Wrexham University Research Online

Volume 6, 1957

Denbighshire Historical Society

Transactions

Frank Price Jones (Ed.).

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Recommended citation:

Denbighshire Historical Society. (1957). *Transactions* (Vol. 6). Denbigh: Gee and Son Ltd.

CYMDEITHAS HANES SIR DDINBYCH

DENBIGHSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

TRAFODION
Cyfrol 6

TRANSACTIONS
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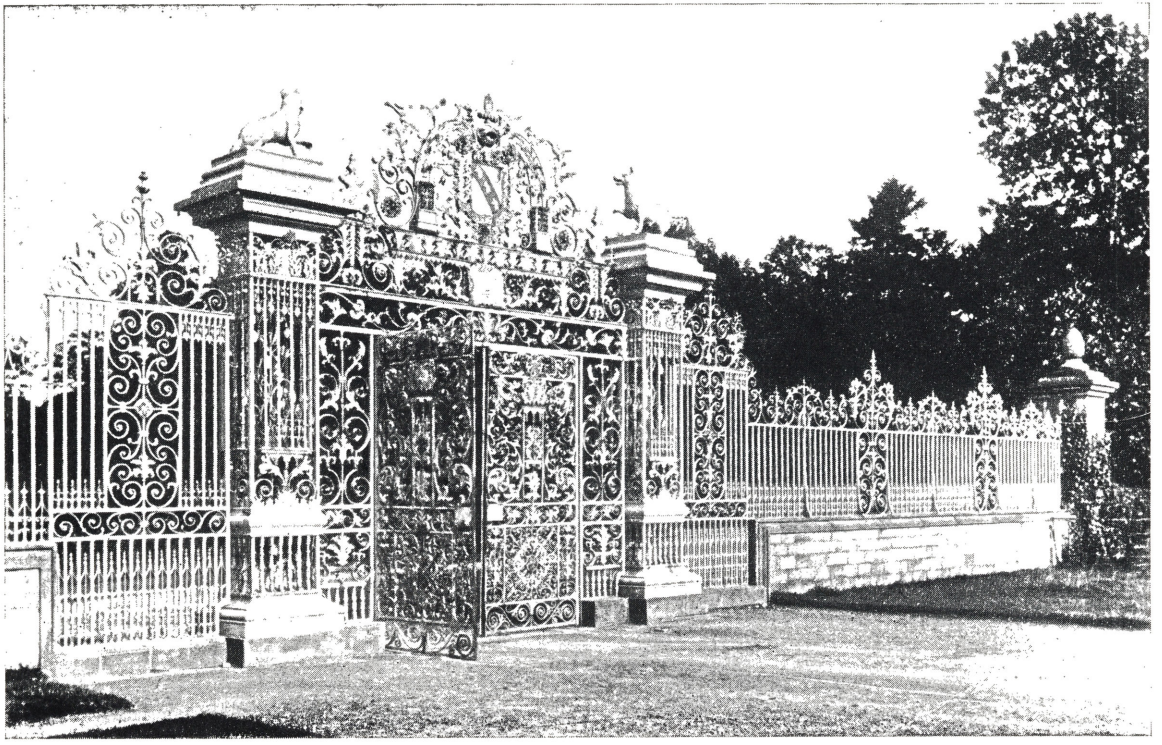
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Corrigenda

Please correct the following errors in Vol. 5 (1956):

Page 71: the Talycafn bridge was built in 1897 (not 1877).

Tudalen 135: Rhif 546, *darllener* "T. Gwynn Jones, awdur *Gwedi Brad a Gofid*" yn lle "Gwilym a Benni Bach". Bydd angen cywiro hyn ar dud. 5 o'r pamffled a gyhoeddwyd o'r Atodiad hwn.



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Golygyddol : Editorial

THE year 1957 has been a year of celebration. Nationally we have been celebrating the jubilee of the National Museum, the National Library, the Welsh Department of the Ministry of Education and the Workers' Educational Association in Wales. These anniversaries should serve as a salutary reminder to us of the tremendous political and cultural activity which animated Wales in the second half of the Nineteenth Century. It is time for us to reassess that period, and penetrate the Victorian smugness and anti-macassared atmosphere which for too long has obscured the half-century, and to seek a truer appreciation of the vision and energy of our grandfathers who secured for us the benefits which only truly national institutions can provide.

In Denbighshire, this year is the centenary of two events of considerable importance. It was in 1857 that the Borough of Wrexham was first incorporated, and while we convey the congratulations of the Society to the Borough on its centenary, we should offer a word of explanation for the absence of any commemorative article in this volume. The *Wrexham Leader* has already celebrated the occasion with a valuable Supplement, and as we go to press, Professor A. H. Dodd is putting the final touches to a volume of Wrexham history which will worthily mark this milestone in the life of the town. We hope to include a notice of this book in our next number.

The same year, 1857, saw the founding by Thomas Gee of Denbigh, of *Baner Cymru*, which two years later was merged with *Yr Amserau* to form *Baner ac Amserau Cymru*, a national newspaper which contributed greatly to that cultural activity which produced the national institutions referred to above.

A third centenary in the County is that of Llansannan school, and this is marked here by the inclusion of an article by Miss Betty Vaughan.

* * * *

Another word of explanation: in our last number, a note was included at the beginning of the foreword to

Thomas Jones' *Gair yn ei Amser*, that we intended to publish this year, a longer article on the life and work of that great man of Denbigh. Some of the substance of that projected article was delivered as a lecture to the Society at Denbigh on 24 November, 1956, but like Topsy, the article itself "just growed" and became too large to be considered for inclusion here. I was fortunate to find a publisher for it in book form, and the resultant publication is the subject of a very kind review in this volume, by Mr. J. T. Jones.

Thomas Jones is, however, the subject of the very interesting article in Welsh by Mr. G. Penrhyn Jones, who discusses from the standpoint of modern medicine, the illness which afflicted Thomas Jones and for which he underwent two operations.

* * * *

Ymhlith erthyglau Saesneg y gyfrol hon, y mae nodyn Mr. Emyr Gwynne Jones, Llyfrgellydd Coleg Bangor, ar gynnwys Plas Cadwgan yn 1586, a ffrwyth ymchwiliadau Mr. Ifor Edwards, Ponciau, ar waith y crefftwr enwog Robert Davies, y gof o Groes Foel. Yr ydym yn hynod ddiolchgar i Mr. Emrys Jenkins a Mrs. Anna Rogers am drefnu nodiadau'r diweddar Emlyn Rogers ar y Ddeunawfed Ganrif yn Sir Ddinbych: gobeithiwn gyhoeddi cyfraniad arall o'r un ffynhonnell yn ein rhifyn nesaf.

Nid oes angen dweud wrth drigolion Hiraethog mai merch Mr. E. O. Vaughan, ysgolfeistr Llansannan, yw Miss Betty Vaughan, a gyfrannodd yr ysgrif ddiddorol ar lyfr cofnodion yr ysgol honno. Credaf bod maes toreithiog i'n chwilotwyr yn y *log-books* hyn, a bydd croeso i erthyglau wedi eu seilio arnynt yn y *Trafodion*.

Cyhoeddwn eleni hefyd, ran gyntaf traethawd Mr. George Lerry ar ddiwydiannau'r Sir.

* * * *

We must apologise to good friends who have submitted work for the *Transactions* which is not included in this number. They may rest assured that it will be published as soon as possible. But the financial situation of the Society has compelled us to reduce the size of our *Transactions* as

compared with the large volumes of 1956 and 1953, and has also induced us to change our printers. The format of the volume is, in consequence, somewhat different, but I am confident that it will prove acceptable to our members. I must voice my personal thanks to the staff of Messrs. Gee & Son for their interest and help in preparing this volume.

* * * *

In conclusion, we send our best wishes to our sister societies in Anglesey, Caernarvonshire, Merioneth, Flintshire and Montgomeryshire, and thank them for the copies of their publications which they exchange with us. These volumes present in very readable form, the fruit of a very great deal of research which is being pursued in the localities, and are in themselves a sufficient justification of the loyalty and interest shown by the many hundred members of our local historical societies.

Plas Cadwgan in 1586

AN INVENTORY OF THE GOODS AND CHATTELS OF EDWARD JONES, ESQ.

By E. GWYNNE JONES

THE transcript which follows is of a document from a file in the Public Record Office described as Exchequer Special Commissions (Denbigh), No. 3400, and relating to the possessions of Thomas Salusbury of Lleweni and Edward Jones of Plas Cadwgan, both of whom were attainted of high treason for the part which they played in the Babington Plot in June 1586, and executed the following September.

The plot, the last of a series hatched during this period to assassinate Elizabeth I and replace her on the throne by Mary, Queen of Scots, was associated with the name of Anthony Babington, scion of a wealthy Derbyshire family who had been a page in Mary's household. But behind Babington, and the true author of the enterprise, was the sinister figure of John Ballard, a Catholic priest, who, it appears, was also responsible for drawing in at least three of the other principal conspirators: Chidiock Tichborne, Robert Barnewell and Thomas Salusbury. The last named was at the time just twenty-two, the eldest son of Sir Thomas Salusbury the younger and "Catrin o Ferain". After a period at Trinity College, Oxford, he had entered the service of the Earl of Leicester, his guardian and patron, and while in London had turned Catholic and joined the group of young courtiers devoted to the Queen of Scots.[1]

In London, too, Salusbury had won a devoted friend and admirer in Edward Jones, who was likewise in Leicester's service and heir to Plas Cadwgan, one of the largest (if not the largest) estates in the manor of Esclusham a few miles out of Wrexham. His father, Edward Jones senior, the eldest son of John ap David ap Robert, would seem to have spent

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[1]see J. H. Pollen, *Mary Queen of Scots and the Babington Plot* (Publications of the Scottish History Society, 3rd series, vol. ii); and David Mathew, *The Celtic Peoples and Renaissance Europe*, 63-72

the greater part of his life in London, holding office as tailor to Queen Mary,[2] and later as a Master of the Wardrobe to Elizabeth I. Besides Plas Cadwgan itself, he had also a house in Cornhill which is mentioned in his will dated 23 January, 1580/1.[3]

From the evidence given at Edward Jones's trial, it is suggested that the part he played in the plot was a minor one, and that he was throughout under the magnetic influence of Thomas Salusbury, "my dearest friend whom I loved as myself".[4] Yet nothing availed to save him from the grim fate which overtook him and the rest of the conspirators on 21 September, 1586.

The law then took a further course: the confiscation of the traitors' estates. Luckily for the Salusburys, as the result of a great effort by a local jury it was found that an old entail preserved Thomas's estate for his family. Plas Cadwgan, however, was doomed, and on 28 November, 1586, a commission was issued to William Glaseor, esquire, Edward Hughes, esquire, receiver-general for North Wales, William Almer, esquire, of Pant Iocyn, and others to enquire as to what goods, chattells and lands Edward Jones was possessed of at the time of his attainder. Hughes and Almer with the aid of local jurors thereupon proceeded with their task, and the document annexed is their return of the contents of Plas Cadwgan itself, along with Edward's other moveable property including stock. It is of considerable interest for the light which it throws in particular on the furnishings of a house which was at that time one of the largest in the Wrexham neighbourhood.

As for the subsequent history of Plas Cadwgan, it was apparently purchased soon after Edward Jones's execution by one Thomas Cure (d. 24 May, 1588), whose son George Cure, who had been a saddler in Southwark, married Ellen, daughter of Owen Brereton of Burras. Their daughter and sole heiress, Anne, married Captain Roger Myddelton, a

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[2]He was appointed in October 1553 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls Ph. & Mary*, i, 391).
[3]A. N. Palmer, *Hist. of the country townships of the parish of Wrexham*, 8-9.
[4]*State Trials* (1742 edn.), 138.

younger son of Richard Myddelton of Wepre, Flintshire, and grandson of the Richard Myddelton who was governor of Denbigh Castle. Captain Myddelton is known to have been living at Plas Cadwgan in October 1621, if not before that date. Richard Myddelton, his eldest son who succeeded him, sold the estate to his uncle, Richard Myddelton, merchant, of London, and it was in the possession of the Myddeltons or their representatives that it remained until about 1855, when it was sold to Thomas Lloyd Fitzhugh of Plas Power.[5]

[5]Palmer, *op. cit.*, 12-4.

A SCEDULE Indented Conteyning what goods and Cattells movables Edward Johnes of Cadogan in the Countey of Denbigh esquie[r] lately attaynted was posse[d] of the v[th] Daie of June ano Regni Regine Elizabethe xxviij and at other tymes after before his Death viz:

IN PRIMIS in the hall of the mancon howse of the saide Edward Johnes cauled Plas Cadogan j drawing table of ashe, j fforme of Joyners worck, j other table with two formes, j little table at the scryne, j standing cubbord of waynscott valued at	xxvij[s] vij[d]
Itm in the litle p'ler adioyning to the hall one square table of wallnuttree, ij[o] formes to the same, j fflawnders chaire,[1] j low stoole ffor a woman and ij[o] stooles of wallnuttree valued at	xv[s]
Itm in the litle buttry or pantry, j bynne for bred, j coffer cubbord wise, j Cubbord and iiij[ur] shelves vauled at	vj[s] viij[d]
Itm in the seller ij[o] Joistes to set on beere, j tubbe to salt beefe in, iiij[vr] barrells for beere, j Chest to put candles in, and two hanging shelves valued at	x[s]
Itm in the great p'lor on the north end of the hall, j drawing table of wallnutt, iij[e] stooles, j Cort Cubbord, j little square table, and j yron harth graven in the back of the Chymney valued at	xxx[s]
Itm in a Chamber on the north end of the said p'lor one bed of wallnutt tree and waynscott, j Court Cubbord of maple tree wood, j litle square table, j fetherbed, j old Covering, ij[o] blancketts, j bolster and Curtaines of black and yellow fflanell valued at	iij[li]
Itm in one other Chamber in the said end, j standing bed w[th]out eny furniture valued at	xiij[s] iiij[d]

[1]A chair of Flemish workmanship.

Itm in one Chamb^{r} over the litle p'lor, j bedstead of waynscot wth vallance and frindge of silcke, j fetherbed and bolster, j chaire of wallnutt tree and one litle table valued at ..... } iij^{li}

Itm in one little Chamb^{r} next to the same, j bedsted wth vallance of fustian, j fetherbed and bolster and iiij^{or} stooles of wallnut tree valued at ..... } xx^{s}

Itm in the great Chamb^{r} over the great p'lor, j fayre bedsted of wallnut tree faire wrought, j fetherbed and bolster, j Cort Cubbord and j litle square table valued at ..... } vj^{li}

Itm in the next Chamb^{r} northward, j bedsted of waynscot, j fetherbed and bolster, j little table, j cubbord and j Chaire at ..... } iij^{li}

Itm in a litle rowme, j waynscot bed, iij^{e} hyswyves cou'ings, iiij^{or} heviest blancketts, iiij^{or} ould greene Cushions at ..... } xl^{s}

Itm in the next Chamb^{r} eastward two bedsteds valued at ... v^{s} viij^{d}

Itm in the next Chamb^{r} eastward, j bedsted and a flockbed and one ould course Coverlet valued at ..... } viij^{s}

Itm in the uttermoste Chamb^{r} eastward, j bedsted, ij^{o} blanckets, j square table and j Coverlet valued at ..... } xxv^{s}

Itm in one Chamb^{r} uppon the ground one bedsted of waynscot at ..... } xv^{s}

Itm in the Kytchen one table, ij^{o} formes, iij^{e} dressing tables about the Kytchen, ij^{o} kettles, j litle panne, j pott wth pothooks, j bare of yron to hang the pot on, ij^{o} gobarts, ij^{o} spitts, j skellet, viij old pewter dishes, j frying panne, j dreeping panne, ij^{o} Candlesticks, vij^{en} sawcers, j plate of pewter and j ould pipe of lead valued at ..... } xl^{s}

Itm in the Chambre cauled Edward Jones owne bedd chamb^{r} j bedstede of waynscott, one fetherbed, j blancket, j cou'ing, j bolster, j pillow wth Curtaynes of greene flannen, j Cubbord, j square table, ij^{o} ioynd stooles, iij^{e} Chests whereof ij^{o} fflaunders and j Danske,[2] ij^{o} Curtaines, and ij^{o} rodds of yron, xiiij^{ten} paire of sheets wherof iiij^{er} paire flaxen, one dozen Dim' of napkyns, iij^{e} towels, v^{e} table clothes wherof iij^{e} flaxen, and iiij^{er} pillowbeeres valued at ..... } viij^{li}

Itm in the Mayds Chamb^{r} ij^{o} trucklebedds[3] and c'taine other ymplem^{ts} valued at ..... } xx^{s}

Itm in a place cauled the milckhowse c'taine ymplem^{ts} to the value of ..... } iij^{s} iiij^{d}

Itm in the brewhowse vij^{en} tables and j Copp' panne to brew wthall set in brick and stone valued at ..... viij^{li}

---

[2]Danish.

[3]Low beds running on truckles or castors, usually pushed beneath a high or "standing" bed when not in use.

Itm in the larder w^th^in the Kytchin, j copper, j boolting trogh,[4] j table by the wall syde uppon trestles, and iij^e shelves and other smale necessaries valued at ..... } v^s

All and singuler w^ch^ p'cells are & remayne in the said Capitall mesuage cauled plas Cadogan in the custody of Willm Almer and Edward hughes esquiers.

Itm xl^tie^ sheepe and lambes valued at ..... iiij^li^
Itm vj^e^ kyne and vij^cn^ Calves valued at ..... xv^li^
Itm ij^o^ oxen valued at ..... vj^li^ xiij^s^ iiij^d^

All in the Custody of Willm Almer esquie^r^

Itm vj^e^ oxen valued at ..... xvj^li^
Itm iiij^er^ kyne valued at ..... v^li^ vj^s^ viij^d^

All in the Custody of Edward Hughes esquie^r^

Itm j stoned horse valued at ..... iiij^li^
Itm iij^e^ wagon wheels bound w^th^ yron valued at ..... x^s^
Itm ij^o^ kyne valued at ..... liiij^s^
Itm xj swyne valued at ..... iiij^li^
Itm xvj^e^ load of hey valued at ..... viij^li^
Itm wheat Rye barly and oats valued at ..... Cxiij^li^vj^s^viij^d^

All in and about the said capitall mesuage and the barnes & other howses of Offyce to the same belonging in the Custody of Willm Almer and Edward Hughes esquie^rs^

Itm oats threshed and sould by the said Willm Almer and Edward Hughes esquie^rs^ ..... vj^li^ vj^s^

Tot 231.10.0 Itm in the said Capitall mesuage there ys waynscott & glass p'teyning to the said mesuage w^ch^ the said Jurors doe p'sent to be due to the Quenes Ma^ty^.

W. Almer [Ed]ward Hughes | Tho: Powel John Puleston | Edd: Eyton Edward Lloyd | Hugh Holland Willm Morres ap Hugh Rowland Mer'dd

Hugh Peeke John Dd | ffoulke ap dd Mere'dd ap Tudded | Elles ap Jo^n^ ap Meredd Robert Wyn foulke

Robert Wyn ap Jevan Mad'
Lewes Gwyn

---

[4] A trough used for sifting flour, meal, etc.

Robert Davies of Croes Foel, Bersham

By IFOR EDWARDS

"THE wrought-iron gates at the entrance of the Park are very fine and were the work of two brothers, blacksmiths named Roberts of Chirk. They were first erected in the year 1719 in front of the North Court, as shown in the view of the Castle as it appeared in 1737. There they remained until early 1770, when they were removed to the New Hall Lodge, at the entrance to the Park from the Chester Road, and from there they were again removed by the present owner in the year 1888 to where they now stand, a quarter of a mile above Chirk Station."

So stated the *Chirk Castle Guidebook* in 1903, which, according to the Introduction, was "carefully compiled from various authentic sources, comprising old MSS., etc., in the possession of Richard Middelton, Esq.".

The discovery that "Roberts" was not the maker of the Gates is a comparatively recent one. It followed the disclosure that first Oswestry, then Wrexham, Church Gates were made by Mr. Davies.

The Parish Registers of Oswestry Church were the first to reveal the name of "Mr. Davis of Cross Voyle". The controversy began just before the turn of the century. A letter appeared in the *Byegones.*[1] It was signed "M", and proved to be the work of Philip H. Minshall of Oswestry. This entry contained a letter which he had received from A. N. Palmer. The entry reads:

> "A reference to the Parish Registers shows that at a Vestry Meeting held in Oswestry on Sept. 17th, 1738, the Churchwardens of the Town and Parish were ordered to put up these gates and it also appears from the Churchwardens' Accounts that the Gates cost £31 11s 0d, which was paid in equal third shares by

[1] *Bygones*: 2 February, 1898.

the Town and Upper Division and Lower Division of the Parish, the payment being made to a 'Mr. Davis of Cross Voyle'. Can any reader tell me where this Cross Voyle is? (Signed) M.
P.S. The following letter is interesting . . .

My dear Sir,—

In reply to the letter of the 6th instant received this morning.

1. There is a large farm-house called Croes Foel, about 2½ miles from Wrexham, in the township of Esclusham, not far from the Bersham Foundry, formerly so celebrated; but the Foundry was never tenanted by any one of the name of Davies, so far as I know. (See Postscript.)

2. On the other side of Wrexham and also about 2½ miles from Wrexham, was, and is, a famous smithy in the township of Gourton (or Bieston) near Glan-y-pwll. And I have often wondered whether any good wrought-iron work was turned out of it, such as ornamental gates, lamps and the like. But last century it was carried on by a family surnamed Roberts[2] and since by a family called Edwards.

3. I do not know by whom Wrexham Church Gates were made. I know the year of their erection, but most unfortunately the parish books for the two or three years before and after their erection have been lost. I am sorry I cannot help you. The "Cross Voyle" you speak of can hardly be in any case the Croes Foel near Wrexham.

I remain,

Yours sincerely,

ALFRED NEOBARD PALMER.

P.S. I find that in 1742 and 1743 Mr. Robert Davies lived at the Croes Foel, Esclusham, and afterwards it was owned for a while by Mr. John Davies; but Mr. Robert Davies was a farmer, or rather a Yeoman."[3]

Mr. Palmer refers to this again in his *History of the Country Townships of Wrexham.*[4] In the section on Esclusham he writes: "Still more interesting is it to learn (from Philip H. Minshall, Esq.) that Oswestry Church Gates were supplied in 1738 by a 'Mr. Davis of Cross Voyle' (see *Bye-gones* 2 February, 1898) and the discovery of the missing

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[2]This seems to indicate that Palmer was also conscious of the name "Roberts" as the maker of Gates in the locality.

[3]Robert Davies, smith, must have been quite wealthy by 1742.

[4]*A History of the Country Townships of Wrexham* (1903) by A. N. Palmer, p. 16.

Churchwardens' Book for 1719-23 has[5] revealed the fact that Robert Davies, smith, was also the maker of the present churchyard gate of Wrexham erected in 1720. An entry (communicated to me by Mr. W M. Middelton) from the Disbursement Book of Chirk Castle under date 7 Oct., 1720, shows that this Robert Davies was of Croes Foel."

It should be noted that, although it had been established that Robert Davies was the maker of the Wrexham and Oswestry Gates, it had not been revealed that he was also the maker of the Chirk Castle Gates. Apparently Chirk Castle Accounts were in process of being sorted out at this time. The important point is that after 180 years, the name of "Mr. Davis of Cross Voyle" had come to light.

There are not many references in Palmer's books to the Davies family of Croes Foel. There can be no doubt that the letter in *Byegones* spurred him on. He states further[6]: " Croes Foel appears after the time of the Robertses[7] to have been possessed by a family named Davies. At any rate Mr. Robert Davies was charged for the estate in 1742, and afterwards Mr. John Davies. There was a smithy near Croes Foel, apparently in Bersham, belonging to these Davieses, and I have seen a copy of the will (dated 13 June, 1720) of Hugh Davies, smith of Esclusham, wherein Robert, Hugh, John and Thomas, sons of the testator are named . . . An entry from the disbursement book of Chirk Castle, under date 7 Oct. 1720[8] shows that this Robert Davies was of Croes Foel. I note the following entries in the parish registers of Wrexham:

2 Sept. 1702. Hugh Davis, Smyth of Grose Voyle, Esclusham was Buryed.

7 Feb. 1748. Mr. Robert Davies of E(sclusham) B(elow), smith, bur.d.

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[5]The Book for this period is missing again.

[6]*Ibid,* p. 16.

[7]*Ibid,* p. 15. The Roberts family owned the estate of Hafod y bwch fawr which included Croes Foel. John Roberts was the last occupant. He married the daughter at Llwyn Ynn, Ruthin, and went there to live. He left Hafod y bwch fawr about 1709.

[8]Disbursement Book. Entry 7 October, quoted later.

3 Mch. 1755. John Davies of Croes Voil, smith, buried."

The following extract also occurs in the same work[9]: " However I have to add that I have now traced Mr. Roberts' Mills back to 1717 and 1716 when Thomas Davies was a tenant. I believe he was a smith and the younger brother of Mr. Robert Davies of Croes Foel and that the gates of Oswestry and Wrexham Churchyards were made by him at this place."[10] (This statement is probably the source of the confusion of names.)

John Davies, who was buried in 1755 was baptised in Wrexham 1682-3 (also according to Palmer). Thus in 1702, when Robert the Senior member of the family was busily employed on the Middelton[11] estate in Bersham, John would be about twenty, i.e., old enough to be a competent wrought-iron worker.

Mr. Starkie Gardner, who assisted in the early collection of wrought-iron work at the Victoria and Albert Museum, was busy in the Wrexham locality at the turn of this century.

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[9]A. N. Palmer. *op. cit.*, p. 57.

[10]Records at Chirk Castle, Wrexham, Oswestry and Ruthin Churches refer to Robert Davies mainly, and sometimes to John; not to Thomas. Mr. Hugh Davies, after making Robert his heir, in succession to his wife Eleanor, also left the sum of £7 10s to Robert "for which he is to instruct my son Thomas in the trade and science of a smith". Whether Thomas ever became a smith is not known. Many authors referring to the Bersham smiths have spoken of Robert and Thomas; this should be Robert and John. The article on "Sir George Wynne, Baronet" (Leeswood) by Henry Taylor, M.A., F.S.A.—*Flintshire Hist. Soc. Transactions* 1922, states: " Mr. Maxwell Ayrton writing in *Country Life* Magazine (issues of 5 September and 14 October, 1914) on 'Two Welsh Gatesmiths' *proves* that both the White Gates and the Black Gates are the work of the brothers Robert Davies and Thomas Davies of Groes Foel, Bersham near Wrexham, etc." A study of these articles reveals that Mr. Ayrton does not refer to "Thomas", except in the Will, already quoted. Nor does he attempt to give any such proof: he merely ascribes the Leeswood Gates to them on stylistic evidence. This source—the article on "Sir George Wynne, Baronet"—has been used by more than one writer, when referring to the smiths of Croes Foel. It should be emphasised that so far no documents relating to Davies Gates have referred to "Thomas"; Robert was evidently the Senior and important smith, helped by John. At the same time, it is very likely that all the family—male and female—partook in this enterprise; as was customary with the family of Jean Tijou: there is an old print showing Tijou at work with all his family.

[11]Chirk Castle Accounts. "1702" (p. 332). Quoted later.

He was wrongly informed by Mr. Middelton, as A. N. Palmer had been, that the Chirk Castle Gates were the work of "Roberts". It is as such that he refers to the "two brothers, local smiths named Roberts" in the chapter he devotes to them in his book.[12] Despite the fact he had the name wrong we are indebted to Mr. Gardner for the first careful ascription of the work of the "two brothers". This name was corrected by Mr. Maxwell Ayrton in two articles in *Country Life*[13] a few years later; but it is evident that Mr. Ayrton had the work of Mr. Gardner as his model. The main additions, he made, were the Gates at Erddig and Malpas. When Mr. Gardner visited the Wrexham locality, the Erddig Gates were at Stansty: as such they were instanced by Mr. A. N. Palmer; and a photograph of them is also included in his book on *The Country Townships*, etc.[14]. It seems the transfer was effected about 1902.[15] (The present Gates at Erddig are certainly identical with those in Palmer's book.)

Regarding the statement that the Gates in the Wrexham area were assumed to have been made by "Roberts", mention has already been made of Palmer's reference to Roberts of Bieston;[2] and to the inclusion of the name in Starkie Gardner's work.[12] Both Palmer and Gardner stated they were informed that Roberts was the maker of the Chirk Gates by

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[12] *English Ironwork of the 17th & 18th Centuries* by Starkie Gardner: Batsford. 1911.

