh.
Jones, Mr. Emyr Gwynne, M.A., Bodfach, Bangor.
Jones, Mr. F. Price, B.A., 4, Victoria Park, Bangor.
Jones, Mr. G. H., 7, Beach Avenue, Colwyn Bay.
Jones, Miss G. Harris, 15, St. Peters Square, Ruthin.
Jones, Miss G. J., 49, Norman Road, Wrexham.
Jones, Miss G. M., 81, Ruabon Road, Wrexham.
Jones, Mrs. G. M. Louis, Rhosydd, 19, Grosvenor Road, Wrexham.
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Jones, Mr. Gwilym R., 11, Bryn Teg, Denbigh.
Jones, Mr. G. W. Madoc, Borthwen, Denbigh.
Jones, Mr. H. G. M., 174, Chester Road, Wrexham.
Jones, Mr. H. F., Coed Ifa, Old Colwyn.
Jones, Mr. H. Glynne, Solicitor, 17, Egerton Road, Wrexham.
Jones, Mrs. H. Glynne, Glascwm, Llangollen.
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Jones, Mr. and Mrs. Idris, Borthwen, Wrexham Road, Ruthin.
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Jones, Mr. J. Griffith, 28, Bridge St., Wrexham.
Jones, Mr. J. Idwal, M.P., Maelor Villa, Ellis Street, Ponciau, Wrexham.
Jones, Mr. J. Owain, Maelor Villa, Ellis Street, Ponciau, Wrexham.
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Jones, Mr. J. T., M.A., Dolwar, Hill Street, Rhos, Wrexham.
Jones, Mr. J. Tudwal, Bronheulog, Llanelian Road, Old Colwyn.
Jones, Mr. J. W., B.A., Glasfryn, Stanley Road, Ponciau, Wrexham.
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Jones, Mrs. M. Augusta, Argoed, Wrexham Road, Ruthin.
Jones, Mrs. Mars, B.A., Brodawel, Llansannan, Denbigh.
Jones, Miss Mary, Rhyd, Ruthin.
Jones, Miss M. G., 81, Ruabon Road, Wrexham.
Jones, Mr. M. R., School House, Llanddulas, Abergele.
Jones, Rev. J. Morris, J.P., 37, Love Lane, Denbigh.
Jones, Mr. Morris, Wernol, Coedcoch Road, Old Colwyn.
Jones, Mr. Ogwen, School House, Pentre Broughton, Wrexham.
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Jones, Mr. T. J., B.A., Y Wendon, Penrhos Avenue, Penmaenrhos.
Jones, Mr. T. O., Aelwyd Prys, Cerrigydrudion, near Corwen.
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Jones, Mr. W. Glynne, 6, Arfon Terr., Penmaenrhos, Colwyn Bay.
Jones, Mr. W. J., Holbeck, 7, Regent Park, Llanrwst.
Jones, Mr. W. O., Rofft, Grove Road, Denbigh.
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Kynaston-Williams, Mr. J. G., Wynnstay Estate Office, Ruabon, Wrexham.
Leeves, Mr. F. H., M.A., Plas Gwilym, Penmaenrhos, Colwyn Bay.
Leslie, Capt. W. L., Parciau, Criccieth.
Lerry, Mrs. G. G., 16, Gerald Street. Wrexham.
Lerry, Mr. G. G., 16, Gerald Street, Wrexham.

Lewis, Mr. Aneurin, 150, Malefont Street, Cathays Park, Cardiff.
Lewis, Mrs. Annie, Kingsley, Lawson Road, Colwyn Bay.
Lewis, Mr. A. V., 38, Well Street, Ruthin.
Lewis, Mrs. D. C., J.P., 21, Hillside Road, Colwyn Bay.
Lewis, Rev. D. R., B.A., 27, Grosvenor Road, Wrexham.
Lewis, Mr. Langdon I., B.A., Alynton, Burton Road, Wrexham.
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Librarian, Grammar School, Rhyl, Flintshire.
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Librarian, University College, Bangor.
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Ling, Mrs. P. E., Victory Garage, Ruabon, near Wrexham.
Llandudno and Colwyn Bay Field Club (Mr. L. S. Underwood, Ashmore, Carroll Place, Llandudno).
Lloyd, Miss A. W., 15, Gardd Estyn, Garden Village, Wrexham.
