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Transactions

Frank Price Jones (Ed.).

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CYMDEITHAS HANES SIR DDINBYCH

DENBIGHSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

TRAFODION
Cyfrol 8

TRANSACTIONS
Volume 8

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TRANSACTIONS
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Golygydd : FRANK PRICE JONES : *Editor*

1959

ARGRAFFWYD GAN GEE A'I FAB
DINBYCH

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Golygyddol : Editorial

IN spite of the difficulties encountered by the printing industry during this glorious summer of 1959, we have been able, thanks to the co-operation of our contributors and the ready help of Gee's Press, to bring out this eighth volume of *Transactions* at its appointed time. Our financial situation as a Society has compelled us to delay publication of some articles and it is a matter of sincere regret to your editor that it has been necessary to reduce the third instalment of Mr Lerry's prize essay on the Industries of Denbighshire and to hold over the final part of it for the next volume.

There is, however, cause to hope that by next year the position will be somewhat easier: the untiring efforts of our Treasurer not only extract subscriptions from the most remiss of members, but also succeed in convincing the Church Acts Committee of the County Council of the worthiness of our cause. As a Society, we wish to express our thanks to the County Council for increasing their grant to us this year.

In thanking the public authority for its increased support, we would also like to note with gratitude the increasing tendency among our own members, to subscribe more than the minimum membership fee. A notice of motion has been lodged for the next Annual Meeting of the Society, to increase the minimum subscription, but we feel sure that in view of the value received, few members are likely to resign on this account.

Because of this more promising financial prospect, we may with some confidence promise those authors whose works are in hand that they will not remain unpublished for much longer, and we may once again urge our readers to send in their articles, notes and other contributions.

* * *

The first articles in this volume are contributed by Dr Savory, Keeper of Archaeology at the National Museum,

who has already given valued interim reports in these *Transactions* on his emergency dig at Dinorben. This year's discussion sums up the results of four years' work and it is hoped that the illustrations we have ventured to include on a more lavish scale than usual, will add to the appreciation of Dr Savory's outstanding work.

In addition to his work on Dinorben, Dr Savory also very kindly responded to our request for an account of the important discovery of the Beaker Cist at Bryn-y-Ffynnon, Brymbo. This stone burial chamber has now been ingeniously reconstructed by the Keeper and members of the Department of Archaeology in the Museum, and we would urge our members to go to see it when next they visit Cardiff.

We would also like to take this opportunity to second Dr Savory's appreciation of the enlightened co-operation of the local authority and its staff, and those people in the Brymbo district, which ensured the preservation of this unique relic of "Denbighshire" over two thousand years ago.

* * *

Nid oes angen cyflwyno Dr Glyn Penrhyn Jones i'r Gymdeithas: cawsom eisoes gymwynasau ganddo ef, a mawr obeithiwn y pery ei ddiddordeb yn ein Sir a'i hanes er iddo symud i Wynedd uwch Conwy. Cynnwys y ddarlith ddiddorol a roddodd i ni ym Mae Colwyn y llynedd yw ei erthygl yn y rhifyn hwn ar "Agweddau ar Hanes Meddygol Sir Ddinbych".

Sylwedd ei darlith hithau yn Llangollen ydyw erthygl Grace Roberts (Mrs Bowen Jones) ar "Ferched Llangollen", a chredwn y cytuna pawb mai prif bwrpas *Trafodion* fel hyn ydyw cofnodi'r mwynhâd a'r budd a gafodd y Gymdeithas o wrando'r darlithiau diddorol hyn o flwyddyn i flwyddyn.

Diolchwn yn gynnes i Mr Emrys Jenkins a Mrs Rogers am eu llafur cariad yn paratoi nodiadau'r diweddar Emlyn Rogers ar hanes y Sir yn y Ddeunawfed Ganrif. Eleni cyhoeddwn yr olaf o'r erthyglau hyn.

Bydd astudiâeth Mr J. Phillip Dodd o'r adroddiad a wnaed ar gnydau'r Sir yn 1854 o ddiddordeb arbennig i'r

ffermwyr yn ein plith, ac y mae erthygl Miss Mollie K. Stone, Prifathrawes Ysgol Howell, Dinbych, yn nodi canmlwyddiant sefydlu'r ysgol enwog hon.

Prifathro ydyw Mr J. E. Ethall yntau, ac yn ei erthygl ef, cawn gofnod teilwng o'r prynhawn hyfryd a dreuliasom yn Llangernyw yn haf 1958.

* * *

The Welsh article by Mr Iorwerth Roberts contains the substance of his lecture at Rhos in September 1958 on the Great Eisteddfod of 1858 at Llangollen. This supplements the important article by Professor G. J. Williams which we published last year on the literary and historical influences which brought about that remarkable festival, and which the Eisteddfod itself affected in turn, since Mr Roberts discusses the local aspects of the arrangements.

* * *

We wish to acknowledge receipt of Volume LV Part I of the *Montgomeryshire Collections* in which, needless to say, Mr Sayce maintains the high standard of the Powysland Club's Transactions.

* * *

Our Society has been saddened during the year by the passing of some of its most faithful friends.

The late R. D. Griffith, owing to ill-health had not been able to join us at our meetings, but we were at all times conscious of his interest and warm support. His great contribution to music-making and to the study of music and musicians in Wales will ensure that his name will not be forgotten for many years to come.

The sudden death of Mr D. W. Pugh shocked the very large circle of his friends not only in Denbighshire but over a very wide field. He had made his adopted county and town very much his own, and his services in many spheres

will be sadly missed. The school-teachers of the county regarded him as a friend, and I myself looked forward to his friendly official visits to my lectures. The Borough of Ruthin derived great benefit from his stay there, and our Society has profited greatly from his active membership; at the time of his death, he was Vice-Chairman of the Council. We extend our deep sympathy to Mrs Pugh and the family.

The town of Ruthin and our Society received another cruel blow in August when news came of the death of Mrs Bleddyn Lloyd Griffith. The full extent of the service rendered by this gracious lady to the Society will never be fully known: during one summer holiday she marshalled her family to address labels so that members should receive their copy of the *Transactions* on time, and at our annual meetings at Brynhyfryd School, our welcome was always the warmer and the more effective because of her diligence behind the scenes. She gave herself wholeheartedly in many good causes and shared fully with her husband in his work at school and as Secretary of this Society. We grieve most deeply at her passing.

* * *

CHANGE OF ADDRESS.—*Because of an impending change of address, it is requested that all communications to the Editor be sent, for the time being, to him at University College, Bangor, Caernarvonshire.*

A Beaker Cist at Brymbo

By H. N. SAVORY

DURING August, 1958, the digging of a trench on a new housing site at Bryn-y-ffynnon near Brymbo (Denb.) (O.S. 6in. Sheet Denb. XXI SW, National Grid ref. 290541) brought to light a stone cist in which lay a crouched inhumation, a fine Beaker pot of class 'C', and a flint flake knife. The find was reported in the first place to Mr. F. H. Thompson, Curator of the Grosvenor Museum, Chester, who most generously passed on the information to the National Museum of Wales. Thanks especially to the enlightened co-operation of Mr Trevor L. Williams, Clerk to Wrexham Urban District Council, and his staff, the Department of Archaeology in the Museum was able to make a full investigation of the discovery and remove the cist itself as well as its contents to the Museum, as a deposit by the Council. The cist has now been reconstructed in the Prehistoric Gallery of the National Museum, with the contents replaced as far as possible, so that the visitor may form a more vivid idea of this type of prehistoric burial than he has hitherto been able to do there or in almost any other museum in Britain.

The cist was not discovered until a house (No. 79 Cheshire View) was approaching completion immediately to the south-east of it, and pipes had to be inserted between it and the road. Workmen then broke into the cist at the southern end, after breaking off the south-west corner of the capstone, and removed the Beaker, and the skull and the thigh-bones of the skeleton. From their statements, and from observation of the position of such bones as had remained undisturbed, bedded in clay on the floor of the cist, it is possible to reconstruct the general lay-out of the burial. The cist itself (Pl. Ia and Fig. 1) was oblong, aligned roughly north-south, with an internal length, at floor level, of 3ft. 3in. and width of 2ft. 3in., and set in a shallow pit cut to a depth of 1ft. 9in. in the Sandstone subsoil; as far as could be judged, the cap-

stone had not been more than about a foot below the surface of the ground before the building of the house. The cist was not paved and the burial rested directly on the excavated surface, consisting partly of rock and partly of clay. The sides of the cist were constructed of over 20 vertical slabs of the local Sandstone, of varying sizes and shapes, but none of them dressed. On the long side the slabs were thin and set two or three deep; they were canted inwards towards the top so as to rest against the end slabs, which were comparatively thick. No doubt these thick end-slabs were specially chosen to take the weight of the capstone and the side-slabs which rested against them. The capstone was massive, 5ft. 6in. from north to south, 3ft. 3in. from east to west, and up to 9in. thick; it, too, was of local Sandstone and undressed: it rested, at the northern end, on a few thin slabs covering each corner of the cist and acting as corbels.

The skeleton lay on the left side with the head to the north and the knees up to the chin. It was in poor condition, and no trace of the ribs, vertebrae or bones of hands or feet remained, but this was only to be expected of bones lying in a cavity so close to the surface, and is the normal state of affairs in cists of this kind. Although the thigh-bones had been removed before the cist was examined by my colleague, Mr G. C. Boon and myself, a fragment broken off the top of one of them still lay embedded in clay on the floor of the cist when we examined it, and this, together with a fragment of *pelvis* similarly embedded in clay against the west side of the cist (Pl Ia, top right hand arrow), permitted a reasonably reliable reconstruction of the skeleton's posture (Fig. 1).

It will be noticed that the shin-bones, also found embedded in clay, were far from being articulated with the thigh-bones, and this probably means that the body when inserted into the cist was tightly swathed and lying on its back, with the result that when the wrappings and the flesh decayed the shin-bones dropped well away from the knee. My colleague, Mr L. F. Cowley, reports on the part of the skeleton which eventually reached the National Museum of Wales (see Appendix, p. 17), that it belongs, in all probability, to an adult male 5ft. 7in. in height and about 35-40 years old, with a brachycephalic skull. The cephalic index

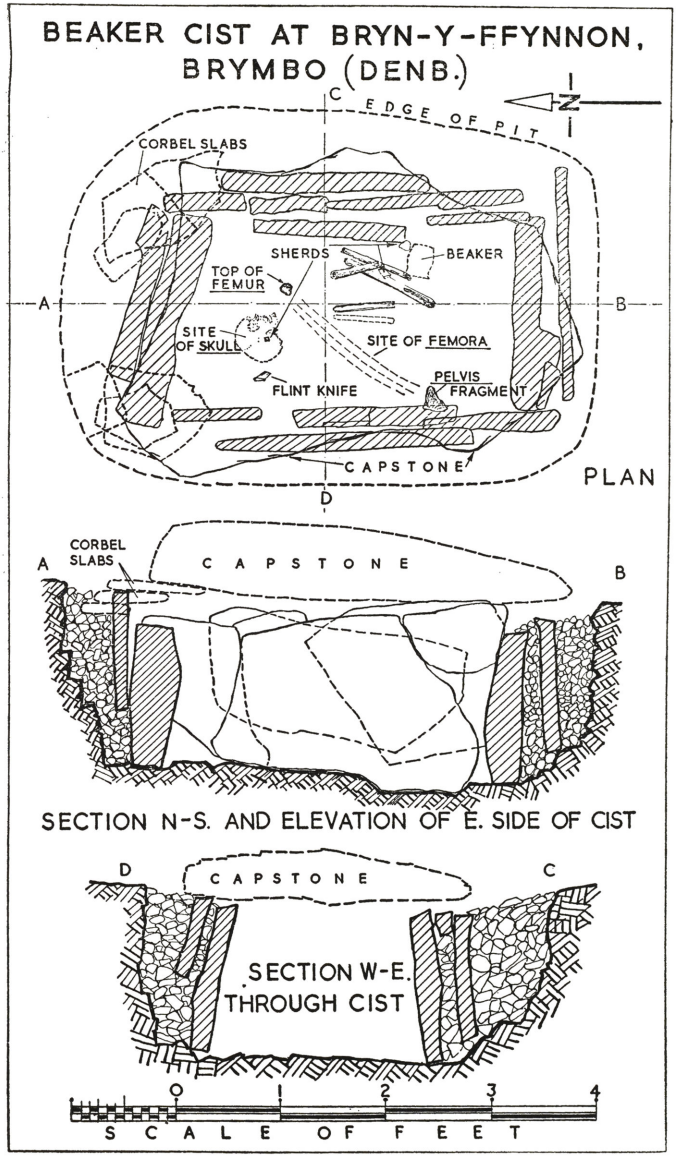

BEAKER CIST AT BRYN-Y-FFYNNON, BRYMBO (DENB.)
C
EDGE OF PIT
N
CORBEL SLABS
SHERDS
BEAKER
TOP OF FEMUR
A
B
SITE OF SKULL
SITE OF FEMORA
PELVIS FRAGMENT
FLINT KNIFE
CAPSTONE
D
PLAN
CORBEL SLABS
A
CAPSTONE
B
SECTION N-S. AND ELEVATION OF E. SIDE OF CIST
D
CAPSTONE
C
SECTION W-E. THROUGH CIST
0
1
2
3
4
SCALE OF FEET

Fig. 1

is, in fact, 82·7, and this degree of broadness, together with the rugged features and in particular the marked brow-ridges, is typical of the skulls hitherto associated with Beakers and characteristic of the 'Beaker Folk', as defined by anthropologists.

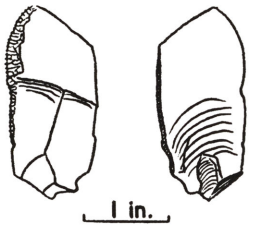


Fig. 2

The flint knife (Pl IA, lower arrow, and Fig. 2) lay to the west of the skull. It is made from a large flake, 59mm. long, which has received secondary working along the left hand edge of the dorsal surface and is otherwise untrimmed; it bears a general resemblance to knives found in a number of other Beaker graves, e.g. at Llannon (Carm.),[1] but is not of any particular cultural significance.

The Beaker was found lying on its side near the feet of the skeleton, close to the east side of the cist; it had been damaged in antiquity and a broken sherd from it lay underneath the shin-bones of the skeleton (Pl. IA, top left arrow). On the side which lay uppermost a curious encrustation of aragonite, a form of calcium carbonate, had been formed by moisture in the cist; although the material had taken on the appearance of fine rootlets it is hard to see how real rootlets could have made their way to this position in the cist. The Beaker itself is of very considerable interest, since it is the first example recorded from Wales of what would now be generally regarded as a primary form of the 'C' class of Beaker. The quality of the ware is not outstanding, being of the usual buff colour, without the fine glossy red surface layer characteristic of the best continental Beakers and

[1]Grimes, *Prehistory of Wales*, Fig. 54, 7-9.

sometimes found in British examples, and the fabric is rather coarse, with fine grit. But though the form of the vessel is distinctively British, the decoration adheres far more closely to the continental 'Bell Beaker' tradition, and particularly to that of the Rhenish 'Bell Beakers', than does that of all but a very few British 'C' Beakers. All horizontal and diagonal lines are notched and have been executed with the aid of a cogwheel-like tool, as is shown by the bad join recurring at the same point, once only in each of several adjacent horizontal lines on the neck of the Beaker. The only exception is to be found in the topmost band on the neck, which is filled with vertical tool-marks. The remaining horizontal bands are grouped in three zones, one on the neck filled with lattices, the other two on the belly and near the base respectively, filled with alternate diagonal hatching. The decoration thus differs from the classic style of the 'International' group of continental 'Bell Beakers', found in Spain, Portugal and Algeria and along the Atlantic seaboard of France as far as the Low Countries and north-west Germany, only in being arranged in zones instead of being equally spaced from rim to base, and in this it resembles certain Beakers of the Rhineland and Holland which are either of Bell Beaker form[2] or incipient 'C' Beakers.[3] Moreover, although the Brymbo Beaker stands out from all other 'C' Beakers hitherto recorded from Wales, degenerate and confused in style as most of these are,[4] and is more closely related to the numerous primary 'C' Beakers of the eastern counties of England and Scotland, especially Aberdeenshire,[5] it is typologically less devolved even than the great majority of the latter. In the purity of its Bell Beaker decorative tradition it is, in fact, equalled only by a very few.[6] It is, therefore, possible that it should be regarded not so much as a

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[2]e.g., Sangmeister, *Die Glochenbecherkultur und die Becherkulturen*, Pl. IV, 6 and 11 and *Palaeohistoria*, IV, Pl. VIII, 24 and Pl. IX, 26 and 28.
[3]e.g. *Palaeohistoria*, IV, Pl. XII, 37 and Pl. XIII, 38.
[4]*Bulletin of Celtic Studies*, XVI (1956), pp. 220ff.
[5]Abercromby, *Bronze Age Pottery*, I, Pls. XVIII-XIX.
[6]e.g. Abercromby, *loc. cit.*, No. 257 and *Proc. Soc. Ant.* Scot., LXVIII, pp. 415f.

very early stray from a nearly primary 'C' group in Aberdeenshire as an even earlier direct offshoot from the first 'C' Beaker group of all, in the lands flanking the Rhine estuary. There are, indeed, a few very good examples of primary 'C' Beakers in southeastern England[7] and the Brymbo Beaker may represent a movement from that direction.

It is worth while finally to consider the significance of the Brymbo Beaker in relation to the Beaker colonization of Wales. In his brief analysis of Welsh Beakers in the Corpus of Welsh Bronze Age Pottery the present writer stressed the debased and secondary character of nearly all the 'C' Beakers then known from Wales[8] and treated this as the result of colonization from the far side of Britain at a relatively late date, when the decorative style of 'C' Beakers had been influenced by that of 'A' Beakers. More recently Mr W. E. Griffiths, in his lengthy paper on the 'Typology and Origins of Welsh Beakers',[9] has suggested that the true 'C' Beaker element in Wales is even less than this, relegating several examples which the writer would class as 'C' Beakers to the 'A' group. This is the result of a general tendency in his paper to base classification upon mechanical considerations of form, without giving due weight to decoration, which is much more significant as a cultural indicator than the precise position of the neck constriction in a hand-made pot; but it must be conceded that the debatable Beakers reflect a mingling of 'A' and 'C' traditions. But now comes the Brymbo Beaker to suggest that a primary 'C' group with very pure traditions did arrive on the borders of North Wales, perhaps about 1700 or 1600 B.C. and one must envisage the possibility that future discoveries might reveal a number of Beakers intermediate in style between this very pure example and the decadent or hybrid specimens hitherto known. It is important to bear in mind that the Brymbo cist, like many other Beaker cists, was not covered by traces

[7] *Bulletin of Celtic Studies, loc. cit.*, p. 219.
[8] *Bulletin of Celtic Studies, loc. cit.*, pp. 225f.
[9] *Proc. Prehist. Soc.*, 1957, p. 58 and 72ff.



Plate Ia: The Beaker cist at Bryn-y-Ffynnon, Brymbo, after removing the capstone, the Beaker and part of the skeleton.



Plate Ib: Beaker from the Bryn-y-Ffynnon cist burial, Brymbo.



Plate IIa: Dinorben, central area (1957), looking south-west across post-holes of large circular house (dotted line) and early Iron Age hut (spots) towards rectangular house (ranging poles).



Plate IIb: Dinorben (1958), looking south-west across hut floor 9. Post-holes are indicated by white spots.



Plate IIIa: Dinorben, north-east rampart (1959), with foundations of stone hut-circle overlying rampart foundation and hut floor 4.



Plate IIIb: Dinorben, north-east rampart (1959), with hut floor 5 in foreground. The hearth is on the right and drainage gully on the left.



Plate IVa: Hut floor No. 3, Dinorben (1957) with overlying rampart, part of which has been removed except for the outer facing blocks (right).



Plate IVb: General view of the excavations in the area of the large circular house, Dinorben (1957), from the east.

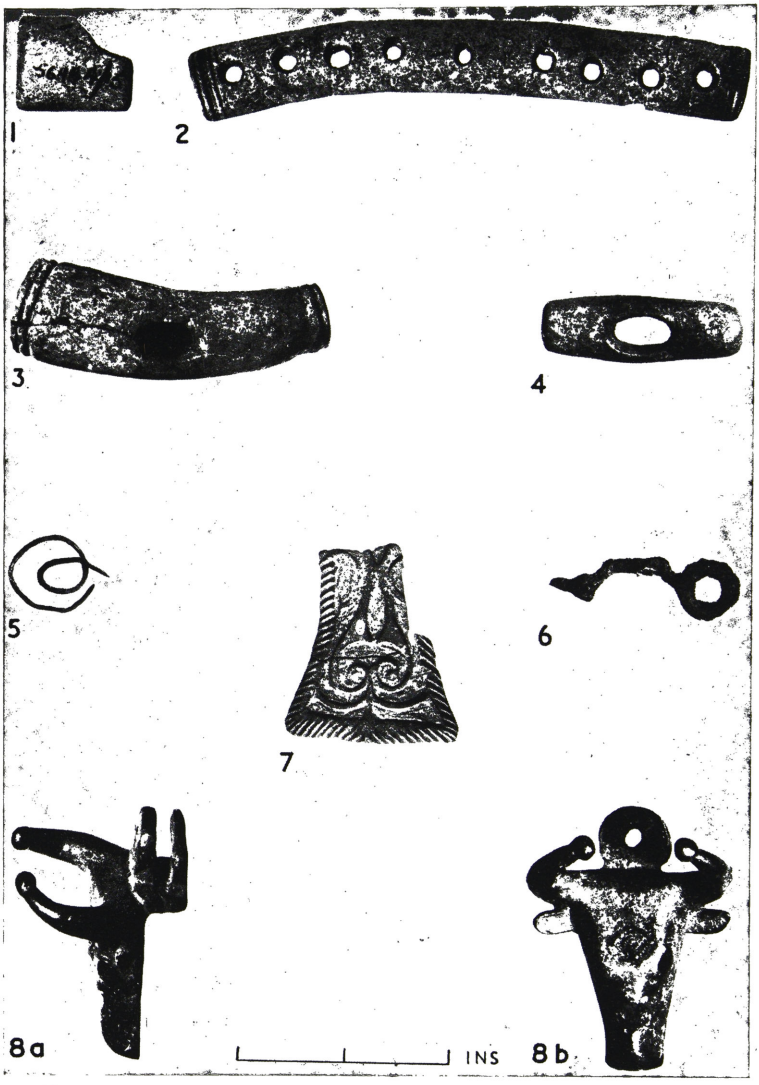


Plate V: Objects of bronze (5, 7 and 8), iron (6) and antler (1-4) from the 1956-57 excavations at Dinorben.

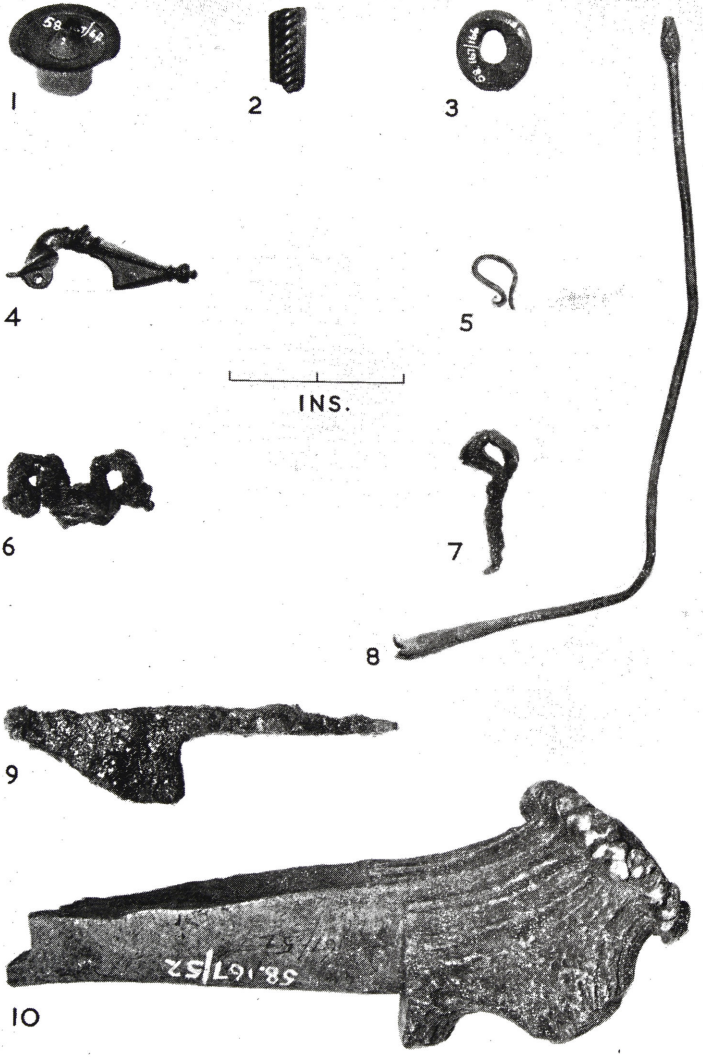


Plate VI: Objects of bronze (1-5 and 8), iron (6 and 9) and antler (10) from the 1958 excavations at Dinorben.

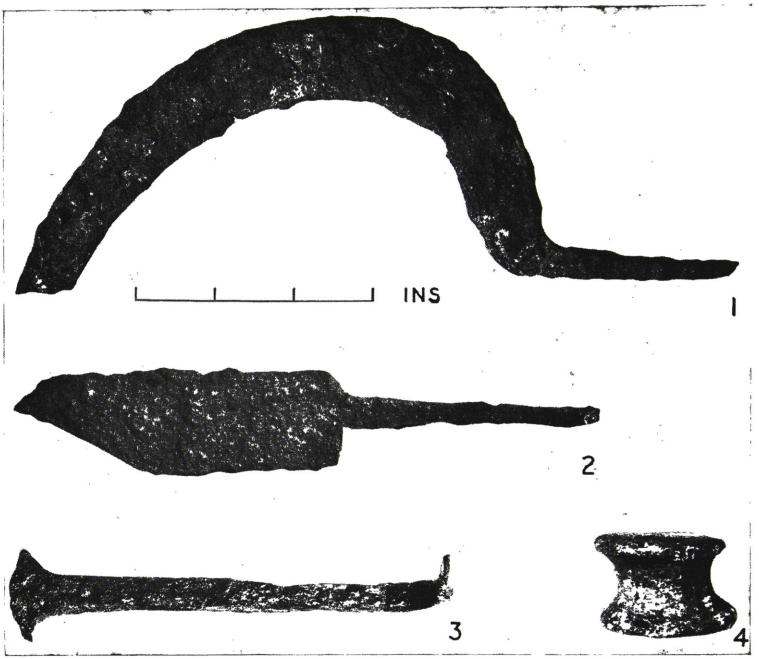


Plate VIIa: Iron (1-3) and lead (4) objects from Dinorben, 1956-7.

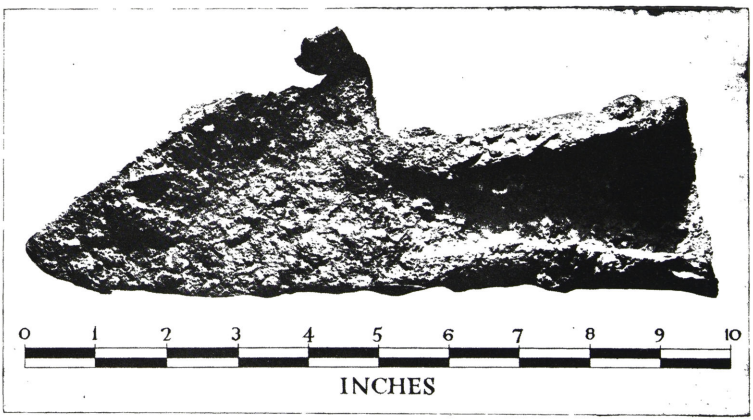


Plate VIIb: Iron left-winged ploughshare from Dinorben, 1956.



Plate VIIIa: Hut floor No. 7, Dinorben, 1958, from the North.

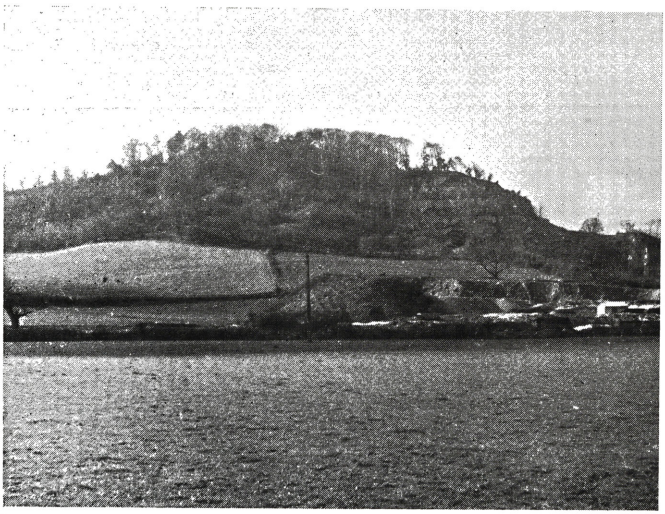


Plate VIIIb: View of Dinorben from the North, showing the quarry face.

of a barrow, and could only have been brought to light by chance; this is a factor making for sparse representation of Beakers in Museum collections, and it would be prudent in future to abandon the idea that 'C' Beakers are necessarily a minor element in Welsh archaeology.

APPENDIX

BRONZE AGE HUMAN REMAINS BRYMBO, DENBS.

The remains consisted of an incomplete skull, a portion of the lower jaw, a right tibia (complete as regards length), a portion of the left tibia, and a few fragments of a femur.

It will be seen therefore that the skeleton was far from complete.

The brachycephalic skull lacked the left temporal region; part of left parietal; left maxilla, pre-maxilla, and nasal; and half of palate. Both zygomatic arches were also wanting. As a result of this incompleteness, estimates had to be made; these are noted in the list of measurements.

It was not possible to obtain either the facial or the orbital index.

Teeth were present in the portions of upper and lower jaw; they were worn but not excessively and showed no trace of disease. The skull indicated right-handedness.

Platycnemic indices were obtained from the tibiae; and an estimate of stature, from the length of the tibia, was also made.

The remains represented, in all probability, an adult male 5′ 7″ in height and about 35-40 years old.

Dimensions of skull: —

Length — 180 mm.
Breadth (est.) — 149 mm.
Auricular height — 120 mm.

Cephalic index — 82·7.

Cranial capacity (estimated for male) — 1533 cc.

Basion Bregma height — 131 mm.
Basion Nasion height — 104 mm.
Nasal height — 53 mm. }
Nasal width (est.) — 29 mm. } Nasal index — 54·7.
Inter-angular width — 113 mm. } Inter-angular/Inter-temporal
Inter-temporal width — 102·5 mm. } index — 90·7.
Foramen magnum length — 35 mm. }
Foramen magnum width (est.) — 29 mm. } Index — 82·8.
Symphysial height lower jaw — 34 mm.

Platycnemic index right tibia 55·5; length right tibia 388 mm.
Platycnemic index left tibia 53·2.
Estimate of stature based on right tibia (for male) 5′ 7″.

LIONEL COWLEY (18.iii.59).

The Excavations at Dinorben Hill-Fort Abergele, 1956–9

By H. N. SAVORY

SINCE the first phase of the current emergency excavations at Dinorben, during which work was carried out urgently in order to free an area at the northern end of the site for development by the quarry management, may now be said to be over, it is perhaps time to take stock of the results up to date. This seems all the more desirable, because a relatively clear picture of the sequence of occupation at the northern end of the site has now emerged, and such excavation as is likely to take place in the next few years will probably take the form of clearance of selected Early Iron Age hut-floors on the north-eastern slopes of the hill-top, without necessarily greatly altering the picture as it is seen at present.

A review of the results achieved during the excavations of 1956-7 has already been given in the *Bulletin of Celtic Studies*,[1] and the writer need not repeat all that has been said there by way of introduction to the site. Suffice is to say that the excavations carried out by the late Dr Willoughby Gardner in the years between 1912 and 1922 led to the establishment of six phases of occupation at the southern end of the site: a pre-rampart phase ('period O'), two stages of development of the early wall rampart ('periods I-II'), and three stages of development of the great sloping-fronted rampart, with deep entrance passage and guard-chambers ('periods III-V'); they also made it clear that the sixth phase lay mainly in the 4th century A.D. and that the preceding phase also probably lay in the Roman period.[2] The outstanding problems of the site, to solve which the recent emergency excavations appeared to provide an opportunity, were the nature of the dwellings within the hill-fort, the chronology of the earlier phases of occupation, and the possibility

[1] *XVII*, 1958, pp. 296ff.
[2] See Ellis Davies, *Prehistoric and Roman Denbighshire*, pp. 399f.

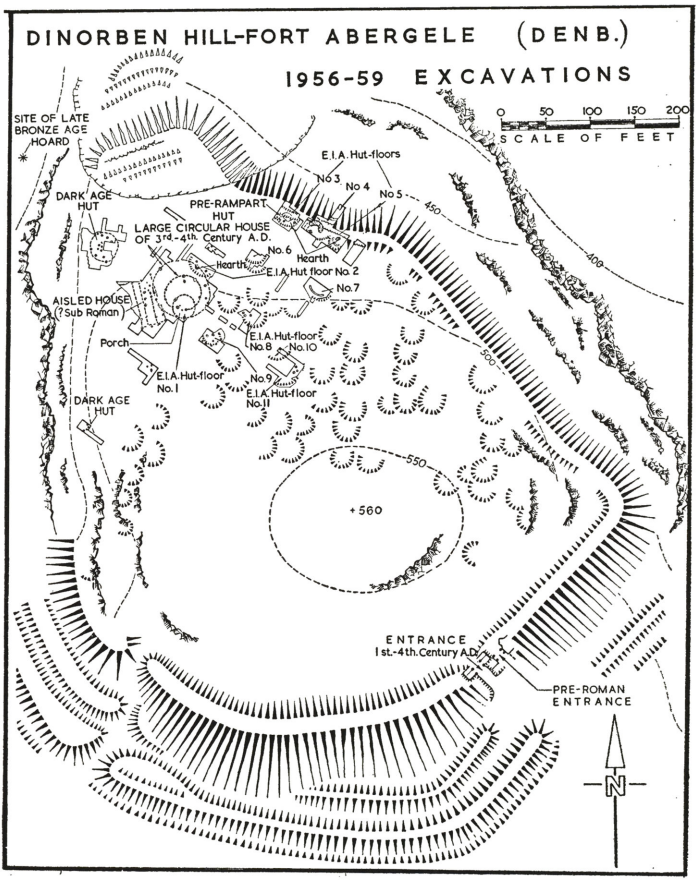


Fig. 1

of a Late Bronze Age phase connected with the famous hoard of bronze harness found in 1868 at the foot of the crags on the western side of the site.