[13] "Two Welsh Gatesmiths": *Country Life*. Two articles, in the editions of 5 September and 14 October, 1914. Mr. Ayrton incorporated these articles, with slight variations, in his book, *Wrought Iron & its decorative uses*. Country Life 1929 (written with A. Silcock).

[14] *Ibid*, p. 194.

[15] "Erthig Park" by Avray Tipping: *Country Life*, 27 November, 1909. "The gates illustrated are not original to Erthig, but are a fine local product. Those opening from the Wrexham Road were a present to Mr. Yorke from his neighbours and tenants on his second marriage in 1902; but the grille and clair-voyée long belonged to Stansty, a neighbouring house that the close presence of a coalpit has long caused to be untenanted." (This is the only information I can find relating to the transfer of the gates from Stansty.) Palmer states in his *Country Townships* (p. 194) that the Park at Stansty was laid out by Richard Thompson, 1830-32, who "erected the beautiful iron gates (which were made at Ruabon Furnace) at the park entrance on Mold Road". This statement *re* the Gates, was obviously incorrect. The original entrance to Stansty was much nearer to Wrexham. This was changed in 1855. The Gates would have been built during the time John Edwards lived at Stansty (buried 1732). It seems strange that Mr. Gardner should have overlooked these Gates: during his visit they would have been at Stansty!

Mr. Middelton, the owner of Chirk Castle. Maxwell Ayrton has also accounted that when he first visited the area (I believe it was in 1896) he was informed by the landlord of the Inn at Chirk that "the Gates were the work of a local smith named Roberts and his daughter".

Hugh Davies had four sons, Robert, Hugh, John and Thomas; and six daughters, Anne, Magdalen, Jane, Sarah, Eliner and Margaret. Robert was the senior member; and undoubtedly the accomplished smith. The fact that "Roberts" was credited with the work, which we now know to have been made by Davies, points in this direction: it was "Robert's work". No doubt all members of the family assisted at the Forge; but besides Robert, only John is mentioned in the Castle Accounts as having worked on the Chirk Gates with Robert. The person with whom we are really concerned is Robert Davies. According to Palmer, Thomas Davies was a tenant of the Mills belonging to Mr. Roberts, of Hafod y bwch, in 1716/17 (presumably before the land was first leased by Charles Lloyd of Dolobran). In the[16] beginning of the year 1725/6 "the mills and land at the Furnace (Bersham)" were sub-let by Charles Lloyd "to Jno Davies miller there". This adds weight to the fact that Robert Davies, Senior, was the important smith of the family. It is the name Robert Davies which should stand with the great smiths of the early 18th century, such as Bakewell, Edney, Robinson, and Warren. The name "Davies Brothers" is really a misnomer.

Maxwell Ayrton's articles in *Country Life*[13] are important as an assessment of available knowledge of the work of the Davies brothers. The first one sets out all the documentary evidence available to that date; and the second one seeks to ascribe various other gates to them, using stylistic data from their known gates.

Readers should be aware of certain extravagant, unfounded statements which Mr. Ayrton charges against the

[16]The Diary of John Kelsall, at Friends' House Library, Euston. Volumes II to V relate, mainly, to his activities around Bersham. 11th 2nd mo. 1725/6: "Let the mills and land, etc." Kelsall, like his employer Charles Lloyd of Dolobran, was a Quaker.

work of the Davieses. Mr. Gardner has a much fuller and more just appraisal of their work in his book.[12] Mr. Hussey, in an article,[17] also illustrates that he was aware of the shortcomings of some of Mr. Ayrton's statements. This is not intended in any way to invalidate the valuable groundwork set out by Mr. Ayrton.

In the article of 9 September the following documentary proofs are given:

> 2 June 1720. Pd William Rogers for taking down the old gates. Robert Davies Smith paid . . . £24.

(This is Mr. Palmer's extract from the entry in the Churchwarden's Register at Wrexham Church, 1719-23.)

Extracts follow, received by Mr. Ayrton from Mr. William Middelton of Lincoln, taken from the original disbursement book of Chirk Castle:

1719. July 28. Smiths. Iron gates	Pd. Robert Davies Smith in full of what he and his brother did at ye Iron Gates from ye Octob. 1717 to ye 21 December following . . . £10 16s 9d.
1721. Aug. 15.	Pd. Mr. Robert Davies, Smith ye remaindr of all due to him and his brother John for workeing ye Iron Gates before ye ffront of ye Castle . . . £12 13s 6d.
Sept. 15th.	Being a mistake in ye last payment made ye 15 Aug. and he underpd. by . . . £1 13s 6d.
1720. Oct. 7.	Pd. Robert Davies, Smith, 10 li(£10) wch my master subscrib'd towards ye Iron Gates at Wrexham Churchyard . . . £10 0s 0d.

[17]Leeswood Hall—article by Christopher Hussey: *Country Life*—30 July, 1943. Mr. Ayrton objected to the broken pediments, and insisted that a plain horizontal line would have been more suitable in the design of the White Gates. Mr. Hussey wrote: "A strong horizontal motif is provided by the fret-work frieze, only slightly arched over the central gate, and the pediments, so far from breaking it, to my eye perfectly diversify what might otherwise look excessively long." The Screen is 100 ft. in length.

(Regarding the Chancel Gates in the Wrexham Church, he intimates the possibility that they, like the Malpas side-walk gates, were the work of Hugh Davies, the father of Robert Davies.)

Nov. 2 1720. Pd. by Mr. Roberts (the Chirk Agent) to Robert Davies for ye Iron work done at Ruthin Church . . . £23 18s 1d.

(It is not quite clear what was involved by this "Iron work".)

1727/8. Jan. 22. Pd. Robert Davies of Croes Foel, Smith, which my master was pleased to give towards erecting Iron Gates upon Ruthin Church yard, Mr. Watt Williams and other subscribers' money was pd. ye sd. smith £20, in pte for the said Gates ye same day . . . £5 5s 5d.

This entry, giving the date of the erection of the Ruthin Church Gates, is substantiated by the following entry from the Church Warden's Accounts 1728-31:

April 10 1728: 'It records that Edward Price of Llanbedr "contributes 10/6d towards making ye new gate".'

From the Oswestry Churchwardens' Book for the Lower Division: "The Disbursements of John Kynaston one of the Churchwardens of the Parish of Oswestry in the year 1738 Lower Division. For Mr. Davies my part for the Iron Gates . . . £11 10s 4d."

Having established the names of these gates, with documentary evidence to prove they were the work of the Davieses, Mr. Ayrton then proceeds to ascribe other gates to the brothers in his second article.[12] He confines himself to a geographical area, as Mr. Gardner had done, defined only, by a reasonable distance from the central smithy, i.e., Croes Foel.

He assumes the Leeswood Gates are by the brothers on the evidence given by Mr. Gardner—that the dog-bars in these gates are similar to those at Chirk Castle.

Mr. Ayrton refers to the use of the "curious diamond fret patterns in the piers of the Eaton Hall and Leeswood Gates. He then concludes that the Eaton Gates must also be the work of the Davieses. The presence of the "diamond fret work" in both the Leeswood and Eaton Gates certainly indicates that they were possibly by the same hand; but it is rather a big step, on this evidence alone, to conclude that they were by the Davieses.

This claim is further strengthened, however, by the fact that in the Eaton Gates, "Here again are found the small circular moulded terminals at the four corners of the caps and of the piers, already noticed in the caps at Ruthin and Wrexham".

Similarly, the Emral Hall Gates:[18] "Here again on a smaller scale (referring to the small gates) are caps almost identical with those at Ruthin." (This reference is to the leaf-work on the caps, not to the little round moulded terminals.)

He ascribes Erddig Gates to them, but gives no evidence of proof.

In addition to the gates named, Mr. Ayrton indicates the possibility that the following gates may also have been made by the Davieses: Malpas (Double and Single Gates—now under repair); Carden Hall, near Malpas; Newnham Paddox, Leicestershire (almost identical with those at Eaton Hall); Abbey House Gates, Shrewsbury; Powis Castle Gates, Welshpool, and (remotely possible) the Gates at Plas Llanrhydd and Mere Hall, Droitwich.

It is unfortunate that there is no direct documentary evidence available to substantiate the claim that the Davieses were the makers of either the Leeswood, or the Eaton Gates. The use of the diamond fret pattern certainly provides a link to suggest they were by the same smith. The Newnham

[18]Only the Stables remain of the old Emral Hall. The Hall was demolished in the 1930s; and the Gates were removed to Eaton Hall. I understand they are shortly to reappear in their new setting at Eccleston Church, near Chester (1956). An article in *Country Life*: 4 December, 1897, states that Caldecott illustrated the lodge gate of "Bracebridge Hall" for Washington Irving, and "draws this very gate (Emral) to illustrate" it. The point of interest is that Caldecott, who was from Shropshire and knew Emral very well, "has placed the gate at the lodge across the park". In the setting, as it was photographed in Mr. Ayrton's book[13] it certainly seems out of place.

Paddox Gates, also, have a close connection with the Eaton Gates: the design is almost identical; but perhaps this identity has come about because Vanbrugh was possibly the architect; and the smiths worked within the general framework of his design. The Newnham Gates were then at Berwick Park, Shrewsbury, the home of the Powis family. Mr. Gardner believed that the three gates were the work of the Davieses, whereas Mr. Ayrton was somewhat dubious about the Newnham Gates, as they bear the characteristics of Bakewell of Derby—a famous smith with whom, Mr. Ayrton claimed, the Davieses worked at one time. Unfortunately Mr. Ayrton gave no proof of this.

It is possible that although the Eaton and Newnham Gates are almost identical, they were made by different smiths. Whereas the design of the two gates was by the same architect, the work may have been by different smiths. In favour of the Davieses, on the other hand, it may be said that the motifs of the Newnham Gates are similar to those of the Black Gates at Leeswood. They either show the influence of Bakewell on the Davieses, or else they show the hand of Bakewell. Then again in favour of the Davieses is the fact that the Newnham (formerly Berwick Park) Gates and the Leeswood Gates fall within the geographical limit of the Davieses work; Bakewell, on the other hand, worked in the Derby area.

There is certainly a close connection between the gates at Leeswood, Eaton and Newnham; and to these, I believe, can be added the gates and ironwork at Aldenham Park, Bridgnorth.[19] These gates, and balcony rails, may prove to be the connecting link between the others. The diamond fretwork is present in a simplified form; the work seems prior to that at Leeswood and Eaton.

Although there is no direct documentary evidence to prove that any one of these gates was made by either Robert Davies or his brother, the following entries in the Kelsall

[19]The cipher on the kitchen garden gates and the main gates is WEA: Whitmore and Elizabeth Acton. Sir Whitmore succeeded in 1716 and died in 1732. Hence the gates belong to this period. The house was built in 1694, and the Drive followed the same line as at present.

Diary[18] compensate in part for the loss of the Hall documents. They almost certainly establish that Robert Davies was at Leeswood in May 1726, and was still there in August 1726, and that large sums of money were paid him.

John Kelsall, keeper of the Diary, was clerk to Charles Lloyd, owner of the Bersham Furnaces, in 1726. On the 13 May, 1726, he "went to see the colliers at Pontblyddyn", and visited the "Wynnes of the Tower" to arrange for cord-wood. He "came back by *Geo. Wynnes new house* at Leeswood which is a neat and sumptuous seat".[20] The diary continues:

18th of 8th mo. 1721: I went to Newtown (from Dolobran) being a Fair there, here I met with my two Landlords from Salop Jn. Lloyd and Robert Davies. (This entry has no direct relation to the following entries, but has to be included because it has to be shown that this Robert Davies of Shrewsbury has no connection with the Robert Davies mentioned in the year 1726. In 1721 Kelsall rarely left Dolobran: the landlord mentioned in the entry for this year, presumably held royalties on the land about Dolobran. Now there is no mention of Robert Davies, or R.D., until the 11 May, 1726. By that time Kelsall spends most of his time at Bersham.)

11th of May . . . I went to Chester and got Bills from G. Warrington[21] for 320£ which sent to R.D. . . . (Two days

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[20]It seems that George Wynne's house at Leeswood was erected before he became M.P. for Flint District Boroughs in 1727. The large sums of money paid to Robert Davies indicated that he was employed on the White Gates and Screen (perhaps the Black Gates as well). The absence of a Drive in an early 1800 Print seems to indicate that the White Screen was intended to blend with Switzer's early attempt at landscape gardening. Switzer, who worked under Henry Wise, was a pioneer of landscape gardening, when formal gardening was still the mode. With the development of landscape gardening under "Capability" Brown, the need for wrought-iron work grew less.

[21]George Booth, Earl Warrington—Earl Delamere, is recorded as a freeman of Chester in 1721. Described as a "gentleman". The family had a house in Chester: Cholmondoley House; this was destroyed in 1660; but the family continued to reside at Chester—at one time in Northgate Street. This may be the G.W. referred to. Many ironmongers in Chester are mentioned in the Coalbrookdale Stock Books for this period; but G.W. does not occur. If he was in the iron business—as he must have been, in one form or another—then he must have been supplied from Bersham. Perhaps he was one who helped in the *Rake's Progress.*

later—on the 13—Kelsall was at Pontblyddyn and Leeswood, and saw Geo. Wynne's house for the first time, as related. On the 16 there is reference to a further "Bill of 80£ to R.D." which was sent from Wrexham.)

20th . . . E.D. (Edward Davies of Abenbury—the former Bersham clerk) went with me to Chester where we along with R. Wildman procured Bills from G.W. for 400£.

23rd . . . Went to Town (Wrexham) sent a letter to R.D. and to J. Wynne of Tower (Leeswood) . . . received some money from R.O. (Robert Owen?) and gave him a Bill on R.D. for it. (The post-carrier is delivering a letter to "Wynne of Tower", *re* cordwood; and presumably is taking a letter to R.D. at the same time. A fortnight now elapses to the 8th.)

8th. 6th mo. 1726 . . . having wrote to J. Wynne again about his wood in answer to one I had from him. (Another week elapses.)

13th—16th. Pntblyddyn—looking after carriers . . . then went by G. Wynne of Leeswood and over the mountains to Ruthin . . .

18th . . . Went this day early to Chester and got there about 9ho. procured a Bill from G.W. of 400£ and sent it to R.D. (Before the end of the month, Kelsall has returned to Dolobran to attend to affairs there. On the 31st he returns to Bersham.)

31st. 6th mo. . . . about 11ho. set out for Bersham along with Robert Davies, Sen. parted with him at Bryngwyn went on to Llanymuniad(?) (probably Llandysilio, near Llanymynech) stayed till past 3h. waiting for W. W(inter) from Salop he not coming I went forward and lodged the night at Ruabon. (R.D. was going directly from Bersham, past the Bridgeman estate.[41])

7th of 7th mo. 1726 (This time Kelsall was in Bersham. Taken in conjunction with the entry below—4th of 11th

month—it confirms that "Robert Davies, Sen., was the smith of Croes Foel): Set out pretty early called on Robt. Davies Sen. about some iron for him. came to Oswestry . . .

19th of 9th mo. (Kelsall had returned to Dolobran): W.W. returned from the Furnace (Bersham) with an Account that it ceased blowing with Charcoal on the 13th. inst. and begun with coal.

31st of 10th m.: In the evening I effected my business with G.W.[21] and spent most of that night with Rd. Wildman at Peter Leadbetters.[22]

4th of 11th mo.: Went to the Furnace in the morning and dined at Thos. Dods at Havod y bwch with J. Ravenshaw, T. Astley[23] and several from Wrexham. I left there before night came to Robt. Davies of Croesvoile and stayed awhile with him then returning to the Furnace was busy drawing out some Accounts. (This is the last reference to Robert Davies, or R.D. In the following four months there are entries relating to money matters with G.W.)

In 1721, when the reference is made in the Diary to his meeting his landlord, Robert Davies, in Newtown Fair, Kelsall was employed by Charles Lloyd as clerk to the Dolobran Furnace. Charles Lloyd was also owner of the Bersham Works; but John Kelsall rarely visited Bersham at this time. The Bersham clerk was Ed. Davies, who later owned the Abenbury Forge. Bersham Accounts, even in the early days (from 18 December, 1720) were checked at Dolobran; Ed. Davies would take the books there for Kelsall to audit.

It seems strange, at first sight, that, if the Leeswood Gates were being built in 1726, Kelsall makes no mention of them. But when the Diary is considered as a whole, it is found that Kelsall does not refer to any gates; as on one

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[22]Peter Leadbetter—a "Quaker"—was a brewer in Chester.

[23]Thos. Astley, the new Bersham clerk, in succession to E. Davies, is first mentioned in the Kelsall Diary on 3 October, 1726: "This forenoon Thos Astley our new clerk went along with me to the coalpits, and returning we dined at Baron Merediths."

occasion he records in the Diary (11th 11th mo. 1724): "Returned home. came by Chirk Castle with Ed. Davies saw Esq. Middelton who invited us heartily to his house, but we did not alight here . . ."—yet he makes no comment on the gates, which he must have passed, as they were then Forecourt Gates, and not in the present position.

The fact that more than £800 was paid out by Kelsall to R.D. in 1726 seems strange. Such sums, paid out within six months, seem excessive if regarded as royalties.[24] It seems likely from the Account that Robert Davies had some form of understanding with Kelsall, concerned with his work as a smith, and in the supply of iron from Bersham. I believe the reference in the Diary for 22nd 3rd mo. 1723/4 (also partly quoted in [25]): ". . . called at Oswestry to settle some accounts with O.H. which kept me late, and went afterwards by Pont y blow (blew) Forge . . ."—has a significance in this direction, i.e., that Kelsall was obtaining cast-iron mouldings from Owen Hughes of Oswestry for Robert Davies; he in turn obtained these from Coalbrookdale. In other words, Kelsall was obtaining the contracts for Robert Davies; and in return (partly at least), Robert Davies was getting his iron from Kelsall.

From the Diary Account, it seems that R.D. was at Leeswood in 1726. In the same period R.D. is identified as "Robert Davies, Sen.". Kelsall left him at Bryngwyn—both were on their way to Bersham—to meet W. Winter at Llan-

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[24]The Letters of Richard Ford to Thos Goldney: 1732-37. (Photostat copies of these letters are on loan to Shrewsbury Library, by permission of Lady Labouchere, Bridgnorth.) The letter of 9 June, 1734, shows that Jn. Hawkins owed royalties of £40 from the Bersham Furnace to Thos Meredith of Pentre bychan Hall, Esclusham. That money was, evidently, owing for a long period, as Jn. Hawkins was appealing to his brother-in-law, R. Ford, to help him out of a tight corner. In comparison, a payment of £800 in six months would be far too great a sum to pay out in royalties. It is strange that no mention is made of the Davies family of Croes Foel. John Hawkins lived by the Furnace: Letter 31 August, 1736: "his House by being upon ye spot," etc., yet does not refer to them. These Letters must surely be the same as those Bersham Letters so often referred to as being in the possession of the late Mr. R. G. Smallwood, a friend of A. N. Palmer. The quotation, which Palmer uses in his "John Wilkinson, etc.," concerning the iron at Ivie's Furnace in Ruabon: "that as white as silver" so that "he can scarce get it out of the hearth", occurs in the Letter of 9 February, 1732. He evidently had access to these Letters from his friend, R. G. Smallwood.

dysilio, who was due from Salop. This "Robert Davies, Sen." is next at Bersham; and Kelsall, who was lodging at Bersham at this time, called on him "pretty early". R.D. is then referred to as "Robt. Davies of Croesvoile". Kelsall was subsequently busy with his accounts.

Documents relating to Chirk Castle and Wrexham Church prove that Robert and John Davies were busy from October 1717 to 22 February, 1722.[25] From that date, until Robert was employed at Ruthin Church in 1727-28, the only document which refers to him is the "Kelsall Diary", in 1726, when, it seems, Robert Davies was engaged at Leeswood, and large sums of money were paid to him.[19] Then, following the reference to Robert Davies at Ruthin Church, 1727-28, we have no record of Robert Davies, until he is mentioned in the Churchwardens' Book at Oswestry Church[1] in 1738.

It is possible that by 1738, at least, Robert Davies employed other workers on the smaller gates. Otherwise it

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[25]Chirk Castle Accounts: "July 28th, 1719 . . . of what he and his brother did at ye Iron Gates from ye Octob. 1717 . . ." There are many entries in the Castle Accounts referring to the Gates, but few are relevant to this article. Of interest, however, is the entry for 9 September, 1719: "Pd. Mr. Owen Hughes of Oswestry, Ironmonger, for 1 cwt 17 lbs of sheet-iron at 5d. per lb . . . and for ye caryage to Chirke 4d. p. ye Iron Gates . . ." In the Coalbrookdale Stock Book 1718-27, there are entries for each year to show that Owen Hughes of Oswestry received iron from Coalbrookdale (Stock Book: Shrewsbury Library). Reference was made above to the connections between Kelsall and O.H.: "To settle some accounts with O.H." (Kelsall Diary: 22nd 3rd mo. 1723/4). The Davieses certainly had iron from Bersham, which was owned by C. Lloyd as early as 1717 (Erthig Papers: *The Industrial Revolution in N Wales* by A. H. Dodd; pp. 23-24). Thus the iron of the Chirk Gates came from both Bersham and Coalbrookdale; and also from Pont y blew Forge, Chirk: *Ibid.* "Aug 27th 1719: Pd Thomas Carden, Hammerman at Pont y Blew Forge, his bill for drawing Plates (Sheet-iron) & for pticular use in ye Iron Gates . . ." See note 33 *re* Pig-iron from Plasmadoc. The entries 29 July and 2 November, 1720, show that Robert Davies was also engaged in some "Iron work done at Ruthin Church", i.e., immediately after, or during, the time he was busy on the Wrexham Gates. It is difficult to assess what this iron-work amounted to. It must have been on a big scale as the Bill to Mr. Thomas Hall for iron was £24 11s 9d; and to Robert Davies £23 18s 1d. The entry for 22 February, 1722, was the last one made referring to Robert Davies "for work done at ye Statues in ye outward court at ye Iron Gates, etc.". These refer to the massive statues of "Hercules and Mars"—set up on the Farnese model. "Hercules" still remains. "Mars" had disappeared before 1854, when George Borrow visited the Castle (*Wild Wales*: Everyman Ed.: pp. 318-19).

is difficult to account for the lack of development in the gates; as Chirk Gates were erected twenty years earlier than Oswestry, yet there is no comparison in the workmanship.

On indirect evidence, the Emral Gates were probably built in 1724-25. In an article on "Emral Hall",[26] Mr. Avray Tipping says: "Valuable documents were found in 1861 among a mass of papers, dating from the 13th to the 19th centuries, which lay in a heap under the finely timbered roof of Emral Hall, and which being then removed, escaped pillage while the house was derelict, and destruction when it was ablaze in 1904 . . . the Emral Collection was published by the Camden Society."[27]

Mr. Tipping continues: ". . . the bills for the building of the wings are all extant and are dated from 1724-1727. They were erected in place of old ones by Sir Roger's (Puleston) son, who did not come of age until 1716. As the details of the elevation of the wings belong to precisely the same school as the iron work, and the woodwork, we may suppose that he did the whole of the alterations, despite their savouring strongly of the days of William III. The great gates with their stately, rusticated, urn-topped posts, are among the good examples of the elaborate smith's work, which prevailed in this district at the time, and of which Chirk and Leeswood offer us the most splendid specimens. The gates open from the park into an outer court flanked by stable buildings ten years later in date than the wings."

These bills which Mr. Tipping claimed he saw in 1910 are the best evidence to support the claim that the Emral Gates were made c. 1724-25. These gates are shortly to be re-erected at Eccleston Church.[17]

The absence of Churchwardens' Books for the 1725-30 period at Mold Parish Church is unfortunate, as the Chancel

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[26]"Emral Hall"—*Country Life* by A. Tipping: 19 February, 1910.

[27]Mr. M. Ayrton referred to these documents of 1724-27; but said that he failed to find them; that was in 1914. The only publication of the Camden Society, referring to Emral Papers is that concerning the "Letters of Queen Margaret of Anjou & Bishop Beckington & Others: Written in the Reigns of Henry V & Henry VI".—Camden Society: 1863.

Gates, now at Gwysaney Hall, Mold, were almost certainly made by the Davieses.[28]

The gates were probably made in the 1726-29 period, when Sir George Wynne was in his hey-day. If this were so, he would have contributed much, if not all, of the cost. The Halkyn lead vein yielded £22,000 per annum at this period; but after the 1734 election, Sir George needed all the money he could obtain, to pay for the dispute which arose with his opponent, Sir John Glynne:[29] the dispute was reputed to have cost them both about £35,000. Taking these conditions into account, the Mold Chancel Gates (Gwysaney) were probably made about 1726/7, or after the Ruthin Gates 1728/9-30. The fact that Robert Davies was busy at Leeswood in 1726 would have a connection in this respect.

Sir George's commitments began to pile up after 1734, so it would be true to say, if he contributed towards the Chancel Gates, payment would have been made before that date. A strange paradox: that the money of the "Rake"[30] should be responsible for permitting both Richard Wilson and Robert Davies to express their creative abilities; Richard Wilson to become one of the foremost artists our country has produced, and Robert Davies to create the White Screen, which Mr. Gardner claimed was a rival to the famous Hampton Court Screen by Jean Tijou.

Unfortunately the Kelsall Diary cannot help us to resolve whether Robert Davies returned to Leeswood, or to Mold,

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[28]"Gwysaney, Flintshire": by Christopher Hussey (the home of Mr. P. T. Davies-Cooke): *Country Life*—14 May, 1943. "The fine wrought-iron gates at the east corner of the house were turned out of Mold Church, and are almost certainly the work of a Welsh craftsman of a very different order, that great smith Davies of Wrexham". Mr. Rutter Thomas, one of the oldest inhabitants of Mold, said (in 1956) he thought he had a faint recollection of seeing the Gwysaney Gates as Chancel-gates in the Church. He thought they were moved to Gwysaney, about the time of the great-grandfather of the present squire.

[29]*Flintshire Hist. Soc. Transactions.* Vol. IX, 1922: "Sir George Wynne, M.P. Flint District Boroughs, 1727-41."

[30]*The Rake's Progress* series were painted by Hogarth in 1735. The parallel between the rise of Sir George Wynne (and later his fall) and Hogarth's *Rake* have been shown by many. Hogarth has certainly twisted the story of Sir George, as he knew it, to suit his own "moral". An entry in the *Chirk Castle Accounts* is of interest here: 10 June, 1735 (John Middelton): "Paid Wm. Hogarth as subscription to ye 'Rake's Progress', etc."

after he had finished his work in Ruthin 1727-28. By August 1728, Charles Lloyd was faced with bankruptcy, and Kelsall was busily engaged in pleading with his creditors to accept half of the debt. In May 1730, he had left Dolobran and Bersham, and had returned as clerk to his old works at Dol-gun (near Dolgelley). There are no further references to Robert Davies after the 4 November, 1726.

There are, however, two entries which may possibly have some connection with the work of Robert Davies. The first is on the 31 March, 1730: ". . . near Bridgenorth, Jno. Brindley at Hide a bill of £132 for iron sold last mo." The second is on 30 April, 1730: "Went to Welshpool Fair as also my wife, met with Henry Payton of Dudley who proposed for me to go to be their clerk at Dolgyn Furnace . . . I went afterwards to Powys Castle and spoke with the wid. Duval about some affairs and we returned home before night."

The first is of interest, because a bill of "£132 for iron" was evidently for some important work. As Bridgnorth is near to Coalbrookdale, why was the iron brought from Bersham? There is a possibility that Robert Davies was engaged at Aldenham Park, Bridgnorth, at this time, and had ordered the iron from Kelsall at Bersham. (Mr. G. W. Beard of Stourbridge tells me that Brindley had a nail-slitting mill at the Hyde, Kinver—about four miles from Stourbridge, and as far as he knew Brindley used the iron solely for this purpose.)

The second item is a little more confusing. We are not told why Kelsall found it necessary to visit the widow Duval at Powis Castle. Was it because of some outstanding debt from 1723/4? Kelsall paid many such visits in 1728/9, to former clients of Dolobran and Bersham for his bankrupt employer, Charles Lloyd. The confusion arises because of an entry in the Coalbrookdale Stockbook 1718-27:[25] "Adrian Duvall, Powis Castle—Nov. 16th 1723: Turnings, 4 Plates (Iron-sheets), 12 Door cases . . . £26 15s 6¾d. (And) Feb. 29th 1723/4: 2 Furnaces . . . £3 8s 11d."

The Powis Castle Gates, Welshpool, were, quite possibly, made by Robert Davies. In style they are related to the Chirk Castle Gates, and may well belong to that period, i.e.,

after Robert Davies had finished working at Chirk in 1722, and before he had begun the Emral Gates in 1724.