Lloyd, Mr. George, 12, Woodland Road, Shotton, Flintshire.
Lloyd, Mr. G. Emyr, Gwyndy, Talycafn.
Lloyd, Mr. H. M., 38, Well Street, Ruthin.
Lloyd, Mr. J. Alun, 32, New Street, Rhosddu, Wrexham.
Lloyd, Mr. J. T., M.B.E., B.A., Brynllan, Gyffylliog, Ruthin.
Lloyd, Miss Mai, Gwalia, Bwlchgwyn, Wrexham.
Lloyd, Mr. T. E., Y Garreg Lwyd, Llewelyn Road, Coedpoeth, Wrexham.
Luke, Mr. E. R., Bryn Aeror, Ruthin.
Miles, Mr. T. J., Bryn Dwr, Hall Lane, Rhos, Wrexham.
Milwater, Mrs. J. P., Graig Dulas, Llanddulas, Abergele.
Mitchell, Miss Ceri, 13, Gerald Street, Wrexham.
Mitchell, Mr. D. A., B.A., Cartrefle Training College, Wrexham.
Mitchell, Miss E., Nanteos, Bwlchgwyn, Wrexham.
Morgan, Mr. A. Parry, Gwenallt, Peulwys, Old Colwyn.
Morgan, Miss M., M.A., The Hollies, Narberth Rd., Saundersfoot, Tenby.
Morgan, Miss M. E., 3, Marine View Crescent, Colwyn Bay.
Morgan, Mr. Raymond, M.A., 71, Percy Road, Wrexham.
Morris, Miss A. G., Rhydycilgwyn, Rhewl, Ruthin.
Morris, Mr. Edward, Bethel Cottages, Penmaenrhos, Old Colwyn.
Morris, Miss E. E., B.A., Glyndwr, Queen's Avenue, Old Colwyn.
Morris, Miss E. M., L.R.A.M., Rushcroft, Highfield Park, Abergele.
Morris, Miss G. M., Dremfor, Berthes Road, Old Colwyn.
Morris, Mr. J. Evan, Rhydycilgwyn, Rhewl, Ruthin.
Morris, Mr. James E., B.A., Brynhyfryd Secondary School, Ruthin.
Morris, Mr. John, Gwernhywel Ganol Yspyty, Betws-y-Coed.
Morris, Miss K., M.A., Cartrefle Training College, Wrexham.
Morris, Mr. M. E., Rhosfryn, Grove Road, Denbigh.
Mortimer, Mr. H. S., Arwel, Abergele.
Morris-Jones, Miss O., B.A., Trevor, Osborne Street, Rhos, Wrexham.
Mowbray, Mrs., 38, St. John's Road, Wrexham.
McGowan, Mr. R. J., 13, Porth y Dre, Ruthin.
National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth.
National Museum of Wales, Cardiff.
Neil, Miss M. I., 11a, St. Peter's Square, Ruthin.
Noble, Miss Edith, Rofftwood, Marford Hill, Gresford, Wrexham.
Osborne, Miss B. V., 23, Hayton Rd., Wrexham.
Owen, Mr. Aled, 39, Vale Street, Denbigh.
Owen, Mr. Caradog M., Crafnant, Wrexham Road, Ruthin.
Owen, Rev. Dafydd, Glan Tawe, Pwllglas, near Mold.
Owen, Rev. D. S., B.A., 73, Cranleigh Gardens, Muswell Hill, London, N.10

Owen, Alderman Goronwy, J.P., Glyn Farm, Colwyn Bay.
Owen, Mr. Joseph, Wellington House, Cerrigydrudion, near Corwen.
Owen, Mr. J. Hywel, Star Shop, Denbigh.
Owen, Miss Meira, 73, Cranleigh Gardens, Muswell Hill, N.10.
Owen, Mrs. Myra, B.A., The Rectory, Henllan, near Denbigh.
Owen, Miss N., Hiraethog, Wynnstay Road, Colwyn Bay.
Owen, Rev. R. H., M.A., The Vicarage, Prestatyn, Flintshire.
Owen, Mr. R. Idloes, Bersham, Amlwch.
Owen, Miss S. E., Tan Rhiw, Llanfihangel G.M., near Corwen.
Parry, Mr. E. D., 1, Cristionydd, Penycae, Wrexham.