The recent excavations, directed by the writer on behalf of the Dinorben Hill-fort Excavation Committee, with the

help of funds supplied by the Ministry of Works, Board of Celtic Studies and Cambrian Archaeological Association, and generous facilities given by the landowner, Mr D. H. Fetherstonhaugh, and the management of Limestone Products, Ltd., Abergele, have, in their turn, thrown much light on the sequence at the northern end of the site; they have clarified the nature of the occupation which led to the reconstruction of the southern defences and entrance at the end of the fourth century A.D., and they have greatly increased the evidence for pre-Roman phases of occupation of the site, especially with regard to the habitations. The general plan (Fig. 1) shows how much has been added to our knowledge of the interior of the hill-fort. One development, achieved principally in 1958, has been the identification, from surface indications, of the probable sites of a large number of prehistoric hut-floors. In the sloping parts of the site these were formed by cutting a curving recess in the rock surface and piling the excavated material down-slope, so as to make a roughly circular platform, from 15 to 30 feet in diameter (Pl. IIB). In most cases the made up portions of these hut-floors have since been weathered away, and only curving steps, and some of the post-holes for the roof-supports, now remain. Clearly there must have been many more of these huts than are shown on the plan, because the weathered tops of artificial recesses for huts cannot always be easy to distinguish from purely natural outcrops and only the more definite examples have been plotted, while on the more level ground there would be no recess visible now. It is also clear that not all the huts were occupied at the same time, since some are sited too close to each other for this to have been possible; but finds of dating value are so meagre on these hut-floors that only excavation of a large number over the years is likely to provide enough material to establish a sound cultural sequence.

The north-eastern area. It was along the line of the rampart, on the north-east side of the site, that the principal evidence was found, from 1956 to 1959, for the sequence of phases of occupation in the northern part of the hill-fort. A

section cut in 1956 showed that here, too, as at the southern end of the site, there was a pre-rampart occupation layer; in this case, however, there was no vast superincumbent mass of rampart material and it was possible to excavate horizontally, until the surviving parts of three pre-rampart hut-floors had been uncovered. The first of these, to the north-west (No. 3) was described with a plan and section in the *BBCS* article referred to.[3] It was roughly oval, about 20ft. along its main axis, with the roof supported by posts or by the lip of the rock-cut recess to the south-west. It had a central hearth, covered by two successive occupation layers passing under the foundations of the rampart (Pl. IVA). Two similar hut-floors (Nos. 4-5) were explored a short distance to the south-east in 1958-9 (Pl. III and Fig. 2). Each stood in a semi-circular recess, and the sides of the recesses intersected in such a way as to make it doubtful whether two circular huts could have existed there at the same time. The section through the one to the north-west does not suggest that the floor had been made up to any great extent down-slope and insufficient post-holes were discovered in either case to permit a reconstruction of the roof. That to the south-east, however, possessed a well preserved hearth of burnt clay, with surround of medium-sized stones, and the thin charcoal layer adjoining this evidently passed under the rampart. A curving rock-cut gully up-slope was, the writer now thinks, for drainage purposes rather than for bedding down the timber walls of the hut. If the huts were circular, and had roofs resting on the lips of the curving steps up-slope, they would have been from 18 to 20 feet in diameter. Each had resting on the floor a 'rubber' or upper stone from a saddle quern. The overlying occupation layers produced an abundance of animal bones, but only a few small scraps of pottery. This is Early Iron Age in general character, but mostly rather indeterminate. One fragment, however, found immediately on top of the south-eastern hut-floor, near the foot of the rampart, comes from the internally bevelled rim

[3] *loc. cit.*, pp. 300ff, Fig. 2.

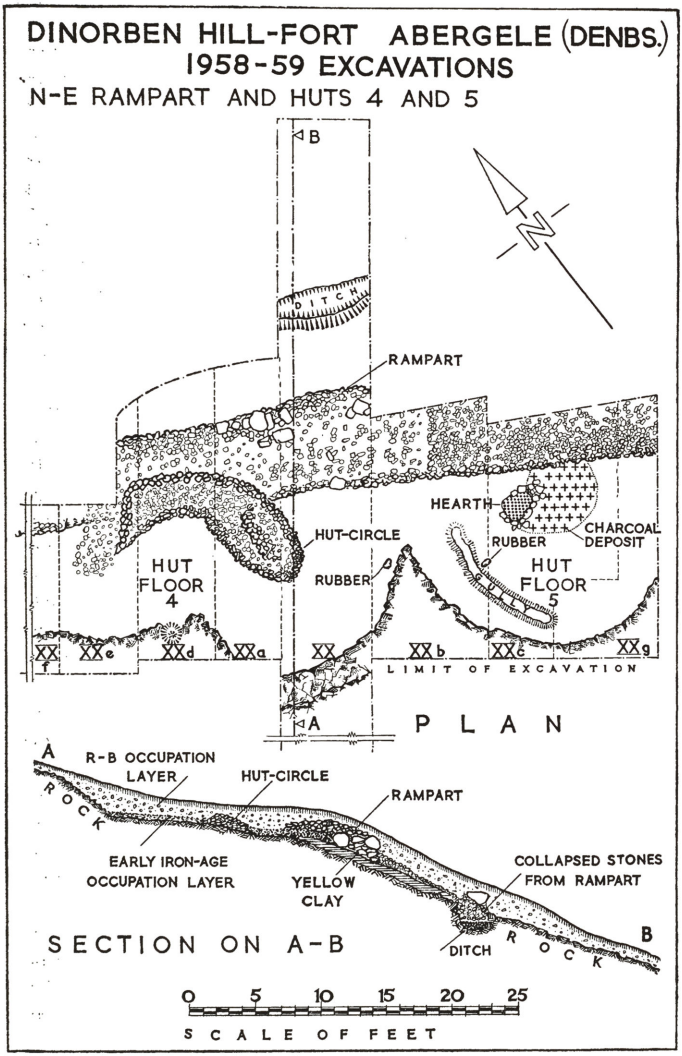

DINORBEN HILL-FORT ABERGELE (DENBS.)
1958-59 EXCAVATIONS
N-E RAMPART AND HUTS 4 AND 5
B
N
DITCH
RAMPART
HEARTH
CHARCOAL DEPOSIT
RUBBER
HUT-CIRCLE
HUT FLOOR 4
RUBBER
HUT FLOOR 5
XXe
XXd
XXa
XX
XXb
XXc
XXg
LIMIT OF EXCAVATION
A
PLAN
A
R-B OCCUPATION LAYER
HUT-CIRCLE
RAMPART
ROCK
EARLY IRON-AGE OCCUPATION LAYER
YELLOW CLAY
COLLAPSED STONES FROM RAMPART
SECTION ON A-B
DITCH
ROCK
B
0 5 10 15 20 25
SCALE OF FEET

Fig. 2

of a handmade ovoid bowl of fine, hard, buff ware, suggestive of Early Iron Age 'B' traditions. The most interesting object from these hut-floors, however, is the remarkable curving plaque made of antler from hut No. 3 (Pl. V, 2), which is plano-convex in section and profiled at the ends like the Iron Age cheek-piece found elsewhere on the site (p. 25 below and Pl. V, 3). This has two groups of four countersunk perforations arranged on either side of a central perforation, and may have formed part of a composite comb, or perhaps of a musical instrument related to the lyre. It was found on the eastern edge of the thick charcoal layer surrounding the hearth of the north-western hut, underneath the inner foot of the rampart. Another object from this bottom layer was the head of a bronze ring-headed pin (Pl. VI, 5), found in the central hut-floor.

It is clear, then, that the rampart on the north-east side of the site is later than some at least of the prehistoric hut-floors of Dinorben. That it is itself pre-Roman, however, is strongly suggested by a number of considerations. It is a wall-like rampart, built with a facing, on the outer side, of large blocks and with a core of smaller stones and earth, much of it obtained from the settlement and therefore full of animal bones. It is from 7 to 8 feet wide, but has been reduced to a foundation layer not more than 2 to 3 feet deep where best preserved. The fact that abundant late Roman pot-sherds, and even coins of the same date, and a Romano-British bronze door or drawer knob (Pl. VI, 1) were found immediately above this layer, shows that the rampart was already ruinous in late Roman times. Outside it, in one section passing through the central hut-floor, a small rock-cut ditch was found 6ft. down-slope: this was presumably the continuation of the one cut through by Dr Gardner at various points nearby. Nothing was found in the lower filling of this ditch section but a few animal bones and charcoal flecks. It would be natural to suppose that the rampart just described is a continuation of the wall-like rampart found by Dr Gardner incorporated in the later great sloping-fronted rampart at the southern end of the hill-fort, which

also must be pre-Roman in date, and which had a simple entrance, with two pairs of post-holes, like that which Dr Gardner found a short distance north-west of the hut-floors explored in 1956-9. But this cannot be demonstrated until, at a later stage of emergency work, the junction of the southern and eastern defences of Dinorben has been explored; until then, it will always be possible to argue that Dinorben began as a promontory fort, with a single wall-rampart and ditch across the easy southern approach, and later had a wall-rampart added on the east. Further evidence for the pre-Roman date of the north-east rampart was, however, provided by the material incorporated in the lower, undisturbed parts of its core as already mentioned. For this did not contain Romano-British pottery, but did produce a few small sherds of Iron Age character, and one or two other minor objects of similar date. Finally all sections through the three hut-floors revealed, above the lower, Early Iron Age layers and passing over the rampart foundation, a layer of earth and rubble containing abundant Romano-British pottery of early fourth century character, ironwork (including the sickle (Pl. VIIA, 1) and two knives (Pl. VI, 9, and VIIA, 2)), and several coins: Gallienus (260-8), Victorinus (268-70), Tetricus II (270-3), Carausius (287-93), Helena 324-30), two barbarous radiates, and others not yet identified. This rubbish layer clearly reflects the fourth century activity in other parts of the site, but it became clear in 1958-9 that this was not the only phase of activity after the decay of the rampart.

Already in 1956-7 a clay patch, probably a hearth, had been noticed at the bottom of the Romano-British layer, near the foot of the rampart, near the centre of the north-western hut-floor.[4] In 1958-9 it was found that a curving wall foundation, formed of tightly packed small stones, rested on the inner edge of the rampart foundation in the area of the central hut-floor (Pl. IIIA and Fig. 2). This also had evidently been in ruins by late Roman times, because

[4] *BBCS*, XVII, p. 307, Fig. 2.

several late Roman sherds and the embossed bronze strip (Pl. VI, 2) were found immediately on top of it. It is probably the remains of a small hut-circle of the kind common in north-west Wales, about 12ft. in diameter internally, and Dr Gardner's records suggest that a similar curving wall-foundation, also secondary to the rampart, was found by him close to the north-east entrance. A clue to the date of this hut-circle may be given by the bronze 'trumpet' brooch (Pl. VI, 4) of late 1st or early 2nd century type, found together with some fragments of Samian ware of about the same date, immediately north-west of it. Some fragments of Samian ware, of 2nd century date, were found by Dr Gardner in the entrance passage and guard-chambers at the south-east end of Dinorben, and some at least of these seem to have come originally from the second road-surface and associated features. It may be, therefore, that the hut-circle is contemporary with the first or the second phase of the strengthened defences at the southern end of the hill-fort and datable in the 1st or 2nd century A.D.

The early hut-floors in the interior. The stratification along the line of the north-east rampart provides the chief key to the chronology of eight other hut-floors of similar type to those found under the rampart, which were wholly or partially explored in the interior of Dinorben between 1956 and 1959. It must here be explained that Dinorben is a wooded site and some of the hollows which mark the sites of hut-floors are now obstructed by large trees, which it is an arduous and expensive task to remove. It has not, therefore, been found practicable to explore all the probable hut-floors in the northern part of the site and others could only be sampled by cross-trenches. No. 1, explored in 1956-7, was represented by part of a ring of post-holes about 25ft. in diameter, intersecting the post-hole system of the large circular house of Late Roman date to be described later (Pl. IIA). Two objects of Early Iron Age type—an iron shouldered ring-headed pin (Pl. V, 6) and an antler 'cheek-piece' (Pl. V, 3), were found on the rock surface within this circle and a bronze spiral finger-ring (Pl. V, 5) was found,

with some scraps of Early Iron Age pottery, a short way to the north-east. Hut-floor No. 2 was of more normal type with a curving step up-slope, a hearth, and post-holes on a line across the diameter (about 28ft.). Immediately on its floor was found an antler 'toggle' (Pl. V, 4). Over the step passed a layer containing late Romano-British pottery, and the floor of the large circular house must have extended to the north-east of it, as explained below. Huts Nos. 6 and 7 were remarkable chiefly for their curving gullies, probably for drainage, like that found on hut-floor 5. No. 7 represented a hut of exceptional size—over 35ft. in diameter—with a double step and a curving gully below it (Pl. VIIIA), but the floor-level had been almost entirely weathered away, and no objects of interest were found on it; No. 6 was also poor, the chief finds being an iron fitting (harness?) (Pl. VI, 6) and part of a human cranium, although a coin of Magnentius and an unidentified bronze object (incomplete) (Pl. VI, 3) came from the superficial layer containing Romano-British pottery. No. 8 could only be partly explored owing to trees, but produced several Early Iron Age sherds, of coarse, gritty ware suggestive of Iron Age 'A', three of them rims—one heavy, flattened, and projecting internally and externally, and the others rounded, and an iron ring-headed pin (Pl. VI, 7). No. 9 was of outstanding interest, in having the most complete plan to date, although even here nearly half is missing, because of the disappearance of the down-slope part of the floor, which had evidently been made from the material obtained by cutting into the slope. It will be seen (Pl. IIB and Fig. 3) that this hut-floor, some 20ft. in diameter, not only had two transverse lines of posts, intersecting at right angles across the centre, to carry the roof, but a ring of small posts on the top of the curving step, presumably also to support the roof. On the floor of this hut were found the nether stone of a saddle quern, such as would have been used with the two rubbers found on floors 4 and 5 by the rampart, part of a worked Red Deer antler which has split and broken off at the point where it is pierced with a large dowel hole (Pl. VI, 10) and more fragments from a human cranium. The

presence of these remains, in hut 9 as in hut 6, is probably due to the well-attested Early Iron Age custom of exposing heads of slain enemies or malefactors in prominent positions in settlements. Huts 10 and 11 could only be very incompletely explored owing to trees and no particular indication of Iron Age date was found in them, although, as in the case of the other hut-floors, many sherds of late Romano-British character were found superficially. A glance at the general plan (Fig. 1) will show that many huts comparatively near to the quarry edge remain unexplored. Several of these are relatively free from trees and will have to be explored in the course of the next few years, before the overburden is removed from the quarry edge in their area.

The central area. This remains the most productive part of the area so far explored in the interior of the hill-fort. In it were found complicated and overlapping systems of post-holes, connected with at least four different structures, covered by a stony layer ranging from about 3in. to 30in. thick, in which objects of dates ranging from the Early Iron Age to, probably, the Dark Ages were found without clear stratification. It was not until 1958 that it became clear that the limits of these systems had been reached, as far as was practicable. The general view (Pl. IVB) shows what the chief practical limitation was: many trees were cleared from the area in order to get a clear view of the post-hole systems for planning and photography, but some stumps were too large for clearance by any means that would not have been too destructive of archaeological evidence. It also became clear that the tendency for made-up floor levels to weather away, noticed in the case of the Early Iron Age hut-floors, had also been operative in the case of the large circular house which formed the main feature of the central area, and it was probable that, as with the Early Iron Age hut-floors, the survival of a complete post-hole system on the down-slope side could not be expected.

The two Early Iron Age structures in the area have already been referred to. But the outstanding feature in the area, evidently superimposed on the former, was a ring,

approximately 65ft. in diameter, of large unevenly spaced post-holes, up to 3ft. in diameter and 3ft. deep in the rock. Two of the largest of these post-holes belong to a group of four, together with two other post-holes which appear to be connected with an inner, eccentric ring of smaller post-holes (Fig. 3 and Pl. IIA). It is probable that all these post-holes contained the roof-supports of a large, circular house of the type studied by Dr Bersu, notably, at Little Woodbury (Wilts.)[5] and Scotstarvit (Fife)[6] and more recently revealed by unpublished excavations on an Early Iron Age 'A' site at Cow Down, Longbridge Deverill (Wilts.) and a Late Bronze Age—Iron Age 'A' transitional site at Staple Howe, Malton (Yorks.); and that the group of four very large post-holes is connected with the porch of this structure. It is with this building that the considerable quantity of Romano-British coins, pottery and metalwork of late third and early fourth-century date found in the central area seems chiefly to be connected. In a limited area round the south-eastern perimeter of the outer ring, where the deposits were comparatively deep and undisturbed, material of this date occurred more plentifully than else-where, and it was noticed that large fragments of the same pot had remained close together just above the rock surface at one point. No definite floor-level, however, had been preserved, and it is likely that this would have been of beaten earth and that, like the Early Iron Age hut-floors already described, it would have been made up down-slope to give a more horizontal surface. This assumption would help to explain the comparative sparseness of contemporary objects on the north-western side of the circle and the rarity of large post-holes cut into the rock, as in the down-slope halves of the Iron Age hut-floors already described, for evidently the floor level and post-sockets would have been weathered away. If post-holes had been made after the construction of a platform for the house, they would not always have been driven down into the subsoil on the down-slope side, and even up-slope at

[5] *Proc. Prehist. Soc.*, 1940, pp. 30ff, and Fig. 25.
[6] *PSA Scot.* LXXXII, pp. 241ff, and Figs. 6-7.

least one post-hole, that to the east of the large tree-stump, did not penetrate the rock, and was only recognised by the packing stones and dark filling. It should be added that Bersu, in his interpretation of the Scotstarvit house, which was also built on a slope, assumes that the floor-level was made up down-slope in a similar way.[7] It should, moreover, be remembered that on its north-eastern side, the outer ring of the large house passed beyond the artificial curving step connected with Early Iron Age hut floor No. 2. Below this step, there was an extra depth of earth overlying the Iron Age floor-level, and in this some late Romano-British pottery occurred; at one point, a pipe of darker earth about 3ft. in diameter, was noticed descending through this layer almost to the rock surface, and this may well have been a post-hole connected with the 4th century house (Fig. 3). Trenches cut down-slope and up-slope from the area of the large circular house revealed a sharp decline of activity, as represented by animal bones and sherds; to the west the post-hole system of the circular house overlapped with another, to be described later.

The objects of late Romano-British date found in or close to the large rings of post-holes, and which presumably date them, are abundant, and suggestive of an affluent household, in which the native Celtic culture of the Irish Channel area was still influential, as indeed the house-form itself would suggest. The coins found in 1956-8 are eighteen in number, and range in date from Claudius II (268-70) to Constantine II (317-37). The bronze ox-head escutcheon (Pl. V, 8), found to the west of the circle, presumably came from the handle attachment of a wooden stave bucket;[8] it lacks the La Tène stylization of the eyes and nostrils seen on the ox-head escutcheon found by Dr Gardner near the main entrance of Dinorben, in 1912, and is probably 3rd century A.D. in date. The fragmentary bronze handle, decorated in relief with a palmette pattern, found within the circle

[7] *loc. cit.*, pp. 252ff.
[8] See the complete bucket from Mount Sorrel (Leics.), *Aspects of Archaeology* (*Essays Presented to O. G. S. Crawford*) pp. 197ff, Pls. viii-ix.

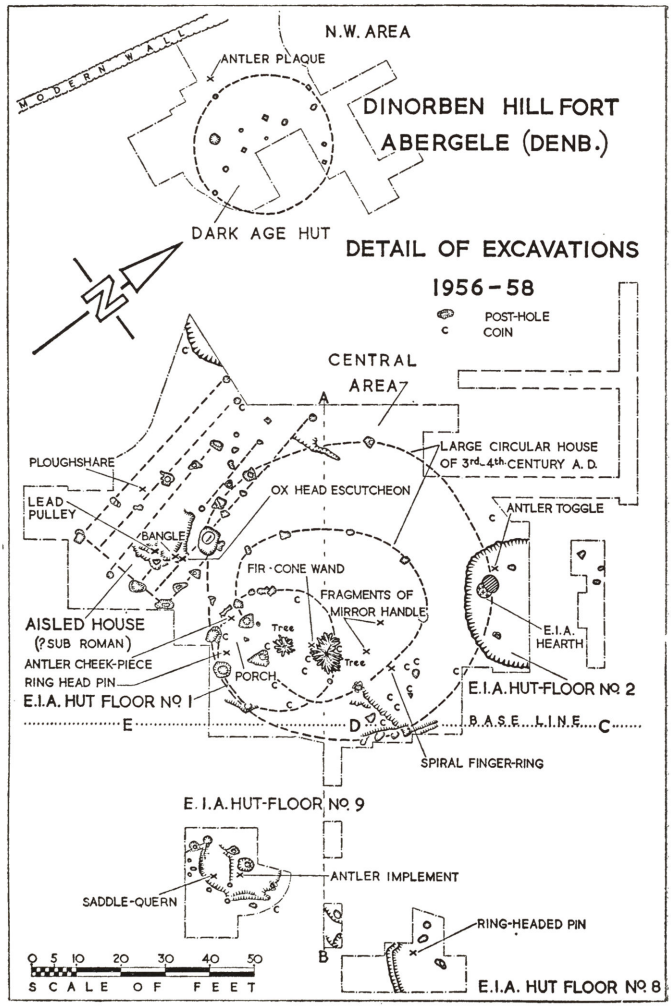

N.W. AREA
MODERN WALL
ANTLER PLAQUE
DINORBEN HILL FORT
ABERGELE (DENB.)
DARK AGE HUT
DETAIL OF EXCAVATIONS
1956-58
POST-HOLE
COIN
CENTRAL AREA
A
LARGE CIRCULAR HOUSE OF 3rd-4th CENTURY A.D.
PLOUGHSHARE
OX HEAD ESCUTCHEON
LEAD PULLEY
BANGLE
ANTLER TOGGLE
FIR-CONE WAND
FRAGMENTS OF MIRROR HANDLE
AISLED HOUSE (?SUB ROMAN)
ANTLER CHEEK-PIECE
RING HEAD PIN
PORCH
Tree
Tree
E.I.A. HEARTH
E.I.A. HUT-FLOOR No 2
E.I.A. HUT FLOOR No 1
E
D
BASE LINE
C
SPIRAL FINGER-RING
E.I.A. HUT-FLOOR No 9
ANTLER IMPLEMENT
SADDLE-QUERN
RING-HEADED PIN
B
0 5 10 20 30 40 50
SCALE OF FEET
E.I.A. HUT FLOOR No 8

Fig. 3

(Pl. V, 7) has a coating of lead on the under surface and probably belonged to a mirror. The bronze shaft, of cylindrical section, with fir-cone terminal at one end, and tubular socket enclosing remains of wood at the other end (Pl. VI, 8) may have been part of a ceremonial wand. This also was found within the big circle, but the pulley-shaped object of lead (Pl. VIIA, 4) and an iron left-winged ploughshare[9] (Pl. VIIB) were found to the west of it. The latter has already been studied by Mr Ffransis Payne[10] who points out that it is by far the earliest known example of this particular type, although right-winged ploughshares, of essentially similar function, are known from a few Romano-British sites. But it is the abundant pottery from the area which provides the most solid confirmation of the late 3rd and early 4th century date suggested by the coin list. It will be noticed (see plan, Fig. 3) that the last-mentioned metal objects, together with the ox-head escutcheon and a bangle made of intertwined strands of bronze and iron, were found close to the sides of an oblong recess in the rock surface, which may be artificial and mark the site of an oblong hut contemporary with the large circular house and earlier than the parallel rows of post-holes.

It became clear in 1957 that not all the post-holes in the central area could have been contemporary with the large circular house. Several small post-holes forming part of a circle enclosing the area of the porch of the large house must, as already mentioned have belonged to an Early Iron Age house. But a large system of large and small post-holes arranged in somewhat irregular parallel rows to the west of the circle, in such a way that some of the rows intersect it or come too close for contemporaneity, presents a harder problem (Fig. 3 and Pl. IIA). Further trenching in 1958 suggested that the limits of this system had been reached on the west, east and south, but on the north it seemed likely that weathering had destroyed many of the post-holes that

[9] *BBCS*, XVII, p. 307, Pl. III·2.
[10] *Agricultural History Review*, 1957, pp. 75ff.

may formerly have existed at the northern end. The covering of soil was exceptionally thin at this point as the general view shows (Pl. IVB) and amounted to little more than recent leaf-mould. With this reservation, that the plan of the northern end of the post-hole system is incomplete, two interpretations of it seem possible. It may be related to the post-hole system found by O'Neil within the inner 'camp' at Ffridd Faldwyn (Mont.)[11] and possibly connected with arrangements to dry corn or store hay, or it may represent a large rectangular hall-like house at least 50ft. long and 25ft. wide of the kind postulated for the Dark Ages in the Celtic West by Radford:[12] this structure would have had two groups of parallel rows of posts, the sockets for some of which did not penetrate the rock, with a central lane 7-8ft. wide. In the first case, an Early Iron Age date would be implied; in the second a Dark Age one. In either case an overlap of plan with the large circular house could be explained. As to direct evidence in support of either alternative, we can only say that the shallow deposits which covered these post-holes produced no prehistoric objects, and no coins, except for two near the northern end. It is true that some late Roman objects of exceptional interest were found near the eastern edge of the system, but these were also close to the western perimeter of the large circular house, and small worn fragments of Constantinian coarse pottery were scattered over the whole area. On the other hand most of the larger sherds from this area, including a restorable vessel, belong to a special class, which occurs only sporadically in other parts of the site, and is absent from the deeper, undisturbed deposits on the east side of the large circular house, where most of the coins were found. This ware is pinkish in colour, usually hard, with a good deal of coarse grit, though it is sometimes finer and softer. The usual form is a bowl with a low, drooping flange, sometimes grooved on the upper side near the wall of the vessel, and a

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[11] *Arch. Camb.*, 1942-3, p. 19.

[12] As at Castle Dore, Cornwall, *Journ. Roy. Inst. Corn.*, n.s.i., pp. 60ff.

low foot ring.[13] Romano-British specialists have agreed that this is not a normal 4th century ware and Mr C. A. Ralegh Radford, who has examined some of the recently discovered sherds as well as those found near the southern defences of Dinorben by Dr Gardner, considers that they show an affinity to some of his Dark Age import wares[14] though they may be a local imitation. Examination of true examples of Mediterranean import wares of Classes I and II and 5th to 7th century date from Tintagel and Gwithian in Cornwall, kindly lent me by Mr Charles Thomas, has convinced me that the Dinorben flanged bowls are of different origin, though they may still prove to be of sub-Roman date. On the whole it is likely that there is a connection between this class of pottery and the parallel rows of post-holes, and if so, these could hardly be earlier than the 5th century A.D.

The north-western area. Several trial trenches were cut, in 1956 and 1958, along the top of the cliffs in the northern half of the western side of Dinorben in the hope of finding traces of any early occupation which may have been connected with the Late Bronze Age hoard found at the foot of the cliff. Three of these revealed post-hole systems connected with huts, but none of these was early—in fact all seem to belong to a late phase. The most important of these systems was revealed in the northernmost trench (Fig. 3). Here thirteen post-holes of varying sizes, mostly small, were found, but it is probable that here, as elsewhere, much of the made-up floor-level and post-holes down-slope had disappeared. If all the surviving post-holes belong to one structure, it is possible to fit them into three roughly concentric rings, with a central post, the outer ring being about 30ft. in diameter. It was only on the south-side, at the top of the slope, that the associated occupation layer was well preserved, and here a shallow, stony layer contained a considerable quantity of animal bones, a few small scraps of ordinary Romano-British pottery, a larger quantity of frag-

[13] *BBCS*, l.c., p. 308, Fig. 3.
[14] Harden, *Dark Age Britain, Studies Presented to E. T. Leeds*, 1956, pp. 59ff.

ments of the pink ware, of possible sub-Roman date, already referred to, and many small fragments of coarse hand-made gritty pottery or daub, which Mr. W. J. Varley tells me closely resembles the sherds found by him in a post-Roman context at Castle Ditches, Eddisbury (Cheshire) and which also resembles the coarse pottery, similarly dated by O'Neil, from the Breiddin hill-fort (Mont.).[15] No coins were found, and a small square plaque made from antler (Pl. V, 1), which resembles examples from the Early Iron Age 'B' lake village at Meare (Som.) came from a deeper layer, down-slope, and is probably a survival from occupation before the building of the hut.

Further south a hut-floor was partially explored in the area about 40ft. south of the parallel rows of post-holes (Fig. 1). This was represented by the western side of a small circular floor and three post-holes of varying sizes; trees prevented exploration of the eastern side. No objects of dating value were found on the floor itself, but a short distance to the north-west several sherds of the pink, gritty ware characteristic of the parallel rows of post-holes were found on top of the sub-soil, at the same level as the floor. Part of another small hut-floor, with a ring of closely spaced small post-holes about 12 ft. in diameter, was found about halfway along the western cliff (Fig. 1). Finds other than animal bones were meagre, but the few small sherds found belong either to the category of pink ware lately referred to, or that of the coarse native ware found in the large hut site at the northern end of the cliffs. Here again trees prevented complete exploration, but it now seems likely that several more huts remain to be discovered near the edge of the western cliff. As this area, however, does not appear to be threatened by quarry development as immediately as the north-east side of the hill-fort, its further exploration can be postponed.

Discussion. The first of the aims mentioned at the beginning of this interim report—to learn more of the habitations

[15] *Arch. Camb.*, 1937, p. 125, Fig. 7.

of the prehistoric and Roman occupants of Dinorben—has surely been achieved to a degree that is gratifying, when the difficulties of the terrain are considered. A continuity of tradition has been revealed which stretches from the Early Iron Age into the Dark Ages; that of circular dwellings constructed of timber and other perishable materials, built, where necessary, on platforms recessed into sloping ground. If the parallel rows of post-holes represent a large, aisled, rectangular building, this would, no doubt, indicate an assertion of Roman traditions, apparently in sub-Roman times. The replacement of dry-stone by timber technique is appropriate to the resources of the area and is characteristic of the northern Marches generally, although a few exceptions occur (e.g. at Caer Drewyn, Corwen) to place beside the hut-circle found overlying the foundations of the north-western rampart at Dinorben. It must be remembered that the contrast here with north-west Wales may not be as great as it seems, since the dated stone-built 'hut-circles' of the latter area are practically all of Roman or Dark Age date, and timber construction may prove to have played a larger part in the Early Iron Age phase there than appears from the scanty evidence available at present. There is, of course, a contrast between the typical Early Iron Age hut-floor at Dinorben and the large circular house assigned to the 4th century A.D. The latter, however, is a type of noble residence well established in Britain by Iron Age 'A' (though in any case of indigenous, presumably Bronze Age origin, not introduced from the Continent by invaders) and certainly surviving through the Roman period in the Highland Zone. The contrast is, in fact, a social rather than a cultural one, suggesting as it does that in pre-Roman times Dinorben was occupied by a village containing a large number of households, mostly of equal status, while the late Roman re-occupation was on the lines of a native nobleman's estate, with a large residence at the northern end of the site and part of the dependants perhaps relegated to dwellings immediately behind the rampart at the southern end. It would perhaps be prudent to postpone discussion of the presumed

Dark Age structures until more study of the various classes of pottery has been possible.