Such large gates as these and Chirk, Leeswood, Eaton, etc., necessitated their being made on the spot, and hence the use of small furnaces. The St. Paul's Cathedral Accounts[31] illustrate that Tijou's gates were set out in template by a carpenter, and work was completed, more or less, in the place of erection. The "Door cases" seems to suggest that pre-fabricated gate sections were made by the Coalbrookdale smith, and sold to order by the company. Turned ironwork and moulded finials, which the gatesmiths adapted to their gates, were also sold by the company. This accounts for the likenesses in the work of Wm. Edney (Bristol area) and that of Robert Davies: both used prepared iron from the Coalbrookdale Company. They also used similar castings, as may be seen by comparing the caps of the piers at Chirk, Eaton, etc., with some of the gates of the Bristol area (the Tredegar Park Gates, Mon., which have been ascribed to Edney, also have this in common). Such caps were sawn into shape from moulded bars. These bars were sold in lengths by the Coalbrookdale Company and were sometimes used, especially by Edney, to support the overthrow. It is doubtful whether Bersham supplied these bars; certainly not before 1726. Early references to casting at Bersham refer to the "potting" trade.[32]

Despite the reference that the "Furnace ceased this day blowing with charcoal", Kelsall was very busy throughout that year, 1726, searching out Pontblyddyn, Overton, Hanmer, etc., for cordwood. Possibly there were two furnaces at work. In that same year, too, there are many entries relating to his visits to Plasmadoc, Ruabon, and Penybryn, in search

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[31] "The Building Accounts of St. Paul's" have been published by the Wren Society; from the MSS in the St. Paul's Library.

[32] Kelsall Diary: 3rd of 12th mo. 1721: "I understood Bersham Furnace ceased this day blowing with charcoal, and went on blowing with Coakes for Potting . . ." 7th of 3rd mo. 1725/6: "I understood the Furnace cast the first time this day, and was like to do well."

of Ed. Lloyd and J. Buckley, to secure a supply of "piggs";[33] evidently the Bersham supply of iron was not sufficient to satisfy the market, or else the condition of the Bersham iron was not "grey" enough for casting. Coal they obtained from "the Rhose", on "Baron Meredith's" estate.

Coal had been used much earlier than this at Coalbrookdale. A. Darby (d. 1717) had patented his method of casting, which he had evolved from his early days at Bristol.[34]

The Aldenham Park Gates, near Bridgnorth, were almost certainly made between 1716-32.[18] These gates have never been ascribed to Robert Davies, possibly on account of their distance from Wrexham, yet the ironwork of the Drive-gates, the Kitchen-garden gate, and the balcony-rail, relates itself very closely to the work at Leeswood (in particular) and at Eaton Hall. The factors, which help to determine the possible area of work by Robert Davies, are discussed below.

Mr. Ayrton used "moulded finials" (or terminals) as a feature with which to ascribe certain gates to the Davieses. This can never be a very sound method, as similar finials were in use in many parts of the country. Coalbrookdale

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[33]I am grateful to Dr. Mott of Sheffield for referring me to the following extracts taken from an article by E. W. Hulme in the *Trans. of the Newcomen Soc.* Vol. IX (1928-9): "A list of Furnaces and Forges in England & Wales for the year 1717, computed by William Ray, a Monmouthshire Ironmaster," gives an annual figure of 300 tons of iron for the "Place Maddock" Furnace; and 250 tons for Ruabon; and "Pontyblaw" (Chirk) 100 tons. (Ed. Lloyd and J. Buckley, of Plasmadoc and Penybryn, near Acrefair, were reputed to have owned the three furnaces.) On the flyleaf of the first page was an addition (additions stated to be by a "Mr. Davies"—presumably Ed. Davies, who became Charles Lloyd's clerk at Bersham in 1717; and later bought Abenbury Forge): it stated "Bersham 300", "Abbenhiry" 70 tons and "Dolabrand" 190 tons. Little is known of the Plas Madoc Furnace; but at this time it seems the output was equivalent to that from Bersham. Bersham produced little more than this at any time before the Wilkinsons took over. The "Rhose" belonged to Meredith of Pentre bychan, Bersham; and probably extended towards the land at Llwyn einion, owned by John Hughes. There are traces still of stonework at Plasmadoc, of what may once have been the original furnace. In the above computation of iron "Bodferry" is quoted as producing 150 tons. The Middeltons of Chirk had property at Bodffari (35), and probably began the Iron concern there as they are reputed to have done at Ponyblew, and probably at Bersham too.

[34]Norris MS VIII (Friends' House Library): 18 April, 1707: Grant to Abraham Darby "of Bristol, smith, of the sole use and benefit of his new invention of casting iron-bellied potts and other iron-bellied ware which may be afforded cheaper than any yet in use."

produced large quantities of these, and probably Bersham at a later date. Nevertheless, Robert Davies favoured their use, and they are present in the work at Aldenham Park. So are the round bars, decorated with leaf-shapes, in Robert Davies fashion, and most important of all, the "diamond-fret" work. The circular design on the balcony-rail (with mask) is almost a preliminary design for the circular work at Eaton Hall, modelled on Tijou's "Golden Gates" at St. Paul's Cathedral.

In the *Chirk Castle Accounts,* the entry for 1702 states: [11] "Pd. Robt. Davies, smith, of groesvoel his note for Iron, makeing skrew pins, & a new handle, hamering & holeing 2 big plates to secure the beame on the gallary . . . his journey to Pottfary[35] & stay 3 dayes chardges his horse and selfe . . . for hookes & hinges for the stable weighing 29lb. . . . lach, new locke & 2 keyes & skrewes . . . for 8lb. of best Iron & lineing, a gagin (gauge or measure) to the pentre mill & a new thomb lach to the stable doore . . ."

This indicates that Robert Davies was very busy here in 1702. His brother John was about twenty at the time and, like Robert, would be very much employed in his father's business. In September 1702, Hugh Davies, the father, died. Certain items of the Will have been quoted. It is possible that this family break-up resulted in Robert (and perhaps John also) deciding to travel to see some of the achievements of Tijou, which must have been the talk of smiths at this time. It has been suggested that the Davieses worked with Tijou at Drayton House, Kettering, on account of the use of the "diamond-fret work" by the brothers. But Tijou was not responsible for this work at Drayton.[36] The gates which have this type of pattern used as panels—unsymmetrical, as though they did not originally belong there—are on the East Avenue, and were not built by Tijou. It is possible Davies saw these. This type of interlacing work was set in Germany in the 16th century, in the panel work round the tomb of Emperor Maxmilian I at Innsbruck.[37] Such interlacing pat-

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[35]The Hendre, Bodffari, was rented by G. Middelton in 1631.
[36]*English & Scottish Wrought Ironwork* by B. S. Murphy. (Batsford: 1904).
[37]Charles ffoulkes: *Decorative Ironwork.* Methuen, 1913.

terns were also to be seen on German caskets and chests,[38] and it is possible that Robert Davies was influenced by these.

There are some features of Robert Davies's work which show a foreign influence, features which are rarely seen in this country. The baluster work, caging the vines at Chirk Castle Gates, are an example of Spanish work. But what is important here is the fact that, in 1702, Robert Davies was engaged on screw-pins, latches and keys, etc., whereas in 1719 he emerges as a master-smith with the forecourt gates of Chirk Castle to his credit; an achievement which ranked him with the greatest of his contemporaries.

It is obvious that Robert Davies (and possibly his brother John, too) learnt his craft with an expert smith, and erected some important gates in that interim period, or else Mr. Middelton of Chirk would not have entrusted him with the task of constructing his forecourt gates. That commission was not granted without some previous recommendation, or achievement! This is a field which needs careful consideration. It is unfortunate that records of assistant smiths are not recorded: none of the assistant smiths at St. Paul's are mentioned.

In this last section I should like to deal briefly with certain factors which help to determine the geographical limitations of the Davieses' work.

The area concerned is that in which the Quaker iron-masters of Bersham and Coalbrookdale moved with their sales. Charles Lloyd, who owned the Bersham Works from 1717-28, and Dolobran before that, was a friend of Ab. Darby of Coalbrookdale. The Kelsall Diary for 13 December, 1720, reads: "Was at Wrexham at the Meeting . . . there was a good and comfortable Meeting. There was at this Meeting one of Abrm Darby's youngest daughters who was very tender and I was very much concerned in my mind for her that she might be persuaded near to truth and that for the sake of her parents . . ."

Soon after 1728 Charles Lloyd's Bersham Works were bought by John Hawkins; this follows the bankruptcy of

[38]One such 16th century casket is to be seen at Birmingham Museum.

Lloyd. John Hawkins was the son-in-law of Ab. Darby; and as the Ford Letters indicate,[24] Hawkins was only able to continue with the assistance of his wife's family—his father-in-law, and brother-in-law, Richard Ford. By 1734 Ford and Darby, together with their Bristol associate, Thos. Goldney, virtually owned the Bersham Works, with Hawkins apparently acting in the capacity of manager.

An examination of the Kelsall Diary and the Ford Letters shows the method of payment, which was accepted by the Ironmasters at this early date. Up to 1717, the time of the death of the first Ab. Darby, the sale of goods was carried out by direct payment. After that date, when Thos. Goldney, a member of the merchant and banking family of Bristol, and Richard Ford held decisive shares in the Coalbrookdale, and later the Bersham, Works, this method was changed. We find that the Account Books of Coalbrookdale[25] refer to the frequent visits of Ford and Goldney to the Fairs at Manchester, Liverpool, Chester, Wrexham, Salop, Bridgnorth down to Bristol. It was at these fairs that they collected money, owing to them; or accepted, as a method of payment a transfer of the bills.[39] This is illustrated in the Extracts from the Kelsall Diary, 23 May, 1726. The Ford Letters further show that bills could be paid in various[40] parts of the country where the Ironmasters had connections.

Goldney and Ford's visits to the Wrexham and Chester area, as well as the association of the family with Charles Lloyd, must have brought them into contact with the work of Robert Davies. Hence this contact with the region of sales of the combined Ironmasters must have proved a deciding factor in determining the area of his workmanship.

Robert Davies was the master-smith of an area, which, as far as we know, extended as far north as Chester and as far south, possibly, as Bridgnorth, Bewdley (where the Milner family, friends of the Darby family, were connected with the iron trade) and Welshpool (in the vicinity of Dolobran).

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[39]A. Raistrick: *Dynasty of the Iron Founders*, p. 8.

[40]Ford Letters: 14 May, 1733: Ford speaks of payments to Richd. Tartshone for stone(iron)—" I promist to give em a Londn' Bill for this week, but as ye (hence) art returned to Bristoll Shall be oblidged to draw upon (hence) for that sum."

It is very unlikely that the influence of the work of Robert Davies went further south than this, owing to the presence of another master-smith, William Edney, in the Bristol region. Further east—in the region centred around Derby—another great smith, Robert Bakewell, exerted his influence. This last region was probably controlled by the area of salesmanship of the iron-master of south Yorkshire, Cotton, Dickin and Spencer. A smith by the name of Paris operated in the Warwick and Leicestershire region.

It is doubtful whether the smithy at Croes Foel was used to any great extent in the construction of the great gates. In the case of smaller gates in the vicinity, it is quite possible that much of the work would be executed at the smithy. But apart from the preparation of the bar-work, the gates would have been constructed on the spot. The freight of iron would, no doubt, be reduced as much as possible to save costs. There is evidence from other gates (the work of Edney) to show that the moulded cast-iron caps of piers were mitred into a box-shape, from long sections of moulded cast-iron bars. These at Chirk, as already explained, came from Coalbrookdale.

It is possible, too, that much of the sheet-repousee work forming the leaves and shells, masks and eagle heads, would have been prepared at the smithy at Croes Foel. That is, if it were convenient. Distance would be the deciding factor; otherwise the freight of these would be involved. The final assembly, in any case, would have been carried out on the spot; which necessitated the smith remaining in that area until the work was completed.

Eaton Gates are the most northerly gates attributed to the Davieses. According to Mr. Ayrton,[13] Eaton Hall "as shown in a print by Badeslade about 1740 is attributed to Vanbrugh"; the gates were presumed to have been designed by Vanbrugh, and wrought by the Davieses. Apparently Vanbrugh gave the main line of the design (modelled on Tijou's South "Golden Gates", the Sanctuary Screen, St. Paul's) and allowed the smith to supply the detailed decoration; as Wren allowed Tijou at St. Paul's.

To the east of Chester, near Tarporley, "Sir John Egerton of Oulton in 1715, commissioned Sir John Vanbrugh—the

Cheshire born Architect and Playwrite to rebuild his family home at Oulton".[41]

Two sets of gates were erected there, presumably, according to the design of Vanbrugh. There are no records of this early period, but in 1773, John Turner was asked to build new gates and to build a lodge. In that same year, the Malpas Churchwardens' Accounts refer to the transfer of "iron" from Oulton, and "putting up the Lesser Gates". The Greater and Lesser Gates at Malpas Church[41] contain the Egerton crest in the overthrow. The Egerton family were land-owners in Malpas, and for some unexplained reason, the discarded Oulton Gates were removed to Malpas.

It would be difficult to date these gates, on stylistic evidence. Mr. Ayrton subscribed to the view that these gates were later than the other known work of the Davieses. If they were made by the Davieses, to the design of Vanbrugh, they were made before the summer of 1717: as Vanbrugh died in 1727, and the Davieses were fully occupied from 1717 to 1727.

It has never yet been proved that Vanbrugh designed the Eaton Gates, or that Davies was the smith, who completed the work, although there seems every likelihood that this was the case. If this could be proved, then the Eaton Gates would belong to the same period as the Oulton Gates. I think it is possible that the Oulton Gates were built about 1716/17, and also the Erddig Gates (then Stansty[15]), as both Oulton and Erddig Gates have a diamond-shaped feature in common; also to be seen in the Wrexham Gates. But there is a very strong possibility that the Eaton Gates were after the Leeswood Gates—after 1730. Newnham Paddox Gates were either by Robert Davies or Bakewell, or by both, and could well belong to this early date, if Bakewell had a hand in them. Eaton Gates may have been modelled on these later.

Oulton, Eaton Hall and Mold were the most northerly points of Robert Davies' work. At Carden Hall, near Malpas, only the railings remain of these "Gates" ascribed to the

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[41]F. Crossley, J. C. Wolley Dod-Griffith: *An Architectural History of the Church of Malpas.* 1949. Pp. 44-45.

Davieses.[42] They certainly have some characteristics which savour of their work. It is quite possible that this area—extending to Hanmer—possesses some other work of Robert Davies. It was an area which Kelsall travelled frequently in search of cord-wood.

The most westerly point of Robert Davies' work is at Ruthin; and further south, at Powis Castle (if the gates here are by Robert Davies). It seems quite possible that there were once gates near Llanymynech: an area which was within the confines of Robert Davies' work.[43]

It is rather strange that no mention has ever been made of the Front Lodge Gates to the Rûg estate, Corwen. They certainly belong to the early 18th century in style.[44] One of the difficulties, at present, is to determine whether the gates were built for Rûg, or whether they were originally brought to this site from elsewhere. As far as is known, they were moved to Rûg during the lifetime of Maria Charlotte (heiress to the estate, 1721-80) about the year 1740. In style, the gates do not define themselves clearly as the work of Robert Davies, although there are some features in the gates which

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[42]Mr. Wolley Dod, Malpas, kindly informed me that they have just been to Tarporley for renovation, and were due to be treated against rust by a London Firm.

[43]Carden Hall, the home of the family of Sir John Leach, was destroyed by fire in the 1930s. According to Sir John, the Gates themselves were removed during the last war as salvage—during his absence and without his consent. Only the railings remain. There are some interesting pieces of iron-work to be seen at his present home at Stretton Hall: they are set up there as garden-rails.

[44]"Gateposts without a Drive"—a short article in *Country Life*—8 January, 1943. A photograph is included. The Gates like the Drive have disappeared; only the gateposts remain, surmounted by lions. Nearby is a summer-house dated 1718. According to the article it is near, and part of Blodwel Farm, along the Tanat Valley, near Llanymynech. This property once belonged to Sir John Bridgeman. Nearby, in the photo, are the spoil-banks of a lime-quarry; as is common in that area.
Mr. M. V. Wynn, of Rug, has kindly given me the information that the Gates are reputed to have been put in their present position about 1740; and with it an interesting story, which has been handed down: a story, which may contain a part-truth. The story was that in the days of Col. Wm. Salusbury, the Gates were placed at the entrance to Chester Castle, 1546-62 [sic]. After the campaign the Gates were moved to Rug, etc. . . . The Gates, of course, could not possibly belong to the 16th century; nor, for that matter, to a century later: the independent overthrow, and the pyramidal shape of the overthrow, determine this. The interesting point of this story is that they may have come from the Chester area about 1740.

intimate that possibility. It would be prudent to gain a greater knowledge of their background, if that is possible, before any final pronouncements were made in this matter.

Much has to be done before a true assessment can be made of the work of Robert Davies. One thing is certain, if the genius of this Welshman had lain in the bardic field his fame would not have remained obscure for so long.

These notes have attempted to unravel the available knowledge of his work, and have sought to indicate a possible line of enquiry to assess his achievements. It is readily apparent that his greatness ranks with that of the other great contemporary gate-smiths of the Baroque Age—men like Robinson, Warren, Edney and Bakewell, who raised the standard of wrought-iron work to its peak in this country. Only the name of Jean Tijou—a name which vanished from all records in 1711—remains above all others. He was the inspiration of Robert Davies and his contemporaries.

My thanks are extended to the following, who have assisted me in various ways:—the Libraries of Wrexham, Ruthin, Hawarden, Shrewsbury, National Library of Wales, St. Paul's Cathedral, Birmingham, Friends' House—Euston, Leicester, Kettering. Lady Labouchere; Hon. J. R. Strutt; M. V. Wynn, Esq.; F. Wolley Dod, Esq.; Col. & Mrs. Davies-Cooke; Col. Stopford Sackville; G. W. Beard, Esq.; Dr. Mott; W. A Redfern, Esq.; Bevan Evans, Esq.; H. E. Parry, Esq.; G. Lewis, Esq.; the Coalbrookdale Co.; these names among many others.

Thomas Jones a'r Maen Tostedd

Gan G. PENRHYN JONES

BARN llenor blaenllaw am hunangofiant Thomas Jones o Ddinbych oedd ei fod yn llyfr dynol a diddorol,[1] a phan gyhoeddwyd argraffiad newydd ohono yn 1937 dywedodd ei olygydd amdano—"dyma un o hunan-gofiannau mwyaf diddorol yr iaith".[2] Mae hefyd o safbwynt feddygol yn ddogfen arbennig iawn a phrin fod ei debyg yn yr iaith Gymraeg. Ynddo croniclir profiadau byw gŵr synhwyrol llythrennog o driniaeth law-feddygol ganrif a hanner yn ôl. Nid oes amheuaeth fod Thomas Jones yn ŵr dewr—dioddefodd dan arteithiau corff a meddwl yn ystod ei oes—nid oes amheuaeth chwaith nad oedd yn ŵr ffodus. Nid ar chwarae bach y byddai neb yn cyflwyno ei hun i driniaeth law-feddygol yr adeg honno, heb ddim ond ychydig fandragora neu opiwm i leddfu poen y gyllell, ac nid oedd sôn am antiseptig. Aeth Thomas Jones trwy'r profiad o gael ei dorri am garreg yn ei bledren ddwywaith, yn 1797 a 1802.

Mae'r maen tostedd yn hen afiechyd a bu'n gyffredin iawn hyd ganol y bedwaredd ganrif ar bymtheg ym Mhrydain. Nid oes amheuaeth nad oedd perthynas rhyngddo a'r bwydydd cyffredin, ac yn fwy na dim, yr oedd yr undonedd llethol o fara, uwd, llymru, a bwydydd eraill o'r fath yn un o'i achosion pennaf; ac, at hynny, yr hen arferiad hefyd o fwyta cig hallt yn ystod misoedd y gaeaf.[3] Dyna oedd y drefn yng Nghymru, fel mewn gwledydd eraill, cyn dyfod dylanwad yr amaethyddiaeth newydd ddiwedd y ddeunawfed ganrif. Mae amryw o gyfeiriadau yn yr hen lysieulyfrau Cymraeg at y gwahanol gyffuriau yr honnid iddynt y ddawn o fedru toddi'r garreg.[4] Ond yr unig feddyginiaeth effeithiol

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[1]Lewis, Saunders. *Y Llenor* (1933) XII. 135.
[2]Jones, Idwal. *Jnl. W.B.S.* (1939) 5. 151.
[3]Jones, G. P., *N.L.W. Jnl.* (1955) 9, 251.
[4]Er enghraifft:—
(a) Lewis, T., *A Welsh Leech Book* Liverpool. (1914), xix.
(b) Roberts, E. S., *Llysieulyfr Meddyginiaethol* . . . Liverpool. (1916). 273.
(c) Pughe, J., and Williams, J., *The Physicians of Myddfai* . . . Llandovery. (1861). 469.

oedd tynnu'r garreg i ffwrdd, y weithred o *lithotomy* neu faendrychiad.

Mae tystiolaeth am faendrychiad yn yr India ganrifoedd lawer yn ôl, ac hefyd yng Ngroeg glasurol. Ceir disgrifiad gwych o'r weithred yn y seithfed ran o *De re medicina* gan Celsus—a sgrifennwyd tua 30 A.D.,[5] ac yn Hafod MS 16 (tud. 71) yn Llyfrgell Rydd Caerdydd, a sgrifennwyd tua 1400 A.D., ceir cyfeiriad arall. Ar y cyfan edrychid ar y maendrychwyr fel arbenigwyr yn eu gwaith a'u dawn yn eu gwahaniaethu oddi wrth y ffisygwyr a'r llaw-feddygon cydnabyddedig, llawer ohonynt yn ddim ond crwydriaid cyffredin yn ymgymryd â'r gwaith yn achlysurol, ac ambell un yn bur ddeheuig a rhai fel Pierre Franco (1550-70), Frère Jacques (1651-1719), a Frère Côme (1803-81) yn eithriadol o adnabyddus.[6] Ond erbyn dechrau'r ddeunawfed ganrif yr oedd llaw-feddygon cydnabyddedig wedi hawlio llawer ar y gwaith a thrwy ymdrechion John Douglas[8] a'i *Lithotomia Douglassiana* (1720) ail-sefydlwyd y dull *supra-pubic* o agor ar y bledren. Yn nwylo celfydd dynion fel William Cheselden a John Hunter cododd y safon ac erbyn diwedd y ganrif, pum munud, fel rheol, oedd yr amser a gymerai llaw-feddyg cyffredin i orffen yr orchwyl.[9]

Dywed Thomas Jones i arwyddion afiechyd y garreg ddechrau un noson ym mis Ionawr 1783, yn union ar ôl breuddwyd a oedd yn ei dyb ef yn arwyddocaol. Am rai wythnosau wedi hynny aeth trwy un o'r cyfnodau o amheuaeth a digalondid a'i goddiweddai o dro i dro, ". . . trymhâu a wnaeth fy afiechyd, a chynnyddu arnaf, i'r fath radd, mewn ychydig ddyddiau, nes oeddwn yn meddwl fod ynof arwydd-

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[5]Garrison, F. H., *An Introduction to the History of Medicine*, 3rd Ed. London (1921). 99.

[6]Jones, Ida B., *Études celtiques*. (1955) 7. 47.

[7]Guthrie, D., *A History of Medicine*. London. (1945). 148-9.

[8]Yr oedd cysylltiad agos rhwng y John Douglas hwn a Robert Owen o deulu Presaddfed, Môn (M. D. Leyden, 1731). Priododd y Cymro ferch John Douglas a bu yn gyfrifol am bractis Douglas yn Downing Street yn ystod afiechyd olaf ei dad-yng-nghyfraith yn 1743. Ni ddaeth dim o'r bwriad i Robert Owen a William Hunter eu dau ymgymeryd â'r practis wedi marw Douglas, a chymerwyd y tŷ gan Tobias Smollett yn 1744.

[9]Garrison, F. H., *op. cit.* 415.

ion amlwg o ddarfodedigaeth . . .[10] Tybiodd mai ei frys am feddyginiaeth a fu'n achos afiechyd y maen tostedd; fe'i hanogwyd gan gyfaill i gymryd *Tincture of Bark* ac *Acid Elixir of Vitriol,* ac "yn fy anwybodaeth cymmerais ormoddedd, ie, fwy nâ gormod ddengwaith, o'r surddwfr olaf hwn; a'r canlyniad oedd Cerrig dwys yn magu yn fy lwynau".[11] Yn nechrau Awst cafodd boen y *renal colic* yn ei lwyn ddeau a chyn ddiwedd y flwyddyn yr un boen eilwaith am rai dyddiau. Yn union wedyn cafodd boen y colic ar yr ochr chwith, a'r bore canlynol teimlodd garreg yn disgyn i'r bledryn o'r ddwy ochr a phasiodd ddŵr yn helaeth—y *diuresis* a ddisgwylir ar ôl *renal colic* o'r fath. Daeth un garreg allan ar unwaith ond arhosodd y llall yn y bledren gan fagu ati, a honno fu raid ei thynnu yn ddiweddarach. I ŵr o'i anian ef yr oedd yn naturiol iddo wella gryn dipyn ar ôl hyn ". . . tan wybyddiaeth sicr am y dolur oedd arnaf . . ."[12] Ond yng ngwanwyn 1784 sylwodd ar waed yn ei ddŵr a maentumiodd yn gywir mai ymrwbiad y garreg ar wyneb mewnol y bledren oedd yr achos. Yr oedd yn ymwybodol o'r garreg hefyd ". . . ar ôl i'm corph fod mewn ysgogiad mwy na chyffredin, wrth gerdded, neu farchogaeth . . ."—modd cyffredin i faen tostedd amlygu ei hun yr adeg honno oedd trwy boen wrth farchogaeth. Er hynny, bu'n weddol rydd oddi wrth boenau sylweddol am rai blynyddoedd; cymerodd amryw o gyffuriau meddygol ac ymgymerodd yntau â'r ffasiwn o ymdrochi mewn dŵr hallt i geisio cryfhau ei gyfansoddiad.

Yr oedd Thomas Jones yn dueddol i gael cryd y cymalau o dro i dro, ac ar ôl afiechyd felly yn 1792 bu ". . . tan ofid a gwasgfa ddwys am rai dyddiau a nosweithiau, gan effaith y garreg, yn poethi'r dwfr, &c. . . ."[13] ac efallai mai llid yn y bledren oedd y rheswm am hynny. Cafodd gyfnod cymharol ddi-boen eto hyd ychydig fisoedd ar ôl ei briodas yn Hydref 1795, ". . . trymhau a wnaeth dolur y garreg a'i effeithiau poenus gyd â mi . . ."[14] ac o'r diwedd trefnodd ei feddyg yn

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[10]Jones, Thomas, *Hunangofiant* (Gol. Idwal Jones). Aberystwyth. (1937). 32.
[11]Jones, Thomas, *ibid* 33 n.
[12]Jones, Thomas, *ibid* 34.
[13]Jones, Thomas, *ibid* 37.
[14]Jones, Thomas, *ibid* 38.

yr Wyddgrug iddo gael triniaeth law-feddygol gan Mr. Morrall o Gaer.

Un o ddisgynyddion teulu Cilhendre-Plas Yolyn oedd Charles Morrall a hen-hen-daid iddo oedd Thomas Edwards y meddyg o Gilhendre a fu'n gyfaill i John Jones y "breninladdwr" yn y ganrif flaenorol,[15] ac yr oedd ei ewythr Josiah Morrall yn llaw-feddyg yn Nhreffynnon yn nechrau'r ddeunawfed ganrif.[16] Gyda'r traddodiad meddygol hwn yn y teulu prentisiwyd Charles Morrall yn 1767 i John Gunning, llaw-feddyg amlwg yn Llundain yn ei gyfnod.[17] Yn 1771 priododd Morrall a Frances Challnor, ei gyfnither, ac yn 1773 apwyntiwyd ef yn llaw-feddyg i ysbyty Caer[18] gyda'i bractis yn Nicholas Street.[19]

Daeth Morrall a'i gynorthwywyr i dŷ Thomas Jones ar yr 20 o Fawrth, 1797, ac yno agorodd y llaw-feddyg i mewn i'r bledren. Cynhyrfodd ei wraig yn fawr pan welodd hi'r meddygon yn dyfod i'r tŷ, ond "wedi i ni efo'n gilydd blygu ein gliniau, a chyd-ymbil ger bron yr Arglwydd, hi a gafodd nerth i ymdawelu; a chan fy ngorchymyn i'r Arglwydd, hi a aeth i 'stafell o'r naill du, tra yr oedd y llaw-feddyg a'i gynorthwywyr yn myned trwy eu gorchwyl". Ychwanegodd Thomas Jones "tan ei ddwylaw cefais nerth gan yr Arglwydd, er ei bod yn galed arnaf, yn enwedig ar ei waith yn tynnu ymaith y garreg, oedd mewn ymlyniad wrth y bledren. A

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[15] *Y Bywgraffiadur Cymreig*, 169; Lloyd, J. Y. W., *The History of Powys Fadog* London. (1881-7). 4, 90.