Parry, Mrs. E. M., Erbistock School, Overton Bridge, Wrexham.
Parry, Mr. Hubert E., B.A., Grammar School, Ruabon, near Wrexham.
Parry, Mr. T. M., Hafryn, Princess Road, Old Colwyn.
Parry, Mr. R. J., M.A., Grammar School, Llanrwst.
Patterson, Dr. and Mrs., M.D., D.Sc., Ruthin Castle, Ruthin.
Perkins, Mrs. I. E., Arwel, Warren Road, Deganwy.
Peters, Mr. and Mrs. David, 20, Greenfield Avenue, Dinas Powys, Glam.
Petit, Rt. Rev. John E., M.A., Bishop of Menevia, Bishop's House, Wrexham.
Phillips, Mrs. E. A., The Cosy, Wrexham Road, Holt, Wrexham.
Phillips, Mr. W., Tegfan, Osborne Street, Rhos, Wrexham.
Powell, Mr. John, Chapel Street, Holt, Wrexham.
Powell, Mr. Thos. G., 37, Alexandra Road, Wrexham.
Pratt, Mr. T. O., 48, Saxon Street, Wrexham.
Preen, Miss E. M., 115a, Ruabon Road, Wrexham.
Price, Mr. and Mrs. G. Vernon, Arona, Wynnstay Lane, Marford, Wrexham.
Price, Miss Hannah J., Homeleigh, 50, Spring Road, Wrexham.
Price, Mrs. T. J., Glasfryn, Abbey Road, Llangollen.
Pritchard, Mr. R. W., M.R.C.V.S., Plas Coch, Denbigh.
Probert, Mrs. E., 25, Derby Road, Wrexham.
Pugh, Mr. and Mrs. D. W., Tawelfan. Ruthin.
Pugh, Mr. R. W., B.A., Avallon, Fennwr Rd., Ponciau, Wrexham.
Quant, Mr. Charles, Wern, Llanarmon yn Ial.
Ramsay, Miss V., 25, Derby Road, Wrexham.
Randall, Mr. and Mrs. P. D., Church House, Llanfair D.C., Ruthin.
Read, Mrs. M. T., Glanyrafon, Llanfwrog, Ruthin.
Rees, Mr. and Mrs. Edward, Cilgwyn, Ruthin.
Rees, Mr. I. Bowen, Crown Cottage, Ruthin.
Rees, Mr. T. Ifor, Broncairo, Bow Street, Cardigan.
Richards, Miss B., Clegwyn, Wrexham Road, Johnstown, near Wrexham.
Richards, Mrs. G., Gerallt, Bwlchgwyn, Wrexham.
Richards, Mr. G. R., Hafod, Mwrog Street, Ruthin.
Richards, Miss M., Clogwyn, Wrexham Road, Johnstown, Wrexham.
Richards, Professor Melville, Department of Celtic, University, Liverpool.
Roberts, Mr. A. E., 4, Gordon Terrace, Garth, Bangor.
Roberts, Mr. Berwyn A., Glanfor, Grove Road, Colwyn Bay.
Roberts, Miss Catherine B., Llangwyfan Hospital, Denbigh.
Roberts, Mr. David H., Galchog, Ruthin.
Roberts, Mr. and Mrs. Charles, Aelybryn, Wrexham Road, Ruthin.
Roberts, Mr. Eifion, Tyddyn Farm, Cerrigydrudion, near Corwen.
Roberts, Miss Eluned, Welsh School, Bod Alaw, Riviere's Ave., Colwyn Bay.
Roberts, Mr. and Mrs. Elwyn, Kingsley, Lawson Road, Colwyn Bay.
Roberts, Miss E. J., 19, Clayton Road, Pentre Broughton, Wrexham.
Roberts, Miss E. Lloyd, 39, Foster Road, Wrexham.
Roberts, Miss Gladwyn, Gwynedd, Greenfield Road, Ruthin.
Roberts, Miss G. M., Derlwyn, Woodland Estate, Denbigh.
Roberts, Mr. and Mrs. Haddon, Garthowen, Penymaes Ave., Wrexham.

Roberts, Mr. Holland, 5, Princess Rd., Old Colwyn.
Roberts, Mr. and Mrs. Iorwerth, Highfield, Victoria Park, Colwyn Bay.