The second problem, that of the chronology of the earlier phases of occupation, has also been illuminated, although here the evidence is still scanty and its gradual augmentation, by the progressive clearance of hut-floors in advance of the quarrying, must be patiently awaited. Above all, it must be confessed that no light has been thrown on the possibility of Late Bronze Age occupation of the hill-top. Here, perhaps, we must be warned by discoveries at such sites as Staple Howe and Castle Ditches, Eddisbury, that the earliest settlement may have been defended by a palisade and that this may not have followed the lines of the later defences. It is possible, for example that the earliest enclosure was a small one occupying the summit of the hill, perhaps within the 550ft. contour, and particular vigilance will be necessary when excavation reaches this area. The necessary wide stripping would be feasible, since trees are relatively small and sparse here. With regard to the Early Iron Age phases on the site, it must be recognized that the small quantity of pottery found so far does not yet provide a solid enough basis for a firm period classification and chronology; all that can be said is that the heavy, flattened rims follow Late Bronze Age and Iron Age 'A' traditions, while a few sherds may indicate Iron Age 'B' influences. The same cultural range is suggested by the objects of antler and metal. The 'cheek piece' (Pl. V, 3) has a close analogy, in respect of perforation and decoration, in the unpublished Iron Age 'B' material from the Meare (Som.) lake village, but it is after all only a variant of a class of objects, made of antler tines but perforated in various ways, which already appears in a Late Bronze Age context at Heathery Burn Cave (Durham):[16] these cannot all be cheek pieces for bridle-bits, although the 'toggle' (Pl. V) may be modelled on bronze objects like the 'cheek-piece' from the Polden Hill

[16] *British Museum Guide, Later Prehistory,* Pl. VI·4.
[17] *British Museum Guide, Early Iron Age,* 1925 edn., Fig. 163.

hoard.[17] The shouldered ring-headed pin of iron found in the central area in 1956 (Pl. V, 6) has its best analogies in the 'Iron Age A2' phase in southern England, datable in the late 3rd or 2nd century B.C. It is a variant of the normal ring-headed type characteristic of the same culture and already represented in Wales by bronze and iron examples from Merthyr Mawr (Glam.) and Stackpole Warren (Pemb.). The bronze and iron pins found in 1958 (Pl. VI, 5, 7), the former on a pre-rampart hut-floor, are examples of the latter type. Examples of the normal and variant types are also found in Scotland[18] and certainly have a long life there. On the other hand the spiral bronze finger-ring from the central area is an exclusively Iron Age 'B' type in southern England[19] and on this showing could hardly be earlier than the end of the 1st century B.C. It might thus be supposed that the metal-work at Dinorben suggests a fairly lengthy pre-Roman Iron Age occupation. But Mrs C. M. Piggott (now Guido) has argued that the ring-headed pins and flat-bowed brooches of La Tène 1c type found in Scotland did not arrive before the end of the 1st century B.C. and in fact were introduced at the same time as the finger-rings by immigrants from southern England who were responsible for building most Scottish hill-forts.[20] Since spiral finger-rings also occur in the upper prehistoric level at Dyserth (Flints.),[21] one might be tempted to relate both the ring-headed pins and the finger-ring at Dinorben to the same late northward movement. But it is doubtful whether such a compression of the successive phases of occupation of hill-forts in the northern Marches would in fact be justifiable. Mrs Piggott seems to have overstressed the survival of ring-headed pins alongside of spiral finger-rings at Maiden Castle and the three ring-headed pins at Dinorben, together with other definite Iron Age 'A' elements at Old Oswestry and elsewhere in the northern Marches,[22] suggest that it would be advisable to

[18] *Proc. Prehist. Soc.*, 1955, pp. 288ff.
[19] Wheeler, *Maiden Castle*, pp. 266f.
[20] *PSA Scot.*, LXXXIV, pp. 131ff, Figs. 12 and 13.
[21] *Arch. Camb.*, 1915, pp. 57ff, Fig. 6 (here described as 'earrings').
[22] *Arch. Journ.*, CV, pp. 41ff.

retain the conception of a fairly long pre-Roman development at Dinorben until the prehistoric material there is more abundant, and more stratigraphical evidence has emerged. A tentative chronology would place Dr Gardner's period 'O' and the pre-rampart huts in the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C., his periods I-II in the 1st century B.C. and his period III, with the first building of the great rampart and guard-chambers at the southern end of the site, in the 1st century A.D.

The dating of the later phases of occupation has not been affected to the same extent by the recent excavation. Confirmation of a phase of activity in the 2nd century A.D. has been obtained, and the intense activity in the late 3rd and 4th century at the northern end of the site corresponds to that revealed by Dr Gardner behind the southern defences, and called Period 'V'. There is, however, an important difference here in that while the coin list at the northern end of the site practically ends with Constantine II and Urbs Roma, with the exception of one coin of Magnentius (350-53 A.D.) the very large number of coins found by Dr Gardner at the southern end of the site contains a very high proportion of coins of Constans, Constantius II and Magnentius, as though occupation had been intense in the period *c.* 335-355, as well as earlier. This must be borne in mind when considering the suggestion, made in my *BBCS* article[23] that decline in activity at Dinorben about the middle of the 4th century A.D. may have been the result of a re-establishment of imperial authority in North Wales about that time, represented by the re-occupation of the fort at Segontium. This re-occupation, we know, was short-lived, and there would have been no obstacle to a re-occupation of Dinorben in the 5th century. But, of course, the pottery which is so far the main evidence for this is not yet closely datable, and further research is necessary.

It is clear that much more excavation at Dinorben will be necessary over the years as the quarry face advances, and

[23] *loc. cit.*, pp. 307f.

that in due course the archaeological material from this most important site will have become much richer. But its collection and study will provide work for another ten or twenty years, and it would be undesirable to delay further the long awaited publication of Dr Gardner's excavations, and the recently rescued material. It is hoped that this material will be published, as a monograph, in the course of the next few years.

Some Aspects of the Medical History of Denbighshire

By Dr G. PENRHYN JONES

MEDICAL history can be presented as a catalogue of past diseases and epidemics and as a survey of original discoveries and inventions in medicine. In this paper, however, the subject has been interpreted in more general terms, and is intended as a tentative contribution to the social history of this part of North Wales. Indeed, the subject-matter itself precludes a scientific history of medicine of purely specialist appeal. The medical traditions of Leyden, Paris, and Edinburgh, for example, fostered by long-established schools of medicine and in the conditions of an urban culture, have been influential forces in the whole history of medicine in Western Europe. A medical history appropriate to such great centres of learning is clearly inapplicable in the present context. The historical background of Denbighshire and its —until recently—essentially rural culture may explain, and perhaps excuse, this somewhat discursive approach to the subject.

Although the Romans had inherited the medicine of classical Greece, very little, if any, of the influence of that Golden Age reached out to barbaric Britain, and after the departure of the Romans, life here continued to be nasty, brutish and short. Epidemic pestilence ravaged without hindrance, coming to these shores from Europe mainly along the routes of the pilgrims. Gregory of Tours described an epidemic in France in 543 A.D. which he named 'the groin pestilence'—this undoubtedly being bubonic plague with its characteristic enlarged glands in the groin. This pestilence was also known as 'Justinian's Plague' and it is known to have decimated many of the towns and cities of Europe at that time. In the Irish chronicles it was termed 'blefed', and Ireland was sorely stricken by the disease. It is likely that Wales was similarly afflicted. The same disease returned in

664 A.D. when it caused the death of Cadwaladr, the son of Cadwallon ap Cadfan and a prince of Gwynedd. In the same year, according to the Venerable Bede, St Cuthbert died of a 'tumour in femore'—a swelling in the thigh. This pestilence, which returned to Britain from time to time throughout the centuries and which was later to be known as the Black Death and the Great Plague, is a bacterial disease carried by the flea from the rat to man. A few years before Cadwaladr died a different epidemic had carried away another prince of North Wales, the tyrant Maelgwn Gwynedd—a death predicted by that tetchy historian, Gildas. The year was probably 547 A.D., the disease being 'The Yellow Pestilence' or *'Y Fad Felen'*. It was an infection almost certainly causing jaundice, and it could well have been what is now known as Relapsing Fever—a louse-borne bacterial disease which can, in acute epidemic form, result in jaundice. During the Irish famine of 1846 Relapsing Fever was widespread in the country and in Donegal it was termed the *'fiabhras buidhe'*—the yellow fever.[1] A well-known legend has grown around the death of Maelgwn Gwynedd in Llanrhos Church, where he is said to have seen *'Y Fad Felen'* through the key-hole as an apparition, and promptly succumbed. That fable appears to be one of the fanciful products of Iolo Morganwg's perverse genius. There seems to be no doubt, however, that *'Y Fad Felen'* as a disease was a deadly reality. The Book of Llandâf and the *Annales Cambriæ* mention the epidemic in that year, and so do several of the early Irish annals. It is perhaps an eloquent commentary on the habits of that time that two princes of Gwynedd died within a short time of each other, the one bitten by a louse, the other by a flea!

Undoubtedly other epidemics were rife in that early period, including typhus—another louse-borne fever—and smallpox. The pestilence termed *'bolgach'* in Ireland in 675 A.D. could well have been smallpox. Irish and Welsh

[1] *Irish Historical Studies* (1949), 6. 169-188.
Journ. Hist. Medicine (1949), 4. 5-47.
Lleufer (1958), 14. 113-6.

epidemics frequently coincided. The primitive conditions of life, the recurring famine, the overcrowdng, and the consequences of war were all factors in favour of pestilential disease, and we can presume that Gwynedd Is-conwy and Powys Fadog had their full quota of such diseases. Of effective medicine, there was none; to be seriously wounded in war was tantamount to death; the treatment of the sick was still in the incantation stage and 'magical' remedies abounded. With the relative stabilisation of society in Wales in the tenth century, under Hywel Dda, a more definite picture of tribal medicine emerges. The pattern laid down in the Laws for the royal household undoubtedly held true for the lesser lordships. The physician of the king's household was accorded certain rights and privileges, and his duties set forth plainly enough. His place, according to the Blegywryd version, was 23rd of the 24 officers of the court —giving precedence, be it noted, to the brewer and to the bard. He received no payment for treating the officers of the court but he was allowed to keep their blood-stained clothes —which suggests that his work consisted largely of treating wounds. If other wounded required medical aid the Laws demanded compensation from the attacker, who had to pay, besides the *sarhad*—'four pence for a pan to prepare medicaments for him; four pence for tallow: a penny for his light nightly; a penny for the food of the physician nightly; and a penny for the food of the wounded person daily. Four curt pennies are to be paid to a person for every bone taken from the upper part of the cranium, which shall sound on falling into a copper basin.'[2]

These precise formalities of the court physician's duties changed in due course, and medicine here continued to be, as indeed it had been from time immemorial—the prerogative of pretentious quacks and magicians. In sickness the inhabitants of Gwynedd Is-conwy in medieval times sought their relief, by and large, in the herbal concoctions of the domestic hearth, recipies that were fundamentally magical

[2]Richards, M.: *The Laws of Hywel Dda* (1954), p. 64.

in character.[3] The evidence of later bards suggests that the main burden of succouring the sick rested upon the women of the house. When Guto'r Glyn, a poet well-acquainted with North-East Wales in the fifteenth century, was ill of a pain in his thigh, it was to Siân of Mawddwy that he gave thanks for his recovery:

'Teg oedd wasanaeth cegin
Tra fûm glaf o'r twrf i'm glin.'

Tudur Penllyn gave similar thanks to Lowri, wife of Rhys ap Meredydd o Blasiolyn, for nursing him when he was ill of some liver disease—*'claf fûm o'r au . . .'*:

'Ac ar Lowri, Eigr loywryw,
Y mae fy maeth am fy myw;'[4]

Some men, of course, practised a crude surgery, opening abscesses and setting broken limbs—such practitioners as, perhaps, the Meilyr ap Madog Feddyg mentioned in 'The Record of Caernarvon' in 1367, and the Robert ap Rhys Veddyg in the same county two centuries later.

The Church naturally gave its succour to the sick, and established houses of refuge, hospices rather than hospitals for them; such a hospice was established in Ruthin. The Order of St John had a hospice in Dolgynwal near Ysbyty Ifan in the twelfth century, but it was little more than a house of hospitality—a hospitality alluded to by Dafydd Nanmor in the fifteenth century, but the hospice had virtually disappeared by that time. Monks and friars gave their services to the sick in various ways. It was the practice of princes as well as of poets to spend the last years of their lives in the quiet precincts of medieval abbeys and monasteries. Llywelyn Fawr retired to the seclusion of the Abbey of

[3]The first part of 'The Physicians of Myddvai', edited and translated by ab Ithel and John Pughe (an Aberdyfi surgeon) in 1861, contains numerous examples of such medieval medications. The text comes from the oldest extant manuscript of 'Meddygon Myddfai'—the Red Book of Hergest version, dating from the end of the 14th century. The original version probably dates from *circa* 1200.

[4]Williams, J. Ll., Williams, I.: *Gwaith Guto'r Glyn* (1939), t. 82.
Roberts, T.: *Gwaith Tudur Penllyn . . .* (1958), t. 23.

Aberconwy, to die there in 1240. When he was old and blind Guto'r Glyn went to Valle Crucis to die, and Owain Cyfeiliog died in Ystrad Marchell. Religious houses usually had their own herbal gardens—there was one in Maenan.[5] Some orders practised the ancient ritual of bleeding for disease. The aim was, as in purging, vomiting and blistering, to rid the body of the so-called evil humour. A special room was used for the operation, and another, the *misericordia*, set aside for the recovery—from the treatment. The days for bleeding were often laid down by the laws of the Order; the Cistercians, for example, bled regularly four times a year—in February, April, September, and on the Festival of St John (December 27th).[6] Astrological theories also governed the ritual—primitive beliefs in the benign, and malign, influences of the stars; the Computus Fragment is evidence of their importance to some anonymous tenth century Welshman. Dafydd ap Gwilym and Dafydd Nanmor refer to the physical influences of the zodiac, and Ieuan ap Rhydderch said:

'Dysgais, ystriciais ystrac,
Deall modd y sodiac.'

Gutun Owain, a fifteenth century poet of Powys, copied an illustration of one of the 'zodiac men' common in late medieval medical works, showing the relation of the various heavenly bodies to the human frame. Accompanying this diagram are a series of instructions, the first of which states that the blood vessels of the head and neck should not be opened when the sign is in Aries. The actual nature of the particular disease to be treated seems to have been of no consequence.[7]

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[5]Lowe, W. Bezant: *The Heart of Northern Wales* (1912), 1, p. 279.
[6]Richards, R.: *Cymru'r Oesau Canol* (1933), t. 376.
[7]Lewis, H., Roberts, T., Williams, I.: *Cywyddau Iolo Goch . . .* (1937), t. 229.
B.B.C.S., 3. 245.
Richards, R.: *op. cit.*, t. 362.
Garrison, F. H.: *Introduction to the History of Medicine* (1924), p. 190.
N.L.W. Llnst.MS. 117 (89):—
'Pan vo yr haul yn y maharen mogel dori ar y pen nar wyneb.'
Roberts, T., Williams, I.: *The Poetical Works of Dafydd Nanmor* (1923), pp. 105; 200:— (Continued on foot of next page).

It has been said that the medieval church did much to alleviate the sufferings of lepers, but the prevalence of leprosy here in the Middle Ages has been exaggerated. It is probably true to say that such places as the *Terra Leprosorum* in Wrexham and the *Werglodh y Kleivion* in the parish of Llanrwst were no more than a few acres of land endowed by the Church for the benefit of the lame, the blind, and the feeble. Similarly, Dulasau (*Tŷ Lasar*) near Penmachno was a lazar-house for the relief of the *pauperes Christi.* In the Middle Ages the designation *leprosus* included a variety of diseases, and likewise the synonymous term *clafr* in Welsh was by no means specific for any disease. The laws of Hywel use the term in a generic sense for 'scaliness of the skin' and even include 'mange' of animals within its meaning. It seems that the ritual expulsion of lepers from society, as practised elsewhere in Europe, hardly ever occurred here.[8]

Apart from these more secular aspects of ecclesiastical medicine, the holy images and relics of the Church had, of course, considerable influence and renown for their divine healing powers. Sick pilgrims from Gwynedd and Powys travelled to Mold to seek a cure before the Image there, or to the Cross at Tremeirchion, or to the most famous of them all—the Holy Cross in the monastery of St John in Chester. '*Y Grog o Gaer*' was praised by Gruffudd ap Maredydd ap Dafydd in the fourteenth century; in the fifteenth Ieuan Brydydd Hir yn Hynaf sang of this Cross—

'Am y ddelw y meddyliaf
A weryd clefyd pob claf.'

Guto'r Glyn also sang the praises of '*Y Grog*', and Meredydd ap Rhys (*fl* 1450-80), priest of Ruabon, gave thanks

(Continued from page 44).

'Y trydydd Ebrillddydd dan bren,—nag agor
Na gwegil na thalken.
Haul yn y gwâr Vyharen,
Wedi'r Pysc y daw i'r pen.'

[8]Lowe, R. Bezant. *op. cit.*, 2. 310.
Leprosy Review (1935), 24. 8-19.
Y Traethodydd (1958), 113. 111-121.

to the Cross in a *cywydd*—for curing him of a pain in his leg.[9]

Apart from these church images the sick had also the healing wells to visit; perhaps to Ffynnon Ddyfnog in Llanrhaeadr, to Ffynnon Degla, Ffynnon Eilian, or Ffynnon Fair in Wigfair. Of Ffynnon Gwenfrewi in Holywell Tudur Aled said,

> 'Aed i'w nofio'r dyn afiach,
> Ef âi'r naill ai'n farw, ai'n iach.'

In other words, kill or cure!

Many in sickness invoked the names of the old Welsh saints in their prayers, appealing to Mihangel especially; and to Cynhafal, who seemed to have particular powers in curing disorders of the hip. Guto'r Glyn called on Dewi and Cynhafal to cure Dafydd ab Ieuan ap Llywelyn of his hip disease, and later Gruffydd ab Ieuan ap Llywelyn Fychan prayed to Cynhafal in a cywydd to relieve him of a pain in his thigh.[10]

It is not easy for us today to imagine the squalid wretchedness of the lives of many of our forbears in this part of Wales in the Middle Ages. In what townships there were, sanitation was absent, although some of the devices learnt from the Normans were of necessity built into the castles. Even in London it was not felt that the appointment of scavengers was imperative until the passing of the first Sanitary Act of 1388. After a bad harvest epidemic disease was rife. The year 1347 yielded a poor crop, and within a few months the Black Death made its appearance in these islands.

This was again flea-borne bubonic plague, the ancient disease in a new and devastating resurgence. The word 'bubo', originally meaning 'groin', refers to the enlarged

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[9]Morris, R. H.: *Chester during the Plantagenet and Tudor Periods.* s.d. p. 168.
Bebb, W. A.: *Machlud yr Oesoedd Canol* (1951), t. 88.
Jones, G. H.: *Celtic Britain and the Pilgrim Movement* (1912), p. 296.
[10]Jones, F.: *The Holy Wells of Wales* (1954), pp. 172-8.
Jones, G. H., *op. cit.*, p. 389.
Gwyneddon, 3 (1931). t. 109.

glands that characterize the disease—usually in the armpit or the groin, according to whether the causative organism, the *pasturella pestis*, enters the skin of the arm or the leg. The Black Death was particularly fatal largely because the bubonic plague became also a pneumonic plague, a deadly variant of the disease in which the virulent infection is transmitted directly from person to person by coughing. The prevalent practice of covering floors with straw and using it also for bedding were, of course, ideal conditions for the insect carrier of the disease. Furthermore, it was the common practice for labourers to sleep in close proximity to their animals; Llawdden, a fifteenth century poet, described,

'Gwely'r amaeth a'r geilwad
Wrth y côr'[11]

(the bed of the husbandman and the oxen-driver near the stall). And if the description of an ordinary man's house in the legend 'Breuddwyd Rhonabwy' approximates in any way to reality—then it is no wonder that the stage was set for epidemic plague.

The Black Death of 1348-9 was probably the most devastating attack ever made by bacteria upon the human race, and its appalling havoc was widespread all over the continent of Europe. Boccaccio, in his celebrated account of the plague, stated that of the 130,000 inhabitants of Florence at that time over 100,000 died; Guy de Chauliac reported similar catastrophes in France. In London it was said that scarcely one in ten survived.[12] The disease soon reached the Welsh Marches, being especially rampant in the neighbourhood of Abergavenny. In the spring of 1349 it spread rapidly westwards across Dyfed to the Cantref Mawr, where its ravages were intense; by the summer it had reached the neighbourhood of Ruthin. The Court Rolls of the lordship of Ruthin clearly show the extent of the plague in Dyffryn Clwyd. In the second week of June seven deaths occurred in

[11]Peate, I. C.: *The Welsh House* (1946). p. 58.
[12]Stubbs, S. G. B., Bligh, E. W.: *Sixty Centuries of Health and Physick* (1931). p. 125.

the Court of Aberwheeler, the disease then quickly spreading throughout the lordship — accounting for 77 deaths amongst the inhabitants of Ruthin itself, together with several more amongst the *nativi* of the *maerdref* there. This local outbreak abated somewhat from about the middle of July to the middle of August, flaring up again at the beginning of September, to smoulder in the neighbourhood during the following winter months. The documents refer to the misdemeanors of two men, Madog ap Rhirid and Cynrig his brother, who had taken advantage of the disruptions caused by the plague to avail themselves of the furniture and stock of some of its unfortunate victims.

In the lordship of Denbigh deaths were also commonplace; the commotes of Aled suffered severely, and even in 1354 the heirs of deceased tenants in the *villatae* of 'Barrok' and 'Petrual' (Uwchaled) were unable, through poverty, to obtain possession. In 1355 tenants of the *villata* of Dinorben Fychan (Isdulas) were so poor 'that they can scarcely keep up their own land'. Similar conditions prevailed elsewhere in North Wales, especially in Anglesey and in the lands of Arllechwedd Isaf in Caernarvonshire. Almost all the villeins in Degannwy died; in that plague year no ship dared to enter Beaumaris harbour, and in 1351 large numbers of escheated tenements in Anglesey were in decay through death or poverty of the inhabitants.[13]

The Ruthin Court Rolls refer to further visitations of the plague in subsequent years, as in 1351-2, and in 1361-2, when it returned as a sizeable epidemic—referred to in the records as the *'Secunda Pestilentia'*. It was, however, the 1349 epidemic that reaped the main harvest with sequelæ of some historical import.

The pestilence had coincided with a period of change, both economic and social, in medieval society. An agricultural revolution was under way in the fourteenth century and the impact of the Black Death quickened its pace. New

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[13] *Trans. Roy. Hist. Soc.* (1920), 3. (4). 115-135.
Proc. Roy. Soc. Med. (Hist. Med. Section), (1923). 27-45.

inroads were being made into the rigid formalism of feudal society, and concepts foreign to the medieval mind now crept in. The economic conditions consequent to the plague encouraged a new individualism, so that in effect capitalism was born. Attempts were made to retard these trends—the Statute of Labourers of 1351 being one instance—and it is interesting to note that the Ruthin records refer to penalties imposed on tailors and cobblers in the town who had dared to raise the price of their labour.[14] Western Europe as a whole experienced these changes, but the plague in Wales quickened, in addition, two particular trends.

The Black Death assisted in the dissolution of the Welsh system of kindred holding of land, and by facilitating direct tenure and individual responsibility the Welsh lands were brought into line with the English—a development that was later to smooth the path for the union of England and Wales. Somewhat paradoxically, however, the plague was one of the factors that eventually led to the national resurrection under Owain Glyn Dŵr. The distressing years of poverty following on the plague made the payment of commercial tolls, at the best of times irksome to the Welsh, now a legitimate and enduring grievance.[15] There is little doubt that the enormity of the 1349 visitation had historical consequences of some magnitude.

Plague epidemics returned to Wales several times in the fifteenth century, and then even the poets began to take notice of them. A number of the Welsh poets who flourished in the mid-fourteenth century had vaguely mentioned some serious and fatal illnesses, but Dafydd ap Gwilym and his contemporaries seem, on the whole, to have ignored such

[14]Richards, R. *op. cit.*, t. 373.

[15]Rees, W.: *South Wales and the March . . .* (1924), pp. 241-280 *passim.* Lewis, E. A.: *The Mediaeval Boroughs of Snowdonia* (1912), p. 126. G. Vernon Price states that the plague contributed to the decline of Valle Crucis, the pestilence causing a serious reduction in the numbers of lay brothers. (*Valle Crucis*, p. 175) Gasquet's theory that the heavy mortality amongst priests — which opened up the profession to untutored clerics—eventually led to the break with Rome is probably untenable. Nevertheless the psychological impact of the plague produced a mass fatalism and a laxity of social responsibilities and morals.

humdrum phenomena with a high Olympian detachment. But the fifteenth century *cywyddwyr* frequently referred to local pestilences, most of them due to plague. Bubonic plague is known in Welsh as *'haint y nodau'* or *'cornwyd'*—*'nodau'* for the glandular swellings. Following these buboes a blood-poisoning occurs, and the resultant black rash, which gave the Black Death its name, explains also the other Welsh name of *'y frech ddu'*. The terms *'nodau'* and *'brech ddu'* now crop up in some of the *'cywyddau marwnad'*. As Ieuan Gethin remarked in his elegy on the death of his five children[16]—

'Nid oes drugaredd, gwedd gwiw
Gan y nod gwenwyn ydyw;
Dug y nod deg eneidiau
Y dillynion mwynion mau;'

The Creuddyn district had seen a brisk mortality at the time of the Black Death, and again in 1448 the same disease was to carry off the seven children of Gruffudd ap Rhys o Gloddaeth. Robin Ddu ap Siencyn of Anglesey lamented their deaths in a cywydd. Gwilym ap Sefnyn, a contemporary poet in North Wales, also wrote a cywydd on the loss of seven of his sons and three of his daughters who had all died of the plague. Dafydd Nanmor referred to an epidemic of plague, possibly the 1448 visitation to North Wales, or perhaps to the more general epidemic of 1478 by which time he lived in South Wales. He, like others, believed in the malign influence of the stars, especially the planet Saturn, in setting plague afoot:

'Gweithred y blaned yw y bla . . .'[17]

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[16] N.L.W. Peniarth MS. 112.
The *cywydd*, in this and other Mss, is ascribed to both Ieuan Gethin ab Ieuan ap Lleision and Llywelyn Fychan ap Llywelyn Foelrhon; *Y Bywgraffiadur Cymreig* favours the former.

[17] Lowe, W. Bezant., *op. cit.*, 2. 379-80.
Jones, T. Gwynn: *Llên Cymru* . . . (1921-6), 3a.
Roberts, T., Williams, I., *op. cit.*, 101-5; 197-9.
Over a century later, in one of the earliest published poems in the free meters in Welsh, it was said of the London epidemic of 1599:—
'Y kornwyd aflawen a gododd yn Llunden
Ryw blaned o'r wybren fu'r achos . . .'
(*C.Rh.C.*, t. 390, from Cardiff MS. 13.)

The Llansannan poet, Tudur Aled, also referred to a number of plague deaths in the first quarter of the sixteenth century. Of Dafydd ap Hywel o Nanheudwy Tudur said that 'God marked him with the plague.'[18] He related how Robert ap Sion ab Ithel o Degeingl died of the plague, and when Ieuan ap Dafydd ab Ithel, his wife, son, and daughter also died of the disease, Tudur said—

'O Dduw, irad oedd orwedd
Ieuan a'i fab yn i fedd.
Y wraig unfodd arganfu,
A'r ferch, oedd iau, o'r frech ddu.'[19]

Outbreaks of plague were quite frequent during Tudur's life-time; there was a general epidemic in 1499-1500; 1509 also saw 'a great plague', and there are numerous testimonies to further epidemics in 1513. Plague was reputed to be in Chester in 1507, but that epidemic may have been due to the new 'Sweating Sickness' that had been probably brought to Britain by Henry VII's mercenaries in 1485. A plague, followed by a famine, occurred in Shrewsbury in 1525.[20] The poet-nobleman of Llewenni Fechan, Gruffydd ab Ieuan ap Llywelyn Fychan, refers to mid-sixteenth century plague outbreaks in Dyffryn Clwyd, possibly in 1536, when it is known that the disease was again in Shrewsbury, or perhaps in 1557 when the plague was rampant in Cheshire:

'Fy ngeilwad rhag fy ngelyn
Fy nghoel wyd Fihangel Wyn . . . .
Clyw fod am oes clefyd mawr
Caeth wylaw rhag gwaith elawr;
Trais Duw ar lu, trist fu'r loes,
Torri llinin troell einioes . . . .
Mae einioes rhai ym mynwes rhwyd
Marcio arnun' mae'r cornwyd;

[18]Jones, T. Gwynn: *Gwaith Tudur Aled* (1926), 2. 358:—
'I ddal ef a wnâi Dduw lwyd,
A'i farc arno fu'r cornwyd;'

[19]*ibid.* 1. 292; 1. 313.

[20]*Lleufer* (1950), 6. 179.
Hemingway, J.: *History of the City of Chester* (1831), p. 142.
Creighton, C.: *A History of Epidemics in Britain* (1894), 1. 287-92

Gŵr o Sais heb ei garu sydd,
Gwn ei gael gan ei gilydd:
Anodd yw i ni ddeall
A glwyfai y llaw glaf y llall . . . .'[21]

In a series of *englynion* he tells a 'Mastr Llwyd' that the plague was rife throughout Wales, and appeals for his advice. The 'Mastr', who was apparently well-versed in anatomy and medicine, replied that immediate flight was imperative.[22]

Gruffydd ab Ieuan was related to Richard Davies, Bishop of St David's, who was associated with William Salesbury in the translation of the New Testament into Welsh. It was now, in the middle years of the sixteenth century, that the influence of the New Learning was becoming apparent, Dyffryn Clwyd being the cradle of its early growth in Wales and William Salesbury its supreme exponent. Salesbury, like many Renaissance scholars, dabbled in medicine, and although his medicine was orthodox and typically medieval his eager interest did show that a spirit of enquiry was now abroad. It was that awakening that eventually led to the birth of scientific medicine in the seventeenth century. Salesbury was a traditional herbalist, and although Thomas Wiliems of Trefriw called him a 'ffisigwr godidog', that, certainly, was no recommendation. His herbal, or botanologium, described the supposed efficacy of a number of

[21]Creighton, C., *ibid.*, 1. 301.
Morrice, J. C.: *Detholiad o Waith Gruffydd ab Ieuan* . . . (1910) 5.XIV.
[22]N.L.W. Peniarth MS. 94.
Gruffydd ab Ieuan enquired—

'Eryr difiniwyr dy faeth yw—darllain
diweirllyfr naturiaeth
O gwnawn ffo rhag gwenwyn ffaeth
A dygia ffoedigaeth?'

The reply is trenchant and appropriate—

'Coelia di fardd mai da cilio—rhag nod
Fal rhag neidr a'th fratho
Gwenwyn yw'r bêl lle y delo
Saeth y farwolaeth yw fo . . . .

'Dos ymaith i daith dan duthio—ŵr blin
Rhag y blaned honno;
I fod it fywyd eto
Ac i'th blant ffyniant o ffo . . .'

plants in curing disease, and is in fact a redacted Welsh version of the earlier herbals of Turner and Fuchs. It was written between 1566 and 1574, and is now lost, but a copy was made by his friend Roger Morris of Coed y Talwrn, Llanfair Dyffryn Clwyd. This was once in the hands of Thomas Wiliems, but it eventually came into the possession of Evan Thomas of Cwmhwylfod, near Bala, in the eighteenth century, who made his own copy of the Roger Morris version. It was the Evan Thomas copy that was edited by E. Stanton Roberts, and published in 1916, a copy that is now known to be full of scribal errors when it is compared with the Roger Morris version, rediscovered in Cowbridge, Glamorgan, in 1922.[23]

Contemporary with, and following, Salesbury in Denbighshire during the latter half of the sixteenth century were a number of outstanding Welsh scholars who, likewise impelled by a new humanism, considered the art of medicine to be within their intellectual orbit. Typical of that polymathic generation was Humphrey Lhuyd—physician, historian, and geographer. Born in Denbigh in 1527, he took his degree at Oxford in 1547, graduating M.A. in 1551, being then a commoner at Brasenose. He then studied medicine, but like many of his contemporaries did not complete the tedious Oxford medical curriculum of that time. Lhuyd may have received the separate licence to practise that was issued by the university in that period. His first publication, characteristically traditional, was a work on astrology, and of which no copy now exists. In 1552 he translated a medieval work into English, to which he added an original contribution of his own on 'the causes and signs of every disease'; it was entitled *The Treasury of Health*, and ran into four editions. The author desired the gentle reader 'not to despise this simple work because it is not garnished with colours of rhetoric and fine polished terms, but rather to consider that Physic is an art content only to be plainly and distinctively taught and nothing desirous to be adorned and decked with

[23] N.L.W. MS. 4581.

eloquence and gay painted sentences . . .' His last medical work appeared in 1553, and in the same year he became physician to Henry Fitzalan, twelfth Earl of Arundel. This man, like Lhuyd, was a typical product of the New Learning, and Lhuyd helped him to enlarge his already substantial library. Lhuyd was also closely associated with John, Lord Lumley, Arundel's son-in-law, in antiquarian studies. Lhuyd later married Lumley's sister.

Both Arundel and Lumley were prominent Catholic magnates of the time, and both were later to be implicated in the Ridolfi plot of 1571. Lhuyd, as friend, counsellor, and physician to the household was undoubtedly well-acquainted with certain conspiratorial activities on the part of his patrons in the early years of Elizabeth's reign. Such intrigues may have induced him to return to the comparative calm of a distant Denbigh. In the year of his return, 1562, Robert Dudley, later Earl of Leicester, was granted the Lordship of Denbigh. Two years previously Dudley and Arundel had quarrelled violently—both being rivals for the hand of the queen. The favours of these great noblemen of the realm were eagerly sought after by the aspiring new social class of gentry, and it was probably Dudley's active support that enabled Lhuyd to remain Member of Parliament for the borough of Denbigh from 1562 until his death.

Despite his political and other interests Lhuyd was still active in his profession of medicine, and in his native town —according to Anthony à Wood—he 'practised his faculty, and sometimes that of music for diversion's sake, being then esteemed a well-bred gentleman.' From the testimony of Gruffudd Hiraethog it seems that Lhuyd's supreme contribution to his nation as Member of Parliament was to guide through the Commons, in 1563, the Act requiring the Bible to be translated into Welsh.[24]

Lhuyd gave high service in other ways. His associations with Arundel had enabled him to collect material on the early history of Wales. John Dee, one of the queen's astro-

[24] *Llên Cymru* (1956), 4. 114; (1957), 4. 233.

logers—of Welsh extraction, friend of Morus Kyffin and Siôn Dafydd Rhys, as well as of Lhuyd's—copied one of Lhuyd's histories, but the work was actually published by David Powel, vicar, of Ruabon, as *Historie of Cambria* in 1584. Lhuyd's next work, of the history of Anglesey, was sent to Abraham Ortelius of Antwerp in April 1568 and published by him two years later. Ortelius was one of the renowned geographers of that period, and Lhuyd had come to know him through Sir Richard Clough, a Denbigh man who was a merchant's agent in Antwerp. His association with Ortelius induced Lhuyd to prepare two maps that were to be of prime importance in British cartography—the well-known 'Cambriæ Typus', which was reprinted nearly fifty times between 1573 and 1741, and the map of England and Wales, also first published in 1573 and replaced by Saxton's map in 1595. On the 30th of August 1568 Lhuyd gave these two maps together with his third history, the *Commentarioli* . . ., to Hugh Owen, a militant Catholic of the Plas Du family of Caernarvonshire and who had also been in Arundel's service; he arranged for them to be sent to Antwerp. In his letter to Ortelius Lhuyd described a 'very perillous Feuer' that had afflicted him and from which he thought he was dying. The letter ended—

> '. . . Take therefore this last remembrance of thy Humfrey, and for ever adieu, my deare friend Ortelius.
> From Denbigh in Gwynedh, or Northwales, the XXX of August 1568.
> Yours both liuyng and diyng:
> Humfrey Lhuyd.'