[16] Jones, Francis, *Trans. Cymm.* (1948), 244-6.

[17] Recs. Court of Examiners, Company of Surgeons of London (1745-99). (Library of the Royal College of Surgeons.) Bu John Gunning yn "Master of the Company of Surgeons" yn 1789. Yn NLW Plas Yolyn Deed 101 disgrifir Morrall fel ". . . of St. James', parish of Middlesex, gentleman", yn 1769. (Gwybodaeth gan Mr. E. D. Jones, Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru.)

[18] Fenwick, F. G., *History of the ancient city of Chester.* Chester. (1896). 422.

[19] *Chester Directory*, 1795. Yr oedd un o'i feibion, Charles Morrall ieu., hefyd yn llawfeddyg. Ganwyd ef yn 1775, bu'n byw am gyfnod yn New Hall, Sir Amwythig, ac wedi hynny ym Mhlas Yolyn (*Burke's Landed Gentry.* 15th Ed. London [1937] 1632). Cymerai'r mab ran flaenllaw yng Nghymdeithas Cymmrodorion Caer, a bu'n llywydd yn 1822. Cefnogodd Ieuan Glan Geirionydd yn ei ymdrechion gyda chyfres o ddarlithoedd Cymraeg yn y dref yn 1830. (Edwards, T., *Chester Cambrian Societies.* Chester [1906], 4, 39-40.) Bu farw'r tad yn 1822, a'r mab yn 1839.

chyd â hynny, hyd y medraf ddirnad, bu raid iddo wneŷd rhwygiad yn ychwaneg yn y bledren, heblaw y torriad gan ei gyllell, tu ag at gael y garreg allan." Ofnai Morrall fod carreg arall ar ôl, ond gwrthododd Thomas Jones, yn ddigon naturiol, iddo wneuthur ymchwiliad pellach ". . . gan ofn fy mod yn rhy wan i oddef ychwaneg . . ."[20] Ond cyn pen mis o amser gwyddai Thomas Jones yntau fod yno ail garreg yn y bledren trwy "brawf teimladol a gofidus". Bu hon yn achos poen cynhyddol iddo am bedair blynedd nes o'r diwedd iddo fynd ar ofyn llaw-feddyg arall, Mr. Griffith Rowlands, eto o Gaer.

Brodor o Lanfair Isa' ger Harlech oedd Griffith Rowlands, lle ganwyd ef 9 Ebrill, 1761. Yn ôl y drefn arferol yn y ddeunawfed ganrif derbyniodd yntau ei addysg fel llaw-feddyg trwy fwrw prentisiaeth gyda llaw-feddyg arall. Wedi cyfnod felly yn Lerpwl, cafodd ef brofiad ychwanegol yn ysbyty Bartholomeus yn Llundain. Wedi cwblhau y saith mlynedd gofynnol o addysg yn elfennau ei alwedigaeth fe'i cyflwynodd ei hun i Lys Arholiad Cwmni Llaw-feddygon Llundain, ac ar y cyntaf o Awst, 1782, derbyniwyd ef yn aelod o'r cwmni hwnnw—rhagflaenydd Coleg Brenhinol y Llaw-feddygon.[21] Am ddwy flynedd ymhellach bu'n llaw-feddyg tŷ yn yr ysbyty yn Llundain, ac yna ymsefydlodd fel llaw-feddyg yng Nghaer. Yn 1785 apwyntiwyd ef i'r ysbyty yno lle bu iddo lwyddiant buan er iddo, yn ôl Robert Roberts ei ddisgybl, fod yn ieuanc ac yn fwy na hynny—yn ddibriod.[22] Griffith Rowlands oedd y trydydd llaw-feddyg yn Ewrop, yn ôl Robert Roberts, i drin toriad clun trwy lifio i ffwrdd ddau ben yr asgwrn ar y naill ochr i'r toriad—a hynny dros hanner can mlynedd cyn cyfnod *anaesthetics*. Dywedir iddo fod braidd yn fyr ei dymer a sarrug ei ymarweddiad, yn dueddol i'r gowt hefyd, ond mae'n amlwg fod ochr arall i'w natur—". . . eithr er ei fod cyhyd yn trigiannu yn Lloegr, ac wedi treulio cyn lleied o'i einioes yng Nghymru, etto nid oerodd ei serchowgrwydd tuag at ei gydgenedl, ac ni choll-

[20]Jones, Thomas, *op cit*, 39.
[21]Recs. Court of Examiners, Company of Surgeons of London.
[22]Roberts, R., yn Hemingway, J., *History of the City of Chester*. Chester (1831), 364-4.

odd ei gydnabyddiaeth â'u hiaith; eithr arddelwai hwynt yn ddiledgudd ac yn gyhoedd, gan eu cyfarch yn gyfeillgar yn eu hiaith eu hunain ar ganol heolydd cyhoeddusaf y ddinas . . . Ac nid caredigrwydd gwâg a digost blaen y tafod oedd yr eiddo ef i'r Cymry, ond yr oedd yn wastad yn barodol i ddangos ei gymwynasgarwch iddynt mewn gwahanol foddau, gan weinyddu amgeledd feddygol i lawer o honynt yn rhad . . ."[23] Yr oedd Griffith Rowlands hefyd yn ŵr amlwg yng ngweithrediadau Cymmrodorion Caer.[24]

Hwn oedd y gŵr a alwyd i roi barn ar gyflwr meddygol Thomas Jones yn Ebrill 1801. Daeth i'r tŷ gyda nifer o'i brentisiaid, ac ar unwaith pasiodd *urethral staff* (offeryn chwilio, yn ôl Thomas Jones) i mewn i'r bledren. Gwnaed hynny fel arfer cyn cynnig ar faendrychiad oherwydd wedi i'r llaw-feddyg deimlo pen yr offeryn yn crafu neu daro wyneb y garreg yn y bledren byddai'n sicr o'i phresenoldeb. Ni theimlodd Griffith Rowlands garreg o gwbl yn y bledren a gwrthodod agor â'i gyllell.

Wedi ymweliad y llaw-feddyg syrthiodd Thomas Jones i gyflwr o ddigalondid, ". . . nid oedd ond gobaith gwan am fy mywyd, a dim mewn ystyriaeth ond am fyr amser, nes y byddai i amlder a dwysder fy mhoenau yrru'r einioes i ddiweddiad".[25] Ond er ei anobaith cafodd rai misoedd di-boen, fel y gallodd ail-afael yng ngwaith ei weinidogaeth.

Tua diwedd y flwyddyn 1801 dychwelodd ei boenau ac aeth pethau o ddrwg i waeth. Sylwodd fod ". . . fy mhoenau wedi trymhau i radd mawr, fy nghnawd wedi curio, fy nghylla wedi gwanhâu, rhyw naws crawnllyd yn dyfod yn fynych o'r bledren . . ." Dichon ei fod erbyn hyn wedi cael *chronic cystitis* yn ogystal—llid parhaus yn y bledren oherwydd presenoldeb y garreg cyhyd. Bu galw eto am Griffith Rowlands fis Ebrill 1802, a daeth i'r tŷ gyda phedwar neu bump o'i gynorthwywyr. Pasiodd Rowlands yr offeryn chwilio fel o'r blaen i mewn i'r bledren ond eto ni allai deimlo

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[23]*Y Gwladgarwr*. Caerlleon (1840), 8, 1-2.

[24]Bu'n llywydd y Gymdeithas yn 1824-5. (Edwards, T., *ibid*, 44): "Bu yn alluog i gyflawni ei orchwylion galwedigaethol hyd o fewn ychydig ddyddiau i'w farwolaeth, yr hyn a ddygwyddodd ar y 29ain o Fawrth, 1828, pan ydoedd ymron cyrhaeddyd 66 oed." (*Y Gwladgarwr, ibid*, 2.)

[25]Jones, Thomas, *op cit*, 41.

i sicrwydd fod yno garreg yn gorwedd. "Yr oeddwn i," sgrifennodd Thomas Jones, "trwy ei symudiad y'mlaen ac yn ôl, filoedd o weithiau, yn gwybod yn dra sicr ei bod yn y bledren, ac yn dirnad hefyd fod ei offeryn ef yn myned heibio iddi; . . ."[26] Mae'n bur debyg fod y garreg erbyn hyn wedi gwneud poced iddi ei hun, ac ar ôl cymaint o lid ysbeidiol yn y bledren ar hyd y blynyddoedd nid oedd honno yn debyg o fod wedi cadw ei ffurf naturiol, ac felly yr oedd digon o resymau dros fethiant yr offeryn chwilio. Deisyfodd Thomas Jones i'r llaw-feddyg fynd ymlaen gyda'r gorchwyl o dorri i lawr at y garreg; petrusodd hwnnw, ond ". . . ar ol peth myfyrdod yn yr achos, a throi ei olwg wedi hynny ar ei gynorthwywyr (fel un yn dymuno iddynt sylwi ar fy nhystiolaeth a'm deisyfiad) a anturiodd at ei orchwyl."

Wedi agor y bledren â'i gyllell teimlodd Rowlands y garreg, ond cafodd gryn drafferth i'w chael hi allan. "Cafodd ddau fath o afael ynddi, ond â'i hŷd mwyaf hi yn wynebu'r agen a dorrasai; ac felly yr oedd yn ormod iddo ei chael allan: ond o'r diwedd, pan oeddwn i ar ddiffygio gan barhad y boen a rhediad llawer o waed, ac yntau hefyd mewn peth digalondid, a'r llaw-feddyg pènaf oedd gyd âg ef wedi cilio ymaith (yn sâl gan yr olwg) trefnwyd llwydd ar ei ymdrech; cafodd afael addas ynddi a thynnodd hi allan."[27]

Ymhen rhyw dair wythnos ar ôl y driniaeth hon tyfodd casgliad yn agos i'r archoll, peth a ddigwyddai yn bur gyffredin yr adeg honno.[28] Daeth ei feddyg ato gyda'r nos ac yn ôl y drefn arferol rhoes bowltris a thwym-olchiadau o gwmpas y llid. Er hynny gwaethygu wnaeth y boen, ac ar ôl noson o dwymyn barnodd Thomas Jones nad oedd ganddo ond ychydig oriau yn aros. Penderfynodd y meddyg ddefnyddio

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[26]Jones, Thomas, *ibid,* 42.

[27]Jones, Thomas, *ibid,* 43. Ychwanegodd Thomas Jones: "Yr oedd hon yn pwyso dwy *wns* a chwarter; y gyntaf yn un *wns* a thri chwarter."

[28]Ni chyhoeddodd Joseph Lister ei *On the Antiseptic Principle in the Practice of Surgery* hyd 1867, cyfrol a fu'n gyfrwng i drawsnewid egwyddorion llaw-feddygaeth. Cyn i ddylanwad yr arloeswr hwnnw dreiddio i adnabyddiaeth ei ddilynwyr yr oedd llid mewn archoll bron yn anochel, yn wir fe'i gelwid yn *laudable pus.* Pe buasai Thomas Jones wedi mynd o dan y driniaeth mewn ysbyty yn hytrach nac yn ei dŷ ei hun buasai'r math o gasgliad a gafodd nid yn unig yn sicrach fyth o godi ond hefyd yn llawer mwy difrifol ei ganlyniadau.

gelod ". . . i sugno ymaith y poeth-waed afiach . . ."—yr oedd yr hen syniadau am yr hiwmorau yn dal yn eu grym ym meddygaeth yr oes, ac afiechyd yn ddim ond adlewyrchiad o dymheredd drwg yn torri allan yn y gwahanol rannau o'r corff. Pwrpas gwaedu, neu osod gelod, oedd cael gwared o'r drwg hwn o'r cyfansoddiad.[29] Chwiliwyd am gelod mewn amryw o dai yn y Wyddgrug lle disgwylid iddynt fod i'w cael, ond yn ofer. " Etto, o'r diwedd, yn agos i'r dref, cafwyd *un*, a dim ychwaneg; a thrwy'r aingc a'r grym mwy na chyffredin a roddodd rhagluniaeth yn y dwfr-bryfyn gwael hwnw, y bu achubaeth rhyfedd i'm bywyd." Nid oedd Thomas Jones ei hun, yn ôl ei dystiolaeth, yn ddigon tebol i gyfrif holl weithgareddau'r trychfilyn rhyfedd ac ofnadwy hwnnw, ond y meddyg gan ddal sylw a manylder gwyddonol a arwriodd i'r gele ". . . ymlenwi a chwydu'r gwaed . . . *chwech o weithiau olynol*, ac mi dybygaf, mewn dwy awr, os nid llai, o amser!"[30]

Cyn pen deufis yr oedd Thomas Jones wedi gwella yn ddigon da i gerdded allan, ac yn fuan ar ôl hynny yr oedd yn marchogaeth yn ddi-boen. I bob pwrpas cafodd ymwared llwyr â gofidiau'r maen tostedd hyd ddiwedd ei oes.

[*Cawsom rysêt y moddion a gymerodd Thomas Jones,* Elixir of Vitriol *a* Tincture of Bark *gan Mr. Humphreys-Jones, Lerpwl. Ond rhag i neb o'n haelodau arbrofi gyda hwy, ni roddwyd y wybodaeth yma!*—Y GOLYGYDD.]

[29]Cedwid llestr gelod mewn llawer ysbyty hyd yn ddiweddar iawn.
[30]Jones, Thomas, *op. cit.*, 43. Ond gyda phob parch i'r gele dygn, mae'n fwy na thebyg i'r casgliad yn archoll Thomas Jones dorri i mewn i'r bledren a rhoi iddo felly ymwared o'i boen.

Notes at Random on Eighteenth Century Denbighshire

By the late EMLYN ROGERS

[*We are deeply indebted to Mr. Emrys Jenkins, of Rhos, for preparing, in consultation with Mrs. Anna Rogers, this article which is based on the rough notes of the lecture which the late Emlyn Rogers delivered to the Society at its Annual Meeting at Ruthin three years ago. We hope to publish a further article, derived from the same source, in our next volume.*—EDITOR]

THE population of Denbighshire increased substantially during the 18th century from estimated populations of 39,700 in 1700 and 46,900 in 1750 to 62,400 in 1811.[1]

At the beginning of the 18th century the county was predominantly agricultural and had large areas still unenclosed. The schedule of the Enclosure Awards for very many Denbighshire parishes and townships[2] made mainly towards the end of the 18th century and the first half of the 19th century are deposited with our Clerk of the Peace. Of these awards that of Henllan is the only one which, to my knowledge, has been fully investigated and its results published.[3]

In the N.L.W. MSS, Vol. 20 (p. 2) there is a document entitled "Survey of Lands inclosed from the waste in the Lordship of Ruthin". Richard Myddelton, Esq., of Chirk Castle in the County of Denbigh Lord of the Manor Taken 1779 by S. Menshall. It deals with old and new enclosures, including among others Llanfair (Vaynol Quarter) and enclosures from Llysfasi Liberty. While examining the Llysfasi Liberty Account I found a note to the effect that there were still in 1779, 1051 acres of common in the Llysfasi Liberty, exclusive of the enclosures referred to. What has happened to these acres? In a "Return of the Commons" affected by the Inclosure Awards deposited with our Clerk of the Peace, all of which are post 23 April, 1814, over a hundred commons

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[1]Census of England and Wales, 1811, p. xxx.
[2]e.g., Betws, Betws Gwerfil Goch, Abergele, Chirk, etc., etc.
[3]W. Lloyd Davies, *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, Vol. IX, 1938.

are enumerated. These do not include the very many which must have disappeared in the 18th century, such as Rhos-llannerchrugog, Rhostyllen, Rhosddu, Rhos y Medre, Cefn Mawr, Cefn Bychan, Harwd, etc.

At the beginning of the 18th century trade in Denbigh, Ruthin and even in Wrexham was largely controlled by Guilds. In Denbighshire there were Companies of Mercers, Blacksmiths and Hammer Men, Glovers, Shoemakers, Weavers, each with its own regulations. There were also smaller companies, as for example "The Company of Taylors". In the Chirk Castle Papers there is a draft copy of a letter presumably from Robert Myddelton, to the Company of Saddlers of the Town of Denbigh concerning an objection to a Robert Evans becoming a freeman of the Company. Chirk Castle Papers 6385 show that in September 1734 the Company of Weavers of the town and borough of Denbigh thanked John Myddelton, M.P., for undertaking the cost of their suit against certain "foreigners". In Ruthin, from towards the end of the 17th century on there existed the "Fraternitie of the Master Corvisors". Admission to this Guild was controlled by the Wardens who limited the number of shops within the town and lordship of Ruthin. There was a stipulation "that the said suppliants and their successors shall at all markets faires . . . and all other times be able to serve every person or persons that will buy any shoes, boots or other wares of them, and see the same as good cheap and as reasonable as are to be bought and had in other market towns." There were complaints before the end of the 17th century "that great numbers of strangers and foreigners, being shoe makers have done and do of late repair to the said towne of Ruthin, and specially at the great markets and fair days, and then do utter and sell their wares contrary to the true meaning and purport of the said grant which hath brought the company to great ruin and decay." There was also a Company of Cordwainers in Ruthin.

The following extract[4] shows that the Denbighshire

[4]Order Book 5 Hilary 1744, to 1753, p. 23. Quarter Sessions, Ruthin, 16 July, 1745.

Magistrates in Quarter Sessions supported the efforts of the various companies to prevent persons who had not served an apprenticeship from opening a shop or following a trade:

> "Whereas Robert Williams hath in open court appeared and submitted to an indictment heretofore found against him for excercising the trade of Grocer at Ruthin in the sd county of Denbighshire the said Robert Williams not having served as an apprentice for seven years in the trade aforesd and this Court having heard and considered the allegation as well of the sd Robert Williams's attorney as of the attorney for the prosecution on the sd indictment. It is therefore ordered by this Court that the said Robert Williams be and hereby is fined In the sum of Eight Pounds as a forfeiture for his the said Robert Williams having used and excercised the the trade of a Grocer at Ruthin aforesd In the sd County for the space of ffour months not having served as an apprentice for seven years in the trade aforesaid acording to the fform of the Statute in such case made and Provided, and the same fine is hereby ordered to be made and levyed by Distress and Sale of his goods and Chattells and in default thereof an attachment to issue to apprehend the body of the said Robert Williams."

The same records by the court show that an unapprenticed butcher from Ruthin was punished for setting up a shop, and in the 1750s there were similar prosecutions in Quarter Sessions of men who had not served their apprenticeships as furriers and glovers. Some of these companies or the trades represented by them belonging to the pre-industrial period seem to have survived to the 19th century for a travelling lecturer of "The National Association of United Trades" was in August 1848 addressing meetings of the shoemakers and of the curriers and tanners in Denbigh.

As has been said, Denbighshire was predominantly agricultural at the beginning of the 18th century, but without going further back than mid 17th century it can be shown that industry was developing. Chirk Castle MSS N.L.W. No. 13148, which is "An account of what money remaynes due to Sr. Thomas Myddelton out of the Iron Works till 25th March 1652 besydes 400 le Stock that he put in thereto " provides a detailed record of "mine sent from Rhuabon to ye furnace at several times: the coales from black Park, Castle Park, New Park: iron stones by the hundreds of dozen: the peat and the piggs from Mr. Wilson and the financiall connection between this furnace and the Foleys of Worcester", iron magnates of the period. Another document is entitled the "Booke of accounts for Pont y Blewe Fordge beginninge February ye 3rd of 1660 which

was ye time ye woods were brought for ye Setting of ye Iron Workes, a gate for ye use of ye Right worshipfull Sir Thos Myddelton of Chirk Castle Knt. by mee Will Farmer."

An analysis of the accounts show that the unit was small, producing from 50 to 52 tons a year. One can see the unit at work under the master Will Farmer, himself passing rich on £30 a year, the cordwood being brought to the forge from Vivod, from Ragart Stanwardine (about fifteen miles from Chirk), from Bradon Heath, and Ottley Park, Ellesmere: from Llay, from Eton Park: and a substantial quantity of "seacoles" from Glascoede. There is a reference in the Bodfari Forge Account 1706/7 to a payment made to John Critchley of Cannock forge for his trouble in instructing the Hanmer man to draw out iron with "pitt coles" but it is well to remember that at Chirk in our county this was already being done at least forty years previously.

If time permitted I could describe this unit in detail; its cutters, and its charcoal burners in Shropshire and Denbighshire being paid piece work rates for cutting, cording[5] and charcoal burning; its coal being brought from neighbouring coal pits; its day wage workers being paid from 8d. to 1/- a day; the founder being paid 10/- a week, the finer 12/6 (when not on a piece rate), the filler 7/-, the bridgeserver 6/-, and the forgemen a wage and also a bonus on output. I like the entry dated September 1662: "I layed out for drinke when ye Iron House was weighed up 2s, and I gave Richard at his finishings ½ a pound of Tobacco, and 1s. in money".

The prices are given of Cast Iron, Loope Iron, Cold Short, Piggs, etc., produced at the forge. The extent of the market served can almost be measured by the expenses claimed by the manager of the forge for attending fairs.

June 24. 61.	My expenses at Chester faire meeting customers	0 4 0
Dec. 29 and 30, 1761.	Expenses in going to Wrexham where I stayed a night and at Ellesmere about selling of iron	0 2 6

[5]Cording, 4d per cord. Cutters and Cross Cutters, 10d per cord.

Aug. 4. My expenses at Oswestry fair and on D— Vaughan's man entertaining him all night when he came to buy ye Tun of Iron 0 3 6

July 16. 62. My expenses at Ruthyn where I went at ye assize time to dispose of ye Iron that lay there (at) Derwen and Pandy 0 4 0

Sept. 15. 62. My expenses to Sturbridge to have sold some iron but did not 0 14 6

Some of the best customers of the forge were George Malpasse who bought over 57 cwts.; John David, a Quaker, and Widow Mileston of Oswestry, George Buttall of Wrexham, David Vaughan of Ruthin, Rich. Wynn of Ruthin, Thos ap Richard of Llanrwst, the Quaker, and a Mr. Davies of Llanrwst."

These details of the furnace and forge at Pont y Blewe reveal a picture of the development of the iron industry in the Ruabon and Wrexham areas at the beginning of the 18th century.[6]

Further indications are given in the Land Tax Returns for the Parish of Ruabon;[7] that of 1693 gives the following:

Bodylltyn Mr. Edward Lloyd and Mr. Samuel Lloyd for lands and furnace ..... 09—06—00
Mr. Cotton or his tenants for his land and furnace ..... 02—04—00

and under

"Morton Wallicorum above ye ditch" Mr. Wm Cotton ..... 02— 0—00

and

Mr. Thos. Boycott for his coal mines ..... 00—10—00

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[6]The Account Book shows that there must have been a furnace at Ruabon and probably one at Chirk, or if not there, then at Weston Rhyn.
[7]Ecclesiastiical Parish.

and the Land Tax Returns for June 1698

Bodylltyn. Edward Roberts for Lady Eyton's land at ye furnace ..... 0— 8— 9

Mr. Lowbridge for Lady Eyton's furnace ..... 1— 6—10

that of 1702, under Ruabon Town

Mr. Edward Lloyd for furnace proffitt ..... 40— 0— 0

Mr. Lowbridge for furnace proffitt ..... 50— 0— 0

A MS dated 1717 gave the output of the two furnaces at Ruabon as 550 tons and the forge at Pont y Blew at 100 tons in that year.

An anonymous pamphlet published in 1736 shows that Pont y Blew had made 200 tons of iron in one year but its output had been reduced to 150 tons by a slump in the iron trade which it said was due to the importation of foreign bar iron. A footnote states that two furnaces in Denbighshire produced 550 tons, whilst the total number of furnaces in England and Wales then was only fifty-nine producing 17,350 tons.

The unit of production in south-east Denbighshire was, however, small in comparison with those of Yorkshire. Yet there is evidence that local ironmasters like the Wilsons and the Cottons, who played such an important part in the development of the iron industry in the later 17th century and in the 18th century, were connected with Yorkshire, Shropshire and Cheshire ironmasters. A large number of the local ironmasters, especially those who worked the Bersham foundry, came from over the border.

The story of the iron furnaces and forges of the first half of the 18th century can be gleaned from the MSS sources of the local estates and from the diary of John Kelsall, the Quaker, who was the right hand man of Charles Lloyd of Dolobran, who worked the Bersham iron furnace. He journeyed on Lloyd's behalf calling at the neighbouring mansions of Plaskynaston, Pentre Bychan and Erthig. On

25 January, 1723, he was busy copying out a large deed concerning the purchase of "the Rhose" (Rhosllannerchrugog coal pits) but in June 1727 he was unsuccessfully using his powers trying to persuade Squire Mellor of Erthig to buy the Bersham Furnace and "the Rhose", his master, Charles Lloyd, being then in financial difficulties.

The two most important iron works in the area were those of Pont y Blew and Bersham with which the remainder of this section will deal.

On 23 January, 1688/9, a Hugh Moore rented the forges at Pont y Blew from the Myddeltons of Chirk Castle and worked them for a time in conjunction with the Lloyds of Dolobran. Richard Moore (a son of Hugh Moore) was, on 29 April, 1710, given a lease of Pont y Blew by the Myddeltons for twenty years at an annual rent of £40, but he had to pay Lloyd of Dolobran £59 6s. 11d. In the 1730s and the 1740s Pont y Blew was in the hands of Edward Lloyd, Plas Madoc, who worked it in conjunction with his furnace at Ruabon. In his numerous letters to Chirk Castle, which throw a vivid light on the exigencies of the smaller capitalists, he complained bitterly about the rents he paid to the Myddeltons.

In a letter dated May 1743 Lloyd reveals the slump in the iron trade. He asks for consideration, having been, he says, a tenant for upwards of thirty years, and now "I declare I have scarce got a portion for two of my daughters". So many iron works were being set up "beyond the sea" and trade was so dull that "I lose by every ton of mill iron that I make which I five parts in six make at Pont y Blew".

The Myddeltons were ruthless in their terms and Lloyd, in a letter of 12 October, 1747, refers to injustices he suffered: "I have run all the risks. I have dealt in Iron and Coal works near forty years, in all which time I never was charged with wronging anybody till now though I have paid often more, but never less than thirty pounds a week." He refers to farmers, carriers, and others employed by him, how he had employed nearly forty families in the Chirk and Ruabon Parishes "whose sons now do, and their fathers and grandfathers have worked and scarce with anyone else".

He died 8 August, 1760, and in the tablet to his memory in Ruabon Parish Church we have the words:

To the Memory of Edward Lloyd of Plasmadoc Esq.:
who by his amiable qualities
Acquired a polite and exclusive acquaintance
together with the well deserved character
of an accomplished gentleman
With unwearied diligence and unblemished Hand
He carried a considerable manufactory
Which became useful to society
by employing the poor and indigent.
He was a kind and affectionate husband
A tender and careful parent
A munificent and indulgent master
and a pious and devout church man
His hospitality and charity towards the poor
(free from all pride and ostentation)
procured the prayers of ye orphans and widows
and the esteem of all who knew him
As he lived beloved, so he died lamented
Aug 8 Age 73

Thus we have in this kindly capitalist a sample of the pre-industrial iron and coal master.

His son-in-law, John Rowland, of Plas Bennion, and more particularly a grandson, are the bridge between this early period and that of the Industrial Revolution in the Ruabon district.

BERSHAM

The following notes are intended to fill a gap in Palmer's account of the Bersham works prior to 1753.

A deed dated 12 June, 1708 mentions Hugh Moor as the tenant of the Bersham iron furnace.

Kelsall's Diary has an entry for 1721.3.12 mo. "I understand Bersham furnace ceases this day blowing with charcoal, and went on blowing with coakes for Potting".

Dr. A. Raistrick in his *Dynasty of Iron Founders* (p. 58) says: "Some time in 1731 Ford and Goldney, a Coalbrookdale company, took over Bersham furnace from John Hawkins, husband of Anne Darby, leaving Hawkins to manage it and relying on it to serve a good part of the pot trade which centred round Chester, thus relieving the Coalbrookdale furnaces to that extent". Hawkins was a hopeless

business man. Ford and Goldney were shrewd business men and Ford made a practice of calling at Bersham on his visits to Chester fair. Abraham Darby also made several visits. In January 1735, however, Hawkins informed the firm that the land and lease of Bersham furnace had been used by him previously as security for a loan and that the loan was being called in on 10 February and Ford, Goldney and Darby raised one-third each to meet this demand. A valuation of the furnace showed pigs and castings in stock £1,114 (allowing £7 per ton for pigs and £10 per ton for castings), boxes and patterns £50, buildings and repairs £120, coke, baskets, tools and odd things £140. The loan advanced was upwards of £1,500.