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Roberts, Mr. J. Aubrey, 1, Jubilee Villas, Coedpoeth, near Wrexham.
Roberts, Mr. and Mrs. J. Ernest, Modern School, Colwyn Bay.
Roberts, Mr. J. Meiric, Bodhaulog, Wrexham Road, Ruthin.
Roberts, Mrs. J. Meiric, Bodhaulog, Wrexham Road, Ruthin.
Roberts, Mr. J. O., Hardye's School, Dorchester, Dorset.
Roberts, Mrs. J. T., Bronygraig, Cerrigydrudion, near Corwen.
Roberts, Dr. Kate, Y Cilgwyn, Denbigh.
Roberts, Mr. Llew. E., Midland Bank, Holyhead.
Roberts, Miss Lucy A., Gwent, Gogarth Avenue, Penmaenmawr.
Roberts, Miss M. E., Tegfan, Pontfadog, Wrexham.
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, Mr. R. O., Police Station, Coedpoeth, Wrexham.
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 Rd., Johnstown, Wrexham.
Rogers, Mrs. K. Beech, Bryn Eryl, Ruthin.
Rogers, Mr. D. J., Oxton House, Abergele Road, Old Colwyn.
Rowlands, Mr. E. G., 22, Ffordd Powys, Rhos, Wrexham.
Rowlands, Mr. W. J. County Offices, Ruthin.
Ruabon and District Field Club (per Mr. Hubert E. Parry).
Ruthin Borough Council (per Mr. J. O. Smith, Town Clerk).
Samuel, Mr. and Mrs. A. T., Ruthin Road, Coedpoeth, Wrexham.
Schreiber, Miss G. M., 16, Gerald Street, Wrexham.
Seal, Mr. F., Hillcrest Cottage, Cherry Tree Lane, Colwyn Bay.
Shaw, Miss E., 112, Park Avenue, Wrexham.
Shone, Miss N., 52, Bradley Road, Wrexham.
Simister, Mr. and Mrs. T. S., 39, Edward Street, Wrexham.
Smith, Mr. J. O., Town Clerk, Ruthin.
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, Osborne House, Llangollen.
Thomas, Mrs. A. M., 38, Ruabon Road, Wrexham.
Thomas, Miss C. Eluned, 7, Well Street, Ruthin.
Thomas, Mr. C. L., B.Sc., The Bungalow, Erddig Rd., Wrexham.
Thomas, Mr. Dan, Taldir, Dolgelley.
Thomas, Mr. Ellis, The Cliff, Penmaenrhos, Old Colwyn.
Thomas, Dr. Goronwy E., M.Ch., F.R.C.S., 31, Rodney Street, Liverpool.
Thomas, Mr. Graham, 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. J. Tudor, Bryn Siriol, Llansannan.
Thomas, Mrs. Lalla, The Regent, Old Colwyn.
Thomas, Mr. Oswald, Gelli, Ruthin.
Thomas, Miss R., 116, Barton Road, Stretford, Lancs.
Thomas, Mr. T. J., Cwmanog Ucha, Betws-y-Coed.
Thompson, Mr. and Mrs., Cartref, Clawddnewydd, near Ruthin.
Tomkins, Mr. P., Chief Constable, 26, Grosvenor Road, Wrexham.

Tucker, Mr. Norman, F.R.Hist.S., Penshurst, Lansdowne Road, Colwyn Bay.
Tweedy, Mr. O. M., Cliff Cottage, Telscombe Cliffs, Newhaven, Sussex.
Unwin, Mrs. M., Cefn Post, Llanfihangel G.M., near Corwen.
Vaughan, Mr. Edward, Flora Cottage, Llandyrnog, Denbigh.
Vaughan, Mr. E. O., School House, Llansannan, near Denbigh.
Vaughan, Miss Olwen, Stansty Cottage, Ruthin.
Whittaker, Mr. F., Abbey Laundry, Denbigh.
Walford, Capt. W. A., T.D., Tigh-na-Mara, Peulwys, Old Colwyn.
Watson, Mrs. Audrey, B.A., 142, Mwrog St., Llanfwrog, Ruthin.
Williams, Mr. Aneurin, J.P., 66, Park Avenue, Wrexham.
Williams, Mr. A. H., M.A., Garth, Wenallt Road, Rhiwbina, Cardiff.