He died the next day; he was only 40 years of age.

In general, Lhuyd's medicine was empiric and traditional, but he seems to have relied mainly on well-established remedies of some value rather than the comprehensive nostrums of ancient authority. As an Elizabethan physician he was a minor figure, but as a representative of the Renais-

sance in Wales he was illustrious. Truly did Gruffudd Hiraethog say of him—

'Perl mewn Tŷ Parlment yw hwn.'[25]

Herbalism and orthodox medicine seem to have been associated with Welsh lexicography until about the end of the eighteenth century. Henry Salesbury of Llewenni also figured in this tradition. Like Lhuyd, he also practised his profession in his native county following a course of medical studies at Oxford. In 1593 he published his Welsh Grammar, the year after Siôn Dafydd Rhys of Anglesey, a medical graduate of Siena, had published his own Welsh Grammar. Henry Salesbury was quite conversant with Welsh *cynghanedd* and one of his *cywyddau* has survived. Thomas Wiliems of Trefriw may also perhaps be included here, although he was born over the county border. It is said that he also studied medicine at Oxford, but that is highly unlikely from the internal evidence of his writings. He was greatly thought of as a doctor by John Davies of Mallwyd, and Sir John Wyn of Gwydir and his family often sought his medical advice. But Alexander Read, a contemporary surgeon who also occasionally attended Sir John, wrote to his patient in April 1610 castigating his rival, and would have Thomas Wiliems know that 'he will be taught by no apothecary.'[26]

It was customary for the country clergy of that time to give some medical advice to their parishioners, and Thomas Wiliems was no exception. Henry Vaughan, the Silurist, gave similar service in seventeenth century Breconshire; likewise Edward Vaughan, son of Rowland Vaughan Caer Gai, in Merionethshire.[27] Later in the seventeenth century, Robert Foulkes, rector of Llanbedr Dyffryn Clwyd, also practised 'physick'. He was a somewhat notorious character,

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[25] *Proc. Roy. Soc. Med.* (1956), 49. 521.
Llên Cymru (1952), 2. 111; (1953), 2. 154, 209.
[26] *Calendar of Wynn (of Gwydir) Papers* (1926), No. 527.
Sir Roger Mostyn held similar views on Thomas Wiliems's medical knowledge; 'when my wife, being sick of the first child, he came to her and would needs persuade her she was not with child.' *ibid.*, No. 580.
[27] N.L.W. MS. 1595; Edward Vaughan was vicar of Llanynys in 1647.

referred to in 'Piser Alice Uch Rees' in 1716 as a 'black villain'.[28] The medical ministrations of these clergy to the sick were usually quite ineffective and were of little avail in the periodic epidemic outbreak with which seventeenth century Denbighshire was still beset.

In 1605 a serious epidemic—possibly plague or typhus—occurred in Denbigh and Ruthin and in the parishes of Llanddoged, Llandrillo-yn-Rhos and Llansantffraid Glan Conwy. Plague certainly visited Wrexham in 1631, and there was a good deal of plague all over Wales in the years 1637-8. In 1651 an unspecified epidemic raged along the North Wales coast. In the autumn of 1670, according to Ebule Thelwall, 'God's heavy hand' lay on Dyffryn Clwyd; writing from Nantclwyd in September of that year he stated of the parish of Llanynys—'as I have it from the Parson'—that sixty had been sick in the epidemic the previous week and that the numbers were increasing. In the contemporary manner he found 'blood-letting . . . almost a certain remedy.'[29]

Smallpox was now becoming a common enough infection, to reach its peak in the next century. Tudur Aled had known of the scars of smallpox for he had described a buckler as

'A'i freichiau oll o'r frech wen.'

This was the disease that caused the death of Barbara Myddleton of Llansilin in 1695, the subject of Huw Morus's celebrated elegy, 'Marwnad Barbara Miltwn'. Over sixty people died of smallpox in Penmachno in a few months in 1705-6, and similar epidemics now increased in frequency, only the more serious being recorded. Pock-marked faces became commonplace, and the disease, now killing off a thirteenth of each generation, became a social problem of some magnitude. The usual victims, of course, were children;

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[28]N.L.W. MS. 836, f130-1.
[29]Smith, W. J.: *Cal. Salusbury Correspondence* (1954), Nos. 77-81, 452-4.

Twm o'r Nant and David Samwell were both fortunate enough to survive their childhood infection.[30]

Typhus was also widespread, especially in times of food shortage—it was common enough throughout Wales in the late 1720's and again in 1740-2. Llangollen parish records, for example, show significantly increased mortalities in 1729 and in 1742, and the same is true of many other parishes.[31] William Bulkeley, who noted an epidemic of typhus in Anglesey in 1740, recorded that it was also rife in neighbouring counties and that '. . . they dye very fast, so that in Llanrwst Church yard there was at ye same time 11 graves open, and 9 another time . . .'[32]

Dysentery often coincided with typhus during the eighteenth century, and the Morris brothers have recorded several instances of that unholy alliance in the middle years of the century in Anglesey. In 1762 dysentery was widespread in North Wales, and it was probably to that epidemic that Elis y Cowper referred in a ballad published in the 1760's, in which he wrote—

'. . . y cledde Cluw su yn llaw dy Dduw
Su yn bygwth gwaedlud Glefyd i'ch dwun or bowud buw . . .'

In a ballad written in 1782 Elis referred to another epidemic in Denbighshire—

'A llawer drwy glefyd a gafodd ei symud
I'r gweryd drwy benyd o boen . . .'

This may have been the influenza-like infection that was active in Cheshire at that time, and Llŷn was visited by a similar epidemic. It was in that year that the incumbent of Bryncroes wrote in his register—'*Blwyddyn y farwolaeth fawr*'.

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[30]Jones, T. Gwynn, *G.T.A.*, 2. 453.
Morus, H.: *Eos Ceiriog* (1823), 1. 13.
Jones, O. G.: *Gweithiau Gethin* (1884), t. 266.
Edwards, T.: *Hunangofiant* . . . (1805), t. 5.

[31]Llangollen Parish Registers record 63 deaths in 1729, 34 in 1730, and 65 in 1742.

[32]Evans, G. Nesta: *Social Life in Mid-Eighteenth Century Anglesey* (1936). p. 188.

Parish registers and vestry books are, of course, rich sources for the eighteenth century social historian, and they often contain medical information of some interest.[33] For example: —

Llanynys Vestry Book, 1784—

'Paid Annual Sub Chester Infirmary £2 2 0.'

Penmachno Vestry Book, 1786—

'I Owen Roberts y Doctor £2
Am ddiod yn y festri wrth gytuno a'r doctor 2/-.'

Caerhun Vestry Book, 1785—

'To John Hughes of Llangerniew for his Cure upon the Boy Griffith Hughes £1 8 8
To a Relief to the wife of William of Glascoed in her lying-in and in her Illness after that £1 1 0
For an Attendance for her in her illness 8/-.
To a nurse for looking after her child 10/6.
To a Warrant at Llanrwst to take Wm of Glascoed who had left his wife upon the parish 2/-.'

From the same book four years later—multum in parvo—

'To the Surgeon of Conway for setting the broken leg of Jane Hughes 16/6.
To a shroud for Jane Hughes 1/1.'

In the eighteenth century there were three grades in the medical profession; the leaders were the physicians, usually holding a university degree or the like—few of them returned to Wales to practise their profession; then there were the surgeons, not yet free of the barber-surgeon stigma—Dafydd Jones o Drefriw wrote a cywydd requesting a razor from Richard Parry 'M.D.' of Talybont in 1735;[34] the third grade were the apothecaries, trained by apprenticeship, virtually

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[33] See also *Trans. Denb. Hist. Soc.* (1956), 5. 119.

[34] Cardiff MS. 84.
Richard Langford (d. 1704) who was tenant of the White Lion in Ruthin, was also described as a 'Barber-Chirurgeon' when he was made a burgess of the town in 1688; Myddelton, W. M.: *Chirk Castle Accounts* (1931), viii, 296.

shopkeepers who did a little doctoring. It was not until 1815 that the apothecaries' status became regularised and the general practitioner was born. It was permissible for men who had served in the army or navy as surgeons to set up in civilian practice thereafter, their experience of surgery limited and their examinations by the Company of Surgeons of London having been of a superficial and even cursory character. David Samwell, son of the vicar of Nantglyn, was examined by the Court of Examiners of the Surgeons' Company on October 5, 1775, when he received the rank of '2nd mate, 3rd grade', and in June the following year he joined Cook's last expedition to the Pacific. His friend, Robert Davies of Mold, accompanied him, himself having received the same rank at a similar examination on March 7, 1776. During the voyage Cook promoted Samwell surgeon of the ship *Discovery* under his command, and it was from the deck of that ship, in February 1779, that Samwell witnessed the murder of his captain. He wrote an excellent account of that episode on his return. Although Samwell remained in the navy for the rest of his life, he nevertheless managed to take an active part in the activities of the Gwyneddigion Society, and was instrumental, with Iolo Morganwg, in establishing the ritual of the Gorsedd. Robert Davies, however, returned to Mold, where he set up as a surgeon.

Among the few physicians in eighteenth century Denbighshire was Dietrich Wessel Linden M.D., a German who did much to popularize Trefriw as a spa. He also praised the waters of the well near St Peter's Church at Ruthin.[35] Another was Dr Rossendale Lloyd, a prominent Wrexham physician in the first half of the century. He was the third son of Foulk Lloyd of Foxhall, and a collateral descendant of Humphrey Lhuyd. In 1720 he is recorded as having been paid a guinea for two visits to Chirk Castle. He died in 1734

[35]The old healing wells were now acquiring new reputations as spas and bathing places, several being commercially exploited. Browne Willis (*Survey of Bangor*, (1721)) described Ffynnon Ddyfnog in Llanrhaeadr as '. . . provided with all conveniences of rooms, etc., for bathing built about it.' (Jones, F., *op. cit.*, p. 173).

and an elegy extolling his virtues was published in the Gentleman's Magazine:

> 'And less a friend to physick, than to health;
> This all thy weeping poor, thy patients, know . . .
> Oft did thy art, declining life restore,
> Arrest pale death, and check the tyrant's pow'r . . .'[36]

The Wrexham-born apothecary, Thomas Henry, was an outstanding medical man of his time. An associate of Joseph Priestley and Benjamin Franklin, he was like them a dissenter-scientist of renown; he was elected F.R.S. in 1775. His son and grandson also became famous scientific physicians. The Crue (or Crewe) family of apothecaries were prominent in medical practice in Wrexham in the eighteenth century. The practice in the High Street was taken over by John Ellis, a surgeon, in 1752. Another member of the Crue family, David Crue, practised as a surgeon in Hope Street until his death in 1803. John Ellis's practice passed to William Lloyd in 1771. Nimrod—himself a descendant of a Wrexham apothecary—writing in 1840, caricatured Lloyd as follows:—

> 'I think I see him approaching the house, as he was wont to do in the winter-time, his body well buttoned up in a brown surtout not of the newest cut; his head protected by a semi-cauliflower wig under his hat; and mounted on his old one-eyed mare, which appeared to have but one pace, and that four miles in the hour, how urgent soever might have been the case . . . he also had but the sight of one eye, and as he generally kept that shut when considering a case, with his hands before him, one stuffed into the sleeve of the other, a more complete cut of a country surgeon-apothecary—for such he was called—of the latter part of the last century could scarcely be found. As a surgeon however, he was considered clever, with reference to the clumsy practice of his time . . . .'[37]

Twm o'r Nant in his *anterliwtiau* portrayed country apothecaries in eighteenth century rural Denbighshire un-

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[36]Myddelton, W M., *op. cit.*, p. 417.
Gentleman's Magazine (1735), p. 103.
[37]Palmer, A. N.: *The History of the Town of Wrexham* (1893), pp. 27-89, *passim.*
Nimrod (Apperley, C. J.): *My Life and Times* (1927), p. 33.

equivocably as humbugs, given especially to affectation of speech and manner. In *Y Farddoneg Fabilonaidd* (1768) he follows Elis Wynne's *Gweledigaetheu y Bardd Cwsc* in his satirical comments on apothecaries, and again in *Tri Chyd-ymaith Dyn* (1769) and in *Pedair Colofn Gwladwriaeth* (1786) he depicts them as bogus ineffectuals mouthing an inglorious mixture of Welsh and English. Significantly, the character 'Death' often speaks in English! Nevertheless some of the country doctors were highly thought of; among them William Gruffydd of Llysfasi who was praised in a series of englynion—possibly by Twm o'r Nant himself—

Pob cur lliw dolur lle delo—Gwilim
Fe'u gwelir i'w drwsio;
Dyn addas a dawn iddo,
Cywir o fab y ceir fo.[38]

Arthur Jones of Llangadwaladr praised Richard Lloyd 'Doctor o Lanfyllin am fendio Jane Gwraig Gruffydd Morus o Blas Tregeiriog' in two *englynion*.[39]

A number of non-medical men in the eighteenth century did much to advance the scientific study of disease, prominent amongst them in England was Stephen Hales, a country clergyman who had associations with Griffith Jones Llanddowror. Lewis Morris, William Jones Llangadfan, Howell Harris, J. R. Jones Ramoth, Thomas Johnes of Hafod, and Thomas Fitzmaurice of Llewenni were all interested in medicine. Some of these medical laymen championed the cause of inoculation and later vaccination against smallpox in Wales. Inoculation, which is the transmission of the live smallpox virus from the infected to others with the production of a milder infection in the inoculated, had been practised in Wales long before Lady Wortley Montague set the inoculation fashion in England about 1717. The method

[38]Jones, H.: *Dewisol Ganiadau yr Oes Hon* (1779), t. 171.
Twm certainly wrote an englyn to a nurse—'Meddyges gynnes deg union . . .'; N.L.W. MS. 348 f83. N.L.W. MS. 263 f34 contains an englyn by Foulk Wynne of Nantglyn (*fl.circa* 1700) praising Elizabeth verch Thomas, a nurse.
[39]N.L.W. MS. 6729.

increased apace during the century so that the march of epidemic smallpox was retarded. Sir Watkin Williams Wynn in 1774, probably as a result of the Chester smallpox epidemic in that year, arranged for the poor in the parish of Ruabon to be inoculated by an apothecary. Another 150 were inoculated in the village in 1779.[40] From about 1777 to 1782 William Woodville, M.D., one of the foremost advocates of inoculation in Britain, was a physician in Denbigh. In 1796 he produced his two-volumed work *The History of the Inoculation of the Small-pox in Great Britain . . .*[41]

In 1798 Edward Jenner, a Gloucestershire doctor, published his account of the method of vaccination; that is, transferring the benign cowpox by a similar method to individuals to render them immune to smallpox, the viruses of smallpox and cowpox being almost identical. This method was introduced to North Wales by David Pennant, son of the more famous Thomas Pennant, who, having obtained a little cowpox vaccine from one of Jenner's relations, started to vaccinate the workers and their families in Downing during September 1800. This method was soon in general use, resulting in the mitigation of the smallpox menace in the subsequent years of the nineteenth century. But occasional sharp outbreaks still reminded people of the value of vaccination. Dispensaries for that purpose were now set up in many towns; in Bangor, for example, and in Denbigh. The inhabitants of Denbigh in 1812 were advised by the town's Dispensary Committee to be vaccinated forthwith, but the response was poor, and the following year smallpox again visited the town and the surrounding districts. 1837-8 were bad smallpox years in Wales, and in Wrexham over a hundred died of the disease in that winter. In 1860 Llanrwst had a brisk visitation; and a general epidemic struck hard, especially in South Wales, in 1871.[42]

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[40] *Chester Chronicle*, 6 August, 1779.
[41] *Medical Register*, 1780; D.N.B.
[42] N.L.W. MS. 2581.
Y Traethodydd (1958), 113. 171-81.
North Wales Gazette, 6 June, 1813.

With inadequate sanitation and urban overcrowding following in the wake of industrial expansion, nineteenth century Denbighshire—like other parts of Britain—was subject to new and old epidemic invasions. The following report by John James, an assistant to the Commissioners on Welsh Education, on his visit to Rhosllannerchrugog on January 20, 1847, is in no way unique:—

> 'I went in company with the Rev. P. M. Richards, the officiating minister of the district, to visit some of the houses of the colliers of Rhosllannerchrugog; and although I have seen St Giles's, Cow Cross, Wapping, and other places in the metropolis where the houses of the poor are unfit to live in, I never beheld anything to equal some of the cottages at Rhosllannerchrugog as regards confinement, filth, and utter unfitness for human abode . . .'[43]

In such social conditions the new disease of Asiatic cholera made abundant harvest, but Denbighshire, on the whole, escaped lightly. However, its visit to the town of Denbigh in 1832 was memorable. Cholera appeared there on June 9th and soon caused many deaths in the neighbourhood of Henllan Street. Consternation spread through the town and earnest worshippers now filled chapels and churches—to placate what was thought once again to be a manifestation of Divine wrath.[44] When the epidemic was at its height Daniel Jones, Parc y Twll, wrote,

> 'Nid oedd braidd i'w weled ar hyd yr heol hon ond y meddygon yn cynniwair o dŷ i dŷ, nac i'w glywed ond trwst olwynion yr Hearse yn ôl ac ymlaen i gludo y meirw i'r monwentydd. Anhawdd oedd cael neb i roddi cyrph y meirw yn eu heirch; nac i'w cludo o'i tai i fyned i'w claddu. Gwelais Hearse wrth ddrws un tŷ lle yr oedd corff marw, yn aros tros awr, oherwydd ffaelu bron cael neb i gludo y marw o'r tŷ iddi . . . . Nid oedd cyrph y meirw hyn yn cael amdo, ond eu rhoddi yn eu heirch yn y

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[43] *Reports of Commissioners of Enquiry . . .* (1846-7), Pt. 3, p. 75.
Dodd, A. H.: *The Industrial Revolution in North Wales* (1933), p. 356.

[44] Jones, D.: *Llef yr Arglwydd ar Gymru yn yr haint echryslawn Y Cholera Morbus . . .* (1832), p. 9.
Only the faithful few had been attending the Sunday morning prayer meetings, but at 6 in the morning on July 1st— '. . . yr oedd y capel mawr a elwir Capel Canol . . . yn lled lawn o bobl; a'r olwg mwyaf sobr arnynt a welwyd erioed o'r blaen . . . Gorph. 8, yr oedd tros 700 yn yr Ysgol Sabbathol Capel y Trefnyddion Calfinaidd . . .'

dillad oedd am danynt, a myned a hwy i'r bedd heb gael myned i'r eglwysi i'r gweinidog ddarllen trefn claddedigaeth y meirw. Lle dyfn (trenches) wedi eu torri yn y monwentydd iddynt i roi y naill wrth ochr y llall . . .'

Denbighshire saw little of the disease in the epidemics of 1849 and 1854, but in 1866 Wrexham and Ruthin registration districts suffered sharp outbreaks of the infection. Dr O. O. Roberts, the Radical pamphleteer who was born in Eglwysbach, saw a good deal of cholera in North Wales in 1832 and again in 1849; he published a simple guide to the signs of the disease and its general management. Dr Roberts, incidentally, took an active part in establishing both the Caernarvon and Anglesey General Hospital in Bangor and the Hospital for Nervous Diseases in Denbigh.[45]

Typhus was still a common infection in the first half of the nineteenth century, though not always distinguished from typhoid. It caused a vicious epidemic in Llanfair Talhaearn and Llangynhafal in 1831.[46] 140 died of it in Denbighshire in 1840, and as late as 1860, thirty-five people died of it in Wrexham.

In the middle years of the century scarlet fever supplanted smallpox as a major infection; it was rampant in North Wales in 1840, causing 224 deaths in Denbighshire alone. Diphtheria was also a constant hazard, with an average annual mortality of thirty in the county. During the early years of the present century measles was especially fatal in Denbighshire and in 1910 it caused 123 deaths, the mortality rate being 6·99 per thousand living—more than twice the average for England and Wales. Maternal and infantile mortalities remained high in Denbighshire throughout the nineteenth century, and it was not until recent years that substantial improvements occurred. Thirty-five women died in childbed in the county in 1890; in 1910 the number was

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[45]*Nat. Lib. Wales Journal* (1958), 10. 281-300.
Y Traethodydd (1940), 95. 151.
[46]Bangor Wheldon MS. 9.

reduced to twenty-four; in 1930 it was ten; such deaths are now extremely rare.[47]

Some notable nineteenth century advances in the scientific study of disease produced inevitable and even revolutionary changes in ordinary professional practice. One of the Victorian worthies who witnessed such changes was Thomas Taylor Griffith, F.R.C.S., of Wrexham, probably the foremost medical practitioner in North Wales in his time. He was the virtual founder of the hospital in Wrexham in 1832, and he was largely instrumental in establishing the North Wales Branch of the British Medical Association in 1849. Taylor Griffith was also an avid collector of manuscripts in the manner of his great-grandfather, Siôn Gruffydd, Cae Cyriog, Ruabon.[48] Another nineteenth century medical individualist in Denbighshire was John Williams, M.D., a native of Llansantffraid Glan Conwy. In the old Welsh tradition he was a botanist as well as a doctor, and before graduating in medicine he had published *Faunula Grustiensis*—an account of the natural history of Llanrwst. In 1850 he left his medical practice in Corwen and emigrated to America. Leaving his wife and children in Pennsylvania he set out westwards to the goldfields, but ague and yellow fever in California put paid to his quest and he returned home with his family in 1853. He resumed medical practice in Froncysylltau, moving subsequently to Wrexham.[49]

In 1862 Golyddan, son of Gweirydd ap Rhys and a medical apprentice, died in Denbigh of tuberculosis at the age of 22. A prolific and promising poet, he was the victim of a disease that was causing some three hundred deaths annually in Denbighshire in the 1860's, most of them in youth or early adult life. In the past hundred years, and especially in the last decade, the menace of 'consumption'

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[47] Annual Reports Registrar-General, 1839 *et seq.*
The population figures must of course be taken into account:—
County population 1860—104,000; by 1930 it was 158,000.
[48] *Y Bywgraffiadur Cymreig* (1953), t. 281.
Jones, L. W.: *Centenary Brochure N. Wales Branch B.M.A.* (1949), p. 4.
[49] *Y Bywgraffiadur Cymreig* (1953), t. 988.
Bangor MS. 200.

has faded. In 1956, sixteen died of the disease in Denbighshire, and the numbers are decreasing annually. It now seems likely that this old 'captain of the men of death' will soon be committed to historical oblivion.

But Denbighshire now has other diseases to contend with, and the recent upward trend in the coronary thrombosis and lung cancer deaths is startling, even ominous. Perhaps, a hundred years hence, a contributor to these *Transactions* on the subject of the epidemic havocs of the past, may, in his thrombotic, cancerous, and radio-active hell, hanker—a little sadly—for the 'good old days'.

(*I wish to acknowledge the valuable help of Mr Bob Owen, M.A., Croesor, and Mr Thomas Roberts, M.A., Bangor.*)

The Ladies of Llangollen

By GRACE ROBERTS

FAMILIAR though the picture of the Ladies of Llangollen is, few people seem to know who these ladies actually were, or where they originally came from; indeed, they seem to have become such a part of tradition in Llangollen that it is often assumed they were born and bred in that town; as a matter of fact, these two famous persons were members of the old Irish aristocracy, and they lived in Ireland until they came of age. The elder, Lady Eleanor Butler, born in 1739, was a descendant of the Earl of Ormonde who was attainted for High Treason because of his Jacobite leanings in the reign of George I. The title was then extinguished until 1791 when it was restored to John Butler, Eleanor Butler's brother and thus she became the *Lady* Eleanor Butler. Eleanor, as a girl, lived with her parents in Kilkenny Castle, a huge rambling untidy place roaming with servants (although they were poor). Her mother, Mrs Butler, gave extravagant parties in the characteristic Irish way, and the house was always full of guests and relatives making long indefinite visits, as was the custom of the time. In her teens, Eleanor was sent to a French Convent to complete her education. She became a proficient French scholar and a love of French literature remained with her all her life. When she returned to Ireland, she found that what was expected of her, was to spend a frivolous life, to dress attractively, to perfect her dancing so that she could shine at the many balls she attended, in fact, to do everything to attract admirers but, she found she was not free to study, or to take long walks out-of-doors or to potter in a garden for she had a passionate love of nature. Even at that age there was an aloofness in her nature which caused her to turn to her own company and to prefer solitude to the gay artificial society in which her parents turned. As time went on she became very tired of the life at Kilkenny Castle from which she longed to

escape, and soon she vowed she would live her own life in some way or other.

Of Sarah Ponsonby's early life, little is known. Her father had married two heiresses but Sally herself inherited nothing. On her father's death she went to live, at the age of eighteen, with her elderly cousin, Lady Betty Fownes and her husband, who introduced her into the most fashionable Dublin society, with the object of making a good match for their young relative. Sally was a very pretty girl with sweet, gentle manners and a very retiring disposition. After completing her education at a boarding school at Kilkenny, Lady Betty Fownes sent Sally to the school as a paying guest while she herself went on a visit to London. Mrs Butler, mother of Eleanor Butler, heard Sally Ponsonby was at the school and invited her for a stay at Kilkenny Castle, and so there started the friendship between Eleanor Butler and Sarah Ponsonby which was destined to become one of the most famous of the world's great friendships. From the time of their meeting at Kilkenny Castle, they found their tastes so suited and each found the company of the other so congenial, that they could not bear the idea of being separated from each other by marriage, and many eligible suitors were rejected by both young women.

When Eleanor Butler's parents saw her indifference to the many proposals of marriage she received, they were very angry and at last it was decided to send her to London for a season in the hope that the change of scene would bring her to her senses. Somehow or other, they got Eleanor to agree to this. On her journey, the Holyhead to London mail-coach stopped at Llangollen where the Hand and the Lion were the chief coaching inns and which formed a meeting place for travellers to and from Ireland. Whilst waiting for supper Eleanor Butler slipped out to take a short walk in the surroundings which she found so charming. Making her way out of the town (or village as it was then) she walked up a hill from the top of which she saw a most enchanting view; the Berwyn mountains with little white-washed homesteads nestling on their slopes which were sprinkled with larch and

fir woods, whilst in the valley below, the river Dee took its course seawards. On the left hand of the road, Eleanor Butler noticed a small cottage which was empty and at once she thought how wonderful it would be if she and Sally could live there together. Acting on this thought, Eleanor, who, although such a scholar, was very practical, made her way back to the village and made enquiries as to the ownership of the cottage. She found it was for sale, as it was reported to be haunted. There and then, she sent for an attorney, made an offer, and before she sat down to her supper at the Hand, the tenancy of the cottage was hers. After her return from London, Eleanor and Sally began their preparations to leave Kilkenny; they spoke of their plans quite openly to their families. As Eleanor had by now, reached her majority and Sally's relatives had no legal rights of guardianship over her, they could not have been prevented in their schemes except by force; so on a lovely May morning in the year 1778 they left their country never to return.

The captain of their boat showed the travellers great kindness; their little cabin smelling somewhat of tobacco, stale spirits, pitched ropes and fried herrings had been scrubbed out and a bed of folded tarpaulins and sails had been made for them on the cabin floor. The captain said he would take care of the ladies as if they were diamonds, and, soothed by those kind words they slept under the warmth of Eleanor's cloak. About 6 o'clock next morning the Captain appeared at the cabin door with their breakfast of bread, and a can of hot beer.

After arriving at Milford Haven, the travellers journeyed on to Birmingham to fit themselves out with clothes suitable for their new mode of life. In those days the dresses worn by young ladies of quality were, velvet and brocade in winter, and silk and muslins in summer. When they took long journeys they wore cloaks over these gowns. Sometimes a cloth habit and beaver hat were worn, and it was these the ladies decided upon. They sought out a first-class tailor, and had their new habits made in substantial blue cloth for ordinary wear, with fine black broadcloth for church and

visiting. They were very careful as to accessories and bought smart gloves with gauntlets and cravats of finest Indian muslin. To fit the high beaver hats which accompanied the cloth habits, they had their hair cut short and then very slightly powdered. In choosing this attire, they little dreamt that one day their portraits in this costume would appear on picture post-cards, souvenirs and prints all up and down the country.

Charles Mathews, the actor and friend of Byron the poet, writes that he saw "the dear inseparable, inimitables in the theatre in Oswestry in 1820 . . . oh—such curiosities!!! As they were *seated*, there is not one point to distinguish them from men . . . They look exactly like two respectable superannuated Clergeymen . . . I was highly flattered to see them there as they were never in the theatre before." Some writers maintain that the Ladies were snobs and that they only liked the very great or the very humble—the latter of whom they could snub and patronize. A. G. Bradley writes, "save for the fact that they dressed themselves like men, they do not seem to have been distinguished for anything particular except a taste for curios and liars"—i.e. literary and social lions. He quotes a story that it was an understood thing that every stranger of distinction who visited Plas-newydd should contribute some curio to their collection. The poet Wordsworth, however, overlooked this little matter and subscribed some verses instead. Such an offering might have done well enough, but unhappily he referred to Plas Newydd in poetic metaphor as a "lowly cot by Deva's banks." The Ladies, so says tradition, took umbrage at this description of their elegant new home and poor Wordsworth dropped entirely out of favour. This can hardly be true, for Wordsworth paid them more than one visit and the poetic offering was written after the first.

Now, the question may well be asked what kind of life did they imagine they were facing? They may have thought that, as a revolt from irksome family ties and the gay artificial life of Dublin Society, they required solitude and seclusion, but after all, they were young and healthy young women,

very highly gifted, and, total strangers as they were to the district, for all they knew they might have been buried socially and intellectually in Llangollen, which Thomas Pennant tells us, at that time was a very poor place, little more than a village though even then it was beginning to be known and beloved by travellers from beyond the Border including George Borrow who paid high tributes to the warmth of hospitality in the district, which, in the light of recent events, is now world famous.

Now let us glance briefly at the literary scene in Denbighshire at that time. The gentry were roughly divided into two classes, the heavy-drinking fox-hunting class many of whom considered it almost *infra dig* to be able to write their own names and the others who were patrons of the arts and to whom we owe much. Among these was Mr Philip Yorke of Erddig (not far from Llangollen), the author of *The Royal Tribes of Wales*. In Llanbedr Hall near Ruthin, lived Mr Abbott, the friend of the poets Southey and Coleridge and also W. Savage Landor, who frequently paid long visits to Llanbedr Hall, and it was in this lovely spot on the slopes of Moel Famau that he wrote portions of the fifth volume of his chief work *Imaginary Conversations* in 1829. Further down the Vale of Clwyd dwelt Mr Myddelton of Gwaunynog, near Denbigh, who was a friend of Oliver Goldsmith and Horace Walpole. The former frequently visited Gwaunynog, where a little rustic cottage was erected to his memory, whilst Walpole frequently sent parcels of his hand-printed books from Strawberry Hill to replenish the fine library at Gwaunynog. At Bronwylfa, St Asaph, lived Mrs Felicia Hemans, the poet. She was the daughter of Mr G. Brown of County Cork. The family came to live at Gwrych Hall for a time, but afterwards she lived in St Asaph. In its day, her work gained great popularity. She was the author of the popular poem "The Better Land" and also a series of Welsh melodies including one entitled "The Harp of Wales" dedicated to the Ruthin Welsh Society in the transactions of which she was greatly interested.

Nearby at the Palace, St Asaph, dwelt the Bishop or,

rather, it should be said that he paid occasional visits, seldom more than a month at a time from his house in London, for he was a pluralist, that is, a clergyman holding a living both in England and in Wales and drawing stipends from both. The Bishop, Jonathan Shipley a Whig, and a man of strong character, voted in the House of Lords, against the continuance of the war in America and for the repeal of all laws against Protestant Dissenters. He was a close friend of Burke. His wife and daughters were highly accomplished; the elder married Sir William Jones, the famous Oriental Scholar.

On the border between the counties of Denbigh and Flint lived Mrs Piozzi, formerly Mrs. Hester Thrale, who was one of the leading blue-stockings of her day. She spent her childhood in the Vale of Clwyd, and after her second marriage to the famous tenor Piozzi, she and her husband returned to Wales where they built a house at Tremeirchion which they named "Bryn Bella". Mrs Thrale was a close friend of Doctor Johnson and it was she who accompanied him on his tour of North Wales in 1794. When Mrs Piozzi retired to Tremeirchion she undoubtedly brought a breath of the London salons to the quiet Welsh countryside; even in advanced age, she wrote verse and dabbled in all sorts of learning, including theology, astronomy and social questions of the day whilst considerable portions of her journal entitled "Thraliana" were written at Bryn Bella. At the age of sixty-four she took up the study of Hebrew under the tuition of the Reverend John Roberts, the vicar of Tremeirchion, himself a man of letters in a modest way. "I am at least *wishing* to read the Bible in Hebrew before I dye" wrote Mrs Piozzi, but later she was obliged to admit that her efforts met with no very great success.

Nearby, in Denbigh, we find Doctor William Makepeace Thackeray, grand-uncle of the novelist, the famous author of *Vanity Fair*. Actually he was a physician in Chester but lived for the greater part of his time in Denbigh for reasons of health. He had keen literary tastes as we can well understand and also he was a talented musician. He was a great friend of the Piozzis as well as being their physician and

altogether he was considered an asset to the Denbighshire Assemblies.

Just over the Border, near Tremeirchion, lived Mrs Piozzi's kinsman, Thomas Pennant, the famous naturalist and traveller who wrote the account of his tours in Wales which at that time were starting to become fashionable. There must also have been in the county of Denbigh, squires in the remotest districts, like Mr Robert Wynne of Llansannan, who without literary pretensions took a keen interest in the cultural currents of the day and were the possessors of good libraries, to which they added from time to time.