With closer oversight the Bersham furnace worked well and made a small profit. During the five years from 1732 to 1737 Bersham was able to make three long blasts and generally made just over five tons of iron of very good quality a week. In 1736 it was found that this iron was good enough to make it possible to make a saving in cost by ladling the iron direct from the hearth for pot casting, and by so doing cutting out the air furnace (which had recently been built) and the cost of re-smelting.

In the opinion of Ford, the value of Bersham was that it helped to maintain for the firm the country trade around Chester, to supply the Chester and Liverpool markets, and to serve areas in Wales which could not be served from Coalbrookdale.

Later, when Coalbrookdale was extended, the Bersham furnace was, in 1753, sold to Isaac Wilkinson.

The tremendous development of the Bersham foundry after 1753 by Isaac Wilkinson and his son John is described by A. N. Palmer in *John Wilkinson and the Old Bersham Iron Works* (Wrexham. 1897.)

THE EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF COAL MINING

Towards the end of the 17th century there were a large number of coal pits being worked all the way from Chirk, through Acrefair to Rhos and on to Coedpoeth and Brymbo. Even in the reign of Edward VI, the digging of a coal pit

on a common called "Rose lawe aghregog" and another at a placed called "Coed y Delph" merited appeals to the Court of Augmentation. A document in the Chirk Castle MSS dated 2 July, 1631, refers to "the colepitt tenement and lands", in Morton Wallicorum and states that Sir Thomas Myddelton gave to a Roger Davis Gouch £8 being half the charge for sinking a coal pit and buying certain necessaries. In an "Account Book of the Coal Pits at Ruabon 1661-65"[8] there are plenty of references to wages and output:

Aprill ye 13th 1661	Pd to John ap John Owen Edd ap John & Davyd ap John for 22 scares 8 pitches & a 01d at 7d a scare	00/13/05/00
	Pd to John ap Edd & John Owen for Cuttng 14 scares at 7d a scare	00/08/02/00
	Pd to a drawer for 6 dayes at 8 a daye	00/04/00/00
	Pd to ye Cutters for removing theire Coales	00/02/00/00
	Pd to 4 Wynders for 6 dayes at 7d a daye	00/14/00/00
	Pd to a Labowrer for 6 dayes sellinge up Lande scares at 7d a daye	00/03/06/00
	Pd for Entringe 3 Wickets	00/01/02/00
	Pd to 4 Labowrers one nyght winding & fillinge rowble	00/02/04/00
	Pd to ye winders for windinge water before worke	00/02/06/00
	Pd for driving 3 yardes in the yarde wicket	00/05/10/00
	Pd for 2 pounde of Candles	00/01/02/00
	Pd for sharping the picks	00/00/06/00
	Pd for Writinge	00/00/06/00
		02/19/01/00
Aprill ye 13th 1661	Coales gotten this week 36 scares 8 pilches & half a pilch the price is	04/03/01/02
	Coales gotten out of ye yarde Wicket 5 scares the price is	00/11/03/02
		04/14/04/04

[8]Chirk 12628 NLW.

The above wages are on about the same level as those which were paid by Chirk Castle a few years previously to workmen during harvest time, for, according to a MS book of payments, wages varied from 6d. to 8d. per day.

In the Land Tax Returns of the old Parish of Ruabon, from 1693 to 1702, coal mines belonging to William Cotton and Thomas Boycott (Ironmasters) and Ellis Meredith are taxed. In the 1702 Return the valuation of Humphrey Kynaston for his coal is £24, and that of Edward Lloyd for his coal is £50, and John Lloyd for his coal £10.

There is a wealth of material about coal mining in the Court Leet Records and in the very large number of letters in which small landowners like Meredith of Pentre Bychan aired their imagined grievances to the Myddelton family, who claimed their "Farm" (Royalty) of one-sixth of the production of the many scores of pits from Chirk to Brymbo which they controlled. The Court Leet Records reveal the activities of Daniel Porter, Wrexham, and of Thos. and William Meredith in the commons of Rhosllannerchrugog, Brymbo, Harwd, Acrefair, etc. William Meredith was presented to the Court Leet in October 1725 "for not filling or stopping several coalpits on the way being very dangerous for man and beast". He was presented also in April 1727 and again in October 1729 for his open pits on the common. In October 1730 "William Meredith gent for not stopping his coalpits, five in number on the Common of Broughton" was amerced £1. In April 1763 Lord Grosvenor, or his agents, was presented for not filling up six old coal pits upon Gwersyllt mountain adjoining the King's Highway. In the early seventies, according to the Court Leet Records, Lord Grosvenor still had pits in the township of Broughton, and Robert Wynne of Garthewin had three pits there which stand upon Caego Hicks.

John Mellor of Erthig was sinking for coal at Bryn yr Owen in 1716 and paying his workers, on 9 May, 1724, wages ranging from 6d. to 14d. a day. Accounts were kept at the Brandy Collieries as far back as 1739 and these show that the partners Lloyd and Myddelton were drawing Royalties (or Farm) of ten per cent each from the production of the pits.

One pit worked by John Nicholas and a partner produced from 18 April, 1741, to 9 June, 1744, 2,827 corses 4¼ pitches,[9] valued at £563 9s. 5d., and John Myddelton took as Farm £93 18s. 7½d.,[10] and from iron stone, the value of which is not recorded, he took £15 7s. 6d. as "Farm".

The skill and far-sightedness of the Myddeltons in safeguarding their interests is shown in agreements which they made with mine operators regarding payments of royalty to them and methods of working coal pits.

An agreement between Meredith of Pentre Bychan and Richard Myddelton, 27 December, 1751, (11—503) states that Meredith "shall keep at least two pits constantly and effectively at work with a sufficient number of workmen upon the said demised premises (except in time of Civill Warr or other inevitable accident)" and at the expiry of the lease Meredith was "to remove and take off the said engines or whimseys".

Conditions are set out in detail in a document of June 1781[11] entitled "Covenants to be complied with in the coal works of Richard Myddelton". One-sixth part of the Coal Kennel and slack to be pd with 2 (*query* "per") dozen tubs of Iron Stone 3 months after the same is gotten in Money or Coal at the option of Mr. Myddelton.

Trespass to be allowed Tenants the same to be awarded by 2 indifferent persons.

Sufficient no. of men to be employed to work it in a workmanlike manner.

The deepest coal, if practicable is to be worked first.

Mr. Myddelton is to appoint one man at least in every pit . . .

His wages to be pd. by Lessees, to be allowed as much wages as shall be given to either a winder scorer or tender.

Mr. Myddelton to have the liberty of sending a person to the works to see that the same is worked with effect at pleasure.

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[9]Note on measures and prices—pytch=basket 14 to a ton. There were apparently 12 pitches to a corse and coal was 4/- a corse.

[10]A farm of one-sixth.

[11]Chirk Castle Papers 6105. *Query 1781.*

The Lessee was "to fill up useless pits and render the same plowed if required".

The Lessee not to take in any partner or assign the Lease without the consent of Mr. Myddelton in writing.

The Lessee not to neglect working for one week together or one month in the whole of any one year unless prevented by some inevitable act of God.

A further account of the methods of working, prices and wages could be derived from the the MSS referred to, but enough has been included, however, to show that even in the first half of the 18th century there was an accelerated development in the production of coal and consequently an increase in the number of coal mines in the east end of the county.

ENCROACHMENTS ON THE COMMONS AND THE GROWTH OF INDUSTRIAL VILLAGES

The sinking of the pits on the commons and wastes inevitably led to these being nibbled away, and the Court Leet Records present us with a picture of encroachments on the commons on a vast scale upon which the industrial villages grew. A few examples from the records will suffice to illustrate this process.

In October 1719, at Wrexham, John Key Smith and Edward Griffiths, both labourers, were presented at the Court Leet for "encroaching on the Common in Esclusham commonly called Rhose Stullen" and were fined 3/-4 each unless the encroachments were thrown open before the following Midsummer. An October 1720 entry reads "We present William Thomas Smith for erecting cottages contrary to law and for encroachments on the roods in Morton Wallicorum.

In April 1732 a large number of persons were presented for encroachments on the common called Adwy Clawdd. These included the Rev. Thomas Lloyd, Charles Jones, Robert Roberts, Benjamin Howell, etc., etc. They were fined 6/-8 each.

In April 1733 the entry reads: "We present William

Fisher for inclosing the Common in Broughton about the sowing of a measure of potatoes. Amerced 1s-6d.

Others presented and fined were:

Robert Parry about the sowing of a Kernel of potatoes ..... Fined 0—0—6

Margaret Davies for erecting a cottage on the waste 0—1—0

Robert Salesbury for a patch about the sowing of half a measure of barley ..... 0—1—0

In addition to these there were dozens in court that day for similar offences committed in Broughton.

The April 1760 records give another long list of persons presented to the court for inclosing roods in the common of Cefn Bychan and the common of Rhosymedre. They were all fined 6d. per rood, unless the enclosures were thrown open by the next Court Leet. The individual plots for which fines were imposed varied from half a rood to fifteen roods.

On 7 April, 1768, Thomas Ellis was presented for erecting and "continuing" a cottage upon the King's Waste called Coedpoeth in the township of Bersham and for digging up, ditching and enclosing about twenty roods in length and twenty roods in breadth in the same waste. He was fined 40/- for erecting and continuing a cottage and 12d. per rood for the enclosure.

In the same Court Leet scores of other persons were fined.

It can, therefore, be seen that from 1750 onwards, as more pits were sunk, these industrial villages grew rapidly and the old commons largely disappeared. The process continued in the 19th century and even in 1820 Sir Watkin Williams Wynn, Steward of the Crown Hundreds of the Lordship of Bromfield and Yale, suspended presentments against the great number of poor people (whose property was affected) for erecting and continuing houses built on, and enclosures taken from, the Lordship's wastes, particularly at places called Cefn Mawr and Cefn Bychan.[12]

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[12]M. 2048 N.L.W.: "Form and manner of keeping the Leet Courts in the Lordship of Bromfield and Yale." This is a MS sometime belonging to John Bunbabin Royton, Denbighshire Steward of the said Lordship.

The Industries of Denbighshire from Tudor Times to the Present Day

By GEORGE G. LERRY

PART I — AGRICULTURE*

*This is a revised version of part of the prize essay at Rhyl National Eisteddfod 1953. We intend to publish the complete work in three instalments: Part II will discuss the Extractive Industries and Part III the more recent developments.—EDITOR.

THE starting point of an account of industry in Denbighshire would seem to be the time when it was first created a county. This was long before the date usually given to denote the beginning of the Industrial Revolution. It will not be inappropriate at the outset, therefore, to say something about what occurred when the powers of the Lords Marchers were curbed, and the rule of law prescribed by a Tudor monarch began to prevail in the new shire.

Denbighshire was constituted a county by Henry VIII in 1536 when the Act of Parliament uniting England and Wales was passed. It was one of the seven counties formed out of the Marches, and it embraced the lordships of Denbigh, Ruthin, Cynllaith Owain, Bromfield, Yale, Chirk and Chirkland. Originally St. Asaph, Mold and Hope were included, but in 1542 these areas were transferred to Flintshire.

The ancient lordships date back to the time when Edward I "settled" Wales after defeating the last Llywelyn. By the Act of Union, Welshmen were given the same privileges as Englishmen, but English was made the official language of the law courts, and no person using the Welsh language was permitted to hold offices. The laws of England were to apply to Wales, and were to be enforced by the King acting through the Sheriff. Land was no longer to be divided between heirs under the old Welsh system of gavelkind, but was to pass to the eldest son in accordance with the English practice of primogeniture. The King's Judges were to hold the Great Sessions, and the King's writ was to

run through the whole shire. All were equal before the law, and Welshmen were given the right to live in the English garrison towns of Wales. The squires became Justices of the Peace and held Quarter Sessions; the freemen were jurors.

Denbigh was chosen as the shire town; the courts were to be held alternately at Denbigh and Wrexham. Provision was made for the representation of Wales in Parliament, and in Denbighshire it was not long before Sir John Salisbury of Llewenni, Sir Richard Trevor of Trefalun, Sir John Lloyd, the Edwardses of Chirk and their contemporaries figured in lively electoral battles when armed bands sometimes intervened. Meanwhile the Cistercian abbey of Valle Crucis had been dissolved; the castles of Denbigh, Ruthin, Chirk and Holt remained. All of them were not in good repair, and they were not re-fitted for defence until a century later when King Charles I fell back upon Wales during the Civil War, and Cavalier and Roundhead clashed in more than one Denbighshire district. This in brief is a rough sketch of the political position in the new county in the first few years of existence.

At that period the industry of Denbighshire reflected the pastoral character of the major portion of the area, many parts of which consisted of unenclosed and uncultivated land. In earlier days the exploration of the rich mineral resources had been undertaken on a limited scale, not only by prospectors living in what is sometimes called the pre-industrial age, but, in the case of lead, by the Romans.

In the main, however, the inhabitants were engaged in agriculture, and in rural industries—each town and village possessing its own craftsmen who ministered to the needs of their kinsfolk and neighbours. Denbighshire, like several other parts of Wales, was for a long time largely cut off from the economic life of the rest of the United Kingdom, owing to poor communications, not to mention climatic and linguistic barriers. Roads were few and rough tracks many; there were no ports or navigable rivers, and at that time, of course, neither canals nor railways had been constructed.

Denbighshire embraces an area of 427,000 acres. It is bounded on the north by Flintshire, the Irish Sea, and a

strip of Caernarvonshire; on the west and south by Merioneth and Montgomery; and on the east by the English Border Counties of Cheshire and Shropshire. At the time of its constitution Denbighshire probably had a population of about 40,000—less than a quarter of the present total. The Hearth Tax returns for Michaelmas 1662 show that at the rate of 2/- a year, per hearth, there were 8,689 taxable hearths in Denbighshire. On the basis of five to a family this would give a population of 43,445. (When the Hearth Tax came to an end in 1690 the population of the whole of Wales has been estimated on a similar basis at not more than 387,000.)

The totals of the Population Notitia for certain parishes in Denbighshire in 1681 and 1686 (preserved in the St. Asaph Diocesan returns now at the National Library of Wales) give some idea of the character of the county in Stuart times. Here are a few of the figures:

Chirk—175 families, 815 souls. (Some large households: Sir Thomas Myddelton of Chirk Castle 33, and Sir John Trevor 25.)

Ruabon—256 families. 1082 souls.

Llanrhaeadr ym Mochnant—323 families. 1409 souls.

Llangollen—389 families. 1620 souls.

Denbigh—347 families. 1489 souls. (The date 1681 is queried.)

Llandrillo yn Rhos—111 families. 459 souls.

Llanfair T.H.—148 families. 694 souls. (This includes John Wynne's household of 31, and is dated 1687.)

Gresford—388 families. 1180 souls. (The date 1681 is queried.)

Henllan—294 families. 1180 souls. (Popish Recusants 9; Sir John Salisbury's household 40. The date 1681 is queried.)

Llangernyw—156 families. 643 souls. (In 1686).

Betws-yn-Rhos—112 families. 457 souls. (In 1686).

Llanferres—70 families. 295 souls. (In 1686).

Cerrigydrudion—110 families. 595 souls. (The date 1681 is queried.)

Llansilin—312 families. 1398 souls. (The date 1681 is queried.)

Llangwm—167 families. 779 souls. (The date 1681 is queried).

Gwytherin—66 families. 290 souls. (Of these 18 householders were designated "paupers". The date 1681 is queried.)

Wrexham was the busiest of the market towns. Its annual fairs were largely attended, but it is doubtful whether the resident population reached 2,500. (It was only 2,575 in 1801.)

More exact information as to industrial development and the growth of the county did not become available until the beginning of the nineteenth century. In 1801 Denbighshire had a population of 60,299. By 1841 it had increased to 88,478; in 1891 the total had grown to 117,872, and there have been progressive increases this century until, in 1951, the preliminary return of the Census showed the population to be 170,699.

It is against the background of the foregoing outline, continued with the story of the Industrial Revolution and its aftermath—that a modest attempt will be made to trace the history of industry in Denbighshire down to the present day.

The people of the county are at the present time (1952-3) chiefly dependent upon agriculture, coal mining, iron and steel, engineering, chemicals, brick-making, *terra cotta* work, leather, textiles and quarrying; the maritime strip from the Foryd to Llandrillo yn Rhos includes the wharf at Llanddulas from which stone products are exported by sea, and the popular seaside resorts of Colwyn Bay, Old Colwyn, Pensarn and Abergele, where a very large number of people are engaged in the hotel and catering industry; in addition there are now a considerable number of light industries in the county, several only recently established.

Close upon three-fifths of the population are concentrated in East Denbighshire—all within a dozen miles of Wrexham Parish Church.

The character of industry in the county has undergone one important change since the conclusion of the Second World War in 1945. On the outbreak of that conflict in 1939, or thereabouts, the Government of the day acquired hundreds of acres of agricultural land in the Dee Valley between Marchwiel and Ridley Wood (Holt). Here, a cordite factory, employing at the peak period over 10,000 work people, was erected and operated. When hostilities ceased the site and buildings were converted into a trading estate under the Board of Trade, and a number of new industries were set up, affording employment in less than six years to about 2,000, a total likely to be increased when extensions of one of the new textile factories are completed, and when production begins at a new clothing factory.

After the 1939-45 war a considerable portion of the Wrexham district was designated a development area by Parliament. This led to increased industrial activity, and the large "shadow" factory built during the war for the Ministry of Aircraft Production at Whitegate, Wrexham, was taken over for peace-time productions.

Meanwhile, changes in farming practice, marketing and organization, followed by the imperative drive for increased food production after 1939, have produced a minor and, in some respects, a major revolution—tractors, combine harvesters, balers, grass driers, and milking machines, revealing phenomenal progress in farm mechanization. And, as the bulk of the population were concerned with the cultivation of the soil and the raising of livestock when Denbighshire came into existence as a county, it will not be out of place to begin the story of its industry with a survey of agriculture, together with accounts of corn milling, of recent developments in forestry, and of strawberry growing in the fields of Holt.

I

AGRICULTURE

WHEN Denbighshire was constituted a county four hundred years ago, industry in the new shire was for the most part based upon agriculture and kindred crafts. At that time a very large part of the area consisted of waste and heath. Living conditions in the countryside generally were primitive. Most of the farms were small and were of a family character. The agricultural community was scattered and isolated. Its chief social centres were the larger homesteads. Contact with the market towns—Wrexham, Denbigh, Ruthin and Llanrwst—was chiefly made at the time of the periodical fairs. Links with the outside world were maintained by the drovers who took the cattle raised in the hills along rough routes across the Border into England, where they were fattened for the English market.

Cultivation of the land in the elevated districts was principally devoted to the growing of oats and barley for home consumption. Farmers depended for their living chiefly

upon cattle, sheep and goats; they were really engaged in subsistence farming, plus the production of woollen yarn. Most of the farms and the bulk of the cottagers' dwellings had their spinning wheels. Each member of the household had to help in picking, sorting and carding the wool, or to assist in the weaving sheds of the farm where the wool was woven into cloth before being taken to the local fulling mill to be washed, thickened and dried on tenter hooks.

Conditions in the towns where some of the territorial magnates of that day had houses, were better, but the position was destined to remain unchanged for very many years.

In his fascinating account of "The Old Order", Professor A. H. Dodd (author of the *Industrial Revolution in North Wales*) says that when George the Third came to the throne

> ". . . if the gentry lived in better furnished houses, fared more sumptuously, dressed more soberly, spoke less Welsh and spent more of their time in England, most of the people—the peasants, fishermen, shepherds and drovers—lived much as their ancestors had done in Shakespeare's time."

And Shakespeare was born a few years after Denbighshire was formed into a county.

Improvements in the methods of British farming are generally said to date from about the year 1760. In Denbighshire, as in other parts of North Wales, changes came slowly —much more slowly than in the English counties. The earliest Enclosure Act in regard to Wales was passed in 1732, but between that year and the end of the century comparatively few Acts were passed for Wales; they did not begin to increase in number until after 1800.

In Denbighshire, enclosures were effected in 1793 at Llanferres, and in 1802 at Denbigh Green and Henllan, but they only extended to 2,100 acres. In 1795 there were 1,696,827 acres of waste or unenclosed land in Wales. At this time waste lands formed one half of Denbighshire! In the neighbouring English counties land had been enclosed

for dairy farms, orchards, stock-raising and grain-growing before the year 1700. A similar movement did not begin to gather momentum in Denbighshire until the opening decades of the nineteenth century.

According to Arthur Young (1741-1820) enclosure was regarded as the necessary first step towards improving the general standard of agriculture; food production for a growing population was increased; landlords and farmers received material benefits; but this redistribution and enclosure of land created a large number of poverty-stricken, landless labourers.

In this connection it is of interest to recall that many witnesses who gave evidence before the Welsh Land Commission spoke of the inadequacy of the allotments under most enclosure awards in common lands for general or public purposes, especially for recreation grounds, for turbary, for the poor, and for charitable purposes. The Land Commissioners in their report wrote:

> "Even accepting the principles on which the Enclosure Acts were based as being sound, insufficient regard was paid . . . in the awards to the admitted but vague interests of the inhabitants of the district affected who were neither owners nor commoners."

And Alfred Neobard Palmer, the historian, of Wrexham, in his *Ancient Tenures of Land in North Wales* (published 1885) says:

> "There was in the time of the Welsh laws no class precisely corresponding to the modern cottagers and labourers. Those that then most closely resembled the latter were probably the 'ysdafellawgs'. It cannot be proved that these 'ysdafellawgs' had any rights over the waste lands of the townships in which they lived, but none who has made himself familiar with the conditions of early Welsh times will have any hesitation in affirming that they must have had such rights. And in any case it is certain that the ancestors of the

present cottagers were used for centuries to turn their cows, their swine, and their geese upon the 'rhosydd' or moors that lay within their townships. But during the last hundred years, all these moors have been enclosed, owners of adjoining lands having illegally taken patch after patch of them until none remains; or appropriated and shared them at one gulp by virtue of an Act passed in a Parliament of landowners. In many townships as much as a thousand acres of common have been enclosed all at once by Parliamentary authority. The land has been shared among the landowners of the townships in a proportion corresponding to the area of the estates already belonging to them there. But in no case, as far as I know, has any regard been shown for the rights of the commoners that owned no land, nor has so much as a village green been reserved for their use. An assembly in which these landless commoners were in no way represented, should, in distributing township lands over which all the inhabitants had customary rights, have remembered an ancient injunction and considered the poor."

The period 1755 to 1815 has been described as one of the feverish development in agriculture, accompanied by inflated prices and artificial prosperity. Industrial enterprises and the Napoleonic wars produced new conditions, a spirit of optimism and an urge for improvement. As early as 1765 the Vicar of Gresford, the Rev. Henry Newcombe, introduced the turnip into the agriculture of Denbighshire

Before the end of the century, agricultural societies began to be established—one in East Denbighshire in 1796, with Sir Watkin Williams Wynn Bt., of Wynnstay, as its principal sponsor. In 1798 there were only two thrashing machines in North Wales. One was at Brymbo. This was used by John Wilkinson, the ironmaster, who had extended his activities in iron and coal from Bersham to the Brymbo Hall estate. His thrashing machine was worked by steam. The improvements in Denbighshire are catalogued by the

Rev. Walter Davies (Gwallter Mechain) in his *General View of Agriculture and Domestic Economy of North Wales* (1810). He wrote:

> "Some parts of the Vale of Clwyd are almost in as bad a state, for want of outlets to the stagnant water, as those described in the Vale of Llanrwst. Much has been done in draining and enbanking on Lord Bagot's estate, and by other proprietors; but still much more land remains under its natural crops of rushes and other aquatics. The Rev. R. B. Clough began his improvements upon Eriviat farm in the year 1792, and from then to 1797 he expended £100 per annum, in fencing with quicksets, straightening hedges, stone pipe draining, irrigating and making reservoirs, etc., though he was only tenant at will. He has since extended his improvements upon his late purchased estates so considerably as to pay about £50 weekly to labourers and artificers. For his expensive and complete system of irrigating his meadow and pasture land at Bathavarn, the Society for the Encouragement of Arts honoured him with a gold medal in 1807. Mr. Griffith of Garn and several other gentlemen in the county, pursue the same spirited system of farming. Mr. Griffith has been at great expense in conveying a stream to irrigate his grass lands. An instance of his other improvements may be given upon a piece of 10 acres, a part of it being very springy, the other overrun with furze. The expense of draining and ridding, two years rent and taxes included, amounted to £160. In 1795 it was fallowed, manured with 514 cubic yards of lime compost, and sown with 25 bushels of wheat; produce 237½ bushels. In 1796 it was sown with 31¼ bushels of barley; produce 400 bushels. The late John Wilkinson Esq. had a farm of about 500 acres at Brymbo near Wrexham. The situation is bleak and the soil naturally poor, being a hungry clay on a substratum of yellow rammel, or coal chist, which in some places appears in the clay. However by good tillage, and manuring with lime, at the rate of ten

> tons per acre, it is so far improved that the tithes of corn within the township have advanced £40 a year in value; owing exclusively to his improvements. He had brought under cultivation 150 acres of wild heath, till then abounding only in springs and furze. A crowned head had assisted him in making his compost manures. Offa, King of Mercia, had employed men to bring together the soil; and Mr. Wilkinson went to the expense of lime to be mixed with it. Large cavities, of the shape of inverted cones, were cut at convenient distances in Offa's Dyke which runs across Brymbo farm. The cavities were filled up with limestone and coal, and then burnt in the same manner as the sod Kilns in the Vale of Clwyd."

The formation of new roads during this period had a marked influence on the economy of the whole area. In North Wales new roads were made, and old ones improved to the extent of one thousand miles, and Denbighshire had within its borders one-sixth of this total. According to Gwallter Mechain, during the enclosure of the wastes in the parish of Henllan, fifteen miles of new roads were formed within its boundaries—some of them expensive. "The new roads over the Green, at Denbigh, were estimated at £6,000 . . . Forming roads in Wales along precipices and through solid rocks are frequently very expensive . . . Fifty two roods at Glyn diphwys on the Irish road near Cerrigydrudion cost £250, & one rood in particular cost £30."

Better communications, improved methods, war conditions, the steep rise in the price of wheat, the opening up of distant markets to those Welsh farmers who could take advantage of the changed position, were features of the first decade of the nineteenth century; but the small men who lived on subsistence farming, and were without capital, suffered. In 1815—the year of Waterloo—the prosperous era came to an end, and a prolonged period of agricultural depression ensued. Lasting until 1850, it resulted in general distress, the disappearance of the older yeomen, the substitution of annual for leasehold tenures, agrarian disturbances, and the depopulation of the rural districts. Fifteen years

before this distressing period came to a close, William Lewis published his Topographical Dictionary of Wales in which he gives a picture of Denbighshire in the late twenties or early thirties. In the course of his notes on the county he recorded this impression:

> "On some parts of the Hiraethog hills no grain is sown, but the hardy oat, and so unpropitious is the climate there that in some years it never ripens, but is quite green in the month of October . . . About one third part of the vales of Denbighshire is under tillage, and annually produces great quantities of grain for exportation. The common corn crops are wheat, barley & oats. Wheat is commonly cut with the reaping hook, and barley in the Vale of Clwyd with cradled scythes. Rye is occasionally grown, as also are peas though to a much less extent than formerly; beans are hardly ever seen. The culture of turnips . . . has here made more progress than in the other counties of North Wales; it is yet far from being extensive. Potatoes are grown for home consumption. The most common artificial grass is red clover, with which rye grass is sometimes mixed; some of the clover is seeded; in the hill districts hay seeds are obtained from Anglesey . . . Artificial irrigation is assiduously practised in all convenient situations. In the more fertile vales of the Eastern parts of the county, the grass lands are chiefly appropriated to the dairy, the produce of which in both cheese and butter is conveyed in considerable quantities to the markets of Chester, Shrewsbury and Bridgnorth . . . Lime is the most general manure where it can be conveniently obtained; it is frequently burned in sod kilns on the field to be manured . . .
>
> ". . . The Lummas plough, a variation of the Rotherham plough, is in almost universal use; having been introduced in place of the large old fashioned plough about the year 1760 . . .
>
> ". . .The sheep in the mountainous districts are small and hardy . . . Another native breed, which occupies

> the S.E and E parts of the county from the border of Montgomeryshire to Wrexham; they have black faces, and as fine wool as any sheep in the island, that of the Ryeland breed only excepted; the mutton of those fed on the limestone lands is reckoned particularly delicious . . . Hogs are most numerous in the dairy districts. In the vales excellent draught horses for the coach and for the wagon are obtained from England . . . Towards the E border of the county are some orchards from which in plentiful seasons cider and perry are sometimes made for home consumption."