Williams, Mr. O. P., Sandeth House, Gwersyllt, Wrexham.
Williams, Rev. Daniel, Bron-y-Garth, Wynn Avenue, Old Colwyn.
Williams, Professor David, 43, Marine Terrace, Aberystwyth.
Williams, Dr. D. Ll., County Offices, Dolgelley, Merioneth.
Williams, Miss E., Garmonfa, Capel Garmon, Llanrwst.
Williams, Alderman Edward, J.P., Newlands, Ffordd Estyn, Garden Village, Wrexham.
Williams, Mr. Emlyn, Rosehill, Ffordd Tanyllan, Llysfaen.
Williams, Miss Elizabeth, Pengwern Gwydyr, Llanrwst.
Williams, Miss Ella, 110, Bradley Rd., Wrexham.
Williams, Miss Eluned, Islwyn, 96, Ruabon Road, Wrexham.
Williams, Mr. and Mrs. E. D., Yr Aelwyd, Ruthin.
Williams, Mr. E. H., Bryngwyn, Holyrood Avenue, Old Colwyn.
Williams, Mr. E. P., Fairfield, 67, Beacon's Hill, Denbigh.
Williams, Mr. E. Wynne, B.A., The Modern School, Abergele.
Williams, Mr. G., C.P. School, Clocaenog, Ruthin.
Williams, Mr. Gwyn, 91, Mostyn Street, Llandudno.
Williams, Mr. and Mrs. Gwynne, Plas Tirion, Well Street, Ruthin.
Williams, Miss Gwyneth, c/o Midland Bank Abergele.
Williams, Miss G. M., 25, Alexandra Road, Wrexham.
Williams, Miss C. E., 1, Mount Pleasant, Ruabon, Wrexham.
Williams, Mr. and Mrs. Howel, 6, Belgrave Road, Wrexham.
Williams, Mr. J. G. P., B.A., 18, Talbot Road, Wrexham.
Williams, Mr. J. Bancroft, Dolforgan, Kerry, Newtown.
Williams, Mr. Iorwerth, 1, Dover Terrace, Chapel St., Ponciau, Wrexham.
Williams, Mr. J. L., 193, Chester Rd., Wrexham.
Williams, Professor J. E., Caerwyn University College, Bangor.
Williams, Mr. J. Iorwerth, Solicitor, 3, Upper Brook Street, Oswestry.
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, Mr. Llewelyn, Graig Wen, Bodelwyddan Avenue, Old Colwyn.
Williams, Mrs. Llewelyn, Osborne House, Market Street, Llangollen.
Williams, Mrs. Llewelyn, Y Dreflan, Llwyd Grove, Old Colwyn.
Williams, Miss Menai, Neuadd Alun, Normal College, Bangor.
Williams, Miss M. C., 25, Alexandra Road, Wrexham.
Williams, Mr. and Mrs. O. Maldwyn, Pennant, Ruthin.
Williams, Misses Parry, Crown House, Ruthin.
Williams, Mr. Penry T., B.A.,Rosslyn, Endsleigh Road, Colwyn Bay.
Williams, Mr. T. T. Pennant, Solicitor, Brighton Road, Rhyl.
Williams, Mr. R. Bithel, Aboyne, Denbigh Road, Ruthin.
Williams, Mr. R. R., 2, Arran Road, Wrexham.
Williams, Mr. and Mrs. R. R., Coetmor, Ruthin.
Williams, Miss Una, B.Sc., Gwynedd, Greenfield Road, Ruthin.
Winter, Miss Nan, B.A., Lowther College, Bodelwyddan.
Wright, Mr. L. Newton, The Villa, Cefn Mawr, Wrexham.
Wynne, Rev. Ernest E., Araul, Coedpoeth, Wrexham.
Wynne, Miss G. A., 19, Quarry Road, Brynteg, Wrexham.

Wynne, Mr. Ifor Lloyd, 2, Bayley Mansions, Bayley Street, Bedford Square, London, W.C.1.
Wynne, Mr. R. O. F., Garthewin, Llanfair T.H., Abergele.
Wynne-Edwards, Lt.-Col. J. C., Plas Nantglyn, Denbigh.
Yorke, Mr. Philip, Plas Noble Sontley Road, Wrexham.