Now, had the Denbighshire gentry but known it, or rather, appreciated it, a greater genius than any among them was flowering almost at their very gates—a genius of the native soil, but, even if they *had* known it, this might only be regarded in a patronising way, as something naïve and amusing, coming from what they considered to be the illiterate Welsh peasantry. This literary star was Thomas Edwards of Denbigh—*Twm o'r Nant*, the author of the famous "interludes", many of which were diatribes against the vice, hypocrisy and snobbery of the upper classes. Twm was not altogether unhonoured and unsung in the English world of letters, for he received honourable mention in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, in an article contributed by his friend Dafydd Ddu Eryri who wrote, "At this meeting (i.e. an Eisteddfod in St Asaph in 1790) according to custom, the Poets composed extempore upon a variety of subjects, and the palm to superior merit was adjudged to Thomas Edwards of Nant, the Welsh Shakespeare." Twm's feelings against the upper classes did not, however, prevent him from writing verses in English to young Sir Watkyn Wyn of Wynnstay on attaining his majority. "I gave it to a man to *sing*," he writes, "and *he* received a guinea. I received nothing." He also wrote a *cywydd* or stanza to the Hon. Thomas Pennant for whose learning Twm had a great respect.

Then, of course, there were the clergy. In England, the expression "nobility, clergy and gentry was used to describe the upper classes, and more or less this applied to Wales.

Generally the youngest son was found a living in the Church which together with the Army and the Bar were the three recognised professions of gentility. In England there were a number of squire-parsons or squaresons as they were called; there were a few of these in South Wales but in North Wales they were practically non-existant. We read of many coarse and illiterate clergy both in England and Wales in the 18th century, the majority being merely place-seekers of whom Cowper, the poet, wrote that they were apt:

> "To make the symbols of atoning grace
> An office key, a picklock to a place."

In other words, a fat living with a leisured existence.

There were, of course, many exceptions in Wales to the type described by Cowper. Nearby in Dinbren Hall lived the Rev Edward Roberts and his wife, who became very close friends of the Ladies. Mr Roberts was the rector of Llansantffraid Glynceiriog as well as perpetual curate of Llantysilio where, for some time, the Ladies worshipped.

Then there was the Warden of Ruthin, the Rev Richard Newcome, later to become Archdeacon. He was appointed Warden of Ruthin and Rector of Llanfwrog by Bishop Horsley in 1804, a few years later than the arrival of the Ladies in Llangollen. Immediately a friendship was started which lasted for nearly fifty years. Archdeacon Newcombe wrote the memoirs of Gabriel Goodman, and he also wrote the history of the towns and castles of Denbigh and Ruthin. Also there was the Reverend Robert Jones, who was the incumbent of Llanfihangel G.M. and, as a pluralist like the Bishop of St Asaph, held also the living of Soultherne near Oxford. He was born in Llangynhafal and educated at Ruthin School before entering St John's, Oxford, where he was a co-student of Wordsworth. The two, who became life-long friends, went on a walking tour on the Continent in 1790 when the poet became imbued with his impassioned ideas on the French revolution. Wordsworth often visited Robert Jones in Wales, and in 1824, a year in which Wordsworth paid a visit to Plasnewydd, he was accompanied by his host.

We have by now strayed far from Llangollen, so we will now return to the Ladies of Plasnewydd.

As soon as they arrived in Llangollen, they took lodgings at the Post Office whilst the cottage on the hill was being pulled down and a new one, the present Plas Newydd, was built on the site; in this home, out of which they never slept for a single night, they were destined to live for half a century, a period, during which the Gordon riots broke out in London, Lord Cornwallis surrendered to General Washington and the United States of America gained their independence; it lasted through the Whig government of George III's reign, through Fox's ministry, through Pitt's Ministry at the head of the Tory party, through King George's illness and the Regency, through the French Revolution, the Wars with France and the death of Napoleon. They lived to witness in Llangollen the celebrations of the victories of Trafalgar and Waterloo. The times were, undoubtedly, stirring, but the Ladies, with a capital, as we must now call them, lived on in their own sweet retirement besides the banks of the Dee.

The new cottage which was to become a point of pilgrimage for hundreds of admirers not only in this country but from the Continent, was adorned with old oak and stained glass which they had discovered amid heaps of fragments in the ruins of the ancient Vallè Crucis Abbey nearby, which, for two or three centuries had been allowed to crumble away. With these they panelled the walls, whilst slender pillars and arches outlined doors, windows and alcoves in the house which was a curious mixture of Gothic and Tudor influence and yet which somehow or other blended into an odd charm of its own. They also found a beautiful old font among the ruins of the Abbey out of which they decided to make a drinking fountain on a lovely spot on the banks of a stream which ran behind the house. The library at Plas Newydd was filled with books in four languages on history, poetry and philosophy, which Eleanor studied during the long winter evenings, while Sarah, who was an accomplished artist, painted in water colour or drew

maps. They did some quite extensive but simple entertaining, and neighbours with large country houses gave breakfasts, luncheons, tea and supper parties at which the two ladies of Plas Newydd were welcome guests especially as they were good card players like most Irish people of their class. The extent of the entertaining out of the comparatively small income possessed by Eleanor Butler can be judged by an entry in her journal: —

Sunday August 5th

Morning Mr. Lloyd of Rhoggatt, Mrs. Miss and Mr. Augustus Morgan.
To Luncheon Lord Ormonde, Lord Thurles, Lord Maryborough, Lord Burgess and The Warden of Ruthin.
To Dinner Lord and Lady Ormonde, Lord Thurles.
To Supper Lady Harriet Butler, Lady Anne Butler, Lady Sarisa Butler, Messrs. James, Richard and Charles Butler.
To Sleep Lord and Lady Ormonde.
To breakfast next morning Prince Paul and Princess Esterhazy, their Secretary, Lord Kenyon and three daughters.

No doubt many of these guests were passengers on the Irish mailcoach and through these the Ladies of Plas Newydd were kept in touch with current affairs. Not only would they hear tit-bits of London town talk, but also the gossip of the gay Dublin society of which they themselves had once been brilliant members. But apart from these social calls and occasional jaunts in the chaise hired from the Hand Inn, the Ladies lived the quiet, gentle lives which they had planned for themselves. Although they were such keen students and artists, they worked hard with their hands, digging and planting their garden which became famous. They kept their own cow, made their own butter, brewed their own beer and grew flax with which to spin their own linen.

In January 1788 Lady Eleanor Butler began her journal, in which we find perfect little cameos full of poetic feeling for the simple joys of the countryside. Most of the entries end with the same sentence which sounds like a benediction: "A day of the most perfect and sweet retirement." The title page is inscribed:

JOURNAL OF E.B. AND S.P. Inhabitants of a Cottage in the Vale of Llangollen, North Wales written by E.B.

Society is all but rude
To this delicious solitude
Where all the flowers and trees do close
To weave the Garland of repose.

In this diary is recorded how Eleanor and Sally together watched the sunsets from their gardens, how they went for moonlight walks, and leaned over the gates of their pasture to gaze over the Vale below, while sometimes in the silence of the evening their neighbour Thomas Jones would be playing his pipe over the churchyard wall.

The diarist describes a certain October day as

> a beauteous day—hum of bees and Insects, sweet wild notes of birds, bleating of sheep, cackling of geese. The only sounds to be heard in this beauteous spot.

A March evening is drawn in a pen-picture in grey, subdued tones:—

> Soft gloomy evening. Field perfectly covered with sheep and lambs. A Plough at the end moving slowly under the trees. Ploughman whistling the most plaintive tune I have ever heard.

Later—in April—appears a charming description of a Spring morning:—

> Glorious day. Ploughman at one end of the field singing gloriously. Sheep and lambs, some grazing, some at play, others lying down. Smoke ascending from the cottages on the side of the mountain . . . Richard Griffiths Plough seems right under my window. Edward Evans with a Harrow, Evan Williams sowing oats. The Brinabin man's cart with dung in a remote corner of the field for Potatoes. The Miller and his horse laden with sacks of corn coming from the Mill to the Village. Sun shining, birds singing, lambs bleating, Ploughman and sowers whistling and singing. Village bells ringing for Church.

Then later:—

> The loveliest blue and silver morning I ever beheld. We went the house circuit, the air perfumed with sweetbriar, violets and the blossoms of various kinds of cherries. A choir of birds. The Cuckoo for the first time this year. We visited our cucumber plants and tender annuals, then walked in the field before the Cottage.

And here is a pleasant little picture of a writer's afternoon: —

> An excellent fire in the Library, candles lighted and an Appearance of Content and cheerfulness never to be found but in a Cottage.

It must not, however, be considered that the journal is written entirely in this poetic strain, for in Eleanor Butler's Celtic temperament there was a strong practical as well as a poetic element, as we learn from the following entries: —

> The post brought us cash for our twenty pound note. Paid cornman, coalman, the Butcher for our year's provision of Pork. The Coal man came with his bill according to annual custom at the March Fair at Llangollen. Thank Heaven we had the money to pay him.

Another entry records that: —

> Mr. Holiday the Chester hairdresser whom we sent for to Wrexham, he being at the Assizes there (for the trimming of Wigs) cut and powdered our hair. Got slides and a pot of pomatum.

A few days after the visit of the hairdresser appears a single entry for the day in one eloquent sentence: "Discharged Betsy the kitchen maid for idleness, dirt and *Such a Tongue*!!!"

The chief event of a certain June day is described thus: —

> A lad to let us know that our cow Margaret had just calved in the Cilinedw fields. What an event! Sent to desire Mr. Edwards of the Hand would despatch some careful people to bring her and her calf hence. Sent to the old man of Bala to know what we should give her. Had her stable prepared, the Turkey Hen and her eleven chickens moved to the loft. About half past eight Margaret arrived with her son. Gave her a drench of warm Ale, butter and sugar. All the village came kindly to enquire about our dear cow. John Edward's wife, the old man of Bala, the joiner, John Jones the little butcher, Edwards the Hand all about the stable at the moment . . . I declare I have more pride in recording the anxiety and attentions of these good People than if we had received compliments from the first Nobility in the Kingdom.

The Ladies were extremely popular with the inhabitants of Llangollen who were proud of the distinction bestowed upon their village by such famous persons. One of their local friends was Jonathan Hughes, the bard mentioned by George Borrow in *Wild Wales*. It was the custom for the bards of the district to meet at the Hand, and so interested were the Ladies of Plas Newydd in these gatherings that sometimes they would send for their friend Edwards of the Hand to come and tell them how the flow of bardic inspiration was proceeding. "The Candidates for the Chair" writes Lady Eleanor of one such conclave "were Jonathan Hughes and his son from Pengwern, Peter Lloyd of Cynwyd and Dafydd Jones of Rhos Ruabon. Jonathan Hughes, who is the best bard in Wales", she writes, "was last night appointed 'Cadeirfardd'—the Chair Bard. The chair was made by Edward Jones the village carpenter and cost ten shillings. The subjects of their poetry were loyal expressions of sorrow for the King's illness." Later, Jonathan Hughes called to see the Ladies bringing with him a translation specially made for them of the winning Ode. "A tall venerable figure," writes Lady Eleanor, "Can speak very little English."

The Ladies made many friends in the village, among them being Edwards, the proprietor of the Hand Inn who in person would slip up to Plas Newydd with a message from the distinguished passengers who were staying at the Hand; sometimes he would bring a little present of pork after a pig-killing, or a piece of Dee salmon, or a dish of trout he had caught that morning. It is to be feared, too, that Miss Eleanor, who had very human tendencies, enjoyed a little gossip with Edwards, for she knew all that was going on in the village. He himself always drove them out in the carriage or chaise which the ladies hired from him for their many calls and journeys. In fact this was the cause of a strain in their friendship for Miss Eleanor records: "Mr Edwards of the Hand came up with his bill Exorbitant to the last degree!" She refused to pay the sum and withdrew her custom from the Hand to the Lion and also sent to the Rev Mr Lloyd at Trevor nearby: "to request he would permit

our little Household to sit in one of his pews at church, as we have determined never to allow anyone belonging to us to sit in the Hand seat after the great offence we have received."

Then later she wrote: "Mr Edwards of the Hand came up at nine to entreat we would relent but his submission came too late."

However, it appears that the matter was settled at last, for she records soon afterwards that Edwards came up with a letter from Mr Wilberforce who was passing through Llangollen and then the entries record once again the hire of the chaise from the Hand.

When the Ladies made their journeys away from home, they often started before dawn, and did not return until the small hours of the following day, having no fears of robbers or broken carriage-axles—indeed, these night jaunts seemed to have a most exhilarating effect upon their Irish temperament. Lady Eleanor wrote of a visit to the Bishop's Palace at St. Asaph:—

> Rose at 4, morning chill and gloomy. Arrived at Ruthin at seven. Arrived at the Palace at half-past nine. We were received at the Hall Door by the most benevolent of all prelates in his Gown and black velvet cap and his wife and two sweet daughters who all exclaimed at our expedition. Found breakfast ready then went round the garden then to the Cathedral with newly fitted up purple velvet and gold cushions.

Dr Johnson, during his tour of Wales, wrote of his visit to St Asaph: "The Bishop was very civil; we went to his Palace which was mean," while Mrs Thrale wrote with her pen dipped in acid, as usual:—

> The Bishop's wife gave us cakes and currants; pressed us to stay to dinner and was as civil as she knew how, but she was a vulgar woman and—indeed I have never met a spiritual Lord who had a genteal wife.

Mrs Piozzi and her husband were constant visitors to Plas Newydd. Piozzi, who was a celebrated musician, had a collapsible piano made so that it could be carried about on their journeys from Tremeirchion to Bath and London, and

on one occasion we read that they stopped the night with the Ladies of Llangollen, where a distinguished company had just come in from the Holyhead coach. They begged Piozzi to sing and play for them, so he had his own piano put together to entertain his audience and next morning it was taken apart and placed in their coach to be taken to Bath.

As the years rolled on these jaunts of the Ladies of Llangollen became less frequent but Plas Newydd became more and more a literary and social centre. Among their friends the Ladies included the Duke of Wellington, Wilberforce, Edmund Burke, Sir Walter Scott and Wordsworth. The novelist made an arduous journey from his Scottish home to make a stay at Plas Newydd and Wordsworth was a welcome guest under its roof; during his visit, the poet composed in the grounds an Ode to the Ladies which is included in his general works.

After 1821 there was, alas, no journal, for Lady Eleanor's eyesight began to fail through studying by candlelight, though her health was good until the year 1829 when she died and was buried in Llangollen churchyard. For eighteen months Sarah Ponsonby was alone, then she too was laid to rest with her beloved friend.

And so ends the story of the Ladies of Llangollen who, together in that loveliest of Vales, found not only the peace and serenity which they had so ardently sought, but also the spirit of the lines dedicated to them by Wordsworth in 1824.

> Glyn Cafaillgaroch, in the *Cambrian* tongue:
> In ours, the Vale of Friendship, let this spot
> Be named, where, faithful to a low roofed Cot
> On Deva's banks, ye have abode so long.
> Sisters in love, a love, allowed to climb
> Ev'n on this earth, beyond the reach of time.

Sources of information:—
Thraliana. The Diary of Mrs Hester Thrale. 1776-1807. Edited by Katherine C. Balderston.
The Chase of The Wild Goose. M. Gordon.
Jones' Guide to Llangollen.
Women's Tours in North Wales.
Highways & Byways of North Wales. Bradley.
Hamwood Papers. Edited by G. H. Bell.
Twm o'r Nant. G. H. Aston.

Notes at Random on Eighteenth Century Denbighshire

By the late EMLYN ROGERS

[*This is the final article prepared by Mr Emrys Jenkins, in consultation with Mrs Anna Rogers, based on the rough notes of the lecture which the late Emlyn Rogers delivered to the Society at its Annual Meeting at Ruthin five years ago. The first article is printed at pages 53-66 of volume 6 (1957), and the second at pages 29-37 of volume 7 (1958).*—EDITOR.]

LOCAL GOVERNMENT II

THE POOR

EACH parish throughout the country was responsible for the maintenance of its own indigent poor. A complete picture of their state and treatment in Denbighshire in the 18th century cannot be given without much further research into Vestry Books and Church Wardens' Accounts of which there are many in the county.[1] Some data in this section has been taken from the Derwen Vestry Book, and a list in it of the recipients of poor relief shows that they received from 6d. to 1/6 a week according to the size of families, few of them, however, receiving 1/3 or 1/6. At Christmas 1706 the poor received 1/-. One entry for 1717 says: "Paid Judith y Graig ye orphains quaterings." The Quarter Sessions would occasionally intervene in these parish matters, possibly at the request of a Justice of the Peace. For example, in 1714 Quarter Sessions requested that the Ruabon parish should pay a rate not exceeding 2/- a week for the relief of Tabitha Lloyd, settled inhabitant of the parish, and her four children, and the Church Wardens were ordered to make this payment. According to an MSS. dated April 1762 entitled "Money laid down to the Relief of the Militia men's wives

[1]In Wrexham there are 46 volumes of Church Wardens' Accounts covering the years 1742-1829 and 1 Vestry Book.

and children in Wrexham" somewhat larger but by no means extravagant payments were made to dependents of militia men called up for service. Martha, the wife of Peter Lloyd, a militia man, was given 4/- a week for twelve weeks by Nath. Wright, overseer of the poor, for the maintenance of herself and her four children.

There were frequent and sometimes successful protests against poor rates levied by Church Wardens and Overseer of the Poor.[2] The various parishes and the County as a whole were very concerned to see that they did not give relief to any except those who had a legal right to it. The term "settled inhabitant" used with reference to Tabitha Lloyd opens up the problem which caused more trouble and dispute in the 17th and 18th centuries than any other part of the poor law system.

The Law of Settlement of 1662 empowered any two justices upon complaint made by the overseers of a parish within forty days after any persons came to settle in the parish in any tenenment under the yearly value of £10, to convey such persons to the parish where they were last legally settled, unless they gave, "sufficient certainty for the discharge of the parish" from the obligation to support them.[3]

Even before the tremendous increases in poor rate from 1770 onwards, Justices of the Peace, Parish Vestries and Court Leets were extremely anxious to prevent newcomers from gaining a settlement. The following examples of their wariness are taken from dozens of the same kind:

> Treasurers bundles of Payments 1757. County of Denbigh. "Whereas by a pass granted by us whose names are hereunto subscribed two of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace in and for the said county of Denbigh directed to the constables of the Town and parish of Ruthin and requiring the said constables to convey John Ashton a vagrant and Agnes his Daughter to the Town of Mold in the County of Flint on the way to the Township of Lawton in the parish of Winwick in the County of

[2]By John Wynn, etc., in Llansantffraid and Glan Conway, Sir Roger Mostyn, Wrexham parishioners.
[3]This law was modified slightly by the Acts of 1688 and 1691.

Lancaster. We do hereby order and direct the said John Ashton and Agnes his Daughter to be conveyed to the said Town of Mold in the County of Flint on the way to the said Township of Lawton in the parish of Winwick in the County of Lancaster in one days time for which the said constables are to be allowed the sum of two shillings and sixpence and no more. Given under our hands the eighteenth day of May 1757.

E. Thelwall
Hugh Clough

On the other side of this document is written:

I John Jaspert Constable of Mold in the County of Flint do hereby acknowledge that I have received this nineteenth day of May 1757 of and from Richard Banes one of the Constables of Ruthin in the County of Denbigh John Ashton a vagrant and Agnes his Daughter brought hither on their way to Lawton in the parish of Winwick in the County of Lancaster the place of their last legal settlement by virtue of a pass granted by Hugh Clough and Edward Thelwall Esquires two of his Majesty's Justices of the peace for the said County of Denbigh. Witness my hand the day and year above written

The mark of John Jaspert
Witness to the mark of X John Jaspert
Robt Humphreys

The following documents records the completion of the transaction—as far as Denbighshire was concerned.

Reced May 20th 1757 of Mr Robert Jones Treasurer of the County of Denbigh the sum of two shillings and sixpence pursuant to the written certificates

p. Mr Richard Banes
One of the Constables of Ruthin

£0 - 2 - 6

Edw. Evans.

This is another example taken from the Treasurer's bundles of Receipts 1754:

The County of Denbigh D^{r} to Robert Roberts petty constabil (*sic*) for the Borough of Denbigh.

To conveying Elizabeth Williams a vagrant By virtue of a pass from Denbigh to Llangwm.

To a horce hiard to go to Llangwm	0 - 5 - 6
for my oen trubel to go to Langwm 17 miles at 3^{d} p^{r} mile	0 - 4 - 3
To 3 meals of meat	0 - 1 - 0
for her lodging	0 - 0 - 2
paid for her meat on the Road	0 - 0 - 4
	£0 - 11 - 3

Mr Treasurer
You are desired to pay the Bearer hereof the above Bill for conveying ye above vagrant from Denbigh to Llangwm and his cert [ificate] . . . if Discharged.

J. Owen Alderman
Denbigh 23 Nov. 1754.

Receed of the Treasurer
The contents p Robert Roberts.

The following documents describe excellently the whole process of returning a person to her place of settlement:

Treasurers bundles of Receipts 1762. County of Denbigh: To the high and Petty Constables of the hundred of Ruthin in the said county and also to all Constables and other officers whom it may concern and to each and every of them.

Whereas Elizabeth Jacob a vagrant was found wandering and begging in the parish of Ruthin and County aforesaid and was bro't before me one of his Majesty's Justices of the peace for the said County and upon the examination of the said Elizabeth Jacob taken on oath (which is herewith annex'd) it doth offer to me that the place of the said Elizabeth Jacob's last Legal Settlement is in the parish of Llanhaiarn in the County of Carnarvon. These are therefore to require you to convey the said Elizabeth Jacob to the parish of Trefriew in the County of Carnarvon aforesaid that being the first Parish through which she must pass as being the direct straight road to the said Parish of Llanhaiarn and county aforesaid and you are to deliver her to the Constable or other officer of the said Parish of Trefriew together with this Pass and the Examination hereunto annex'^{d} of the said Elizabeth Jacob, you taking his receipt for the same, and the said Elizabeth Jacob is to be from there convey'^{d} on in like manner to the said Parish of Llanhaiarn in the County of Carnarvon afore s^{d} there to be deliver'^{d} to some constable or churchwardens or overseers of the poor of the said Parish of Llanhaiarn and to be there provided for according to Law.

Given under my hand and seal this 22 day of October 1762.

County of Denbigh: The examination of Elizabeth Jacob a vagrant touching her past legal settlement taken on oath before me one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the said county this 22 day of Oct. 1762.
Who on her oath saith she is a single woman and that she was born in the Parish of Llanhaiarn in the County of Carnarvon and that she is about sixty years of age and she further saith that she was abt. 40 years ago a hired servant to one Richard Hughes of Gorse y Ceiliog in the said parish of Lanhaearn and continued in her hir[d] service above a Twelve without any departure and rec[d] her wages for the same and since that time she hath not to the best of her knowledge gain'[d] a lawfull settlement in any other Parish or place by any ways or means whatsoever.

the mark of
Eliz[th] ☐ Jacob

Sworn before me
the day and year above
John Yale.

The sequel:

Treasurer's receipts 1762.
County of Denbigh. To the Treasurer of this County.
Whereas Elizabeth Jacob was by an order convey'[d] from the Parish of Ruthin in this County on Horseback to the parish of Trefriew in the County of Carnarvon being the nearest parish in the said county through she is past towards her last Legal settlement in the Parish of Llanhaiarn in the said County of Carnarvon.

I do hereby order you the said Treasurer to pay to Robert Peters the Constable that convey'[d] the said vagrant the sum of ten shilings being the whole expense he has been at in conveying and maintaining the said vagrant and other expenses attending the same he the said Robert Peters having now produced a receipt under the Constable's hand to whom he deliver'[d] the said vagrant and also making out that it is a true receipt and not alter'[d].
Given under my hand the 30[th] day of October 1762.

John Yale.

Overleaf:

Rec[d] Oct 30[th] 1762 of John Lloyd Treasurer for the County of Denbigh Tenshillings in ful for conveying Elizabeth Jacob a vagrant from the Parish of Ruthin in Denbighshire to the Parish

of Trefriew in the County of Carnarvon as p agreement with Mr Yale

the mark or letters
R.P.
of Robt Peters.

witness
Robt Lloyd

Another duty performed by Justices of the Peace in Quarter Sessions was the fixing of day and annual rates of wages. This is illustrated in the next two documents. In Easter 1720 at Ruthin[4] they

"ordered in open quarter Sessions that the wages of servants and Labourers within the County of Denbigh be rated and assessed as hereinafter particularly mentioned and that no person do presume to give or receive any greater.

	L s d
To a chief Husbandman	3 - 5 - 0
To a second Husbandman	2 - 12 - 6
To a Hedger	2 - 10 - 0
To a Cowman	2 - 5 - 0
To a plowboy	1 - 0 - 0
To a Buttermaid	1 - 12 - 0
To a Dairymaid	1 - 12 - 0
To an assistant	1 - 10 - 0[5]

A more detailed and wider order exists for 1731, made at the Easter quarter sessions by Thomas Kyffin, Robert Wynne and John Chambers.[6] They

"ordered that the severall H(igh) Constables within this county do give notice that all single persons residing or inhabiting within their respective Hundreds who have no visible way of living do hire themselves for one year before the Later end of may next and y^{t} no persones do presume to take or hire any servant without a certificate of their behaviour and discharge from their former service being first produced und^{er} the penalty of five pounds as y^{r} law directs and that the schedule of every serv^{ts} wages und^{er} mentioned be transcribed and added to such notice which the s^{d} severall constables are ordered to deliver forthwith

[4]Quarter Sessions Records Book, 3. p. 81.
[5]The awarding magistrates were John Roberts and Humphrey Parry.
[6]Quarter Sessions Records, Book 3. p. 255.

to every petty constable within their respective Hundred to Certifie the publick hereof and also that the s[d] petty constables do bring to the s[d] H(igh) Constables an acco[tt] or List of all single persons within their respective Districts or parishes who are not hired after y[t] Later end of May next to be transmitted by the s[d] High Constable to the next q[r] sessions and it is further ordered that the s[d] H Constable do prepare and bring in Lists or Catalogues of all the Bridges within their respective Hundreds which are known to be County Bridges or have been repaired at the charge of the County of Denbigh or Jointly with the adjacent counties.

Serv[nt] Wages	£ s d	
To the chief servant in Husbandry	4 - 0 - 0	p. annum
To the second do.	3 - 0 - 0	p. annum
To a common workman to plow Hedge or ditch	2 - 10 - 0	p. annum
To a plowboy	1 - 5 - 0	p. annum
To a chief milk maid and that brews and bakes	2 - 0 - 0	p. annum
To an und[er] servant maid	1 - 4 - 0	p. annum
To a mower of grass and corn with meat	0 - 0 - 6	p. diem
To ditto without meat	0 - 1 - 0	p. diem
To common labourers with meat from Candlemass to All Saints ex[c([ept])] in Harvest	0 - 0 - 4	p. diem
To ditto without meat	0 - 0 - 8	p. diem
To ditto with meat from All S[ts] to Candlemas	0 - 0 - 3	p. diem
Ditto without meat	0 - 0 - 6	p. diem

that the penalty for giving more wages y[n] allowed is five pounds[7]

In the next (Trinity) quarter sessions the High Constables of the Hundred of Bromfield and Yale were severely reprimanded for not obeying this order. They were ordered to do so and to "make a true return thereof to two or more of his Maties Justices of ye peace within y[t] s[d] Hundreds most adjacent".

Quarter Sessions also licensed "Badgers", that is, persons who bought corn and other commodities in one place and

[7]The 1733 Easter quarter sessions ordered that these rates be continued for that year.

carried them elsewhere to sell. The Clerk of the Peace could claim a fee for registering them, and the applicant for a Badgers' Licence had to enter into recognisances for considerable sums of money,[8] which would be forfeited if they were guilty of "forestalling regrating or ingrossing". These practices had become so common in Denbighshire that the Clerk of the Peace was instructed to insert a notice in the Chester newspaper at three different times that "if any person or persons shall be discovered to be a forestaller, ingrosser or Regrator, such person or persons on discovery will be prosecuted to the full with the utmost rigour for such offence at the expense of the county".

There is a useful definition of these terms in the Llanelidan Court Leet Records.

A Forestaller "is one that buyeth or causeth to be bought any corn or other victuals whatsoever that is carrying to the fair or market to be sold before it be brought to the fair or market".

An Ingrosser "is one that buying corn growing upon the ground (otherwise than by demise or grant) or butter or cheese or other victuals with intent to sell the same again for unreasonable profit".

A Regrator "is one that in open fair or market, doth buy and get into his own hands corn or other dead victuals and doth sell the same again in some other fair or markets within four miles of the same place".[9] Court Leets, too, used to appoint "appraisers, searchers and scalers of leather 'overseers' " of butchers, and they presented and fined butchers for "showing and selling unlawful meats".[10]

The Justices of the Peace in Quarter Sessions when confronted with an important problem bearing on agriculture could be a model of efficiency. This is amply illustrated by their conduct when a Distemper of Horned Cattle raged in

[8]Quarter Sessions Record, Jan. 1764, Vol. VII. p. 111.
[9]These offences were very old ones as witness the complaints in the time of Edw. I against Winthianon Goch and Sidde wife of William the Carpenter. See *Ruthin Court Rolls*, ed. R. A. Roberts.
[10]Court Leets of Ruabon, Exlusham and Wrexham Regis. May 1726 and Oct. 1726.

the country for about seven years, from 1747 to 1754. When the Quarter Sessions met at Ruthin on the 10th January 1748, the J.P.'s immediately decided to close the bridges over the river Dee at Holt, Bangor and Overton, so that no "ox Bull cow calf bullock steer heifer" should be allowed to enter. Instructions were given to the High and Petty Constables within the Hundred of Bromfield to act as inspectors in putting the order into execution. Notices to this effect were inserted in the *Chester Chronicle,* money was levied to meet expenses and sums of money were given from the King's Bounty to persons who had lost animals.

In addition to Quarter Session meetings, the Justices were divided in January 1750 into groups which met weekly; at Ruthin on Mondays, Llanrwst on Tuesdays, Wrexham on Thursdays, Chirk on Saturdays, in order to devise ways and means of stamping out the plague.[11] In April 1750 all Church Wardens, overseers of the poor, surveyors of the highways, bailiffs, etc., were called upon to assist. Persons who evaded or neglected their duties were ruthlessly prosecuted under an Act of Parliament of George II.

In the Quarter Sessions held on October 2, 1753, it was ordered that

> "the sum of Twelve Pounds Twelve Shillings be immediately paid by the Treasurer of this County into the hands of Philip Crose (which) . . . was allowed him by the Judgement of this Court for his care trouble and attendance at Wrexham on every market day and fairs there for six years last past and several journeys during the said six years to several bridges and other places with directions and orders from the Justices to Constables to prevent cattle coming into the country from infected parts."

The J.P.'s had also judicial functions to perform both individually and collectively. Among the fees "taken" by the Denbighshire Clerk of the Peace in 1724/5 are fees for "Reg'ing a conventicle 6^{d} Certificate 6^{d}." A meeting for a religious purpose held at an unregistered house was by law a "seditious conventicle".

[11]Some of the meeting places were the Red Lyon at Wrexham, kept by Ann Worral; the Raven in Ruthin, kept by Robert Jones, and Catherine Roberts' house, The Bull at Denbigh.

The Quarter Sessions records (Hilary 1747[12]) gives the names of a large number of persons, including "Peter Williams Clerk"[13] who were committed for attending such a religious conventicle.

Punishments for even minor offences were very severe, including imprisonment in a House of Correction, whipping and Transportation to the Plantations overseas.

It was not always difficult to escape from a House of Correction, as the two following entries show.

The Quarter Sessions held at Ruthin on 26th day of July in 1734:

> "ordered that ye master of the House of Correction of Ruthin be obliged to consent out of his salary a sufficient maintenance for a Bastard child of John Johnson . . . committed to his custody and made his escape until he do find his prisoner."

And on 15th July, 1735, the Justices

> "ordered that the master of the House of Correction do pay one pound thirteen shillings out of his salary payable by the Treasurer at Hilary quarter next coming for the payment of a Bastard child whose father he suffered to escape."

David Wynne, the master of the House of Correction at Ruthin in January, 1757, had, however, some perquisites, for the Justices then granted him sixteen shillings:

> "being what the Court thinks proper and reasonable for his Journey and a man and horse's expenses in conveying John Parry from Ruthin to Liverpool in order to ship for his Majesty's service by sea which said John Parry was at the last quarter sessions deemed an incorrigible rogue and ordered into the house of correction until he had entered himself into his majesty's service."

The following extracts from Quarter Session records give some further examples of crimes and punishments in those hard days:

> *1714* "Eleanor Williams, a known vagrant and cheate be confined and be co"tinued in the custody of the keeper of the House

[12]Old Style.
[13]The Methodist Reformer.

of Correction in Wrexham for a week and to be corrected daily during that time and then be exposed in open market at Wrexham that the queen's subjects may know and avoid her, and that afterwards he doe remove her to the House of Correction in Ruthin, the keeper whereof is likewise to expose her in the market of Ruthin, Denbigh and Llanrwst."

On 10th July, 1719, it was

"ordered that Mary the wife of William Jones stand committed to the House of Correction as a lewd disorderly woman to remain there in custody for six months from this time and to be whipped weekly every Monday."

As late as 1790 Sarah Jones was ordered to be publicly whipped at Wrexham from the Town Hall to the Eagles Inn.

An entry in January, 1807, says: "For stealing 10lbs of hay of the value of two pence" a man was sentenced "to be publicly whipped in the market town of Wrexham from the Town Hall to the Eagles Inn there and back".

Hilary 1818: "David Jones Labourer for stealing three geese to be imprisoned in Ruthin for two months, & further till the following Saturday when he is to be conveyed to Llangollen and there whipped in the Public Market from the Bridge to the Bee Inn in Llangollen."

Many men and women were sentenced to Transportation and the orders and costs for conveyance either to Liverpool or Portsmouth, and from there by ship to the Plantations are given in the following extracts from the records.

In *1772*: A woman was sent to the Plantations and the Rev William Davies Shipley, Vicar of Wrexham, was one to contract for sending her out.