During the last half of the nineteenth century, the agricultural community in Denbighshire experienced alternating periods of prosperity and depression, and as in earlier years the Welsh Land Commission found that these fluctuations produced changes in the relations between landlord and tenant which, broadly speaking, were probably not paralelled in England. The years between 1850 and 1880 were regarded as a time of agricultural prosperity, but they were the days of political change in Wales. Landlords and tenant farmers, previously held together by the old Corn Laws—repealed in 1846—were now estranged, and allegations of evictions for religious and political reasons were rife.

When the Welsh Land Commission met between 1893 and 1896, evidence relating to Denbighshire was given by Colonel Cornwallis West of Ruthin Castle, who repudiated the allegations made by Tom Ellis, M.P. for Merioneth. Alluding to instances of the eviction of farmers for exercising an independent judgment in politics, Tom Ellis said:

> " The Commissioners have received some evidence of this already. They will receive more. It will take years to forget the thrill of horror which spread through Wales, more especially through its tenantry, after the political evictions which followed the elections of 1859 and 1868. Four uncles and relatives of my own were evicted for refusing to vote for the Tory candidate in 1859:—Ellis Roberts, Fron Goch, and John Jones, Maesygadna, on the Rhiwlas estate and

Edward Ellis, Ty Cerrig, & John Thomas, Pandy Mawr, on sir W. W. Wynn's estate. In the election of 1865, the landlords of this district stood in the hall to watch their tenants voting, & I have heard tenants express their shame that, terrified by the evictions of 1859, they voted against their will & conscience. It was after the election of 1868 that Cardiganshire and Caernarvonshire suffered most. I have heard this called ancient history, but those who know Wales know that the influence of the memories of these evictions is far from spent."

Replying to this, Colonel Cornwallis West observed:

"I consider the statements made by Mr. Thomas Ellis, M.P. (that tenants are capriciously evicted and dare not appear on political platforms, and that Nonconformist farmers have been got rid of simply because they are Nonconformists) is utterly unwarranted by facts, & so far as the county of Denbigh is concerned I believe it would be absolutely impossible to find a well substantiated instance of tyranny, either social, or political, in recent times, & I decline to go back 30 or 40 years ago, as many witnesses have been allowed to do, when a good deal may have been done which legislation, and the more enlightened opinion of society has long since rectified, or rendered impossible. Part of the charge, if true, would make out the Welsh farmer to be what I, at any rate, have never found him to be, both subservient and cowardly."

In their report (published in 1896) the Welsh Land Commissioners, declared that Colonel West's statement fairly represented the views of most landowners and agents, of whom but very few made any reference whatsoever to the political evictions of former days. The Commissioners, however, added these significant sentences:

"People have unfortunately long memories for what they conceive to be their wongs and grievances . . . . .

> The beliefs of the tenantry as to what they conceive to be their wrongs—and no one wishes to deny or palliate the injustice and cruelty of evictions that followed the elections of 1859 and 1868—those impressions have continued fresh in the memories of the few surviving tenants out of the many who were evicted, while they have also been handed down as family traditions to their descendants in whose minds, our evidence clearly proves, they rankle with a bitterness that, unfortunately, has diminished but little with the lapse of time. The Commissioners therefore, express their inability to accpet Colonel Cornwallis West's view as to the irrelevancy of an inquiry into the relations of landlord and tenant in Wales more than twenty years ago..... We felt that the present position of things could not be understood without reference to the past, and though ameliorative legislation has in the interval been passed, which has materially changed the legal and civic position of the occupier, yet it has not had the effect of breaking entirely the continuity of historical development in the relations between landlord and tenant. As to this legislation, which after all is but the reflex of that 'enlightened opinion of society' alluded to by Colonel Cornwallis West, two if not three Acts of Parliament deserve to be specially mentioned as having contributed towards modifying the previously existing condition of things, under which political and other capricious evictions were possible. We refer to the Ballot Act of 1871 and the Agricultural Holdings Act of 1875 as amended by the subsequent Act of 1883, while the Tithe Rent Charge Recovery Act of 1891 should perhaps be added."

Mention of the Tithe Rent Charge Recovery Act brings to mind the serious disturbances which occurred, especially in Denbighshire when farmers declined to pay tithes. The titheowners had to distrain and the agents had to call for police protection when they began to levy the distresses. In Denbighshire the most serious riots occurred at Llangwm,

and at Llannefydd in 1887, and many civilians and policemen were injured.

From 1880 onwards another period of depression had overtaken the agricultural industry, and the prevailing conditions coupled with political and other considerations relating to the tithe, to the Disestablishment of the Church, and to what was usually referred to as "land reform" led to much agitation. The position was eased by the passing of the Act of 1891 which made it clear that the tithe was the first charge on land, and as such had precedence of the rent payable to the landlord. The Act made the landlord responsible for its payment in the first instance, and in this way the tithe was "in many cases merged in the rent."

And so we come to within measurable distance of the outbreak of the First World War (1914-18) with all its revolutionary consequences to agriculture and every other industry. In 1916 agricultural committees were set up in every county including of course Denbighshire; a survey was made of all the land; the greatest stress was laid upon the production of grain; and the Board of Agriculture began to exercise control over all engaged in agriculture. The nation was at war on an unprecedented scale; tens of thousands had flocked to the colours; every day brought its tragic tale of fatal casualties on distant battlefields; while the fear of famine was brought home to all. In 1917 Parliament passed the Corn Production Act which gave farmers a guaranteed minimum price for wheat and oats for the period 1917-1922. Prices rocketed and a new situation arose. Maximum prices were then imposed. When the war was over the Agricultural Act of 1920 laid down new prices for wheat and oats, subject to an annual revision; the tenant farmer was required to cultivate the land in accordance with the rules of good husbandry, but he was given the right of compensation for disturbance, if he was required to leave his farm unless the landlord satisfied the county agricultural committee that the land was not being properly cultivated. Meanwhile provision had been made for the settlement of the wages of the farm worker. Before the war the farm worker's wage averaged 18/- per week; by 1922 the figure

had risen to 44/-; but the rate was to fall with the slump that marked certain periods of the inter-war years.

The days of prosperity after 1918 were soon found to be transient; prices fell and the Corn Production Act was repealed. This change of Government policy was strongly resented by the farmers. They were no longer given guaranteed prices, and in Denbighshire as in other Welsh counties, the raising of livestock, and milk production soon began to replace the war time policy of ploughing the land and growing more wheat and oats. By this time the farmers were becoming a well organised body attached to the National Farmers Union, and the old Agricultural Wages Board had been succeeded by conciliation committees of employers and workmen set up by the County Agricultural Committee—Denbighshire and Flintshire being joined together for this purpose.

The next phase of the story relates to the efforts made to provide facilities for agricultural education. In 1920 the Denbigh County Council purchased Llysfasi Farm, near Ruthin, and established a farm institute there. The farm has an area of 600 acres, and the land is regarded as fairly representative of the usual type of upland farms in the county. Alterations and extensions were made to the farm house to convert it into a hostel for the accommodation of staff and students. Pedigree stock carried on the farm include an attested herd of Shorthorn cattle, a large flock of Welsh mountain sheep, together with a Pedigree Improved flock, a herd of Large White pigs, and a large quantity of poultry. The gardens cover an area of four acres, and an apiary enables students to see the practical side of beekeeping. Two courses of instruction are held during the year: the autumn and winter course in agriculture for men, and the spring and summer course for women. Scholarships are offered to Denbighshire students who are in residence at the Institute. Awards may be made to suitable candidates intending to pursue courses at colleges, or universities. Scholarships offered annually by the Ministry of Agriculture to sons and daughters of agricultural workers are tenable at the Institute where short courses in agriculture, rural science, and rural domestic economy are arranged during the vacations; and

lectures and demonstrations are provided for the rural areas of the county.

The changes which had taken place in farming practice ten years after the war were revealed when the Milk Marketing Board—set up in 1933—had been in operation for quite a short time. In Denbighshire milk production increased by leaps and bounds, but the number of acres under wheat, barley and oats, continued to fall. (In 1914-18 over 7,000 acres were under wheat, by 1939 the figure had dropped to 1,503, and the decreases in barley and oats were substantial too.)

At the end of the first year's operations—1934—the Milk Marketing Board had 1,040 Denbighshire farms on the register. By 1939 the number had increased to 1,950; and in that year 11,218,000 gallons of milk were produced.

And this brings us to the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939. County War Agricultural Committees were again set up, and for the second time within a generation farmers and farm-workers were required to adapt themselves to conditions dictated by war. The following table, showing the number of cattle, sheep and pigs and the acreage devoted to grain, etc., in 1935 and in 1941 (two years after the war started) gives some indication of the changes brought about during those years:—

DENBIGHSHIRE

	1935		*1941*
Dairy Herds	28,395	...	32,921
Total Cattle	81,790	...	90,723
Sheep	481,000	...	404,800
Pigs	33,900	...	16,200
Crops	(acres)		(acres)
Wheat	2,970	...	5,737
Oats	18,276	...	34,444
Barley	3,117	...	4,492
Potatoes	1,573	...	3,366
Permanent Grass ...	177,213	...	142,837

During the war and afterwards milk production continued to increase. In 1950 the number of registered producers in the county had reached the surprising figure of 3,080. During the twelve months ending September 1950, the total quantity of milk produced was 21,692,000 gallons, nearly double the quantity produced in the corresponding period in 1939. Eighty per cent of the milk was and is exported to Merseyside, Lancashire and the Midlands. The dairy herds only increased by about one-third, and the statistics show progressive methods and a higher yield per cow. Great strides were made in cleaning up the dairy herds within the county. In 1939 only 5·5 per cent of the total cattle were attested, but by 1950 the figure had increased to 18·5 per cent. Nearly twenty-nine per cent of the milk producers of Denbighshire now possess attested herds, and the county has the highest number of such herds in North Wales.

In the matter of milk production in Wales, Carmarthen and Pembroke held first and second places in 1951, with Denbighshire third. The cash value of milk sold in 1939 in Denbighshire was £591,000; by 1950 the total had been increased to two and three quarter million pounds sterling.

The number of farms on the register of the Denbighshire Agricultural Executive Committee in 1950 was 5,171. The total area covered amounted to 344,296 acres—a large portion being classified as rough grazing, plus pasture and hay land. The acreage under the plough was 67,600. Grain crops were obtained from 47,700 acres. It is estimated that 75 or 80 per cent of this crop remained on the farms. Of the portion exported, most of it remained within Denbighshire. A considerable two-way trade is, however, maintained between the county and Merseyside, and a high proportion of the millable wheat found—and finds its way to Chester or Liverpool.

Considerable progress had been made in the mechanization of Denbighshire farms by 1950. In 1939 there were 236 tractors in the county; in 1950 this number had risen to 2,625. In 1939 there were 620 tractor-drawn ploughs; by 1950 this number had increased to 3,385. Figures are not available

for milking machines in 1939, but in 1942 there were 212 in operation in the county, and in 1950 the number was 1,022. In the same period (1942-50) the number of portable thrashing machines had increased from 92 to 148.

It is difficult to estimate the total number of people engaged in agriculture in Denbighshire. Some of the occupiers of the 5,000-odd holdings farm at home during the evenings and week-ends, and are fully employed on other farms during the day. These people would, therefore, appear in the figures giving the number of agricultural labourers. In addition, some occupiers have more than one holding. It is officially believed that there are 4,500 occupiers of Denbighshire holdings, and as in 1950, there were 5,500 farm-workers in the county excluding occupiers, it is estimated that there were about 10,000 workers in all on the land in Denbighshire in that year.

What a change from Tudor times, when Denbighshire first became a county! Tractors in the fields, machines in shippons and stackyards; and the "carriages without horses" of Mother Shipton's prophecy, bowling along the highways and by-ways. What would the old time farmers say if they could come back to see all these things? They would gaze in amazement at the huge motor lorries collecting milk from a hundred farms and whisking it away to distant dairies and creameries. How their eyes would glisten as they heard of government subsidies and of the regular receipt of the monthly cheques from the Marketing Board. They might be tempted to speak of the farming community as living in a twentieth century paradise—perhaps too rosy a picture of the modern scene, and yet one with some substance in it. And how excited the labourers would be to hear about modern wage levels and the new conditions of service. Such a state of affairs is eminently satisfactory from the national point of view, with the need for increased home food production greater than ever. In meeting this need the Denbighshire agriculturists of every degree seem to be playing a notable part. And it is good to see the way in which supporters of movements like the Young Farmers Clubs and the

Women's Institutes are working to counter the lure of the towns by a welcome increase in the provision of rural amenities and services.

* * * *

And now to turn to what may be described as industries bound up with land to which reference has not been made, viz.: milling, strawberry growing and afforestation.

The milling of corn by turning one rough surfaced stone above another has been carried on from time immemorial. The ancient methods of obtaining power by manual or animal labour were superseded in due course by windmills and water power mills. The Welsh grinding mills differ from the windmills of England probably because the hills of the Principality provide a sufficient fall in the rivers to enable the necessary head of water to be obtained to turn the water wheels. In the middle of the nineteenth century metal roller plants were introduced and are now installed in large flour mills set up in populous centres. The old mills were features of the countryside.

In Denbighshire to-day there are no flour mills in production. A number of provender mills are still working. For many years past the milling of wheat to make flour has been concentrated in centres across the Border, especially—as far as Denbighshire is concerned—on Merseyside. The wheat retained in the county is chiefly that required for seeds. In East Denbighshire the local mills still working grind barley and oats for the farmers, and supply cattle food; in West Denbighshire most of the grain is sent to Merseyside unless required by farmers for their stock.

There are a large number of disused corn mills to be found up and down the county. In several cases only the sites of the mill buildings remain; in a number of instances the mills are partly in ruins but at the time of writing Brookhouse Mill, Denbigh, is still working. The disused mills include the King's Mill, Wrexham (now almost derelict), the Abbot's Mill, Wrexham (now part of a modern leather works), the Pumrhyd (Five Fords) Mill, Llwyn Onn Mill, Abenbury, the French Mills (once in Erddig Park, Wrexham), Erless

Mill, Trevor Mill, the Wilderson Mill, Gresford Mill, Pentrefelin (Llangollen), Bradley, Gwersyllt, Pickhill, Pentre Christionydd (Penycae), Felin Ucha (Llanrwst), Felin Isa (Llanrwst), Y Felin, Melinycoed (Llanrwst), Eglwysbach Mill, The Castle Mill, Ruthin, Henfache (Llanrhaeadr-ym-Mochnant), New Mill (Llanrhaeadr-ym-Mochnant), Vicarage Mill (Llanrhaeadr Y.M.), Maengwynedd Mill, Cymdu Mill, Pentrefelin (near Llanrhaeadr Y.M.), Penybont-llannerch-Emrys (near Llangedwyn), Rhiwlas Mill (Llansilin), Glascoed Mill (Llansilin), Sycarth Mill (Llansilin), Rhydycroesau Mill, and the Ruabon Mills. The foregoing must be regarded as representative rather than a complete list. Where rivers mark the boundary lines between counties, mills were erected on each side of the stream. In the Tanat Valley there were several mills on the Montgomeryshire side of the river.

There are early records of a number of the Denbighshire corn mills. A brief allusion to them will illustrate the change that has taken place since the time when so many of the little mills were picturesque features of the rural scene. In Domesday Book (A.D. 1086) there is a reference under Gretford [Gresford] to the Norman Osbern (or Osbernus) who had a mill to grind the corn for his own court; there is also a reference to a mill in Alentyne [Allington]. In *The First Extent of Bromfield and Yale* (A.D. 1315), it is stated that Wrexham had a manor house, and also a mill belonging to the lord; Marford had its own manor house and its mill; at Llanarmon, the seat of the court of Yale, there was also a mill and a manor house; the lord had a mill at Bryneglwys; and apparently one at Pickhill (Sesswick). T. P. Ellis, in his book on Bromfield and Yale, writing of mill dues, says that nearly all tenants, free and unfree, milled at one or other of the lord's mills, and very few escaped this general liability. He adds: "Milling at the lord's mill was a source of very considerable profit to the lord throughout feudal Europe; it was a source of an equal amount of annoyance and oppression to the cultivators of the land. In Wales it was viewed with especial disfavour, and in the early laws the only mention of milling is the express provision that it was one of the privileges of Arfon that all dwellers therein milled free. The Survey of Denbigh discloses a large number

of private mills, and a few lords' mills, but, with the exception of the *nativi* of Uwchdulas, all tenants, free and unfree, milled where they chose . . . There can be little doubt that the enforced milling in Bromfield and Yale was a recent importation from England."

A Record Office manuscript of A.D. 1398 is mentioned by Mrs. Margaret Mahler in her *Chirk Castle and Chirkland.* Writing of the local place name "Castle Mill" (the little group of houses by the River Ceiriog and in the gap of Offa's Dyke, now called Castle Mill), Mrs. Mahler says that tracing the history of the name backwards, it is found that in the MSS of 1398 it is spoken of as "the mill of Crogen". At the spot now called Castle Mill (a mile or two up the valley from Chirk), the boundaries of the old township of Crogen Iddon were Offa's Dyke and the River Ceiriog, and it is suggested that at or near this place the famous battle of Crogen took place. Mention is also made in Mrs. Mahler's volume to "the mill of Llanarmon" (Dyffryn Ceiriog) and to "the mill of Glynvaur" (in addition of course to the Pandai or fulling mills in the Ceiriog Valley).

In an unpublished history of Ruabon (the MSS of which is in the possession of the Misses Hughes, Glyndwr, Wrexham), A. N. Palmer refers to the Ruabon grain mills. He says: "Various mills are mentioned at different times as being in Ruabon. Thus in 1562, Richard Langford, Esq., of Allington, had a messuage there, *with mill,* and two gardens. Mr. Martin Bromfield had also in the same year the site of a mill on his own lands, with licence to use the waters of the Dee and of Afon Christionydd (which is the name for the river now known as Afon Eitha) for serving the said mill by copy. His son, Edward Bromfield, enjoyed the same licence. I suspect all mills were on Afon Christionydd, and when the waters of the Dee were used it was by means of a leat. One of these, called in 1620 'ye lower mill', belonged then to Edward Eyton of Watstay. The site of this, as well as of the other grain mills owned by him, is probably to be sought in Wynnstay Park. But where was the uppermost mill in Ruabon, that belonging in 1562 to Mr. Richard Langford. Its approximate site is indicated by the name of Mill Cottage, near Pont Adam, and by the weir just below."

So much for the disused mills of the county. Now something must be said first about old mills still working, and then about some of the newer ones, not forgetting one or two modern flour mills which were in production until what was called "nationalisation" led to the transfer of the industry to centres outside Denbighshire.

The mill on the Dee in the town of Llangollen is one of the oldest in this part of North Wales. The present mill is owned by William Jones & Son—a firm founded in 1864. Mr. Trevor Lloyd Jones, son of the founder, says that to-day it is a provender mill. Flour has not been manufactured there for forty years. The mill has three pairs of stones for grinding the grain, and the machinery is driven by water power. Balanced rations for cattle, pigs and poultry are now produced. Mr. Trevor Lloyd Jones also states that Llangollen Mill, and the little disused mill at Pentrefelin, originally belonged to the monks of the nearby Abbey of Valle Crucis, and that in the Record Office in London is a thirteenth century document in Latin relating to a fishing dispute between the monks and the freemen of Llangollen, in which there is a reference to the Llangollen Mill.

Two very old mills still working are the Rossett Mill and the Marford Mill, sometimes linked together in earlier days and referred to as the Marford (or Merford) Mills. The Rossett Mill is the picturesque half-timbered structure standing by the side of the main road to Chester—five miles from Wrexham. Over the entrance is the date—1661. The mill was rebuilt in that year. It was working in 1620. The mill is now owned by Lewis Brothers. It has a wheel of wooden construction turned by the waters of the River Alyn which passes through Rossett on its way to join the Dee. On the opposite side of the road is the Marford Mill (also in the same ownership) on which is a stone bearing the date 1791. This stone refers to the rebuilding of the mill after a fire at that date. Two mills were in existence at this place at much earlier dates than those already given. To-day one mill—Rossett—is in the parish of Burton, and the other—Marford—is in the parish of Allington, but the ancient link between Marford and the neighbouring county of Flint remains at nearby Mar-

ford Hill, which is still a detached portion of Flintshire. The reason given for two mills within a few yards of each other is that the Lord of Hope took possession of the northern portion of the commote of Marford in which Rossett Mill was situated, and as this left the inhabitants of the southern portion of the area in the lordship of Bromfield without the services of a mill, one was built to serve them.

Both Rossett and Marford Mills now grind barley and oats for the farmers of the neighbourhood and supply cattle food, etc. The list of members of the National Association of Corn and Agricultural Merchants (revised in 1950) includes the Chirk Mill of Noel Davies & Co., the Esclusham Mill of Harry Rogers, and the Town Mills, Wrexham, of Geo. T. Davies, Ltd. The Chirk mill plant remains, but the character of the business there has now changed and milling has ceased. Although not included in the 1950 list of members of the National Association of Corn Merchants, the firm of H. & T. Jones Ltd., of the Wrexham Corn Mills, must be mentioned. An extensive milling business is still carried on by this firm at Wrexham. During the 1939-45 war new plant was installed at the mills at Bontnewydd, Llansantffraid Glan Conway (W. H. Evans) and at Henllan, Denbigh. The Einion water power mill at Pwllglas, Ruthin (Daniel Roberts) is working, also the Pentrefoelas Mill, and there is a mill at Llangernyw. The Erbistock Mill on the Dee near Overton Bridge is often working and just over the Border in Flintshire are the Cefnybedd Mills of Evan Davies & Son, and the Halghton Mill near Bangor Isycoed (Harold Davenport).

The process of milling changed in the middle of the nineteenth century when metal roller plants were introduced from Hungary. In 1874 the Cobden Flour Mills were built at Wrexham, and here, when business developed, one hundred and fifty men were regularly employed for over fifty years. In 1929 the nationalisation of the flour milling industry took place. Competition had become very keen and price cutting was the order of the day. This went so far that few, if any, save the large flour millers, were able to work at a profit. The exceptions were those millers who produced popular proprietary brands of flour. A meeting of the largest millers was called and a fund was raised called

the Millers Mutual Fund. The money subscribed to this fund was used for the purpose of buying up flour mills in all parts of the country for the purpose of closing them down. This gave the large milling concerns an advantage, and they were able to fix prices at favourable levels. As a result of this action, the Cobden Mills, Wrexham, closed in 1929. They were sold as a going concern with all their well known brands of flour in August of that year, and the workmen were thrown out of employment. The Cobden Mills were not re-opened as flour mills; the premises have since been utilized for other commercial purposes.

During the time the Cobden Mills were in production, flour mills were working at Felinpuleston near Wrexham, at Chirk and in the town of Wrexham. At Chirk a roller plant was run for many years by Steele Roberts. At Wrexham the Victoria Flour Mills were worked by the Allmand family. John Allmand had founded the business between 1850 and 1860 at the Wilderness Mill. About the year 1890 his son Frank Allmand acquired an old brewery in Fairdon St., Wrexham, installed new plant, and conducted a successful business as a corn miller at the Victoria Mills. The Puleston Mill at Felinpuleston (Wrexham) has a long history. Originally in the ownership of the Puleston family of Upper Berse, the property subsequently became part of the Acton Park estate; and later was acquired, first by Griffith Speed (1751), and then by John Wilkinson, the ironmaster. In 1829 the mill had two cast-iron water wheels, cast-iron water troughs and French buhr millstones. Later still the mill was owned by Charles Griffiths of King's Mill, Wrexham, who owned several other mills in the neighbourhood. In 1878 W. A. Wright secured the mill, installed new machinery and conducted a successful flour milling business there for many years. To-day the mill premises are used by a firm of flour milling engineers who manufacture high quality processing plants for the home and export markets.

* * * *

And now, something must be said about the Holt Strawberry fields in the Dee Valley, where substantial quantities

of stone fruit and vegetables on a market gardening basis are produced.

The ancient borough of Holt, five miles from Wrexham, and within a stone's throw of Cheshire, is well known over a wide area as one of the centres where large quantities of strawberries are grown and marketed every summer. The field cultivation of cabbage, potatoes and stone fruit are also associated with the industry and, in addition, the owners and occupiers of the land there follow the agricultural pursuits customary in a fertile area, making considerable changes in practice during two war-time drives for increased production of grain and potatoes.

But for many years, Holt and strawberries have been synonymous terms in East Denbighshire during June and July. Many of the fields, and most of the gardens are covered with strawberry plants. The pioneer of what has become an extensive business was Charles Bellis, whose name is continued to-day in the title of the firm known as Bellis Brothers Ltd., Holt.

In 1860 Charles Bellis (father of the late Edwin Bellis, J.P., of Frog Lane, Holt) rented twelve acres of arable, and eight and a quarter acres of grass land. The following crops were mainly grown for market: early potatoes, kidney beans, cucumbers, onions and carrots. These vegetables were taken by members of the family to markets at Wrexham, Chester, Liverpool and Hanley. In the autumn of 1860 a few strawberry plants were procured by Charles Bellis from his friend, Charles Taylor of Boughton, Chester. The variety was known as "Black Prince". They were planted in the Old House garden. In 1861, their runners were planted on the Hall Garden, and Kenyon's Devon field, in "rows" thirty inches apart, on "butts" six yards wide. This was the beginning of the field culture of strawberries at Holt. Begun by Charles Bellis, it is continued by his descendants to-day and has been copied by many of his neighbours and their successors.

The growth of the business founded ninety years ago by Charles Bellis, and extended by his sons and grandsons, will be realized when it is stated that in 1928 over 200 of the firm's employees journeyed to Blackpool for their annual

trip. During the lifetime of Charles Bellis (he died in 1888), fields and farms were purchased, and strawberry culture was developed. After purchasing Wrexham Road Farm, Holt, the owner and his sons spent many months in draining and improving the land. Later, farms were taken at Laurel Bank, Farndon, Churton Hall, Lower Hall and Five Fords, Marchwiel. In 1908 the family firm of Bellis Brothers was incorporated, and subsequently Trevalyn Farm was taken, and numerous properties in Holt and elsewhere were acquired.

Model buildings for the accommodation of the strawberry pickers, who, like the hop pickers in Kent, invaded Holt every summer, were built at Holt. When this source of seasonal labour failed, schoolchildren were often recruited to gather the fruit, and on several occasions boys from distant schools encamped at Churton and at Trefalyn, Rossett, to assist in the strawberry harvest. In earlier days the Bellis family, in common with the rest of the agricultural community, suffered through the cattle plague (when very few cattle were left in Holt), and through the spring frosts. In the First World War, acres of strawberry plants were ploughed up by government order so that more corn and potatoes could be grown. The late Edwin Bellis of Frog Lane pointed out that the government had completely overlooked the fact that jam was food, and would form an essential part of the soldiers' rations at home and at the front. He afterwards observed that when this trouble dawned upon those in authority, the ploughing up order was revoked, and the farm was urged to grow more fruit! By this time, however, the first order had been carried out, and several acres of strawberries had been ploughed up. Fifty-three employees of the firm joined H.M. Forces, and fifteen lost their lives. The firm's relations with employees were good; no strikes took place during the disturbed period after the First World War, and it is of interest to record that each worker of the age of sixteen was granted an allotment of one-eighth of an acre at a rental of 1/- per annum. Long before the incorporation of Bellis Bros. as a limited company, the sons of Charles Bellis had moved with the times and were sometimes ahead of them. As far back as 1911, they purchased a 50 h.p. tractor, which was claimed to be one of

the first ploughing tractors to be seen in the district. For the transport of their produce they began with horse shandries, and lorries, proceeded to steam wagons, and later to motor lorries.

In 1952, it was estimated that 200 tons of strawberries were packed in the strawberry fields of Holt and district for despatch to markets and factories in Lancashire, Yorkshire, Cheshire and North Wales. This output came not only from the lands of Bellis Bros. but from those of their neighbours. Every summer crowds of people travel to Holt to purchase baskets of fruit, which are on sale both from the fields and from the bulk of the gardens.

* * * *

And finally, before leaving agriculture and horticulture, a few notes on forestry will bring this section to a close.

New forests are being created all over Britain. Already half a million acres of State plantations have been established by the Forestry Commission, and the Government has approved the first stages of a plan that will eventually give us 5,000,000 acres of productive forest. Hitherto Great Britain, with 3,000,000 acres of woods, or five per cent of the total land area, has had the smallest forest area of any country in Europe, and the production of home grown timber has been only a minor industry.

In Denbighshire the activities of the Forestry Commission are concentrated (1) in the Clocaenog Forest on the Hiraethog Moors; (2) on the slopes of Moel Famau; (3) on portions of the county near St. Asaph (Flintshire); (4) part of Coedygoror, near Llangollen; (5) Glynygroes Forest, near Llangollen; and (6) part of Gwydyr Forest, near Betws-y-coed and Llanrwst, the Denbighshire town bordering on Caernarvonshire.

The State forests do not conform to county boundaries, and in five of the six cases listed above, only part of the forest unit lies in the county of Denbigh, and the current (1953) employment figures about to be given are based on the proportion of the total forest land lying within the county.

The whole of the Glynygroes Forest of 769 acres is in Denbighshire. It is situate north and south of Llangollen. The number of workers employed is sixteen.

Part of the Coedygoror forest is in Denbighshire. It is situated five miles south-east of Llangollen. The total acreage is 988, of whch 626 acres are in Denbighshire. The employees number twenty-three.

The total area of the Clocaenog forest covers 15,237 acres, of which 14,659 acres are in Denbighshire. Over 11,300 acres are plantable; 2,161 acres are unplantable; twenty-four acres are devoted to nurseries, and 1,437 acres to farms and forest workers holdings. So far (1953) 8,800 acres have been planted out of an ultimate planting area of 12,000 acres. The number of the forest staff is seventy-six. The main block of some 12,400 acres was acquired by purchase in 1930 from the Pool Park estate of Lord Bagot. Extensions include an area leased from the Birkenhead Corporation, and the recently completed Alwen watershed acquisition of 2,208 acres. A pinnacle erected at the eastern end of the moorland commemorates the start of Lord Bagot's planting in 1829, and the Forestry Commission's re-afforestation of these woodlands (felled during the 1914-18 war) one hundred years later. The average annual rate of planting from 1930 to 1948 has been 340 acres. The annual planting programme for the next five years is 500 acres. The work in this forest is being carried out on undulating moorland above the 1,000 feet contour, with steep marginal slopes below.

Part of the Coed Clwyd Forest (Moel Famau) is in Denbighshire. The total area of this forest is 1,700 acres of which 1,213 acres are in Denbighshire—four miles north-east of Ruthin. The total area to be planted is 1,331 acres. There is a nursery here and the employees number thirteen.

Part of the St. Asaph Forest is in Denbighshire—south-west and south-east of Abergele. The total area of the forest is 1,720 acres and 842 acres are in Denbighshire. The number of employees is thirty-four. There is a nursery here of forty-eight acres.

One hundred and ninety-two acres of the Gwydyr Forest of 19,473 acres are in Denbighshire. Assessed on a percentage

basis of the total forest labour strength, two workers are employed in Denbighshire. The Denbighshire areas are south of Llanrwst, and are: Coedycelyn, Cefn Rhydd and Tyn-y-bwlch.

The original acquisition by the Forest Commission of the Gwydyr Forest was a lease from Lord Ancaster of over 6,000 acres of the Gwydyr estate, and later a further area, nearly as large, was leased from Lord Penrhyn's Penmachno estate. There are fourteen further acquisitions, mostly purchases, which brings the acreage of the Gwydyr forest up to 19,473. Much of the lower ground on the Gwydyr estate lease had previously been woodland which was felled during and after the 1914-18 war, but the greater part of the forest was open mountain land, with occasional scrubby oak weeds.

Planting started in 1921 and annual planting programmes have reached a peak of 700 acres. The Gwydyr forest staff has risen to 150 and the forest contains sixty forest workers holdings averaging ten acres each. There are ninety-five lettings with some 9,000 acres of land of which 1,300 is improved land. This will be reduced on the completion of planting to 4,600 of unplantable mountain land; the 1,300 acres of agricultural land will remain substantially the same. There is a Foresters' Training School in the forest at Capel Curig.

Private owners of woodlands in Denbighshire have replanted and are re-planting and are being assisted by the Forestry Commission advisers.

The Duke of Westminster, who is engaged in extensive replanting operations in England and Scotland, and in Merioneth, has a nursery at Hoseley, near Gresford, Denbighshire, where twenty-four people are employed.

[To be continued]

The Log Book of Llansannan School (1905–1920)

By BETTY C. VAUGHAN

Introduction

THE New Code of Regulations for 1895 stipulated that the Managers of a school were held responsible for the provision of a diary or log-book. The Code reads on:

> "The log-book must be stoutly bound and contain not less than 300 ruled pages. It must be kept by the principal teacher, who is required to enter in it from time to time such events as the introduction of new books, apparatus, or courses of instruction, any plans of lessons approved by the inspector, the visits of managers, absence, illness or failure of duty on the part of any of the school staff, or any special circumstances affecting the school, that may, for the sake of future reference, or for any other reason, deserve to be recorded.
>
> "No reflections or opinions of a general character are to be entered in the log-book."

The above extracts from the New Code appear at the beginning of the Log-book studied which is that of Llansannan N.P. School or, as it is now known, Llansannan Controlled School. The Log-book is 9 inches × 7 inches in size and contains 515 ruled pages. It is bound in black with the words 'Log Book' in gilt lettering on the front cover. It fastens with a brass lock. The inside pages are in good condition, but time and use have left their mark on the rather dilapidated cover.

The Log-book covers the years from 1905 to 1933, but only the first part—until 1920—is discussed here. During these years it was kept by five successive headmasters, of whom the last three were temporary. The greater part has been written in the large, rather untidy hand of John Williams who was headmaster of the school from 1906 until

1918. The writing of his successor, although more regular is strikingly similar.

As stipulated in the New Code the entries are mainly concerned with attendance, both of the teachers and the children, provision of books and materials, and the visits of Managers and His Majesty's Inspectors. Through reading these entries and also the Reports following inspections a fairly clear picture of the character and routine of the school is revealed.

At the beginning of the century the school served a very wide area, the large number of pupils—132 indicates this. In 1908 a new Council School, a result of the 1902 Education Act, was opened at Tan-y-Fron, a hamlet about three miles from Llansannan. Following this there was a substantial decrease in the number of children attending Llansannan School.

The majority of the Inspector's Reports describe the school as being remote and the children as shy. For instance, in his Report following a visit made on October 22nd, 1907, he writes:

> "The scholars are excellently behaved but they are still exceedingly shy. Much more fluency and expression is needed in their reading and recitation."

The Inspector himself was most likely the chief cause of the children's extreme shyness. The sudden appearance of a stranger in their midst questioning and asking them to read and recite in a language which was not their native tongue would render many almost speechless with shyness. They were more at ease when reading in Welsh and this was good in spite of the Inspector's presence. In a later Report while criticising the English reading he praises the reading in Welsh. Another cause of shyness would be the atmosphere in the school surrounding the Inspector's visit. The days of 'Payments by Results' were not long past, and His Majesty's Inspector was still regarded more as a foe than a friend by the teachers, whose attitude would naturally affect that of the children.

The Inspector's Reports show that until 1919 there was a gradual improvement in the standard of the school. In 1906 the Report reads:

> "This remote country school is in a promising condition. The new master has already improved the discipline, the drawing and the brushwork. Much remains however to be done in the improvement of other subjects before the instruction can be said to be thoroughly satisfactory."

Most of the Reports state that: "The instruction is given on intelligent lines." The main criticism seems to be that the teaching is too mechanical. In the Report made on November 22nd, 1907, it is suggested that Oral Arithmetic should be taught in a more realistic manner and that imitation coins should be used. In 1909:

> "The children should be taught to feel and understand what they read. The teaching of geography in the lower standards is too mechanical; learning a list of capes, rivers, etc., should be abandoned, and the teacher should carefully study what is said on the teaching of the subject in the 'Suggestions'."

The Report goes on to praise the teaching of drawing, brushwork and needlework and to report that good progress is being made, under the new certificated teacher, in the Infants' Division.

The methods of teaching had improved by the Inspector's next visit on May 27th, 1913, in his Report he makes particular reference to the teaching of reading and geography:

> "The Head Teacher is inculcating a real love of reading in his top class and several pupils have enlarged their vocabulary and improved their command of language by reading the various supplementary readers and library books . . . .
>
> "The teaching of Geography has been made more effective and educational in the middle classes by the

reference made to the children's surroundings to illustrate the elementary notions of physical geography." *

Praise is given for the neatness and accuracy of the writing throughout the school, and also for the drawing and needlework. The report of the oral work is not so good: "In the oral work however, the children are still too diffident to do themselves justice, in spite of the animated questioning practised by the teachers."

It is difficult to tell how long this improvement continued, the next Inspector's Report does not appear until 1920 and shows that by this time the standard of work had deteriorated considerably:

> "Owing to the extreme difficulty of securing a permanent Head Teacher the school has been in charge of an emergency Head Teacher since the Autumn of 1918, with the exception of a few weeks at the beginning of 1919. The recent prolonged closure for sickness and the low attendance for some time past have seriously retarded the work and under normal conditions it should be possible to raise very considerably the standard of efficiency of the work. The Head Teacher is industrious and anxious for the welfare of the school and is doing his best to restore work to its usual level."

John Williams had done much to raise the standard of work, and one cannot avoid feeling that, in addition to the

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[*Henry Vaughan Johnson, in the notorious *Blue Books* of 1847 remarked: Upon the whole, even in the best schools in North Wales, the true method of teaching geography is inverted; the geography of home is neglected. Children who are perfect in definitions, and can point out islands, straits, mountains and promontories in the other hemisphere, suppose that such phænomena have no existence in North Wales; yet few countries afford an intelligent teacher such facilities for instruction. From the top of a Welsh mountain, with every variety of phænomenon before him, he might teach more on a single holiday than has yet been taught in any school . . .

Reports on the State of Education in Wales 1847. Vol. III, pp. 22-3. EDITOR.]

reasons given in the Inspector's Report, his failing mental health, which resulted in his resignation, must have contributed to the decline in the standard of the school.

Attendance

Throughout the Log-book there are frequent references made to the attendance of the children. During the years studied (1905-1920) there appears to have been a steady improvement until 1911 when the percentage for the half year ending on June 30th is given as 90.4, together with the comment that: "This is the highest percentage ever attained by this school for the half year." In the following years there was an equally steady decline in attendance. On June 30th, 1919, despite a report of very good attendance on that particular day, the percentage for the end of the first quarter of the year is given as 81.8.

It is difficult to explain the improvement, followed in later years by the decline in attendance. The increase may have been due to the change of headmasters in 1906. The improvement in the standard of the school as a whole after that date makes it evident that Mr. John Williams was rather more efficient than his predecessor. However, in reading the Log-book the attendance throughout the years appears to have been affected by four main factors: the weather, epidemics, agricultural activities and the influence of the church and chapels. The fact that the attendance was influenced by forces of this nature reflects the type of neighbourhood served by the school, and also the character and way of life of its inhabitants.

The majority of the children attending the school lived on scattered hill farms in the outlying regions of the parish. Many walked considerable distances daily to school as is indicated in the following entry made on November 1st, 1906:

> "As the days are getting much shorter, registers will be marked at 1.30 and the children dismissed at 3.30 throughout the winter months so as to enable those children who have a long way to go to get home before darkness sets in."

Of the four factors, the weather had the strongest and most constant influence on the attendance of the school. This influence is shown in entries of which the following are typical. The first was made on February 9th, 1906, and states that: "Much snow fell to-day and prevented children who have long distances to come from attending." The second, written on January 18th, 1912, reports that, "We have had a heavy downfall of snow which has covered the ground to a depth of one foot. All the country lanes are blocked, and it is impossible for any but the village children to come to school. There are 28 present."

As might be expected, the weather affected the attendance of the younger children, in particular. On November 19th, 1906, the headmaster writes that: "The weather to-day is exceedingly wet making it impossible for the little children to walk to attend school." Another entry on January 13th, 1910, reports: "Another bitterly cold day. The snow has not yet disappeared, and the result is that almost all the smaller children are absent."

Attempts to reach school during bad weather could have disastrous results as is proved in the incident recorded by the headmaster on December 4th, 1914:

> "The children tell me the roads are flooded in many places and are quite impassable. On Wednesday last, Dora Jones, a scholar from Std I, was drowned whilst crossing a footbridge when returning home from school."

It is of no wonder, therefore, that parents were loth to allow their children to face the hazards of a two or three mile journey to school during bad weather.

On several occasions in the period covered by the Log-book, the school is reported to have been closed by the Medical Officer of Health. The first closure of this nature recorded in the Log-book occurred in the early summer of 1905 when the headmaster wrote on May 5th: "Attendance Officer called to-day to verify 23 cases reported as whooping cough, the outlook is serious." This is followed by a report that the Medical Officer of Health had closed the school for

three weeks. The school re-opened on May 25th and on that day the following entry was made:

> "Whooping cough is still epidemic, 20 cases reported. One case at Cross Keys Farm has proved fatal. 67 out of 133 present this morning i.e. 50% . . . . Leaving for Denbigh at 11 a.m. to consult the clerk."

This consultation apparently resulted in the further closure of the school until June 5th.

Despite the severity of this epidemic and the fact that the school was closed on three other occasions due to outbreaks of influenza, measles and chicken pox, it can be said that in comparison with later years, the epidemics which attacked the school between 1905 and 1912 were mild and few. For instance, in the years previous to 1912 there was not more than one epidemic in any one year. In contrast to this in the years following 1912 with the exception of 1916 and 1919, there were outbreaks of two and sometimes three epidemics every year resulting in the frequent closure of the school.

In 1913 there were epidemics of influenza, measles and impetigo. In the following year there were outbreaks of whooping cough and scarlet fever, and consequently the school was closed for three weeks. The school was again closed in the autumn of 1915 due to an epidemic of mumps and measles. The next year was comparatively free from illness, but in 1917 there was an outbreak of diphtheria resulting in the closure of the school for over a month and this was followed by german measles. In 1918, chicken pox preceded another outbreak of diphtheria and the school was again closed, this time for a fortnight. On April 3rd the school re-opened and the headmaster reported:

> "Very poor attendance. Another case of diphtheria has broken out in the village, and parents are afraid of sending their children to the village, hence the reason for poor attendance."

Another entry made on April 12th states that:

> "The attendance has been wretchedly low all week owing to a fresh outbreak of diphtheria in the village, one boy, Aled Jones, having died last Monday morning."

The only epidemic reported in 1919 was an outbreak of measles in January, apparently the wave of influenza which swept the entire country in 1919 did not affect this district. It is interesting to note that the epidemic of measles every two years, support the modern theory that children in contact with the disease and who do not catch it, develop a temporary immunity lasting about two years.

The years of the First World War are covered in the period between 1912 and 1920. But it is difficult to decide whether the war had any direct influence on the attendance, for very little reference is made to it except for the declaration of peace. However, the war caused a scarcity of agricultural labourers, and this led to the increase of employment of the older boys on the farms during the busy seasons and a decrease in attendance. This is indicated in entries of which the following are typical.

> 2 July, 1915: "The attendance this week has fallen owing to several boys being illegally employed in turnip-weeding."

> 22 September, 1916: "The attendance has been fairly satisfactory considering that harvesting operations are in full swing and that the farmers are so short of labour."

Another suggestion of the shortage of agricultural labour is the fact that the school was closed for a fortnight on 7 September, 1917, and again for a period of three weeks on 23 August in the following year to allow the children to help in the corn harvest. On the second occasion the headmaster has written, "The Managers have decided to close the school to-day for three weeks so as to enable the boys to work in the corn harvest."

However the theory that the war increased the employment of boys on the land is contradicted by the fact that there is a very small difference in the percentages recorded during harvest time in pre-war years and those recorded in the war years. Throughout the years studied low attendance is reported in July due to turnip weeding. On 6 July, 1906, three months after assuming the headship of the school, Mr. John Williams writes,

> "Many of the bigger boys are kept away by farmers to weed turnips. It seems that this has been invariably the custom for many years."

That it was a custom which did not meet with the approval of the headmaster is made clear in the following entry made on 24 July, 1908:

> "Attendance has been fearfully bad . . . I think it is high-time that something should be done to prevent the farmers from keeping the children for turnip weeding.

But, whereas in the years previous to the war the children appear to have been kept at home only during the very busy times of the year, for example turnip weeding or the corn harvest, during the war there are reports of their helping to plant potatoes, pick potatoes, shear sheep, and harvest the hay.

However, it is obvious that the decline in attendance between 1912 and 1920, was probably due to the frequent epidemics aided by the bad weather, rather than to the shortage of labour incurred by the war.

In addition to the employment of the children on the farms, the attendance was affected by other activities connected with agriculture. For instance, on 23 February, 1905, the attendance is reported to have dropped because of a ploughing match. The Hiraethog Sheep Dog Trials held annually in June also induced many children to absent themselves from school. On 18 June, 1914 the headmaster reported: "The attendance has dropped to 73 to-day owing to the Sheep Dog Trials at Bryntrillyn."

Besides the weather, epidemics and agricultural activities, during the summer months in particular, the church and chapels had considerable influence on the attendance. Low attendances and holidays due to Sunday School trips, Singing Festivals, Preaching Meetings and Harvest Festivals are reported annually. The following are entries chosen at random to illustrate this.

> 20 June, 1907: "A Cymanfa is being held in the village to-day and in consequence only 68 children are present although I had promised the children a holiday this afternoon."
>
> 4 June, 1908: "The members of the Independent Chapel drive to Denbigh to-day. The attendance in consequence has dropped to 91 this morning—10 less present than yesterday."
>
> 26 May, 1916: "School will be closed to-day on account of Preaching Meetings being held in the village."

Unlike the present day, when the various places of worship usually arrange to hold their Harvest Festivals on the same day, during the years studied in the Log Book, Harvest Festivals were held at various times over periods of two or three months. In 1916 the school was closed for the Harvest Festival in the church on 13 October, and again on 26 October for the Harvest Festival in Horeb. Another holiday was given on 24 November as Harvest Festivals were being held in the village chapels. On 1 December low attendance is reported due to a Harvest Festival in Nant Wnen Methodist Chapel and a week later owing to a Harvest Festival in Glan Rhyd Methodist Chapel.

The influence of eisteddfodau may also be included in the same category. Llansannan, the birthplace of many great Welshmen like William Salesbury and Gwilym Hiraethog, has for many years been a centre of Welsh culture and tradition, and consequently the eisteddfod has always proved to be a great attraction to its inhabitants. The in-

fluence of this attraction on the attendance is reflected in the following entry made on 16 June, 1910:

> "I am compelled to close school to-day owing to very poor attendance. It appears that an eisteddfod is being held at Rhydgaled, and that a choir composed of children from this school is competing."

This entry implies that the headmaster knew nothing of the eisteddfod previous to the day it was held, and that the choir competing in it was entirely an out-of-school activity.

On the whole the most prominent feature of the attendance was its irregularity due mainly to the fact that it was largely dictated by the weather. The following entries are typical of those appearing throughout the Log Book reflecting the irregular attendance:

> 18 October, 1906: "To-day is a fearfully wet day, so wet that it has played havoc on the attendance. Yesterday there were 125 present, to-day only 101—the Percentage dropping from 93.9 to 76."

> 7 October, 1919: "The attendance these days especially in the top classes is very irregular." (On this occasion the harvest is given as the reason for irregularity.)

Another outstanding feature which attracts the attention of the reader of the Log Book is the inconsistency of the entries regarding attendance. For instance on 15 July, 1910, the headmaster reports unsatisfactory attendance due to turnip weeding. In the following entry he contradicts this statement and writes: "Although it is a very busy time of the year the attendance on the whole has kept satisfactory."

The following phrase appears frequently throughout the Log Book: "The Registers will not be marked but the children will be detained." Here again inconsistency is apparent in the headmaster's decision whether to mark the registers. For example on 12 April, 1916, the number present is reported to be 65 and the registers are marked, whereas on

25 May in the same year the registers were not marked despite 70 children being present.

The awarding of Good Attendance Holidays also seems to have been inconsistent. On 30 April, 1909, a Good Attendance Holiday was given after months of poor attendance.

During the earlier years especially, the Attendance Officer made fairly frequent visits to the school and was given lists of absentees. On 6 December, 1910, there is a report of: "The new Attendance Officer visited the school this afternoon and he was given a list of the chronic irregulars." Many of these visits resulted in the dispatching of warning notices to parents.

The parents appear to have been held responsible for much of the irregular attendance. In addition to warning notices sent by the Attendance Officer, the parents were cautioned by the Managers. On 12 December, 1913, the following report was made: "The parents of three families have been cautioned by the Managers on account of the irregularity of their children." Also in October 1916 a farmer is reported to have been prosecuted for sending his children irregularly to school. An 23 May, 1919, the headmaster apparently wearied by the continual low attendance writes, "The attendance is far from satisfactory and the only explanation for this is the apathy of the parents."

THE STAFF

At the beginning of the Log Book a list of the teachers on the staff in January 1905 is given as follows:

John T. Jones	*Headmaster*
Sarah L. Jones Hannah M. Jones	*Assistants*
Katie Hughes Annie V. Payne	*Probationers*

Despite the recommendation made in the Inspector's Report on 11 April, 1905, that the number of teachers should be increased, the staff remained largely unchanged both in number and composition during the years studied.

With the exception of the headmaster, the teachers were mainly uncertificated. In the years between 1905 and 1920 four permanent certificated teachers were appointed to the school, but except for Mrs. A. E. Clarke, all left after short periods. For instance, Miss B. Hobson took up her appointment at the school on 18 August, 1913, and left two months later.

Probably the main reason for the brevity of these appointments was the situation and condition of the school. At the beginning of the century Llansannan was a remote, rural district and the school was old and inconvenient. Certificated teachers, then comparatively few, would have no difficulty in finding posts under more favourable conditions. The difficulty in staffing the school especially during later years, and in appointing a permanent headmaster after the resignation of Mr. John Williams in 1918, may also be attributed to this cause.

Apparently there was no shortage of candidates for the profession. Throughout the years there were two and sometimes three pupil teachers at the school. On the whole they fell into three categories:

(i) Those who were pupil teachers for three or four years and then taught as uncertificated teachers.

(ii) Those who were pupil teachers for a similar period and then entered a training college.

(iii) Those who had been educated at a grammar school, and who were pupil teachers for one year before entering a training college or university.

During the early years of the century, the latter two courses were beginning to out-date the first. In particular, the second course was that most commonly followed by prospective teachers. The career of Annie Violet Payne, who took the second course, may be regarded as typical. As she

was a native of Llansannan it is assumed that she had been educated in the school at which she began her training.

She started her career at the age of fourteen, as a probationer, and to become a recognised pupil teacher she sat the Candidate Examination on 15 April, 1905. The result of this examination is not given in the Log Book, but the following entry made on 4 September, 1905, indicates Annie Payne's success. "Managers informed that Annie Violet Payne has been appointed a Pupil Teacher for a term of two years from 1 August, '05." Presumably the headmaster made a mistake in writing two years, for the appointment did not terminate until 31 July, 1908.

In the years studied pupil teachers taught under what were referred to as "half-time conditions". That is, they taught for half the week and studied for the remainder of the time. The following entry made on October 1905 states:

> "Annie Payne, First Year Pupil Teacher is allowed half the week for studying, viz: Monday, Wednesday and Friday mornings also Tuesday and Thursday afternoons."

On 19 December, 1907 Annie Payne sat the Preliminary Certificate Examination Part I, and her success in this qualified her to sit the second part of the examination on 10 April, 1908. The results were made known on 13 July when the headmaster wrote:

> "Annie V. Payne the P.T. attached to this school has passed the Preliminary Certificate Examination Part II —having obtained distinction in English Language and Literature."

She was now qualified to begin the second part of her training and on 28 August, 1908, it is reported that:

> "Annie Payne's engagement as Pupil Teacher terminated on the 31st of July. She proceeds to the North Wales Training College, Bangor, on the 15th prox."

The general impression of staff attendance is that it was very irregular. The teachers were frequently absent owing to illnesses which on the whole appear to have been minor ailments. Colds, sore throats, neuralgia and toothache were often given as reasons for absence. On more than one occasion the headmaster appears to have been a little dubious about the genuineness of the excuses given!

The teachers were not only absent through their own illnesses, but also through those of members of their families. Whether it was necessary for them to stay home to nurse their sick relatives is debatable, but on the whole the headmaster appears to have been fairly sympathetic on these occasions. The following entry made on 10 September, 1907, suggests that the teacher concerned was carrying out her filial duty and had no option but to be absent. "Miss Lizzie Parry was compelled to be absent to-day, as her mother is dangerously ill."

The Managers frequently granted the teachers permission to be absent. The reasons for these absences, when given, rarely seem to have been urgent or necessary. On 31 May, 1906, "Misses Lizzie Parry and Katie Hughes had permission to be absent from school in order to attend the Choral Festival at St. Asaph." On 10 November, 1909, the same teachers "had permission from the Managers to be absent this afternoon in order to attend the Harvest Festivals at Llanfair Talhaiarn." On this last occasion particularly, the need for the teachers to attend Harvest Festivals in a neighbouring village is doubtful, especially when similar services had been held during the same week in Llansannan. The Managers do not seem to have considered the inconvenience caused to the headmaster by the absence of two teachers on the same day.

Miss Katie Hughes in particular, was frequently granted permission by the Managers to be absent, and very often no reason is given for her absence. The apparent ease and frequency with which she obtained this permission may have been due to the fact that she was a staunch member of the church, and that the majority of the Managers were churchmen, the chairman being the Rector.

There are instances, especially during the earlier years, when the teachers were absent with neither permission from the Managers or for any apparent reason. For example on 16 July, 1907, the headmaster and a temporary certificated assistant were left to cope with the whole school when: "The Pupil Teacher and two Supplementary Teachers absented themselves from lessons."

THE SCHOOL BUILDINGS AND FURNISHINGS

The school was built in 1857 to replace the "very inferior and too small buildings" of the old school which had been built in the shadow of the church fifty years previously. It is a rough grey stone building standing near the bridge on the outskirts of the village. The shape of its rather high windows give it a vaguely ecclesiastical look which is no doubt due to its church foundation. The school comprises two classrooms and three cloakrooms. The size of these rooms is given at the beginning of the Log Book. The larger room referred to as the 'Main Room', is 49′ × 18′ the other room—the Class Room—is 40′ × 20′. The two front cloakrooms are both 13½′ × 7½′, and the size of the back cloakrooms is 12′ × 5′. There are two entrances at the front of the building both leading up stone steps to the main room.

The recent controversy regarding the school buildings is no new development. Reports following visits to the school made by His Majesty's Inspectors reveal that even at the beginning of the present century the school was in a fairly bad condition. Invariably these reports, which are especially frequent during the earlier years, refer to the need for repairs and improvements to the school. However, the earliest reports deal mainly with the furniture and equipment rather than with the actual building. The only alterations made to the buildings between 1905 and 1911 were the installation of a ventilator and the removal of a gallery from the Infants' room. Apparently there was a more urgent need for essential equipment during these years.

During 1905 two Reports appear in the Log Book. The

first was made on 11 April, following a visit made by the Inspector in the previous November. Regarding the building the Inspector writes:

> "Many improvements have been made in the premises during the past year. The ventilation should be attended to. A urinal is needed for the Infant boys so that an improper use may not be made of the offices."

In the following month there is a copy of another Report but no reference is made as to when the school had been visited. By this time steps had been taken to rectify the ventilation for the Inspector reports: "I am glad to know that the ventilation is about to be improved." He goes on to suggest the following:

> "A larger supply of pegs, all of which should be numbered, are wanted in the cloakroom. Infants Division. The gallery ought to be removed so that more floor space should be provided for the many excercises now regarded as essential in the teaching of Infants."

The last phrase implies that although His Majesty's Inspector is aware of the new educational ideas, and is in duty bound to encourage their adoption, he is a little apprehensive regarding the modern trend.

An entry made on 5 June shows that the Inspector's suggestion regarding ventilation had been acted upon. "A new ventilator has been put up, viz: Donald's 'Exhaust', and seems to answer its purpose well." It would be interesting to know why a ventilator was considered necessary for even according to modern standards the size and number of the windows in the school provide adequate light and ventilation.

The school was again inspected on 21 August, 1906, and a copy of the Report made following the inspection appears in the Log Book on 17 October. Apparently nothing had been done about the Inspector's recommendation regarding the necessity for more pegs in the cloakrooms, for the need for numbered pegs is again stressed. The Inspector

also adds that the clock should be made to keep time, blinds are needed for the South windows and that door mats would help to keep the floor clean.