"Disbursements for 1757" record:

May 30 Paid Henry Williams Gaoler for conveying 3 felons o Liverpool in order for Transportation	3 - 7 - 0
May 31 To Do. to pay Mr Seele merchant of Liverpool for Transporting the above felons as p r^{et}	15 - 0 - 0

The following document illustrates a legal aspect of the transportation process:

County of Denbigh: To the Keeper of the Common Gaol of the said county.
By virtue of these severall orders of the last Great Session and General Gaol Delivery held for the said county touching the transportation of Robert Owen John Tudor Susann Ashton and Elizabeth Jones to his Majesty's plantations in America, you are hereby required forthwith to convey the said felons to the town of Liverpool, and to deliver them and every of them (together with five pounds p head, which the treasurer of the said county is to pay you for that purpose) to Mr Robert Seele merchant man, or his orders. He or they executing a Bond for the effective transportation of the said felons according to the Acts of Parliament in that case made and provided. And for doing so this shall be your sufficient warrant. dated 30 May 1757.

T. Kyffin.

After the American War of Independence convicts were sent in increasing numbers to Australia and costs of conveyance to a port and of transportation were greatly increased as is shown by a 1783 entry where Mary Jones and her assistants were paid £15 for conveying two convicts to Portsmouth, and £21 was paid for their transportation (presumably to Australia).

And, finally, an item which shows that prices as well as ideas about the treatment of criminals have changed immensely since the end of the 18th century. In 1793 Griffith Griffiths and Anne Lloyd were convicted of feloniously stealing One Hundred Rounds of tobacco of the value of twenty shillings. The man was sentenced to transportation for seven years, the woman was sentenced to a whipping and imprisonment in the House of Correction for six months.

The Industries of Denbighshire from Tudor Times to the Present Day

By GEORGE G. LERRY

PART III: MORE RECENT DEVELOPMENTS (a)

[*It was our intention to complete the publication of this prize essay at the Rhyl National Eisteddfod 1953 in three parts. Unfortunately, owing to pressure on our space this year, we are compelled to reduce this year's instalment, so that the final sections must stand over to our next volume. Part I, AGRICULTURE, appeared in volume 6 (1957) on pp. 67-96; Part II, THE EXTRACTIVE INDUSTRIES in volume 7 (1958) on pp. 38-66.*—EDITOR.]

HAVING dealt with agriculture and the extractive industries of the county, an attempt must now be made to enumerate what may be included under the general heading of more recent industrial developments in textiles, leather, chemicals, bricks, tiles, engineering, printing and publishing, paper making, brewery, furniture manufacture, industrial diamonds, electricity, gas, transport and a number of miscellaneous activities. In a number of cases, of course, the origin of these industries is not recent; the story goes back to days when a start was made in the cottage homes and farms. Factory development came later, and in one or two cases increasing to such an extent that employment is now found for a very large number of workers. And so then, we will begin with some account of the textile industry.

TEXTILES

From an early date in several parts of Denbighshire, notably Llansantffraid Glyn Ceiriog, Llanarmon D.C., Llangollen, Llanrwst, Denbigh and Wrexham—the wool of the Welsh sheep was extensively used for the manufacture of rough surface cloths, called friezes, also for stockings, and for flannel and blankets. It all began in a small way in the

kitchens of the cottages with their spinning wheels, in the weaving sheds at the farms, and in the fulling mills. Factories and power looms came later.

Wilfred Smith in his "Economic Geography of Great Britain" says the Welsh woollen industry though small in dimension had every material requirement at hand—wool, abundant soft water, high humidity, water power, and, except in North Wales, coal.

Eleven fulling mills at Glyn Ceiriog were mentioned by Wm. Lewis in his *Topographical Dictionary* of 1833. Glyn Ceiriog was the district where what was known as "small cloth" was manufactured. Llanrwst was noted for the spinning of woollen yarn and the knitting of stockings. In what is described as the early factory age, there is a reference by Professor A. H. Dodd, to a factory at Llanarmon D.C. In 1837 there were three woollen mills at Llangollen employing 84 people, and providing work for 56 hand looms. Here the water power of the River Dee was utilised. There were at this period five other mills in Denbighshire—employing 112 people—one in the Dee valley, two on the Ceiriog and two on tributaries of the Severn.

Power loom weaving for the manufacture of fancy goods in cotton was introduced into Llangollen by Turner and Comber of Manchester about the year 1805. They installed a Cartwright power loom. The machinery was destroyed by fire in 1814, but work was soon resumed, and was confined to spinning. The firm failed in 1819; another firm restarted the mill to produce cotton and woollen goods, and to find employment for 120 people. It was once producing 15,000 yards of material every week. It suffered in the slump of 1837, and in 1843 the place was converted into a flannel factory.

Near Denbigh were two cotton mills, principally engaged in spinning for Manchester manufacturers.

At Llewenni, near Denbigh, in or about 1780, Thomas Fitzmaurice (brother of the Earl of Selborne) erected on his estate a bleach works to deal with the brown linen woven on his Irish estate. The buildings were of an elaborate

character, and were said to have cost £20,000. He received the brown linen from his Irish tenants in lieu of rent. The linen was whitened at Llewenni and sold at Chester. After the death of Fitzmaurice, the works changed hands several times; Lord Kirkwall, the last owner, failed and the works was closed altogether by 1833.

An inspection of the Wrexham Parish registers for the 17th century by A. N. Palmer led this distinguished historian of the town to include woollen weaving, fulling, flax dressing (for the linen spinners and weavers), silk, crape stocking, and in one case, cotton weaving, amongst the ancient industries of Wrexham.

While these various branches of the textile industry enjoyed some prosperous periods, the trade was not destined to grow in Denbighshire as it did in Lancashire and Yorkshire. New machinery, and new sources of power were applied in other districts of Great Britain where the industry advanced, but in Denbighshire there was less and less activity, and, by the end of the 19th century, production in the county had almost ceased. From time to time a number of efforts had been made, and were later repeated to re-establish, the industry, but according to the 1952 directory of the Industrial Association of Wales and Monmouth, there were only six textile manufacturers in Denbighshire. One of these six is at Llanrwst and is the Oxford Manufacturing Company who make pyjamas, cot quilts, handkerchiefs and fancy goods; a second is the Manchester Associated Mills Ltd., Colwyn Bay, who list as their products — sheets, blankets, pillow cases, furnishing fabrics, linings poplins, overall clothes, and drills; a third is the factory of Mr W. Lloyd Jones of the Dee Mills, Llangollen, where ladies costume cloths, blankets and flannels are made; a fourth is the Upper and Berwyn Mills at Glyn Ceiriog, owned by Mr W. A. Denison; and the other two are the new factories set up on the Wrexham trading estate—British Celanese and Johnsons Fabrics (to which reference will be made later).

Since the 1952 Industrial Directory was published, the Upper and Berwyn Mills at Glyn Ceiriog have gone out of production. Of these Mr W. A. Denison, writing to the author of this account, says:—

> "I am unable to say definitely when these mills were established, but they were understood to be the second oldest in the Principality. The Berwyn Mill was rebuilt, I believe. in the year 1864, but Upper Mill is between 200 and 300 years old—no one knows exactly. The present Berwyn Mill ceased to be used as a woollen mill in 1941 when the floods following the heavy snows of that winter swept the weir away, robbing the mill of its motive power, which was derived from water—a water driven turbine. Being war time it was impossible to secure either electric, or any other means of power so that mill has not worked since then. Wool sorting, willeying, blending, carding and spinning (the processes carried on there) have since been carried out at another mill over the Border. The Upper Mill carried on successfully until March 1952. The processes of warping, loom preparation, weaving and mending were carried out there. Owing to the expansion and modernisation of the productions, the intricate processes of dyeing and finishing, during the past 15 years, have been carried out in Lancashire. Originally, flannels were the only articles manufactured, but during my ownership we have produced all pure wool white and coloured blankets, real Welsh tweeds, costume and coating cloths, dyed to the latest shades, and made in all the fashionable wears. The markets were exclusively wholesale and export. At the peak period, twenty people were employed locally, but if all the processes had been carried out at Glyn Ceiriog, it would have kept fifty people fully employed. The reason for the closure of the mill was the abnormally steep and crazy advance in the price of wool from September 1950, followed by an equally spectacular fall in the year 1951, followed again by a general recession of trade in textiles. The only woollen mill kept in Denbighshire now is the Dee Mill, Llangollen, owned by Mr W. Lloyd Jones."

The two new factories on the Wrexham Trading Estate —British Celanese and Johnsons Fabrics—belong to large textile organisations. Already hundreds of workers are employed by these two firms at Wrexham, and it may be that in this century we shall see an ancient industry of the county, revived, and developed in new forms on quite a large scale.

LEATHER

Wrexham is the chief centre of the leather manufacturing industry in the county. In the 17th century there were many tanners, skinners, curriers and glovers in the town. The borough of Denbigh had its guilds of glovers and curriers, and the Corporation there appointed an Inspector of Raw Hides in 1799. In 1790, Denbigh had eight master glovers and breeches makers, and eighteen boot and shoemakers, but by the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century, these numbers had been greatly reduced.

The development of the leather industry at Wrexham seems to have begun to take place in 1770.

In the seventeenth century there were many tanners, skinners, curriers and glovers in the town, but in 1770 John Peers established the sheep skin factory which ultimately became the Cambrian Leather Works of J. Meredith Jones and Sons (a concern owned in 1952 by The Gomshall Tanneries Ltd.).

John Peers met John Smalley, the Holywell cotton spinner, who visited the Wrexham Fairs to sell his yarns. He discovered that Peers tanned the skins of Welsh mountain sheep and that the leather he produced was of the kind needed by cotton drawers and spinners. Peers and Smalley began to do business together, and the manufacture of roller leather for the cotton mills began. The trade grew, and when Evan Morris took over the concern in 1822, the roller skins manufactured by Peers enjoyed a great reputation. Evan Morris introduced several improvements before 1858 when the business was purchased by J. Meredith Jones (1832-92) and Charles Rocke, natives of Wrexham, who took over Evan Morris's stock and plant, and retained all the workmen. The firm was known as Jones & Rocke, and the partnership lasted for thirty years. Meredith Jones was the son of a tanner. He entered his father's tannery at the age of thirteen, and learnt the business of tanning and currying. Charles Rocke was not a leather manufacturer by trade, but he had business experience and he had control of

the finances. The firm specialised in roller leather for the rapidly developing cotton spinning industry. The employees of the firm grew in number from three at the start until they reached hundreds. From a small country leather works, the firm expanded and built the Cambrian Leather Works in Salop Road and Rivulet Road, Wrexham. Here, hand labour was exchanged in almost every department for machinery, mostly invented by J. Meredith Jones. When a mutual agreement to dissolve partnership was reached in 1888, J. Meredith Jones continued the business with his two sons—Frank Meredith Jones, J.P., and Alfred Seymour Jones, J.P. The style of the firm was altered to J. Meredith Jones and Sons. They had warehouses in London, Manchester, Birmingham, Leicester, Glasgow, Boston, U.S.A., and Bombay, and depots in eighteen countries. Later Alderman Edward Hughes, M.B.E., of Glyndwr, Wrexham, was actively associated with the direction of the firm's business for many years. He was followed by Mr. Leslie Sutcliffe. Subsequently —round about 1936—the works went out of production. After the Second World War, however, the Gomshall Tanneries Ltd. became the proprietors of the works. The concern is continued under the old name, with the Prince of Wales Feathers as the registered trade mark.

The manufacture of roller leather does not take place at the works today. The two hundred employees are engaged in the production of crust and finished skiners, crust basils, shoe lining leathers, slipper leathers, embossed basils, clothing leathers, crust oil and cut chamois.

The Abbot Leather Works, in Pentrefelin, Wrexham, belongs to Hugh Price and Co., whose business was established in 1840 at the Bridge St. Tannery, Wrexham, on the site of a tannery founded there in the 18th century by John Williams, and continued by a family of the name of Beardsworth.

Hugh Price was a tanner and fellmonger. His daughter, Jane, married Evan Birkett Evans (Mayor of Wrexham 1903-4-5, and 6), who became managing partner in the firm of Hugh Price & Co. His sons, Hugh, Joseph, Harold and

Ralph, carry on the business today (1952). The firm removed from Bridge Street to the Abbot Mill property in Pentrefelin in 1904, and later very considerable extensions were made to the works. Messrs. Hugh Price & Co. specialise in the production of Welsh roller leather, which is exported to many parts of the world. The factory also produces leather for shoe uppers, slippers, gloves, belts, bags and clothing leather. During the second world war the firm supplied millions of feet of leather to be made up into jerkins and helmets for the troops. The firm employ about a hundred workpeople. In August, 1952, a new company—Roberts, Price & Co., North Wales Ltd. — was formed with its registered office at the Abbot Leather Works, Wrexham. It acquired the business of dealers in hides, skins, wool and animal products carried on as Roberts, Price & Co. at Abergele. The directors of the new company of the time of its registration were—J. L. Roberts, Glascoed, Abergele, Robert E. Roberts, Wayside Cafe, Bodelwyddan, Hugh Birkett Evans and Harold P. Birkett Evans, Wrexham.

The Llangollen Tanning Company operate at the Maesmor Mills, Llangollen, where they manufacture Lantan leathers, sheepskin leathers of all types, Welsh roller skins, Jewel, Universal, Lantan brand, White, Clothing and Lining Leathers, Ladies' belt-leathers, Masonic leathers and speciality leathers. About forty-five workers were employed in 1951.

Roller skins, lining leather, clothing leather, Basils and roundings are manufactured at Llanrwst by Edward Mills (Llanrwst), 1929, Ltd., of Plas Helyg, Llanrwst.

CHEMICALS

Denbighshire is today directly connected with the world-wide Monsanto Chemical organisation, through what is usually known as the Ruabon works, but the factory is actually situated in the adjoining parish of Cefn Mawr where employment is afforded to over 2,000 workers. The first chemical operations conducted on this site by the predecessor of the Monsanto Company, began in 1867 when oil was recovered

by distillation from the shale waste from the nearby collieries. The originator of this oil industry was Robert Ferdinand Graesser, J.P., of Argoed Hall, Llangollen, who began with a staff of three. Born in 1844 at Leipsic, Saxony, and educated at Chemnitz where he studied chemistry, Robert Graesser came to England as a young man, and was for a time connected with a Manchester firm of manufacturing chemists. Later he began business on his own at Cefn. The Shropshire Union canal which had been carried across the Dee valley by Telford half a century earlier, had led to considerable industrial activity, and, what was for years popularly known as the "oil works" was established close to its banks. This was of great benefit to the owner, for by 1870 the importation of American oil made the distilling from shale unprofitable, and attention was directed to the products of tar distillation. At that time the carriage of tar by road, or rail, was not permitted, but crude tar acids were brought by canal at low cost from the Midlands, and the resultant products were returned by the same route for disposal. The distillation of these crude tar acids yielded cresylic acids and phenol, and the operations at the Cefn works resulted in the first commercial production of pure phenol in Great Britain. The demand for the Cefn product increased so quickly that by 1900 or so more than half the world's total supply of phenol was produced at Graesser's Works. A further development in its use was the manufacture of picric acid, which, though originally produced as a dyestuff intermediate, was also a powerful explosive.

When Robert Graesser died on the 15th of July, 1911, it was on record that through his skill as chemist and engineer, the business had grown to one of the most important of its kind in the country. He contracted to the British and French Governments, and supplied considerable quantities of picric acid for the manufacture of lyddite during the Boer War. Although the business had grown very steadily, and much was achieved in the way of quality standards, the actual field of production remained relatively restricted until 1920 when the Monsanto Chemical Company of St Louis, Mis-

souri, U.S.A., decided to enter the European market, and acquired a half interest in Graesser's chemical plant at Cefn. Considerable expansion then took place in fine chemical and pharmaceutical manufacture. The Monsanto Company of St Louis had been founded in 1901 by John Francis Queeny, who chose the name Monsanto in honour of his wife, Olga Monsanto; it is in this way that Monsanto Chemicals Ltd. of Great Britain, and all its associated companies, derived their name. Queeny began to manufacture saccharin in America. Previously America had depended on Germany for this substance. After a struggle with German competitors, during which the U.S.A. price of saccharin fell from six dollars to sixty cents per pound, the Monsanto enterprise succeeded, and caffeine, vanillin, phenacetin, phenol-phthalein, and acetanilid, were introduced. During the nineteen twenties many of the established American lines were introduced at Cefn. These included the original saccharin, vanillin, salicylic acid and salicylates. When the manufacture of salicylic acid from phenol was commenced at Cefn, the new field was extended to include aspirin. The production of germicides also began at Cefn. A further development took place in 1928 when Monsanto's became the sole owners of the British Company, and assumed the present name—Monsanto Chemicals Ltd.—with an Anglo-American directorate. In 1928 at the age of 69 John F. Queeny retired from the presidency of the Company in favour of his son, Edgar M. Queeny. He, however, retained his position as Chairman of the Board, and during the last few years of his life, the Company purchased three United States concerns. They were—the Rubber Service Laboratories (which became Monsanto's Rubber Service Laboratories Division at Akron, Ohio); the Commonwealth Division of Mathieson Alkali Works, Newark, New Jersey; and the Merrimac Chemical Company of Boston, Massachusetts.

In 1930, Monsanto manufactured its first rubber chemicals in Great Britain at Cefn. During the next decade, expansion was practically continuous. The new Company, although remaining predominantly British in character, enjoyed the

great advantage of the full exchange of technical information with its American associates. Further strides were made in the manufacture of fine chemicals and pharmaceuticals, and more important still were the developments in the manufacture of industrial chemicals for the rubber industry, plastics, paints and preservatives.

During the Second World War, the Monsanto Company increased its production of many vitally important materials for armament, textile, food and pharmaceutical needs. By 1946 the Company was manufacturing more than two hundred products. A new factory was begun at Newport, Mon., in 1947; and at the same time more than £1,000,000 was spent upon extending manufacturing facilities at Cefn in order to meet the increasing demand of the post-war world for chemicals.

The Chairman of the Monsanto Chemicals Ltd. now is Mr Edward O'Neal, Junr., and in 1952 he was at Cefn when a new effluent purification plant was opened by Sir Ben Lockspeiser, Secretary of the Government Department of Scientific and Industrial Research. The Cefn factory draws its water supply from the River Dee, and, after it has been used in various chemical processes, it is purified by the new plant and returned to the river. The plant is claimed to be the first large scale application in Britain of this method of treating chemical waste liquids of non-biological origin. By 1952 it had cost £200,000 in research development, and pilot plant work, and about £400,000 in civil engineering. Sir Ben Lockspeiser said that in this treatment of effluent, the Monsanto Company had done as well as anybody possibly could, and that "unless we looked ahead and utilised the best that science and engineering offered to enable us to make things better and quicker than other countries, we could not maintain ourselves on a sound economy".

It is believed that at least eight small industrial concerns were the previous tenants of the site of the Cefn works now occupied by the Monsanto Company. They were: The Plas Kynaston Potteries, the Samuel Jones Boiler Works, Sylvester & Co., who made nuts and bolts, the Patent Mineral

Carbon Co., who made 'Blacking for Iron', Corbett's works, where soap and oil products were made, Cartwright & Co., who made soap and shaving paste, and the Plas Kynaston foundry.

And so, from the small beginnings of eighty or ninety years ago, when Robert Graesser began to recover oil from the wasteheaps of the collieries, the Cefn works has grown into an important unit of an organisation employing thousands of people in many lands, with agents in almost every country in the world.

The Monsanto Company's report for 1951 was regarded as constituting a milestone in the firm's progress. Assets rose to £11,792,099, and turnover exceeded £10,000,000 for the first time. In 1951 the output of the Cefn factory exceeded £6,000,000, of which 40% was direct exports. Monsanto products serve some of our major British industries. Some of them are known to all; many are not. "All have behind them," says the author of the Company's annual review, "a story of human interest. Few reach the general public in their own form, and under their own names, for chemicals are the 'backroom boys' of industry. They work behind the scenes, yet the world would be immeasurably poorer without their hidden, but vital contribution."

Without doubt, the Monsanto organisation of 1952 is a valuable aid to modern life, and to the economy of the United Kingdom, and to parts of the British Commonwealth with which it is now so closely associated. The directors of the Monsanto Chemicals Ltd. are: Edward A. O'Neal, Jr. (U.S.A.), Chairman and Managing Director, T. P. Berington, Alfred D. Daysh, Dr W. H. Garrett (formerly of Llangollen and Wrexham), L. A. Lewinton, Sir Eric Rideal, F.R.S., Dr W. D. Scott, P. A. Singleton (U.S.A.) and G. Tyser.

BRICKS AND TILES

It was not until the fourth decade of the nineteenth century that the Ruabon Terra Cotta industry took its rise, and the red marl of the district began to be converted into millions of bricks, and later into ceramic mosaic, tessalated

and encaustic tiles, and adamantine quarries. At an earlier period coarse earthenware was produced at Cefn, and Thomas Jones, the ironmaster, made bricks at Llwynenion.

James Coster Edwards, the founder of J. C. Edwards (Ruabon), Ltd., Terra Cotta & Encaustic Tile Manufacturers, was born in 1829 near the Trefynant works of this noted firm. After brief periods of employment at Wrexham, and with the New British Iron Co., Acrefair, he was associated with an unsuccessful smelting works at Brymbo.

About this time, his father purchased some coal workings near his home from a Manchester company, and it was here that James Coster Edwards launched out as a brickmaker about the year 1850. He had previously operated a lime works near Hunts' Bridge, Trefynant. His first venture in clay was in the manufacture of earthenware goods and common bricks. Later he established the Trefynant Works (between Acrefair and Trevor) where he began to make sanitary pipes and firebricks. There was no railway at hand; all the material had to be carted to Ruabon, or to the canal. When he began he employed one man and a boy; when he died in 1896 a writer in "Bye Gones" stated that he was perhaps the largest and most successful manufacturer of terra cotta work in the world! By the end of the 19th century, an important business had been built up at the Trefynant Works which contained 29 kilns and employed 270 men. At this time heavy shipments of pipes were being sent to India and to customers overseas. Following the production of pipes, Buff terra cotta and encaustic tiles were made—the clay being obtained by underground mining from the Llwynenion halfyard seam lying beneath Trefynant Park, and the westerly part of Acrefair.

The leasehold of the firm's Penybont works, near Newbridge was acquired by Mr J. C. Edwards in the sixties of the nineteenth century. Situate upon rich beds of the famous Ruabon marl, the Penybont works expanded rapidly. Here roofing tiles, red facing bricks and terra cotta were produced. At one time as many as ten draughtsmen were employed there, and among the buildings constructed from the

materials manufactured at Penybont are the Natural History Museum, West Kensington, London, the Prudential Assurance Company's building in Holborn, London, and the Birmingham law courts. Millions of Penybont facing bricks were used in the construction of Lever Brothers factory at Port Sunlight, and of its housing estate. Later the manufacture of flooring quarries took pride of place in the output at Penybont, and thousands of these quarries were exported to Canada every year. When Mr J. C. Edwards began operations at Penybont there were only two kilns, and few men were employed. By 1896 there were 45 kilns, and upwards of 500 men worked there. Encaustic tiles were once made at Penybont, but it was found to be more economical to concentrate this branch of the firm's activities at Trefynant.

The production of Adamantine tiles was carried on at Trefynant, and they have been sold extensively in Great Britain for the construction of power stations, schools, bakeries, Government buildings and R.A.F. stations.

In 1883 Mr Edwards built an entirely new works at The Coppy, Rhosllanerchrugog, where he manufactured glazed and enamelled bricks. There were abundant supplies of fireclay on the site, and here again expansion was rapid. The original productions of glazed and enamelled bricks were succeeded by the manufacture of buff flooring quarries, buff facings and firebricks. Fifteen kilns were constructed, and about 100 men were employed at the works. Mr J. C. Edwards became High Sheriff of Denbighshire in 1892-3; he was a Deputy Lieutenant, a Justice of the Peace, and an elected member of Denbigh County Council.

At the time of his death in 1896, the red clay works at Penybont, the tile works at Trefynant, the glazed brick works at Rhos, and the Plas Kynaston Potteries covered thirty acres, and nearly 1,000 men were employed. The works were capable of turning out two million articles of various sizes and forms per month; about sixty truck loads were despatched each day, and the monthly consumption of coal was 3,000 tons.

Mr J. C. Edwards was succeeded by his sons, Mr Coster Edwards (deceased) and Mr E. Lloyd Edwards of Trevor Hall. In 1952 Mr E. Lloyd Edwards, then in his 93rd year, still retained an active interest in the business. In 1926 the whole undertaking was formed into a limited company, and in 1952 Mr Lloyd Edwards's co-directors were Mr Martin Whitworth and Mrs J. E. Sharp.

By 1952 the ornamental floor tiling, the tesselated tile pavements, and the ceramic mosaic and superior adamantine quarries for floors, formerly made, were no longer being produced. The firm at this time was chiefly engaged in the manufacture of adamantine tiles for the floors of post offices, banks, bakeries and public buildings, air grids, pier caps, sanitary pipes, engineering and paving bricks, and artistic ridging.

Reference must now be made to the other works in the Ruabon neighbourhood where terra cotta, glazed stoneware, bricks and tiles are, and have been manufactured during the past sixty or eighty years. Henry Dennis of Hafodybwch, and New Hall, Ruabon, set up his brickworks on the Ruabon marl beds at Hafod (adjoining Hafod Colliery), and at Pant (Rhosllanerchrugog). Henry Dennis came to the district from Bodmin about 1850. He was engaged in numerous mining and commercial enterprises in East Denbighshire and in other parts of North Wales for many years. He became managing director of the Ruabon Coal and Coke Co., owners of Hafod Colliery, manufacturers of terra cotta, glazed and sanitary stoneware, glazed and enamelled bricks, and encaustic and tessalated tiles. Sixty years ago two words only —"Dennis" and "Ruabon" stamped plainly on bricks and terra cotta, architectural ornaments and tiles—invariably attracted the attention of visitors to the works, which had a large stockyard through which a railway siding ran to connect the factory with the Great Western Railway at Johnstown.

The Hafod works occupied ten or twelve acres, and the clay holes covered several more and were then (1892) being extended. At that time there were thirty-four kilns in use,

and the buildings comprised mill and press rooms, moulders, modellers and draughtsmen's rooms, and drying sheds for bricks and tiles. About 360 men were then employed. The Company also owned the Pant works at Rhos, where glazed bricks and tiles were manufactured. Here, there were thirty-five kilns, and the number of employees was 380. (The Dennis family disposed of their interest in the Pant works shortly after the First World War, 1914-18).

The products of the firm were used for buildings in Oxford Street, Manchester, for the subways at Paddington and King's Cross stations in London, for flats on the Albert Hall estate; for 96 and 97 Piccadilly, London, for the Theatre Royal, Stratford-on-Avon; for the Russian Chapel in Welbeck Street, London; the Pelican Club, Soho, for mansions in Berkeley Square, for residences in Dublin and York, for buildings on the Duke of Westminster's estate, for the market buildings at Southport, and for residences overseas, including customers in Las Palmas, Grand Canaries.

For many years the firm was engaged in the manufacture of facing bricks, roofing tiles, floor quarries and terra cotta mouldings, but as the fashion for ornamental facades changed, the output of the works was concentrated upon floor quarries and fittings and facing bricks. The firm claimed in 1952 to provide one sixteenth of the country's requirements in the way of floor quarries. Many millions of these floor quarries have been exported to all parts of the world. Plans for re-equipping the works were made before the end of the Second World War (1939-45). The clay resources having been proved, two new grinding mills were erected—each capable of preparing 120 tons per day; transport was modernised; and electricity was introduced to take the place of steam drives, although some of the old steam plant was retained to use the exhaust steam to heat the hot floor drying sheds. Unique in the industry is the use of cardboard cartons for carrying comparatively heavy goods overseas.

After the death of Henry Dennis, the direction of operations fell upon the shoulders of his son, the late Henry Dyke Dennis of New Hall, Ruabon. Until January, 1934, the Hafod

brickworks was known as the Brick Department of the Ruabon Coal and Coke Co., Ltd. It was then formed into a separate private limited company under the name of Dennis, Ruabon. In 1952, the directors of it were Major Patrick Dennis (grandson of the founder), Chairman, Mr J. Stanley Jones (A.M.I.Mech., E.M.Inst.F.), managing director, Mr H. Manton Dennis (another grandson of the founder), and Mr Douglas W. Clarke. The number of employees was 220, and since modernisation output per man hour is up 100%.

The works of the Ruabon Brick and Terra Cotta Company, Ltd., which are situate close to the Wrexham-Ruabon main road at Ruabon, were established in 1883 by John Haigh, father of Reuben Haigh of Penygardden, Ruabon (deceased), and Henry Jenks was managing director. After the death of John Haigh, Reuben Haigh and his three sisters formed the directorate, and J. Wilbraham Jones was secretary of the Company. Later Mr W. Ll. Gray of Glen Offa, Gardden, Ruabon, became managing director. The works were erected on about twenty acres of land containing the famous Ruabon clay, and over a long term of years the Company have been engaged in brick, tile and terra cotta manufacture. In 1951 about 105 workers were employed by the firm.

On the opposite side of the Ruabon main road, where a line of villas now stand, Monk & Newall formerly had a brickworks.

The Delph brickworks at Acrefair belong to Messrs Wyndham & Phillips, Ltd. The works was founded in mid-Victorian days by Thomas H. Seacombe. He sold the business to a London civil engineer. In 1900 a partnership was formed under the title of Wyndham & Phillips, Ltd., and this is still the registered name of the Company. The products of the works include salt glaze vitrified stone ware, drain pipes and salt glazed mangers. The clay used is mined locally and passed through the processes of grinding, tempering, machining and moulding before being placed in the kilns for burning and glazing. There are 18 kilns at the works. In 1951, owing to shortage of skilled labour, only 10 kilns were in use, and employment was given to about fifty workers.

The Abenbury Brickworks and the Wrexham Brick and Tile Company's works near the King's Mill, Wrexham, were acquired by Thomas Marshall & Co. (Loxley), Ltd., of Storrs Bridge Works, Sheffield, the former in 1946 and the latter in 1949. At these two works refractories and high temperature insulating bricks are produced. The fireclay is obtained from Ffrith. In 1952 the number of employees at the two works was 150.

Common bricks are still produced at Llay Hall, near Gwersyllt, at the works formerly run in connection with Llay Hall Colliery (now closed).

The Gwersyllt Silica Brick Co., Ltd., was founded in 1916 by Peter Williams, T. Arthur Acton, J. Arthur Harrop, H. P. Harris, Charles Jones, Arthur Williams and C. P. Williams (formerly M.P. for Wrexham). Owing to the scarcity of silica bricks to meet the demands of the steel trade, the Gwersyllt works were acquired at the request of the Ministry of Munitions. Production started in November, 1916. Pant Works, Rhos, were acquired from Dennis, Ruabon, who had leased their old brickworks to the military as a munitions stockyard. Only highly refractory materials for high temperature steel furnace linings are at present produced, but coke oven and gas retort linings have been made. The output is up to 300 tons per week. The men employed at Gwersyllt number twenty-seven and the number at Pant, Rhos, is forty-one.

Roberts and Maginnis Ltd., Trevor, near Llangollen, produce silica refractories of all types, including silica bricks for steel furnaces, glass tanks, vertical and horizontal gas retorts, coke ovens, etc.; also plastic ganister for steelworks and foundries, and special silica cements. The silica is obtained from Minera.

POTTERY

The Ponkey Potteries were established in 1889 at Aberderfyn (near Rhosllanerchrugog) by Walter Pen Dennis of Pendine, Wrexham (son of Henry Dennis of New Hall, Ruabon). The works were set up on the site of an old brick

manufactory. They covered an area of four and a half acres. Employment was found for about 100 workers. All kinds of yellow, brown and black glazed ware, and articles in fancy red, were made. The products of the works included garden pots, saucers, seed pans, pan mugs, milk coolers, crucibles, fern pots, etc. Operations continued for a number of years, but in 1905 the works were acquired by Astons, Ltd. and were converted into the present furniture factory there.

Long before the Ponkey Pottery works were established, there was a pottery at Cefn known as the Plas Kynaston Pottery Works. It stood on part of the extensive site now occupied by the Monsanto Chemical Works.

Quite recently Mr Rhys Powell set up a pottery, which he works himself, at Waterloo Forge, Regent Street, Llangollen, where he is producing artistic ware.

ENGINEERING AND SHEET METAL WORK

Constructional, agricultural, automobile, electrical, heating, mechanical and ventilation engineers are included in the Denbighshire sections of the engineering list published by the Industrial Association of Wales and Monmouth for 1952 (Reference has been made already to the ironfounders working in the county, and one or two of these are also engineers and millwrights). In recent times a large number of electrical, radio and television concerns have been established in the county, and the published descriptions of their work invariably include the word—"engineers", but as a rule these firms are engaged in the installation, maintenance and repair of products manufactured elsewhere. (There are exceptions, such as the new factory on the Wrexham Trading Estate where capacitators for wireless and T.V. are made, and some principals are, of course, trained engineers).

At the Acrefair Engineering Works of Hughes and Lancaster at Acrefair (Ruabon) sewage ejectors and pumps, air compressors, and textile processing machinery are made. In 1951 the personnel was 100. The firm was established at Chester in 1865, but in 1892 the business was removed to

Acrefair. The owners are proud of the fact that "Shone" ejectors made by the firm were installed at the Houses of Parliament in 1886, and the plant is still in operation. Textile machinery has been supplied to many large mills in this country, and has also been sent to many places overseas.

In 1947 the business was acquired by the Butterley Company Ltd. of Ripley, Derbyshire, but, for trading purposes the old name of the firm is retained under the parentage of the Butterley group of companies. Since 1947 extensive new buildings have been erected at Acrefair, and plans laid in 1951 included provision for the production of boilers, overhead travelling cranes, and oxygen generating plant.

Arthur Cudworth & Sons, Ltd., Wrexham, an old established firm of engineers and millwrights, produce iron railings, gates, seats, fire-escapes, and have an excellent reputation for good craftsmanship.

Millers Supply Co., Wrexham, are flour milling engineers. The firm operates in the old Felinpuleston Flour Mill, and manufacture flour milling, provender milling and seed cleaning machinery.

Davis Bros. of Mile End, Llangollen, are sheet metal workers and manufacturers of piano type hinges, tool boxes, work trays, cabinets, wheel guards, metal panels, shelving, drawn and rolled sections, and pressings in mild and stainless steels, brass, aluminium and monel.