These suggestions had been carried out by the next time the Inspector visited the school, which was on 22 October, 1907. The Report following this visit reveals necessities which were far more urgent than pegs and door mats, and which apparently had hitherto been overlooked. Suitable desks were needed—"Many of the desks are unsuitable, they are wrongly sloped and the surface of several is very rough." The situation in the Infants' room was much worse, for here the Inspector writes "Some new desks are urgently wanted as several of the Infants have to do their writing and kindergarten activities kneeling on the floor." The situation must have been fairly desperate to enforce the children to do their work kneeling on the floor. It seems incredible that it was not possible to make an alternative arrangement and suggests lack of initiative on the part of the teachers. Again the need to remove the gallery is stressed. The Report ends with the following paragraph:

> "The Board of Education will expect to hear at an early date that a sufficient number of suitable desks have been supplied. The gallery in Infants' Division should be removed."

This was probably added to ensure that the recommendations made in the Report would be carried out. The removal of the gallery was first suggested in 1905, the fact that it was still standing two years later shows there was a tendency to disregard the suggestions made in the Inspector's Reports.

If this was the purpose of the final paragraph, then it was effective. For the Report made following the inspection on 23 September, 1909, shows that, although the surface of the desks in the main room was still very rough, the slope had been rectified. The deplorable conditions in the Infants' section had also been remedied, and it is reported: "The new dual desks are a great boon, a few more are needed." The

gallery had also been removed and there was now, "ample room for games and physical exercises'..

Three years elapsed before the next inspection of the school on 27 May, 1913. The Report of this inspection was copied into the Log Book on 26 June, 1913, and this Report, together with those which follow it, concentrate on the school building. The Report reads:

> "There is no water supply of any kind on the premises. It is very doubtful if the heating is adequate in either of the two rooms. The record of the thermometer reading should be carefully observed next winter. Part of the western wall is damp."

An attempt was made to remedy the inadequate heating, for on 12 January, 1914, the headmaster writes: "A new stove has been put up in the main room and the heating is now quite satisfactory." This entry is the last reference in the Log Book made to the building for nearly five years. His Majesty's Inspector visited the school in 1914, 1915 and 1916 but no Reports following these visits appear in the Log Book.

The heating following the installation of the new stove in 1914, was apparently fairly efficient for the next four years. But on 1 November, 1918, the first of a series of entries complaining of smoke and fumes appears in the Log Book.

> "Fires in the school were provided to-day for the first time this winter, and consequently the rooms were full of smoke and fumes and I considered it advisable not to call the children in until 9.10 a.m. When the children assembled again after 'Play' the rooms were so full of fumes and smoke that I deemed it more advisable from health standpoint to let them out into the fresh air until the fumes and smoke had cleared."

Another entry on 11 November states:

> "The room this morning was full of obnoxious fumes and therefore the children were not brought in until 9.20."

No further reference is made to the heating of the school during the following winter months, but the bad conditions probably prevailed. On 21 March, 1919, the headmaster reports that snow has fallen and that the temperature in the two rooms is very low—44° in the main room and 43° in the classroom. The headmaster continues:

> "The heating apparatus next to the Master's Desk is in a very dilapidated condition and gives off much more smoke than heat. Many a day the main room is full of smoke and blacks from it, and the children have to be sent out into the fresh air. It is smoking terribly to-day, and as it is too nasty for the children to go out I have sent them to the classroom for games."

These entries reveal that inefficiency of the heating system disorganised the time-table considerably. It seems hardly creditable that the 'dilapidated' stove in the main room is the new one supplied in 1914. This probably heated another part of the room.

No effective steps were taken to improve the faulty stove during the summer months, this is suggested by the following entry made on 13 October, "Fires have been provided this morning for the first time this season. As the room is full of smoke the children are allowed a short time to indulge in games until the fumes have cleared." Three days later the stove in the classroom was the cause of more trouble and the headmaster wrote: "The fire stove in the classroom has been smoking so terribly that the room was full of smoke and I have ordered the Infants out for a walk until the fumes have cleared."

The lack of repairs and alterations to the building for over fifteen years resulted in the very poor condition to which the school had sunk in 1919. An Inspector visiting the school on 21 May, 1919, wrote the following comment in the Log Book: "Visit. The premises are sadly in need of repair and it is much hoped that the matter will receive early attention." The fact that there is no record of any improvement either to the school or equipment from 1914 to

1919 suggests a connection between the war and the neglect of the school.

On 30 April, 1920, the County Medical Officer of Health accompanied by the County Architect inspected the school building. A week later His Majesty's Inspector visited the school. These visits resulted in the following Report which was copied into the Log Book on 15 September and which presents a rather sad picture of dilapidation and neglect.

> "Premises and Equipment: These old premises present a very neglected appearance and require thorough overhauling. The ceilings are very damp and exceedingly dirty and the plaster has fallen in many places. The roof also needs repairing. The floor has worn into holes in several places. One of the stoves is broken and all three of them smoke badly at times and have blackened the walls behind them.
>
> "The playground is very unsuitable for physical exercises as it is very steep and extremely rugged and has deep ruts worn in its surface while on one side of it much of the boundary wall has fallen.
>
> "The boys sanitary conveniences are in a very unsatisfactory and dilapidated condition. There is no proper drainage of the urinal and part of the privy middens cannot be used owing to a broken seat.
>
> "There is no water either laid on or stored on the premises."

To-day, this building still serves as a school and this year it attains its centenary. The present condition of the school is a great improvement on that described in 1920. The walls are decorated in pink, cream and grey, the ceiling is an even white, part of the floor has been relaid, there is running water in the cloakrooms and the troublesome stoves have long since disappeared. The heating is now provided by three open fires and is inadequate. The sanitation is still deplorable.

As a school the building is far from being satisfactory. Lack of space is no difficulty for there is ample room, even according to modern requirements, for the ninety-five children attending the school. But one of the main problems from the teacher's point of view is the fact that there are two classes in both rooms. The teaching of Physical Education is almost impossible for the condition of the playground to-day is exactly as it was thirty-six years ago, with the exception of the wall which has been rebuilt.

During the past few years continual applications have been made by the Managers of the school and the inhabitants of Llansannan to the Education Authorities for a new school. About two years ago a deputation of Managers, who were also members of the Denbighshire Education Committee went to London to meet the Minister of Education. However, all these attempts have been in vain, and the Education Authorities refuse to include Llansannan in their immediate building programme. The reason given for this continual refusal is that there is a more urgent need for new schools in places where the problem of overcrowding is acute. It is to be hoped that the next decade will witness the building of a new up to date school at Llansannan. Until that time the old school will continue to serve the community as it has done for the last hundred years.

Notes and Documents

EXTRACTS FROM THE VESTRY BOOK OF MARCHWIEL CHURCH

1. An Indenture dated A.D. 1628 in the fourth year of the reign of King Charles concerning Tyddyn Daniel. It is in the names of Edward Broughton, John Brereton, Robert Sontley and John Kenrick, the yearly rent to be twenty shillings.

2. The next records are for the year 1674. An assessment made upon the lands of Marchwiel.

Lady Broughton	£1	5	0
Edward Brereton		12	6
Widow Edisbury		9	9
			etc.

3. 1663. John Dodd and John Botley being Churchwardens, disbursed: for hanging a bell 8 0
to James Prince for mending the Church wall £2 5 0
for a lock for the Church gate 7

4. 1665. Disbursed: for the use of maimed soldiers £3 5 0
for slating of the Church 2 6
for slates 1 6
for bread and wine at Easter 9 1

5. 1666. For four fox heads 4 4

6. 1677. Disbursed: For the glazing of the windows 5 10

1680. The Church roofs again mended at a cost of 1 0

To the Registrar Aparator for summons to the courts and for the King's declaration about the dissolving of the last two parliaments 3 0

In 1687. An assessment was made on the parish for and towards the repair of the Church and Steeple.

Dame Mary Broughton	£5	6	0
Edward Brereton Esq.	2	3	0
Mr. Thomas Wright	2	0	0
John Yorke and Wm Edisbury	2	0	0
The amount from Marchwiel being ...	£39	12	6
and from Sontley	11	17	0

Note: This is the first time the name of Yorke is mentioned.

1695. At a meeting held on the last day of April 1695 it is agreed that 9 pence in the pound shall be layd upon all the land in the parish towards the repair of the Church and the building of the steeple.

JOHN CHARLES, Curate
PETER ELLICE, Ch. Warden
THO. WRIGHT
JOHN YORKE

1696. An assessment of 6d. in the pound for the above purpose:

1698. At a vestry held on 22nd July an assessment of three pence in the pound shall be laid upon the inhabitants of the parish for the repair of the Church and the finishing of the steeple.

1714. Agreed then that the offertory be applied to teach poor children their catechism.

1727. Two cottages built in Marchwiel. One for William Ralph and family near the Cock towards which the parish gave twenty shillings, the other for Simon ap Pugh and family near the Church of Marchwiel, towards which his mother gave three pounds and the parish six pounds eight shillings and five pence, and the Rector Dr Foulkes gave the straw to thatch both houses.

In 1721 the Churchwardens were first appointed over-seers of the poor in addition to being Churchwardens and from then onwards assessments were made on the parish each year for the relief of the poor.

1729. To Edward Longham for the poor—a coffin 5 0

Richard Prichard received a shilling a week, a load of coal and house rent 12s.

Elizabeth Williams, house 10s. and a load of coal.

A rate of 4d. in the pound was made for the poor's rate.

1731. Paid for killing two hedgehogs 4

Allowed for keeping Susan Edwards and her children four nights and days 3 0

By order from John Miller and John Lloyd Esq., Justice of the Peace and by the consent of the parishioners Sussanah Edwards the reputed wife of Josiah Edwards soldier is allowed eight pence a week if she lives at Chester, or six pence a week and a room if she stays here.

1778. Phillip York Esq. of Sontley and James Palin of Marchwiel were chosen Churchwardens.

In 1752. It was agreed that a clock be bought for the Church of Marchwiel and in order to pay for the same a rate of a penny in the pound be laid upon the parish.

On the 17th March, 1773, agreed at a vestry that £80 be raised by a Church levy for the necessary repairs of the said parish Church the rector excepted in consideration of fifty pounds.

MAWR ANWYL, Rector.

Agreed at a vestry held at Marchwiel upon Friday, 11th of June, 1773, that 9d. in the pound be raised upon the said parish towards the rebuilding the said Church.

At a vestry held in the parish Church of Marchwiel upon Saturday the 20th day of November 1773. It is agreed that the Church be repaired according to the plan produced by William Worrall, the old materials to be used as far as they shall go, and the fronts to be new and uniform, the flooring to be of oak and Mr. Worrall agrees to be paid by the yard and his Bill for work and time as a future vestry shall agree.

At a meeting on first day of January 1774 agreed that William Worrall shall build and erect in the Church, a gallery according to his plan in a workmanlike manner for the sum of fifty seven pounds and whereas Mr. Ellis, Mr. Edgeworth and Mr. Browne, parishioners, have agreed for to pay the said Worrall £57. It is agreed that the said Ellis, Edgeworth, Browne shall sell and dispose of some of the pews in the gallery as will repay the said gentlemen £57.

E. E. THOMAS.

EISTEDDFOD LLANGOLLEN 1789

YN ei erthygl ar Langollen yn y *Trafodion,* cyf. 5 (1956), dywed y Parch. Daniel Williams (t. 100) mai "yng Ngwesty'r *Hand* y cynhelid" Eisteddfod 1789. Ond fel hyn y mae'r dyfyniad o'r *Hamwood Papers* yn darllen, ar gyfer *Tuesday January 6th.* 1789:

"Our good apothecary from Wrexham came at 8. As we had heard of his being in the village in the morning, asked him why he did not come sooner. He said he had been engaged at a Very Extraordinary Club held annually in Llangollen at the *King's Head* (now the Royal Hotel) the members of which, consisting of the principal farmers composed at one table epigrams, the Subjects of which were sent to them from another Table. Crowe (apparently this was the apothecary) told us some of them were wonderfully well written, particularly some on the present situation of affairs . . . Sent for Mr Edwards of the Hand, asked him about the meeting of the Poets last night. He said they were still sitting. The candidates for the Chair were Jonathon Hughes and his son from Pengwern, Peter Lloydde of Cynwyd, aged 22, and David Jones of Rhos near Ruabon. The Chair was obtained by Jonathon Hughes who is the best poet in Nor. Wales . . . The Chair was made by Edward Jones, the Village Carpenter and cost ten shillings, etc. . . ."

Mae'n eglur, felly, mai yn y *King's Head* (Royal Hotel), ac nid yn yr *Hand* y cynhaliwyd yr Eisteddfod. Newidiodd y *King's Head* ei enw i *Royal* ar ôl ymweliad y Dywysoges Victoria â Llangollen yn 1832.

Yn y "Llyfr Ymwelwyr" rhoddodd Daniel O'Connell bennill doniol am yr *Hand* a'r *King's Head,* pan arhosodd yn y *King's Head* ar ei ffordd i Iwerddon:

"I remember this village with very bad cheer,
Ere the Ladies, God bless them, set this Inn here ;
But, now the traveller is sure of good fare,
Let him stay at this Inn or go that ere,
But all who can read will sure understand
How vastly superior the 'head's' to the 'hand'."

IFOR EDWARDS.

The Excavations at Dinorben Hill-Fort, Abergele, 1956-7

THE famous Ancient British hill-fort of Dinorben (Parc-y-meirch), which overlooks the coastal plain between Rhyl and Abergele, will always be associated in the minds of archaeologists with the late Dr. Willoughby Gardner and his pioneering work in hill-fort study. When Dr. Gardner died in 1953 he bequeathed to the National Museum of Wales a large assembly of finds made during his excavations at Dinorben between 1912 and 1922, and the largely unpublished records relating to them. Those excavations had been directed by Dr. Gardner on behalf of the Abergele Antiquarian Association, which had already sponsored his excavations at the nearby hill-fort of Pen y Corddyn Mawr. They showed that the formidable system of banks and ditches which bars the easy, southern approach to the site had taken shape during five periods of construction, extending over several centuries. Briefly, the earliest wall-like rampart, with its simple entrance, appears to have been built some time before the Roman conquest, while the later, sloping-fronted rampart with long entrance passage and 'guard-chambers', though it seems first to have been built in pre-Roman times, had been twice rebuilt, the second occasion being datable towards the end of the 3rd century A.D. The great bulk of the finds made by Dr. Gardner belong to a phase of intense activity following on this last reconstruction; on the other hand, very few of the finds connected with the earlier phases of occupation are closely datable (see the summary account in Ellis Davies' *Prehistoric and Roman Denbighshire*, pp. 399ff.).

Since Dr. Gardner was digging at Dinorben the excavations of many hill-forts in North Wales and adjacent parts of England have enabled us to see better how the sequence at Dinorben fits into the general story. In particular, it is no longer necessary to believe that such features as 'guard-chambers' behind the gateway and terraced ramparts reflect Roman influence. They have also led us to appreciate more the possibilities of learning something about the long

decayed timber-framed dwellings that stood within the hill-forts, by uncovering all their post-holes. Dr. Gardner had been chiefly concerned with the defences of Dinorben and paid comparatively little attention to the interior although the numerous nails found behind the rampart led him to suspect that there had been wooden huts within the fort. When, therefore, the present writer was asked by the Ministry of Works to conduct emergency excavations at Dinorben to rescue as much evidence as possible from the site before it was completely quarried away, he felt that the opportunity to supplement Dr. Gardner's results should be seized, in spite of the difficulties presented by the trees growing everywhere within the ramparts.

The resulting two seasons of excavation, in the autumn of 1956 and the spring of 1957—the latter carried out under the auspices of the Dinorben Hill-fort Excavation Committee, on which local as well as National organisations are represented—have shown that much can in fact still be learned about Dinorben. Stripping of parts of the interior near the northern tip has revealed numerous post-holes of varying sizes, most of which are clearly connected with dwellings erected at various times on the spot. Further work will be necessary before the post-hole pattern can be confidently interpreted, but it is already clear that the typical houses of Dinorben were round and that some were of considerable size. Once again the abundant finds of coins, metalwork and pottery belong mainly to the late 3rd and 4th century A.D., but some bone and metal objects and a little pottery are of true Early Iron Age character. Owing to the lack of stratification, due to the shallowness of the deposits and the action of tree-roots, it is not yet possible to relate these confidently to any particular set of post-holes, but elsewhere a hut floor on which pottery of Early Iron Age character rested was found to underlie the rampart. One of the chief reasons for continuing the rescue work is that these Early Iron Age finds, scanty though they are, are almost the first to be made through excavation in any Welsh hill-fort north of Dee, in spite of the fact that this area is richer than any other part of Wales in chance finds of Early Iron Age metalwork of good quality. There does now seem to be a

good prospect of relating not only the phases of military architecture, but of ordinary settlement material, in Early Iron Age North Wales to those in Lowland Britain; the fact that objects which would, if found in southern England, be referred both to Iron Age 'A' and Iron Age 'B', have been found during the recent excavations, and that there is more than one pre-Roman phase, both in the defences and in the huts, are particularly encouraging. Moreover, even the late Romano-British material found contains such interesting things as an ox-head escutcheon from a bucket in native tradition and a rare left-winged plough-share. Finally there is now growing evidence, especially from pottery, for a continuance of occupation at Dinorben during the Dark Ages. For all these reasons, it is hoped that sufficient resources will be available to complete the exploration of the nothern part of the hill-fort in the spring of 1958.

H. N. SAVORY
(*Keeper of Archaeology, National Museum of Wales*)

Excursion

DESPITE short notice there was an encouraging attendance of the Society on Saturday, 13th April, 1957, when a visit was paid to St. George, Abergele, where, for several weeks, Dr. H. N. Savory, Keeper of the department of archaeology of the National Museum of Wales, had supervised excavations on the site of the hill-fort of Dinorben or Parc-y-Meirch. A limestone quarry practically touches the northern face of the fort.

Approach was made from the southern side where the rough surface of fosse and rampart were gay with primroses. Dr. Savory greeted the party (who were joined by the Llandudno, Colwyn Bay and District Field Club) and spent an hour conducting them to various parts of the five-acre area where finds of interest had been made.

Much valuable preliminary work had been undertaken as far back as 1912 by the late Dr. Willoughby Gardner of Degannwy, the first president of the Field Club. His excavations were interrupted by the Great War, but were resumed in 1919 and continued until 1922. Dr. Gardner had devoted his energies to tracing the outer defences.

Dr. Savory, who began his research last year, concentrated his main attention on the interior where his interest had been aroused by the discovery of gigantic post-holes.

Dr. Savory said that Dinorben was one of the most famous of the archaeological sites of Wales. It concerned a very obscure period but a very interesting one. It was a tragedy that a quarry was destroying it. There had been at least four periods of occupation, the first possibly Iron Age, and the last early fourth century. An interesting historical problem was presented by the uncovering of something of essentially native culture during a period of Roman occupation. He could only assume that there had been a resurgence of native culture during a time of political disturbance in Rome.

The site of the camp is overgrown with trees, some of which were felled before the clearing of the site could be

undertaken. A short distance below the soil surface was limestone rock and into this had been roughly cut post-holes for a huge circular hut. Some holes measured nearly a yard in diameter. There were also smaller post holes. The examination of the site was not yet complete, but sufficient had been uncovered to visualize a circular dwelling of exceptional magnitude. Nearby were other post-holes, this time in alignment as though a rectangular building had been erected at a later date, probably after the circular one had disintegrated. In one place they found traces of coal, iron slag and lead as if a workshop had stood on the spot. Much early pottery was found, in one instance sufficient fragments to permit reassembling a practically complete bowl. Nine coins were discovered. One was a large first-brass of Postumus; another, a copper coin of Constantine the Great in almost mint condition. This was of particular interest as, ironically, it depicted the god Mithras on a coin of the first Christian emperor.

The northern "postern" entrance—now threatened by quarrying—was pointed out, and near it a rampart eight feet thick.

The party crossed to the south-east entrance, now almost spoiled through failure to replace the earth after examination.

At this spot Dr. Gardner revealed evidence of three roadways, one above the other. Parts of the dry-wall gate-houses remained. In its original state it must, said Dr. Savory, have been one of the very finest entrances found in Wales. Replying to a question Dr. Savory said he had encountered no archaeological evidence of the presence of Owain Gwynedd on the site. The chairman of the Society, Mr. H. Parry Jones, M.A., Llanrwst, expressed the thanks of the Society to Dr. Savory for his lucid explanation of a difficult subject.

NORMAN TUCKER.

Adolygiad

Thomas Jones o Ddinbych. 1756-1820, gan Frank Price Jones. Gwasg Gee, Dinbych. Tud. 62. Pris 3/-.

YR oedd gennym eisoes, ers 1897, gofiant safonol y diweddar Barch. Jonathan Jones, Llanelwy, i Thomas Jones o Ddinbych, "ond odid y cofiant Cymraeg gorau a ysgrifennwyd yn y ganrif ddiwethaf", yn ôl Frank Price Jones. Ond bellach, aeth y cofiant hwnnw'n lled brin ac y mae'n gronicl manwl sobor, rhy fanwl fe ddichon, i ddarllenwyr yr oes hon. Purion peth, felly, oedd i Frank Price Jones, yntau yn hanfod o Ddinbych, ym mlwyddyn dathlu dau canmlwyddiant geni Thomas Jones, fynd ati i roddi i ni driniaeth newydd—triniaeth ferrach, frasach, bid siŵr—ond triniaeth olau, fantoledig, ddifyr odiaeth o waith a chymeriad dyn mawr. Eglur ddigon bod awdur y llyfr hwn yn edmygydd mawr o Thomas Jones; mae yma gydymdeimlad hyfryd rhwng y croniclydd a'i wrthrych, ac nid yn aml y darllenasom lyfr â'i awyrgylch mor rhywiog ac annwyl.

Argyhoeddir ni bod F.P.J. yn ddigon sicr, yn ei feddwl ei hun, bod Thomas Jones yn ŵr mawr a'i stori yn werth ei diogelu a'i hail-ddehongli i genhedlaeth newydd o ddarllenwyr. Mae F.P.J., y Dinbych-ŵr, gŵr yn anwylo ac yn parchu coffadwriaeth goreugwyr ei fro ei hun, tu ôl i'r llyfr hwn. Nid oes angen bod yn aelod o Henaduriaeth nac yn gynrychiolydd i Gymdeithasfa, ychwaith, i sylweddoli bod awdur y llyfr hwn yn deall athrylith y Corff (Calfinaidd-Methodistaidd), yn ei deall i drwch y blewyn ac yn ei pharchu, ni allai fod wedi ysgrifennu ei lyfr yn ei fanylion heb y cymhwyster hwn.

Llyfr hanes yw'r llyfryn hwn, pennod yn hanes Crefydd yng Nghymru, ond am ei fod yn llyfr hanes *dynol* iawn, mae yn llyfr hanes *annwyl.* Yn anad dim, hanesydd yw F.P.J., hanesydd sy'n prysur ennill ei le ei hun yng Nghymru, a thriniaeth yr hanesydd a geir yn y llyfr. Yn wir, yn y pen draw, yr ydym yn lled amau mai ei gydwybod fel hanesydd a'i dug i gynnig i ni, ei ddehongliad hwn o Thomas Jones.

Anniddig oedd ei gydwybod fel hanesydd, na chawsai Thomas Jones ei le iawn yn hanes gwaith y Corff yn ordeinio iddo ei hun weinidogion yn 1811, gweithred a wnaeth y Methodistiaid Calfinaidd yn derfynol yn enwad newydd yng Nghymru. Deil ef i waith Thomas Jones yn gweinyddu'r ordinhadau yn y Capel Mawr (y Capel Canol), Dinbych, yn ystod 1810, fod yn elfen, yn wir yr elfen bwysicaf oll mewn troi Thomas Charles a Sasiwn y Gogledd o blaid yr Ordeinio a sefydlu'r Cyfundeb newydd. Yn hyn o beth, ochri a wna F.P.J. gyda Jonathan Jones, ac ymaflyd codwm â'r diweddar Ddoctor D. E. Jenkins, sydd yn ei waith gorchestol ar Thomas Charles, yn ei edmygedd hyd addoliad o'r gŵr mawr o'r Bala, yn tueddu, onid yn ymdrechu, i fychanu dylanwad Thomas Jones ym mudiad yr Ordeinio. Dyma adran mwyaf newydd y llyfr, gan fod at law bellach ffeithiau na wyddai Jonathan Jones na D. E. Jenkins amdanynt. Cafodd yr adolygydd y fraint o gyfrif D. E. Jenkins ymhlith ei gyfeillion mynwesol, ond rhydd iddo gyfaddef mai F.P.J., yn ei farn ef, biau'r dorch hon. Ond cofier, nid ymladdwr bygylog a ddatguddir yn yr ysgarmes ddadleuol hon ond hanesydd, gŵr bonheddig o hanesydd, yn adwytho i fod yn deg â'r ffeithiau.

Am fawredd Thomas Jones o Ddinbych, nid oes ddadl. Pwy o'n gwŷr a fu mor fawr mewn cynifer o gyfeiriadau—diwinydd, bardd, emynydd, hanesydd a llenor, cyhoeddwr llyfrau, pregethwr a gweinidog, arweinydd crefyddol, lladmerydd i'w oes, personoliaeth greadigol? Wedi'r cyfan, ein cyflwyno, ail-gyflwyno llu o'r newydd (gobeithio!) i Thomas Jones o Ddinbych, yw swyddogaeth arbennig y llyfr hwn. Gwna hynny yn raenus a grasol, yn ysgolheigaidd a chyfeillgar, ac yr oedd hynny yn orchwyl gwerth ymosod arno. Mewn dyddiau o ddrudaniaeth mawr, am bris rhesymol, dyma wledd o seigiau breision.

J. T. JONES.

Hon. Secretary's Report 1956-57

THE Annual General Meeting of the Society was held at Ruthin on Saturday, 24 March, 1956. The usual business was transacted and a lecture delivered by Idris Foster, Esq., Professor of Celtic at Oxford, on "Edward Lhuyd". Professor Foster gave a scholarly and polished lecture which was thoroughly enjoyed by a very good gathering of members. Lady members from the Ruthin district prepared a splendid tea for over 100 members after the meeting.

The only other meeting held during the year was the lecture given by the Editor of the *Transactions* at Denbigh on 24 November, 1956, on "Thomas Jones o Ddinbych", to mark the bi-centenary of the eminent Welsh poet and divine. The members present enjoyed the fruit of much research by Mr. Frank Price Jones who is to be congratulated also on the success of his book on Thomas Jones.

There has been an increase in the number of members during the year, but we are still a long way off the target which the Hon. Treasurer has set himself and the Society, viz., a thousand members. Our members are urged to try to recruit new members: these are more readily enrolled by personal persuasion than by other means.

I am deeply grateful to all the members for their support and patience during the year, and particularly to the Chairman, the Hon. Treasurer and the Editor.

I shall be glad to receive suggestions for lectures and excursions from members.

B.Ll.G.

Summary of Receipts and Payments for the Year 1956

RECEIPTS	£	s.	d.
Balance in hand (31.12.55) ...	69	5	9
Subscriptions received:			
3 Life Members at £5	£15	0	0
1 at 21/- ...	1	1	0
2 „ 20/- ...	2	0	0
1 „ 14/2 ...	0	14	2
1 „ 10/6 ...	0	10	6
43 „ 10/- ...	21	10	0
11 „ 7/6 ...	4	2	6
1 „ 6/6 ...	0	6	6
1 „ 5/6 ...	0	5	6
456 „ 5/- ...	114	0	0
	159	10	2
Grant from Denbighshire C.C. (Welsh Church Fund)	150	0	0
Proceeds of tea (Ruthin)	1	3	0
Sale of Pamphlets	1	16	0
	£381	14	11

PAYMENTS	£	s.	d.
Printing 700	320	0	0
Transactions:			
Stationery & Accessories	13	16	1
Officers' Expenses:			
Postages, etc	12	2	11
Balance in hand (31.12.56)	35	15	11
	£381	14	11

D. B. JONES,
Hon. Treasurer.

Audited and found correct.
WILLIAM BURD,
Hon. Auditor.
14th February, 1957

MEMBERSHIP 31.12.56

As per list shown	520
Life Members	8
Unpaid for 1956	109
	671
Deceased	7
Paid in advance for 1957 ...	43
	50
	621

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Griffiths, Mrs. Caswallon, Avalon, Windsor Road, Rhos, Wrexham.
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Grime, Mrs. W. F., Ednyfed, Stanley Road, Ruthin.
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Heaton, Mrs. R. B., Bron Offa, Adwy, Coedpoeth, Wrexham.
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Herbert, Mr. T. R., School House, Llandegla, Wrexham.
Hewitt. Mrs. M. E., 8, Salisbury Road, Wrexham.
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