Metropolitan Meters (North Wales), Ltd., whose works are at Colwyn Bay, are sheet metal workers and ventilation engineers, producing gas meters, cafe and milk bar counters, and fittings, repetition work in sheet metal, stainless steel work, welding, brazing, etc.

Rubery Owen and Co., Wrexham (whose operations at Whitegate Factory, Wrexham, will be dealt with more fully later), manufacture at Wrexham industrial steel storage equipment, and sheet metal pallets and stillages.

(To be concluded)

The Denbighshire Crop Returns for 1854

By J. PHILLIP DODD

PART I

A Summary of Events Leading to the Collection of the 1854 Returns

In 1854 was commenced the first collection of agricultural statistics in England and Wales on modern lines. A pilot scheme involving the counties of Norfolk and Hampshire was organised in 1853, and the comparative success of this lent encouragement to the Board of Trade to extend operations to eleven counties in the following year. These counties were, Hampshire, Berkshire, Wiltshire, Norfolk, Suffolk, the West Riding of Yorkshire, Leicestershire, Worcestershire, Shropshire, Denbighshire and Brecknockshire.

This decision represented a partial measure of success for those agricultural writers, statisticians and economists, who had for long years been lobbying to this end. Among the earliest of these one might count Arthur Young, who attempted to collect information himself in 1788, 1789 and in 1795.[1]

Credit for the first such collection must, however, go to Wales and to that energetic and erudite Encyclopedist, Edward Lhwyd, who sent out questionnaires as long ago as 1696.

Official interest in the collection of agricultural information can be dated to 1795, when the near prospect of famine throughout the kingdom prompted the Government to seek information through the agency of the Lord Lieutenant of each county. In actuality, the factual material was gathered by the parish constables on odd scraps of paper,[2] and in total formed such a heterogenous muddle that the Select

[1] *Annals of Agriculture.* Vol. XXIV. 1795.
[2] Public Record Office H.O. 42/36-37/-.

Committee set up to report on the evidence, could make little sense of it.

In 1800 a second attempt was made, this time with the aid of the bishops, who addressed circulars to incumbents in their dioceses.[3] The results of this inquiry likewise proved to be too imprecise to yield anything like an authoritative survey of the country.[4]

The return of conditions of near famine in 1801 and the threat of civil insurrection made it imperative for the Government to discover the true state of agriculture. Preprinted forms were distributed to the Clergy of every parish, but as the inquiry was restricted to ascertaining the acreages of pulse, potatoes, turnips and grain the resultant information[5] was of limited value.[6]

The harvest of 1801 was so outstandingly productive,[7] that with the disappearance of fears of famine and of civil disorder, official interest in agricultural statistics lapsed. From time to time other agricultural crises occurred and Royal Commissions sat in 1820, 1833 and 1848,[8] while the Poor Law Commissioners in 1834[9] and the Tithe Commissioners in the 1830s collected information on wages, agricultural customs, and land use. The information so derived was, however, fragmentary and it was left to the more progressive elements in agriculture and the statis-

[3]P.R.O. H.O. 42/52-55.
[4]For a full discussion see "Agricultural Returns and the Government during the Napoleonic Wars". W. Minchinton. *Agricultural History Review*. I. 1953.
[5]P.R.O. H.O. 67-.
[6]Papers published on the 1801 Crop Returns include:
W. G. Hoskins (Leics.) in *Studies in Leicestershire Agrarian History*. 1949.
W. E. Minchinton (Glos.), *Trans. Bristol and Glos. Arch. Soc.* 1949.
D. Williams (Wales),B.B.C.S. 1950-51.
[7]"The State of Agriculture in Shropshire, 1775-1825". *Trans. Shrops. Arch. Soc.* 1954. pp. 1-31. J. Phillip Dodd.
[8]Select Committee on Agriculture, 1820.
Select Committee on Agriculture, 1833.
Select Committee on Agricultural Customs, 1848.
[9]"Report from Commissioners of Poor Law". Vol. XXX. 1834.

ticians[10] to canvass for accurate knowledge of the facts concerning the chief industry of the country.

Active lobbying by G. R. Porter[11] and others persuaded Mr Milner Gibson, Vice President of the Board of Trade to introduce a "Bill to make provision for the collection of Agricultural Statistics in England and Wales". This was in 1847 but the Bill failed to get beyond a first reading. Agitation continued and in 1850 James Caird undertook an agricultural tour of investigation because events "indicated the necessity of some inquiry into the actual state of agriculture in the principal counties of England".[12] Following on a deputation in 1853 from the Royal Agricultural Society of England and the Highland Society[13] the Government undertook the experimental collection of agricultural statistics in 1853-4.

THE 1854 RETURNS[14]

Official pre-printed forms "Schedules A" were sent to all occupiers of holdings of more than two acres in the eleven counties selected in England and Wales. The organisation of the collection was through the Poor Law Inspectors, hence the subsequent presentation of the statistics as block Returns for each Poor Law Union. The Returns for each county list (i) the individual Unions, the number of parishes in each Union, the gross acreage; (ii) an itemised summary of various crops in tillage under fourteen headings, a total tillage acreage; the grass acreage given in four categories of clover, lucerne, and other artificial grasses, permanent pasture, irrigated meadows, sheep walks and downs, the total acreage in grass; (iii) six further headings of acreage of houses,

[10]For a note on experimental attempts to collect statistics in 1836 and 1844, see J. T. Coppock, "The Statistical Assessment of British Agriculture". *Agricultural History Review*. Vol. IV. Pt. 1. 1956.
[11]"Suggestions in Favour of the Systematic Collection of the Statistics of Agriculture". *Journal Roy. Stat. Soc.* 1839. G. R. Porter.
[12]*English Agriculture 1850-51.* James Caird.
[13]J. T. Coppock. *Op. cit.* p. 11.
[14]"Reports of Poor Law Inspectors on Agricultural Statistics 1854". House of Commons Sessional Papers, 1854-5. (1928).

gardens, roads, fences, etc., acreage of waste attached to farms, acreage of wood and plantation, acreage of parish commons, acreage comprising holdings under two acres; the number of acres not accounted for, and a total acreage for these six items. (iv) Livestock were listed under ten headings, two for horses, three for cattle, four for sheep and one for swine. (v) The Return was rounded off by a statement of the number of Schedules A filled up by the occupiers, by enumerators, number unreturned, and a total of the number of Schedules A sent out for each Union. Each of these forty-three items were also presented in total for each county as a whole.

There was not a little opposition by farmers, many of whom as in 1801 feared that the information so gathered might be the prelude to increased tithe or tax assessment. Others resented what they felt to be an unwarranted interference in their private affairs, some were too indifferent to make a return or perhaps they felt they had something to conceal. A small percentage childishly burnt the schedule as happened at Moreton Say in Shropshire, less occasionally there was an example of more puerile behaviour like that of William Tarte. The latter, a fairly prosperous cattle farmer of Diddlebury, near Ludlow, went to the trouble of cutting the schedule into four pieces which he returned to the Inspector with the comment, "The very idea of such questions! What next?"[15]

Less openly expressed was the negative attitude of the Board of Guardians, Clerks of Unions, Inspectors and enumerators towards the scheme. Remuneration in the Poor Law Service was far from excessive and administrators and officials alike could not be expected to take kindly to the imposition of additional unpaid duties. There was some justification for this view particularly since Dr Kay, a former Assistant Commissioner of the Poor Law, had in his capacity as Secretary to the Privy Council Committee of Education (1838-49) shown signs of developing the educational activities

[15]"Reports of Poor Law Inspectors". *op. cit.* Report of Mr. Doyle. p. 77-9.

of the Poor Law Unions. The prospect of yet another Government Department, the Board of Trade, saddling the Unions with responsibility for the collection of agricultural statistics was obviously one to be resisted.

This attitude is plainly to be seen in the manner in which the Reports of the various Inspectors dwelt on the difficulties encountered in the collection and completion of the Returns. Andrew Doyle, for example, the Inspector for Denbigh and Shropshire stated, "The collection of agricultural statistics by means of the machinery through which the Poor Law is administered is an experiment, the extension or repetition of which I could not recommend in this district".[16]

Nevertheless Bills were introduced in 1856 and again in 1857, with the effect of initiating an official system of collection of agricultural statistics. Neither of these Bills received a second reading and it was not until 1866 that the Board of Trade was empowered to obtain Agricultural Returns through the agency of the Board of Inland Revenue.[17]

Much of the credit for this successful conclusion of a long fought battle must go to G. R. Porter and a group of progressive Members of Parliament. The more prominent of these were, James Caird, C. Wren Hoskyns, J. D. Dent and H. S. Thompson,[18] whose Bills and writings kept the issue before the public until victory was achieved.

PART II

THE DENBIGHSHIRE RETURNS

For the purpose of Poor Law administration the county of Denbigh was divided into nine Poor Law Unions. These were St Asaph, Conway, Corwen, Holywell, Llanfyllin, Llanrwst, Ruthin, Wrexham and Oswestry. The Denbigh-

[16]"Reports of Poor Law Inspectors". *op. cit.* A. Doyle. pp. 77-9.
[17]J. T. Coppock. *op. cit.* p. 17.
[18]G. R. Porter, *The Progress of the Nation 1851.* For Dent, Hoskyns, Caird and Thomson see the *Journals* of the Roy. Ag. Socy. of E.; and Roy. Stat. Soc. for 1854, 1856 and 1863.

shire portion of Holywell (Flint) Union comprised no more than 502 acres and therefore will be considered as part of St Asaph. In view of the fact that it was thought fit to include details of these 502 acres in the 1854 Crop Returns, it appears rather odd that similar information for the Denbigh parishes in Oswestry (Salop) Union was omitted from the Denbigh Returns.

The area affected by this omission was some 10,000 acres mainly contained in the parishes of Chirk and Llansilin. Inasmuch as these parishes form but a small part of the Oswestry Union, it has been felt that as details of land use in this Union would not be truly representative of conditions in either Chirk or Llansilin, they should be left out of any further discussion.

Andrew Doyle, the Inspector of Poor Law for Denbigh, found the Denbighshire farmers far from co-operative in the compilation of the 1854 Crop Returns. Some 6,372 'Schedules 'A' were sent out, of which 19% had to be completed by the official enumerators themselves. Half of the latter cases related to St Asaph's Union, where some 40% of the Returns had to be dealt with in this manner. There was a similar proportion for the much smaller Llanfyllin Union but the bulk of the unsatisfactory Returns, apart from St Asaph, concerned Llanrwst and Wrexham, where Returns obtained by the enumerators totalled 41·5% and 15% respectively.

There were in addition 123 'Schedules A' in respect of which no information was received. Well over half of these related to Wrexham Union and over half the remainder to St Asaph. Doyle reported that some 4,000 acres of land in Wrexham and about 2,000 acres in the rest of the county were unaccounted for. This deficiency of 6,000 acres represented, however, no more than 1·6% of the total county area and like the other indications of non-co-operation should not be regarded as seriously damaging the utility of the Returns as a whole.

Much of the difficulty experienced by the enumerators was in respect of Unions where there were numerous smallholders. The average size of holding, for what it is worth,

RELIEF

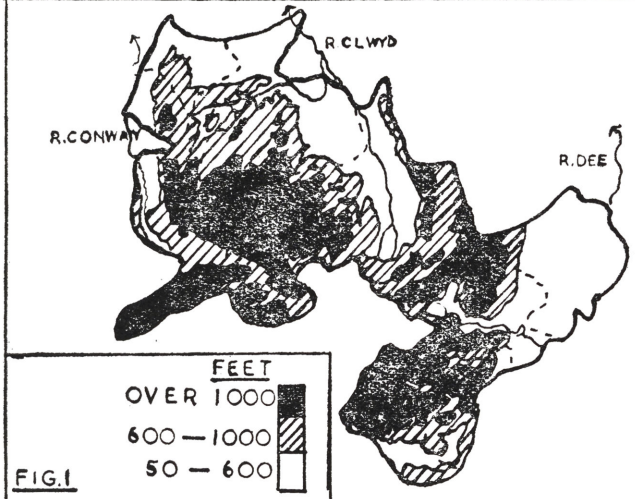


FIG.1

SIMPLIFIED GEOLOGY.

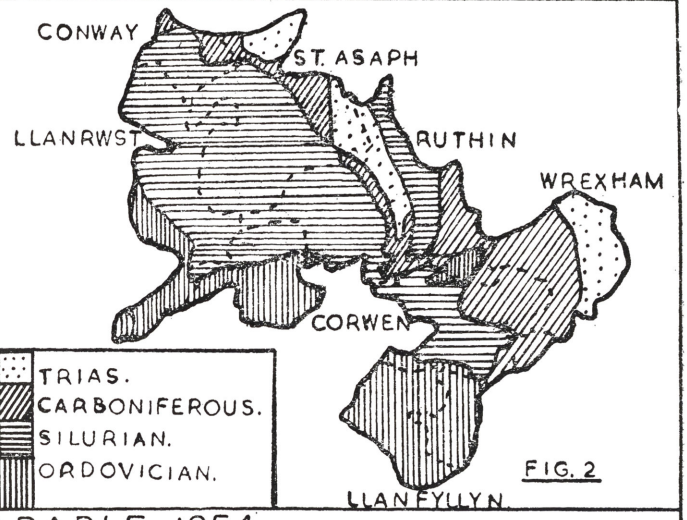


FIG. 2

DENBIGH. LIVESTOCK 1854.

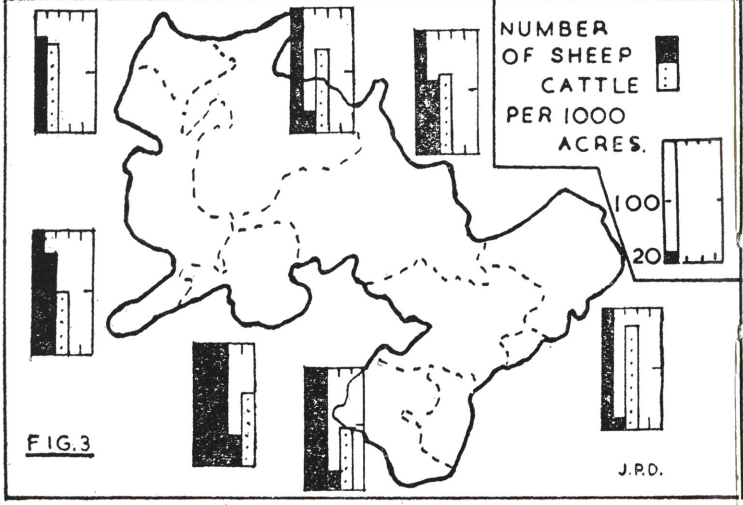


FIG.3

ARABLE 1854.

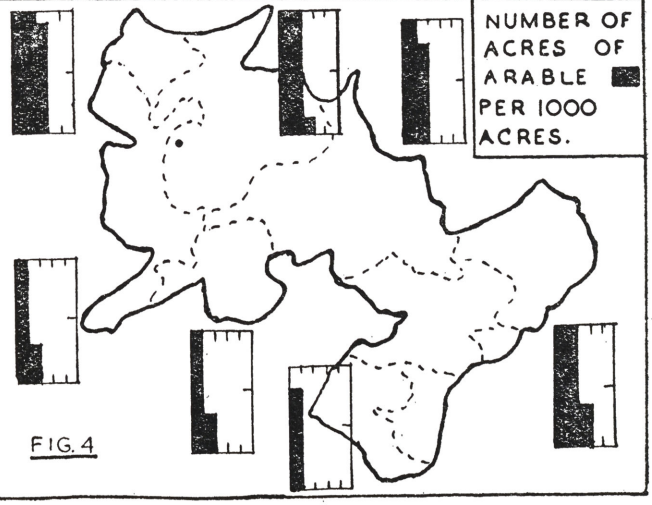


FIG. 4

in St Asaph was 45·5 acres and in Wrexham Union 36·5 acres.

In the case of St Asaph difficulty in the collection of agricultural statistics, was to be noted in the Diocese at large as far back as 1801.[1] As for Wrexham smallholders it is not improbable that many of these were squatters' holdings of not very sound title,[2] in which case official returns would obviously be viewed with considerable suspicion.

The Clerk of the Wrexham Union stated that "Many parties, both landowners and tenants, have positively refused to fill up the schedules; and, in some instances where the Enumerators have endeavoured to gain information by going over farms, the tenants have threatened to treat them as trespassers".[3]

Despite these difficulties agricultural statistics were collected in respect of some 376,024 acres, which allowing for the Returns for Chirk and Llansilin, included under Shropshire, represented a total Return of 98·4%. As regards the statistical validity of the Returns this is a point, which in the case of Denbighshire it is not particularly easy to determine. Changes in the area of the administrative county which took place in 1877, 1902 and 1920, tend to nullify any attempt to check the 1854 Returns in detail against the Board of Agriculture Returns commenced in 1866.

Thus the county area was 392,005 acres up to 1877, and 426,084 acres to 1902. Further while the 1854 Returns gave details of sheepwalk, waste, and parish common, which could be equated as rough grazing, no return was made under this head in later statistics until 1892. At this date a figure of 53,824 acres is given which roughly corresponds with the acreage of sheepwalk listed in 1854.

A further difficulty arises from differences in opinion as to which category of land use 'irrigated meadow' should be

[1]"The State of Agriculture in Shropshire, 1775-1825". *Trans. S.A.S.* 1954. p. 20. J. Phillip Dodd.
[2]Support for this view is to be found in *The Lordship of Oswestry 1393-1607*. W. J. Slack. 1951. pp. 19-20-81.
[3]Reports of Poor Law Inspectors on Agricultural Statistics (England), 1854. No. VII Report of Andrew Doyle. p. 78.

attributed. In the 1854 Returns this item is listed with the permanent grass, however, so is 'clover, lucerne and other artificial grasses'. One could, with good reason, class the latter item as rotation grass to be included under the arable acreage. Equally so the irrigated meadow, despite the fact that it bore a regular 'crop' of hay, could well be entered under permanent grass.

In Wales at this time, land of this nature, lying alongside a stream, was frequently noted as 'arable and meadow'. This was particularly the case in the Tithe Survey of Denbighshire,[4] and was presumably a survival of the run-rig system. Confusion as to whether such land should be correctly described as arable or as permanent grass lingered on to bedevil the Board of Agriculture Statistics from 1866 onwards.

Contrary to the earlier (1854) practice, 'irrigated meadow' in later years appears to have been lumped together with rotation grass thus becoming in effect an arable crop. This becomes apparent if the relevant figures for 1854 and say 1870, when total acreages reasonably agree, are compared.

Bearing in mind that the 1854 figures do not include Llansilin and Chirk parishes, the tillage acreage was 86,306 in 1854, and 85,810 acres in 1870. Permanent grass was shown as 101,696 acres in 1854 and 102,858 acres in 1870. Total crops and grass in 1854 amounted to 231,926 acres as compared in 1870 with 235,887 acres. This latter total was made up of tillage plus permanent grass plus 47,219 acres listed as 'grass for hay'.[5] Total arable in 1870 was accordingly derived from 85,810 acres in tillage plus 47,219 acres of 'grass for hay', giving a grand total of 133,029 acres.

In order to arrive at a comparable acreage for arable in 1854 it becomes necessary to take in three individual items of tillage, rotation grass, and irrigated meadow, which together yield a total of 130,230 acres. On this point it may be of relevance to note that in the 1853 pilot scheme 'irrigated meadow' did not appear its place being filled by 'pasture and

[4]Vide Tithe Survey for Llansilin parish 1844.
[5]Actually this figure included 939 acres of 'grass not for hay'.

meadow', which was entered under arable. From this it would seem that there was in 1854 a class of grass, other than rotation grass, which was regarded, even if in long ley, as potential arable. In the remainder of this paper reference to arable will accordingly be based on this view.

More important than this point is the fact that insofar as the 1866 and later Board of Agriculture Statistics are any guide, they tend to demonstrate the general validity of the 1854 Crop Returns. This is apparent from what has previously been stated concerning the general agreement between 1854 and 1870 statistics in respect of tillage, arable, permanent grass, and total crops and grass acreage. Moreover, the 1854 acreage of sheepwalk by reason of its close comparison with land first noted in 1892 as rough grazing, reinforces this impression.

As far as the present writer is concerned the 1854 Returns, both from the point of general validity and of adequate coverage of the county, appear to afford a reasonably reliable source of information for this otherwise undocumented period in the agricultural history of Denbigh. Taking the county as a whole land use in the county was as given in the following Tables:

TABLE A. LAND USE IN DENBIGHSHIRE IN 1854

% of county area as	*Arable*	*Grass*	*Grazing*	*Wood*	*Urban*
	34	27	33·3	2·9	2·8

TABLE B. Average Density of the chief Crops and Livestock per 1,000 acres of the county area in 1854.

Temp. Grass	*Wheat*	*Barley*	*Oats*	*Turnips*	*Bare Fallow*	
77	57	53	70	16	14	Acres
Horses	*Milch Cows*		*Total Cattle*		*Total Sheep*	
31	59		124		355	Head

PART III

REGIONAL LAND USE IN DENBIGHSHIRE IN 1854

The Poor Law Unions to which the various parishes of the county were assigned can hardly be regarded as forming distinct geographical regions. They were purely admini-

strative units for the most part based on centres outside Denbighshire. In fact three only, Wrexham, Ruthin and Llanrwst, formed self contained autonomous units within the county boundary. The Unions varied considerably in size, the largest, Ruthin, comprised nearly 92,000 acres, as compared with Conway which contained only 13,500 acres of Denbighshire territory.

The latter union took in three parishes in the north of the county and extended from the Creuddyn Peninsula and the lower Conway Valley in the west to Mynydd Llanelian in the east. Except for this highland most of the area is well below 600 feet and is developed on shales, mudstones, siltstones, flags and sandstones of Silurian age.[1] (*Figures* 1 and 2).

The Carboniferous Limestone ridges of the Creuddyn Peninsula have thin soils, otherwise soils over the greater part of the region are moderately light or medium loams.[2] Conditions on the whole, including rainfall (annual average of 35 inches), favoured arable farming. This was confirmed by the fact that the proportion of arable (58%) was much greater than in any other part of the county, and there was correspondingly less land in permanent grass (19·5%) than elsewhere. About 15·5% of the Union was rough grazing, mostly agrostis grassland, while just over 4% was described as woodland.

Wheat was the chief cereal grown 13% of the total area being devoted to it although nearly as much land was in temporary grass, more in fact (18%) if irrigated meadow is included under this head. Barley was the next grain in the rotation, 10·7%, with oats third, 8·2% (*Table* C). Turnips were relatively unimportant occupying only 2·2% of the total area but the acreage left in bare fallow 5·7%, was much in excess of any other part of Denbighshire.

[1]B. Smith and T. Neville George: *British Regional Geology—North Wales.* 1948. pp. 44-7.

[2]E. J. Howell: *Land of Britain—North Wales.* Parts 41-3. 1946. pp. 632-5.

TABLE C

Table of Cereal Densities per 1,000 acres in the seven Poor Law Union Areas of Denbighshire in 1854.

UNION	*Wheat*	*Barley*	*Oats*
St. Asaph	82	60	96
Conway	130	107	82
Corwen	22·5	36	74
Llanfyllin	24	29	28
Llanrwst	18	26	78
Ruthin	64	78	60
Wrexham	104	55	71
COUNTY	57	53	70

Comparatively few sheep were to be found here, the density per 1,000 acres being no greater than 154 animals. As might be expected from the nature of the country and the inclusion of the lower Conway Valley with the area, cattle were of much greater importance (*Figure* 3). There were signs of emphasis on dairying, about three out of every seven cattle stocked being milch cows. The average number of beasts per thousand acres was 59.

South of Conway Union lay the much larger, rather elongated, Llanrwst Union which stretched south to Arenig Fach and the Merioneth border, and eastward from the Conway Valley to Mynydd Hiraethog. The area is for the most part well over 600 feet O.D., and shows a sharp rise from the Conway Valley to this height. The ground continues to rise both to the east and the south, where there are extensive areas above 1,200 feet (*Figure* 1).

Average annual rainfall is of the order of 50 inches and the region is particularly exposed to the weather from the north and west. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that 45% of the land could be classed as rough grazing in 1854 and that barely 26% was in arable use (*Figure* 4). Most of the remainder (25%) was permanent pasture, much of this being located, no doubt, on the deep alluvial soils[3] of the Vale of Conway.

Farms were of middling size, the average being 94 acres, and tended to run sheep rather than cattle (*Figure* 3). Even

[3] *Land of Britain—North Wales.* p. 698.

so, the density of livestock was not particularly high, cattle at one to ten acres (98 per thousand acres) and sheep at one to three acres (360 per thousand acres) being the average. Sheep were presumably more in evidence on the higher ground, mostly agrostis pasture and heather moor, and where also holdings were larger.

Cattle, on the other hand, were probably concentrated more in the Vale of Conway, where the Llanrwst pastures enjoyed a reputation, long established, for their fattening and milk producing qualities.

As regards the arable land, half of the total acreage was in grass either as rotation grass (8·0% of the total acreage of the Union) or irrigated meadow (5·0%). Of the remainder, oats occupied most of the ground (7·8%), very little barley or wheat being grown (*Figure* 5).

To the east of these two Unions of Conway and Llanrwst lay the more compact Poor Law Union of St Asaph. Conditions of relief and structure are rather more diverse than in either of the areas previously discussed. The eastern limit of the region is formed by the Triassic rift-valley of the Vale of Clwyd, where the solid geology is largely obscured by a thick cover of drift.[4] To the west of the Vale an outcrop of Carboniferous Limestone forms a more or less continuous series of hills from Denbigh northwards to Old Colwyn (*Figure* 2).

South of this 600 foot upland area the country rises gradually to the rounded summits of Gorsedd Bran, Moel Bengam and Bryn Eirin, underlain by Silurian mudstones, flags, sandstones and grits.[5] The landscape has a somewhat dissected appearance resulting from the deep narrow valleys cut by the River Elwy and its tributaries Cledwen and Aled.

In 1854 some 42·5% of the region was in arable about a quarter of which was temporary grass. Soils range from moderately light to moderately heavy loams,[6] which together with the moderate rainfall of 25-40 inches, largely accounts

[4] *Land of Britain.* p. 626.
[5] *British Regional Geology North Wales.* p. 47.
[6] *Land of Britain.* p. 634.

for the fact that cereals occupied a comparatively large proportion (24%) of the total area of the Union. Although oats were the most important single crop in the rotation almost as much land was given over to wheat (*Figure* 5).

A little more than 25% of the region was in permanent grass and about the same could be described as rough grazing. Much of this pasture corresponded with the distribution of the Cegin Soil Series,[6] which are prone to waterlogging. In consequence much of the pasture is rush infested and the grass in general, unless well managed, is of low feeding quality. Allowing for the fact that these were factors likely to militate against heavy stocking of the area, the animal population seems, however, to have been low even for these unfavourable conditions (*Figure* 3). The sheep density (236 per thousand acres) and to a lesser degree that for total cattle (136 per thousand acres) and milch cows (60 per thousand acres) seem to suggest a certain amount of understatement which, in view of the difficulty encountered in the collection of the St Asaph Returns, is not unlikely.

It cannot be said that the adjacent Union of Ruthin was overstocked either, although the relevant figures for livestock here are not so suspect as those of St Asaph. The Ruthin Union comprised nearly a quarter of the total county area and was rather similar in point of relief and geology to St Asaph (*Figures* 1 and 2). Unlike the latter, however, the region extended eastwards beyond the Vale of Clwyd to take in the Silurian shales and resistant flaggy sandstones of the Clwydian Range, and the hard sandstone (Mill Grit) country along the Flint border.

About 38·% of the region was rough grazing and 20% was in permanent grass. Except for the lower ground of the Vale of Clwyd most of the land is over 600 feet and not a little in the west and in the Clwydian Range is well over 1,000 feet. The density of sheep in the Union was, at one to three acres, hardly as high as might be expected, nor were cattle at one to eight acres particularly close on the ground (*Figure* 3).

In none of the Poor Law Unions so far discussed do

sheep densities measure up to what other sources would lead one to expect. There were at this time important woollen mills at Denbigh, Llangollen and Corwen.[7] Earlier in the century the July 21 Fair at Llanrwst was regarded as the principal North Wales mart for wool, and attracted buyers from England.[8] Thus on each side of the northern part of the county, as contained in the Unions of Conway, Llanrwst, St Asaph and Ruthin, there was evidence of a strong interest in wool as an important feature of the rural economy.

This impression is borne out by the comments of Rowlandson in 1846[9] and those on the occasion of the earlier tour of the region by Kennedy and Grainger in 1828.[10] The latter noted that the upland farms were entirely devoted to sheep and that in general "the hills fed vast numbers of sheep". In the opinion of the present writer, the 1854 Returns for these Unions represent at a rough guess about 80% of the probable sheep population of North Denbighshire.

Returning to consideration of Ruthin Poor Law Union, the region was about 36% arable, a fact no doubt influenced by the moderate rainfall (25-40 inches) received. Rotation grass was the chief crop (8·3% of the total area of the Union), but nearly as much ground was devoted to barley (*Figure* 5). At this time Ruthin Union grew some 36% of the total amount of barley produced in Denbighshire. Both wheat (6·4%) and oats (6·%) were of less importance.

In South Denbighshire both rainfall and relief were higher and 70% and more of the land was in grass, mostly as rough grazing. The Corwen Union (*Figure* 1) comprised the southern slopes of Mynydd Hiraethog drained by the River Alwen, and the upland along the Merioneth border drained by the River Ceirw. East of Corwen and the Dee Valley the remainder of the Denbigh portion of this Union took in Llantysilio Mountain, Cyrn y Brain and the eastward facing slopes of the Berwyns.

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[7]M. Davies: *Wales in Maps.* (1951. Cardiff). p. 72-3.
[8]Richenda Scott: *Snowdonia.* (1949). p. 376.
[9]"The Agriculture of North Wales". Vol. VII. *Journal of Roy. Ag. Soc. of England.* 1846.
[10]*The Tenancy of Land. 1828.* pp. 185-9.

48% of the Corwen Union was rough grazing, much of it nardus and cotton grass or heather moor, and at best agrostis or poor quality fescue grass. Another 22·7% was in permanent grass and sheep were, quite understandably, the dominant type of livestock, more being kept here than anywhere else in the county. Farmholdings, too, were larger than in most parts, the average for this Union being 83 acres. Cattle were a reasonably important element in the economy, total numbers being 121, and milch cows 54 per thousand acres (*Figure* 3).

Further south in the Berwyn country drained by the Rivers Ceiriog and Tanat, 27% of Llanfyllin Union (*Figure* 1) was rough grazing, and 50% was in permanent grass. It is doubtful if there was much in this distinction as regards feeding value for livestock. Both sheep and cattle were fewer in numbers as compared with Corwen Union. Cattle density approximated more to that of Llanrwst, viz. total beasts, 97 per thousand acres, of which only 38 were dairy cows.

Sheep, as in the case of Corwen, were of greater importance (430 per thousand acres) although not to the same extent as in the latter Union. Most of the surplus wool went to the mills at Corwen and Llangollen, some wool, of course, was used on the farms. There was in this area a tradition of making woollen stockings both for home use and for sale.[11]

The annual shearing was an important social occasion with some notable sheepshearer like John Lloyd of Llynclys Hill (Oswestry) acting as "Master of Ceremonies", ably assisted by 'Dubby' the local fiddler. After the shearing the wool for household purposes was woven up by the professional weaver, perhaps 'Davy the Factory' at Sycharth,[12] who was recompensed by being allowed to grow a scoot of potatoes in one of the fields.[13]

Most of the holdings, particularly in the case of Llanfyllin Union, were little more than large sheep runs as is

[11]Report of Commission on the Poor Law, 1834. Appendix 'b'. p. 644. Evidence for parish of Llangedwyn.
[12]A. E. Davis. p. 22. *Shropshire Magazine*, April 1952.
[13]Mid Wales Investigation Report. 1955. p. 15.

indicated by the average size of farm here, 118 acres, much the largest average unit in Denbighshire. Arable was not of much consequence only 16·2% of the total area being so utilised, and of this over 6% was in grass. Most of the remainder was more or less equally allocated to the growth of barley, oats and wheat (*Figure* 5).

Besides the large hill farms there were a surprisingly large number of virtually landless holdings, about 4·5% of the total area coming under the description of houses and gardens, and holdings under two acres.

The amount of land under arable in Corwen Union was rather greater and represented a little over a quarter of the total area. However, rotation grass occupied 7·2% of this acreage and irrigated meadow accounted for a further 4·3%. Much of this latter ground like the poor agrostis pasture of the permanent grass was liable to invasion and colonisation by rush.[14] This did not prevent it from being cut as 'bog-hay' for winter fodder.

Up on the hills paring and burning of the turf was a common practice, this was done in the spring and the burnt turf was ploughed in with the breast plough in the early winter.[15] This enabled a crop of rye or oats to be taken. The heavy cloud cover, comparative lack of sunshine and an average annual rainfall of 50-70 inches shading off to 35 inches in the east, were factors which were responsible for the position of oats as the chief cereal crop in the rotation (*Figure* 5).

The extreme eastern portion of the county which comprised the Poor Law Union of Wrexham, is very different in most respects from the rest of Denbighshire. The greater part of the region (*Figure* 1) is lowland with the solid geology of Carboniferous and Triassic rocks (*Figure* 2) largely covered with glacial drift. In the west is the resistant sandstone heather moorland of Ruabon Mountain and Esclusham

[14]Sir George Stapledon and William Davies: *Grassland Survey of England and Wales*, 1940.
[15]*The Tenancy of Land*. p. 188.

Mountain, drained by the River Clywedog and other streams flowing to the River Dee which forms the eastern boundary.

The region enjoys a low average rainfall of 27-35 inches, and soils vary from moderately heavy clay to moderately light gravelly and sandy loams.[16] Conditions were thus favourable for arable farming and in 1854 some 46·7% of the area was under the plough (*Figure* 4). Wheat was the chief crop (10·7%) followed by rotation grass (8·2%) oats (7·1%) and barley (5·5%). Quite a large proportion of land was described as irrigated meadow (6·7%).

Farms, on average, were small (36·5 acres) and had a strong dairying side, a feature, no doubt, influenced by proximity to a considerable urban market on the Coalfield. Total cattle averaged 170 per thousand acres, of which 105 were milch cows (*Figure* 3). Sheep were not so important (222) and were probably concentrated more on the western heather moor and inferior agrostis pasture. Only 4% of the region was in the category of rough grazing. Permanent grass (39·2% of the total area) which occupied nearly as much land as arable, was of a much higher quality than that of other parts of the county. Much was in categories VI-VII of the Grassland Survey rating but some in the east of the region was good enough to rank as grade III agrostis and lolium grass.[17]

The emphasis on dairying was chiefly in the direction of cheese and to a lesser extent butter, both of which were traditionally exported to Shrewsbury, Bridgnorth, and Chester.[18] This was particularly true of the easternmost part of the region, on the rougher western pastures livestock rearing was of more consequence. Some of these dairy products, as noted earlier, went to the Coalfield and, no doubt, as the urban population increased the milk side of the industry assumed greater importance. All in all, the Wrexham Union was in 1854 much the most productive and prosperous region in the whole of Denbighshire.

[16] *Land of Britain—North Wales.* p. 633.
[17] Sir George Stapledon and William Davies: *Grassland Survey,* 1940.
[18] William Marshall: *Review of the Reports to the Board of Agriculture, Western Department.* 1810.

Eisteddfod Fawr Llangollen,[1] 1858

CYSYLLTWYD Llangollen â mwy nag un datblygiad pwysig yn hanes yr Eisteddfod yng Nghymru. Wedi Eisteddfod 1789, a gynhaliwyd yn y King's Head yn Llangollen (Royal Hotel heddiw), ceisiodd Jonathan Hughes, y prydydd o Bengwern, nawdd y Gwyneddigion i'r eisteddfodau yng Nghymru. Eisteddfod eithriadol—y cawn ei thrafod yn yr erthygl hon—oedd yr un a gynhaliwyd yn Llangollen yn 1858.[2] Yn Eisteddfod Genedlaethol Llangollen yn 1908 y sefydlwyd Cymdeithas Alawon Gwerin Cymru, ac yn Llangollen eto y sefydlwyd, yn 1947, eisteddfod y gŵyr y byd amdani fel Eisteddfod Gydwladol Gerddorol Llangollen.

Yn *Nhrafodion* y Gymdeithas Hanes (Cyfrol 7) rhydd yr Athro Griffith John Williams i ni wybodaeth ysgolheigaidd am gefndir Eisteddfod Fawr Llangollen, 1858. Dengys ddatblygiad yr hyn a eilw yn "Fyth Derwyddol", a gynhyrchodd yr ŵyl hon. Dilynodd hefyd yr un ddadl mewn darlith i Gymdeithas Lenyddol Llangollen yn yr Hydref, 1958.

Mewn ysgrifau eraill yn Y *Llenor* dengys yr Athro dwf yr eisteddfod, o'r cyfarfodydd bach yn niwedd y 18fed ganrif, eisteddfodau yn bennaf i nifer o feirdd dethol, clerigwyr, ac ysweiniaid i ymloddesta mewn tafarndai. Ni pharhaodd y cyfarfodydd hyn yn hir, nac yn wir yr Eisteddfodau Taleithiol yn nechrau y ganrif ddilynol. Cawn hwynt yn dirywio, a'r wlad, yn ôl un ysgrifennydd o'r cyfnod, "yn fferu" o angen eisteddfodau priodol. Ni chynhaliwyd eisteddfod yn nhref Rhuthun o 1829 hyd 1859, ac yn ôl *Taliesin* (Mai, 1859):

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[1]Darllenwyd y sylwadau hyn mewn Cyfarfod o'r Gymdeithas a gynhaliwyd yn Rhosllanerchrugog, Medi 1958.

[2]Yr wyf yn ddyledus am ffeithiau'r erthygl i amryw ffynonellau. Nodir y rhai hyn wrth ddyfynnu. Carwn gydnabod yn arbennig y llu llythyrau at Ab Ithel ac eraill a gyhoeddwyd gan Ap Ynyr yn y *Llangollen Tuesday Review* (1958-59), ynghyda fy niolch i Mr Dilwyn Ffoulkes Jones, Cyfreithiwr Llangollen, am gael darllen drwy nifer o lythyrau cyffelyb oedd yn ei feddiant ef.

"Yr ydym o'r dydd hwnnw hyd heddiw yn credu mai cynhaliad y cyfarfodydd mewn gwesty, er ei fod yn un o'r rhai tawelaf a pharchusaf yn y dref a fu achos eu darfodedigaeth. Dylai sefydlwyr y cyfryw gyfarfodydd gymeryd gofal na byddai cysylltiad rhyngddynt a thafarndai."

Nid rhyfedd, felly, i ni gael newid yn hyn, tua chanol y ganrif ddiwethaf. Symudwyd yr eisteddfod o'r dafarn. Daeth yn fudiad y lluoedd, ac nid sefydliad i gwmni o feirdd, clerigwyr ac ysweiniaid. Daeth yr hyn a eilw yr Athro G. J. Williams yn "naws" newydd i mewn i'r ŵyl . . . "Y naws eisteddfodol y sonnid am dani yn ail hanner y ganrif."[3]

Un o'r arloeswyr yn y newid hwn oedd John Williams (*Ab Ithel*). Nid oes angen croniclo ei hanes, ceir hynny yn *Y Llenor*, a'r *Bywgraffiadur*. Digon yw nodi ei fod yn weithiwr di-ddiwedd, a dwg llythyrau James Kenward,[4] a'r ysgrif goffa iddo yn y *Cambrian Journal*, 1863, dystiolaeth bendant i eiriau y Dr R. T. Jenkins—"ei fod yn offeiriad plwy ymroddedig."[5]

Erbyn heddiw y mae ysgolheictod fodern yn amheus a oedd Ab Ithel mor alluog ag y tybid ei fod yn ei gyfnod. Fodd bynnag am hynny, cydnabyddir yn weddol gyffredinol fod iddo ran bwysig yn newid cwrs hanes yr eisteddfod, er fod peth gwahaniaeth barn ymhlith y beirniaid am natur y gwaith hwnnw. Yn ôl Dr R. T. Jenkins, Eisteddfod Llangollen oedd "penllanw ei ffolineb",[6] tra dywaid G. J. Williams mai, "dyma'r gorchwyl pwysicaf a gyflawnodd, oherwydd wrth wneuthur hynny creodd gyfnod newydd yn hanes bywyd llenyddol Cymru—cyfnod yr Eisteddfod Genedlaethol a'r Orsedd."[7] Nid Llangollen oedd yr eisteddfod gyntaf iddo'i threfnu, ond Llangollen roddodd iddo'r cyfle i drefnu eisteddfod fawr, canys wrth yr enw hwn y galwyd hi drwy Gymru yn ei newyddiaduron a'i chylchgronau yn 1858 a '59.

Paham y cynhaliwyd hi yn y dreflan ar lannau Dyfrdwy,

[3] *Trafodion*, Cyf. 7.
[4] Llythyrau Mr D. Ffoulkes Jones.
[5] *Y Bywgraffiadur Cymreig.*
[6] *Y Bywgraffiadur Cymreig.*
[7] G. J. Williams—*Y Llenor*, 1934.

a phwy biau'r clod am feddwl gyntaf amdani? Dywaid Ab Ithel iddo ef siarad â chyfaill, mynegi iddo ei fwriad, gan ddilyn gyda llythyr i'r un perwyl, i'r *Herald Cymraeg*. Wedi hynny iddo wahodd dau gyfaill o glerigwyr i'w dŷ ym Middleton, Sir Gaer, i drefnu'r ŵyl—sef Joseph Hughes, offeiriad yn Huddersfield, a brodor o Benfro a adwaenir yn well hwyrach wrth ei enw barddol, *Carn Ingli*, ac R. W. Morgan (*Môr Meirion*) offeiriad Tregynnon, Maldwyn.

Cawn, fodd bynnag, esboniad arall gan Lewis Jones (*Rhuddenfab*) yn ei atgofion am '58 yn *Y Genhinen*, 1907. Dywaid—

> "Mai dychfeddwl Taliesin o Eifion a minnau oedd Eisteddfod Fawr 1858, yn codi o'n hymffrost plentynaidd ar lwyddiant eisteddfod leol gynhaliwyd ar Bowling Green y Ponsonby y flwyddyn flaenorol at dalu dyled capel Annibynwyr Glan'rafon, lle yr oeddym ill dau yn aelodau."

Cawn J. D. Jones, y cerddor o Rhuthun, yn dod i Langollen i fwrw'r Sul i gyfarwyddo Taliesin a Rhuddenfab i baratoi yr adran gerddorol, a bu ei gynghorion yn ôl yr olaf yn werthfawr iawn.

Y mae'n amlwg felly fod â fynno y ddau hanes hyn â chychwyn yr Eisteddfod Fawr, a bod gwirionedd yn y ddau osodiad. Pa bryd, tybed, a sut, y daeth Ab Ithel a'i gydeglwyswyr i gysylltiad â'r Ymneilltuwyr hyn o Langollen? Tybed ai un ohonynt oedd y cyfaill y crybwyllodd Ab Ithel ei fwriad wrtho cyn iddo gyhoeddi ei lythyr yn yr *Herald Cymraeg* a chyn iddo gyfarfod Carn Ingli a Môr Meirion? Rhyngddynt penderfynasant gynnal Eisteddfod Fawr newydd yn Llangollen ar Alban Elfed 1858. Cyhoeddwyd hi flwyddyn ymlaen-llaw yn Sant y Brid Bro Morgannwg, a chyhoeddwyd rhestr o'r cystadleuaethau. Gwelir disgrifiad manwl o'r cyhoeddi a'r gwahodd i Langollen yn y *Cambrian Journal* am 1857. Cynrychiolwyd Powys yn y seremoni gan Yr Estyn a Glas Ynys. Yn ôl y *Journal* yn 1857 honnir:

> "There is every reason to expect that this Bardic Congress will be highly successful. The list of subjects hitherto proposed has given universal satisfaction, and the bards we hear are already hard at work collecting their ideas and polishing their number preparatory to the coming contest."

Yn fuan wedi Alban Elfed 1857 a'r cyhoeddi ym Morgannwg, cawn Ceiriog yn Llangollen, yn nhŷ Taliesin o Eifion ac wrth drafod testun y Rhiangerdd, meddai: "Mi biniaf fy anrhydedd wrth y testun yna", a da y gwnaeth.

TREFNU'R EISTEDDFOD

Yn ôl a ddywaid Ab Ithel ei hun, ei fwriad ef ar y cychwyn oedd sefydlu math o bwyllgor taleithiol onid cenedlaethol i ofalu am yr eisteddfod, a'r pwyllgor hwnnw i ddewis ei swyddogion. Aflwyddiannus fu ei ymdrech. Methodd (os derbyniwn ei eglurhad ef) ag ennyn yn eraill y brwdfrydedd a oedd ynddo ef, er bod, mae'n debyg, resymau eraill, y cawn eu trafod yn y man, dros y diffyg cydweithrediad hwn. Nid oedd, felly, ond i'r tri clerigwr a gyfarfu ym Middleton ffurfio eu hunain yn bwyllgor gweithiol, gan ychwanegu atynt offeiriad arall, sef T. R. Lloyd (*Yr Estyn*), ficer Llanfynydd, Sir Fflint, a brodor o Ddinbych, yn raddedig o Goleg yr Iesu. Dewisiwyd Ab Ithel a Môr Meirion yn gydysgrifenyddion i'r pwyllgor gwaith hunan ddewisedig hwn, gydag Ab Ithel ei hun yn ben dyn ar y cyfan.

Codwyd hefyd bwyllgor bach o bedwar-ar-hugain yn Llangollen i fod yn gyfrifol am y trefniadau lleol, gydag Edward Humphreys, Penymaes, a William Hughes yn gydysgrifenyddion iddo. Ar y cychwyn nid oedd cydweithrediad hapus cydrhwng pwyllgor bach Ab Ithel a'r brodyr lleol. Ofnai Llangollen ymgymryd â chyfrifoldeb ariannol eisteddfod mor fawr. Dengys llythyrau Yr Estyn at Môr Meirion chwerwder yr offeiriaid hyn tuag at y swyddogion lleol. "An opinionated and conceited puppy"[8] y galwai ef William Hughes. "We must out-dodge them," meddai ef yn yr un llythyr. Mewn llythyr arall at Ab Ithel, meddai Yr Estyn drachefn:

> "I gave it to Humphreys, Hughes and Allen right well, and told them they ought to be ashamed of themselves . . . I told them Heaven knew, that I did not want the work, but if they would not do it themselves, I would not be interfered with and would

[8] Llythyrau Ap Ynyr.

have my own way. God knows if it was not for your sake, I would not move another inch with such a team."[9]

Fodd bynnag, er gwaethaf yr anghydweld, y bygwth a'r beirniadu, parhau i gydweithio fu hanes y ddau bwyllgor, a chawn y *Cambrian Journal* yn dilyn yr Eisteddfod, yn talu'r deyrnged ganlynol i'r brodyr lleol:

"the zealous & energetic exertions of Ab Ithel, Carn Ingli, Morgan and Lloyd, were most efficiently seconded by local secretaries Humphreys and Hughes. The Llangollen people too, one and all came out with the spirit of the occasion."

YR APÊL ARIANNOL

Yr oedd ymgymryd â threfnu Eisteddfod Fawr yn gryn fentr ariannol, a hynny mewn cyfnod pryd nad oedd cyfleusterau teithio fel heddiw. Tybid ar y cychwyn y buasai'r wlad yn ymateb yn lled haelionus wedi agor cronfa i danysgrifio iddi. Siomwyd hwy'n fawr yn yr ymateb. Nid oedd y pwyllgor lleol wedi dechrau casglu arian chwe wythnos cyn yr Eisteddfod, a phwysai Yr Estyn yn aflwyddiannus iddynt warantu £200.

"I fear," meddai, "that Llangollen will do little and profit much."[10] Mewn llythyr at Ab Ithel ychydig ddyddiau cyn yr Eisteddfod, dywaid Yr Estyn:

"The local Committee never intended to hand us any cash. I knew it well. But never mind, I will humour them as I can, and outwit them all 24, if mortal man can do it."[11]

Bu Carn Ingli yn ceisio casglu fisoedd cyn hynny, a chawn ef yn Ionawr 1858, yn anfon rhestr o danysgrifwyr at Ab Ithel. Offeiriaid ac ychydig o gyfeillion oedd yr ychydig a gyfrannodd. Joseph Hughes ei hun £5; Lewis Jones, Rheithor Almondbury £2; David Evans, Rheithor Llanllwchhaearn £1; Howel curad Meltham £1; William Evans, offeiriad Usk 10/-; Thomas Evans, Rheithor Goytree, £1:

[9]Llythyrau Ap Ynyr.
[10]Llythyrau Ap Ynyr.
[11]Llythyrau Ap Ynyr.

"Dr Wakeman Crickhowell will give something. The Rector of Llangattock has promised a subscription. I invited the latter to call on Sir Joseph Bailey, and Croeshaw. I do not know what has become of the Warden of Llandovery. He promised to canvass the aristocracy of the Towy."[12]

Meddai'r Estyn yn Rhagfyr 1857: "I find that Charles Williams the Rector of Holyhead and the new Principal of Jesus subscribes to the Eisteddfod."[13] (Gweler ei hanes yn y *Bywgraffiadur*). Cawn Jane Silence Erskine[14] (*Ivores Gwynedd*) Bae Colwyn yn cyfrannu £5.

Sefydlodd Ab Ithel ei hun ynghanol ei holl brysurdeb "*agencies*"[15] yn y De a'r Gogledd, i gasglu arian at y Gronfa. Yn Ionawr 1858 ymesgusodai Ioan Machno, dilledydd ym Mhenmachno:

> Yr wyf yn dra hyderus na theimlwch yn angharedig tuag ataf am ymwrthod a'r *agency*, pe buaswn yn llanc, cymeraswn hi'n rhwydd.[16]

Yn *Y Cymro* (Treffynnon) am Hydref 27, 1858, sonnir am ddau

> oedd wedi tanysgrifio cymaint ag un dau oedd yn yr Eisteddfod. Buont hefyd yn foddion casglu arian ymhlith aelodau eu cyf-eisteddfod.

Meddai Ab Ithel yn yr *Herald Cymraeg* Mehefin 5, 1858:

> Gobeithio fod Ceiriog a Chreuddynfab yn Manchester, Dr Games a Mr Sturgess yn Lerpwl, Gwalchmai yng Nghonwy a Llandudno, Ellis Williams yn Bethesda a Bangor, Estyn ac Andreas o Fôn yng Nghaerfantell[17] a'r Wyddgrug, yn gweithio eu hegni tuag at ychwanegu tanysgrifiadau . . . Ond derbyn digon o danysgrifiadau gellir gwobrwyo fel y gwneir yn Rhydychen a Chaergrawnt, a rhoddi graddau hefyd.

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[12]Llythyrau Ap Ynyr.
[13]Llythyrau Ap Ynyr.
[14]Onid ar dir y foneddiges hon yr adeiladwyd gorsaf rheilffordd gyntaf Bae Colwyn?
[15]Llythyrau Mr D. Ffoulkes Jones.
[16]Llythyrau Mr D. Ffoulkes Jones.
[17]Ble 'r oedd Caerfantell? Awgrymwyd yn y Rhos mai hen enw ar Wrecsam yw Caerfantell.

Yn yr *Herald Cymraeg*, Awst 28, 1858, yn ôl gohebydd arbennig:

> Yr wyf yn un o gasglyddion yr Eisteddfod, ac nid un na dau na thri a ddywedasant wrthyf wrth addaw cyfrannu eu bod yn disgwyl diwygiad trylwyr yn y gyfundrefn eisteddfodol yn Llangollen.

Cafwyd, felly, drefniadau casglu drwy'r wlad i gyd. Mewn llythyr at Ab Ithel yn Chwefror 1858, addawodd John Williams, Castell Deudraeth, gyfrannu i'r gronfa.[18] Ym Mehefin 1858 dywaid John Pughe, Penhelyg House, Aberdyfi, fod William Jones *draper* a Thomas Rees *clothier* y ddau o Aberdyfi, a Mr Davies, Dôlgaradoc, Machynlleth, yn barod i gasglu arian.[19]

Er hyn i gyd siomedig fu'r ymateb, ni chasglwyd prin £200, cymaint ag a ddisgwylient i drigolion Llangollen ei warantu. Beth a gyfrifai am y diffyg cyfrannu hwn? Etyb Carn Ingli o'i Bersondy yn Swydd Efrog:

> "There is an unwillingness on the part of the Church in Wales to further the object we have in view . . . Episcophobia is the lion in the way."[20]

Ymosodai Ab Ithel a'i gymrodyr ar Seisnigrwydd yr Eglwys, ac ar yr esgobion Seisnig yng Nghymru, yn arbennig felly R. W. Morgan o Dregynnon. Ef oedd y bwgan mawr, cymaint o fwgan, nes iddo ofni bod yn rhwystr i lwyddiant yr Eisteddfod a chynigiodd ymddiswyddo:

> I am dubious whether my advocacy of the Eisteddfod will be beneficial to the fund.[21]

Mewn llythyr arall at Ab Ithel o Lundain dywaid:

> I will make preparations to procure subscriptions in London. I would give one or two lectures on the subject here but my name would repel rather than attract the Magnates. I may, however, venture it.[22]

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[18]Llythyrau Ap Ynyr.
[19]Llythyrau Ap Ynyr.
[20]Llythyrau Ap Ynyr.
[21]Llythyrau Ap Ynyr.
[22]Llythyrau Ap Ynyr.

Cawn ef mewn cyfarfod cyhoeddus yn Rhosymedre yn 1857 yn galw Esgob Llanelwy yn "public swindler, robber and defrauder". Nid rhyfedd i'r plwyfolion godi petisiwn yn brotest yn ei erbyn. Ni fynnai y mwyafrif o'r offeiriaid ddim â'r Eisteddfod—yr "196 Black Traitors of St Asaph"[23], chwedl Yr Estyn. Nid oes sôn yn yr holl baratoadau am William Edwards, ficer Llangollen. Dywaid John Griffith (*Y Gohebydd*) fod William Edwards yn yr Eisteddfod. Y mae'n sicr iddo gadw ymhell yn ôl ac o'r golwg, er fod ei Ficerdy o fewn tafliad carreg i faes yr Eisteddfod. Er hynny, cawn ei fab Alfred—Archesgob cyntaf Cymru wedi hynny—yn talu teyrnged uchel iawn i ragoriaethau 1858, oddi ar lwyfan Eisteddfod Genedlaethol Llangollen hanner canrif yn ddiweddarach, yn 1908.

Ymestynnai y teimlad Eglwysig hwn hyd at y beirniaid. Dywaid Nicander, un o feirniaid yr awdl, mewn ateb i gais Ab Ithel iddo feirniadu:

> I should like very much to accept this office, which has been so handsomely offerred to me. But I have some misgivings about Mr Morgan's mischievous agitation about Welsh and English Bishops. I would not be connected in however remote a manner with that cry.[24]

Ymesyd Carn Ingli yn drwm arno (Nicander), mewn llythyr at Ab Ithel:

> "Nicander is no true patriot. The fear of the Welsh Bishops keeps him in actual bondage."[25]

GWRTHWYNEBIAD YR YMNEILLTUWYR

Dylanwad arall yn erbyn yr Eisteddfod oedd Ymneilltuaeth. "Nid oedd yno le braidd i undyn ond Eglwyswyr"[26] yw sylwadaeth y Gohebydd. "These Satelites of the Church in Wales", oedd tystiolaeth un arall yn y *Wrexham Advertiser* yn dilyn yr Eisteddfod. Dyfynnais o *Gymro* Treffynnon am

[23]Llythyrau Ap Ynyr.
[24]Llythyrau Ap Ynyr.
[25]Llythyrau Ap Ynyr.
[26]*Cofiant y Gohebydd.*

ddau danysgrifiwr helaeth. Yn ôl yr hanes ceisiasent ymwthio at y llwyfan:

> "Braidd y gellid mynd heibio'r esgynlawr os na byddid yn gysylltiedig â'r tylwyth hwnnw gyfrifent fod yr esgynlawr yn eiddo iddynt hwy. Darfu i'r ddau fynd i sefyll at gwr yr esgyn lawr, lle nad oedd lle i eistedd, ond pan ddaethant i sylw'r llywyddion, buan yr hyrddwyd hwynt oddiyno."

"Yr Eisteddfod offeiriadol hon" y galwai Cynddelw hi, er fod y llwyfan yn agored iddo ef, a theg yw cofio fod Ymneilltuwyr eraill, fel Gwalchmai a Rhisiart Ddu o Wynedd, Annibynwyr selog, a Glan Alun y Methodus o'r Wyddgrug, yn cael yr un anrhydedd. Onid Ymneilltuwyr hefyd oedd y rhelyw o'r pwyllgor lleol?

PABELL YR EISTEDDFOD

Problem fawr a wynebai Pwyllgor Ab Ithel a'r pwyllgor lleol fel ei gilydd oedd sicrhau pabell ddigon mawr a diogel i gynnwys y dorf a ddisgwylid. Cafwyd rhai anawsterau ynglŷn â'r maes. Ble 'r oedd hwnnw i fod? Soniai Yr Estyn mewn nodyn at Ab Ithel am sicrhau cae wrth Llangollen Road Station.[27] Y mae'n anodd deall hyn. Nid oedd stesion yn Llangollen ar y pryd, canys yn 1861 y daeth y trên cyntaf yno. Teg, er hynny, yw cofio mai ger y maes a ddewisiwyd yr oedd yr orsaf y pryd hynny. Yn 1858 stesion y Whitehurst rhwng y Waun a Froncysylltau, a adwaenid fel Llangollen Road Station, ac mae'n anodd tybio y chwilient am faes eisteddfod o bump i chwe milltir o'r Llan.

Yn Eisteddfod Rhuddenfab yn 1857 codwyd pabell ar faes y Ponsonby, rhwng priffordd Wrecsam ac Afon Dyfrdwy wrth fynd i mewn i Langollen o gyfeiriad Acrefair. Yn naturiol, felly, ystyrid hwnnw hefyd yn briodol i'r Eisteddfod Fawr. Perchennog y tir oedd un Mr Allen, Gwesty'r Ponsonby, Sais a brodor o Swydd Northampton.[28] Yr oedd ef yn aelod o'r pwyllgor lleol. Yn Chwefror 1858 cawn Edward Humphreys, un o'r ysgrifenyddion lleol, yn ysgrif-

[27] Llythyrau Ap Ynyr.
[28] Census, 1851.

ennu at Ab Ithel, yn ei atgoffa fod Allen yn fodlon gosod y Maes am £30 neu 8½% o'r derbyniadau, sef 1/8d. o bob punt, "such poundage not to exceed £50". 'R oedd Humphreys a'r pwyllgor lleol o'r farn fod hyn yn ormod, ac yn awgrymu, gan gofio y manteision i Allen o agosrwydd yr ŵyl at ei westy, bod cynnig £20 iddo. Aeth wythnosau heibio heb wneud dim, a chawn William Hughes, cyd-ysgrifennydd Humphreys, yn ysgrifennu (yn gyfrinachol) i'r un perwyl at Ab Ithel gan awgrymu mai £10 ddylid dalu i Allen gyda £5 yn ychwaneg pe byddai'r ŵyl yn llwyddiant ariannol.[29] Fodd bynnag, y diwedd fu codi'r babell ar *Green* y Ponsonby.

Bu cryn anghytuno, yn arbennig felly rhwng Yr Estyn a'r pwyllgor lleol, parthed y babell. Buont yn ffodus na dderbyniasent awgrym Mathetes, gweinidog Bedyddwyr Llangollen, ac aelod o'r pwyllgor lleol, y gellid yn hawdd hepgor pabell a chynnal yr ŵyl yn yr awyr agored.[30] Anfonodd cwmni William Hibbert o Fanceinion fanylion am eu pebyll i Ab Ithel yn Ionawr 1858.[31] Ymhlith y rhai hyn yr oedd pabell i eistedd 5,760 o bobl am £56, a phabell arall yn eistedd 7,680 o bobl yn ôl pedwar i'r llathen sgwâr am £70. Defnyddiasid yr olaf eisoes gan y Parchedig C. H. Spurgeon mewn gŵyl bregethu yn Burnley, ac yr oedd ef yn barod i ddwyn tystiolaeth iddi. 'R oedd y babell hon yn wyth troedfedd o uchder ar yr ochrau ac yn 32 troedfedd yn y canol, gyda digon o rediad i'r to, i'r dŵr glirio'n gyflym. "A moderately distinct voice, even in reading is heard in the most distant part."

Yn Chwefror 1858 ymholai Humphreys gydag Ab Ithel a oedd ef wedi sicrhau pabell Hibbert. Parhaodd yr ymdrafodaeth am wythnosau lawer, ac ni wnaed dim pendant ynglŷn â phabell hyd at ddiwedd Gorffennaf, ychydig llai na deufis cyn yr Eisteddfod.[32]

Ymddengys mai Yr Estyn a gymerodd yr arweiniad gyda dewis pabell, ac ef a fu'n gyfrwng, er gwaethaf y brodyr

[29]Llythyrau Ap Ynyr.
[30]Llythyrau Ap Ynyr.
[31]Llythyrau Ap Ynyr.
[32]Llythyrau Ap Ynyr.

lleol, i sicrhau Henry Hughes o Broughton Wrecsam i godi'r babell am £200. Cafwyd y canfas gan un Mr Oakes o Gaer. Adroddwyd i mi gan ddwy hen wraig o Langollen eu hatgofion am eu mam yn adrodd ei hanes wrthynt, amdani (a hi'n ifanc) gyda'i nain, ar eu traed drwy'r nos yn gwnio y canfas gydag edau cŵyr crydd.[33] Mesurai'r babell 180′ o hyd a 144′ o led. 'R oedd ar ffurf tair span[34] yn hyn yn debyg i Bafiliwn yr Eisteddfod Genedlaethol heddiw. Gosodwyd baner las y beirdd, baner werdd yr ofyddion a baner wen y derwyddion, un ar bob brig iddi. Oddi mewn yr oedd llwyfan i ddal chwech ugain o bobl. Ar ganol cefn y llwyfan gosodwyd cadair y llywydd a ddewisiwyd ar ddechrau pob eisteddiad. Uwch ei phen ar y canfas paentiwyd Draig Goch fawr chwe troedfedd o hyd gan Taliesin o Eifion, gyda'r arwyddair "Y Ddraig Goch a ddyry cychwyn" mewn llythrennau aur breision. Addurnwyd y llwyfan a phileri'r babell yn hardd odiaeth: "The entire decorations being in keeping with the object in view and of good taste."[35] Goleuwyd y babell â nwy, ond ni ddefnyddiwyd unrhyw fath o "amplification". Yr oedd tocynnau wythnos i'r babell yn 10/6, 7/6 a 3/6; a thocynnau dydd yn 3/6, 2/6 a 1/-. 'R oedd y cyngherddau yn rhatach, sef 1/-, 6d. a 3d. Pris rhaglen yr ŵyl oedd tair ceiniog. Codwyd hefyd bebyll eraill, gan gynnwys tair o bebyll bwyd, un ohonynt wedi ei neilltuo yn *first class*. Paratowyd y bwyd gan Mr Allen y Ponsonby, ac adroddir iddo fwydo tua phedwar cant ar un eisteddiad. Trefnodd Allen hefyd ar gais Ab Ithel fod stondiniau ar y maes yn gwerthu addurniadau o genin.

YR HYSBYSEBU MAWR

Bu hysbysebu mawr i'r Eisteddfod am wythnosau a misoedd, ym mhapurau Amwythig a Chaer, ac yn fwyaf arbennig yn y Wasg Gymraeg. Gofalodd Ab Ithel roddi sylw

[33]Gwelir darlun o'r edau a'r gwniadur a ddefnyddiwyd yn "The Eisteddfodic Tradition and the Origin of the International Eisteddfod" Llangollen *Blue Guide Sheets* No. 4 gan Miss S. Pugh Jones, B.A.
[34]*Cambrian Journal*, 1858.
[35]*Cambrian Journal*, 1858.

manwl iddi yn y cyfnodolion yr oedd a fynnai ef â hwynt. Daliai ar bob cyfle i ysgrifennu i'r papurau i gyfarwyddo'r cyhoedd, y beirdd, cerddorion ac artistiaid ynglŷn â threfniadau'r ŵyl. Ysgrifennodd hefyd yn bersonol at lawer iawn o bobl ymhob rhan o'r wlad, gan ofalu dweud bob tro: "We shall have a glorious Eisteddfod" neu "We shall have, I fully expect, a most magnificent Eisteddfod."

Yn ôl un disgrifiad a ddarllenais, y mae'n rhaid fod "letter carrier" Llan-ym-Mawddwy yn brysur iawn yr wythnosau hynny gan gymaint yr ymholiadau dirifedi a dderbyniai Ab Ithel o bob rhan o'r wlad am "the Grand National Eisteddfod". Gwelais nifer o'r llythyrau hyn.[36] Daeth y doniolaf ohonynt o le rhyfedd iawn, sef o garchardy Dolgellau, oddi wrth Evan Jones (*Ieuan Ionawr*), dyddiedig Mehefin 12, 1858. Y mae yn gofidio na all fod yn yr Eisteddfod gan ei fod "o dan rwymau Cyfraith Victoria". Dywaid fod arno flys cynnig ar y cywydd i Uffern. Yr oedd yn gweddïo yn gyson am lwyddiant yr Eisteddfod, a geilw ei hun ar ddiwedd ei lythyr yn "Deputy Governor or Turnkey of Dolgelley Gaol." Dengys cais Golygydd *Y Drych* fod yr hysbysebu wedi cyrraedd yr Amerig, a bod galw yno am ychwaneg o fanylion amdani.

Yn ychwanegol at yr hysbysebu hwn drwy'r Wasg ac mewn llythyrau, argraffwyd nifer dda o bosteri mawr. Yn y *Faner* am Medi 8, 1858, dywaid *Y Gohebydd*:

> "Sôn am yr Eisteddfod sydd, âf i'r man y mynnwyf. Papurlenni mawrion, dwy lath o leiaf o hyd sydd yn blastr ar hyd parwydydd yr holl wlad."

Geilw'r Estyn hwynt "The Monster Placards." Mewn llythyr a dderbyniwyd o waith y Blaenau ger Casnewydd, dywaid un T. E. Watkins iddo dderbyn cais oddi wrth "gofiaduron Eisteddfod Llangollen, yn erfyn arnaf logi rhywun i osod i fyny hysbyslenni'r Eisteddfod."[37] Gosodwyd rhai o'r posteri yng ngorsafoedd y rheilffordd a hynny, cofier, mewn cyfnod cynnar iawn yn eu hanes. Yn ôl swyddogion y ddau bwyllgor, gwariwyd tua £200 ar hysbysebu.

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[36] Llythyrau Mr D. Ffoulkes Jones.
[37] Llythyrau Mr D. Ffoulkes Jones.

Y TYRFAOEDD

Nid rhyfedd felly i'r lluoedd a'r miloedd ddod am y tro cyntaf i'r Eisteddfod a Llangollen gafodd yr anrhydedd a'r cyfrifoldeb o'i chynnal ar Alban Elfed 1858. 'R oedd yr argoelion a'r disgwyliadau mor fawr nes peri i'r *Gohebydd* feddwl yn ddifrifol:

> "Ym mha le y ceir digon o wlau a bara i ddigoni tyrfa gymaint ag a ellir ei ddisgwyl yn ôl y sŵn a'r siarad."[38]

Cludwyd llaweroedd gan gerbydau arbennig o wahanol ardaloedd, a chafwyd trenau rhad o Lerpwl, Manceinion, De Cymru ac arfordir Gogledd Cymru, ond dim o Fôn nac Arfon. Trefnwyd hefyd gyda pherchenogion y Gamlas i gludo yn ddyddiol o ardaloedd Cefn Mawr, Acrefair, Froncysylltau a'r Waun. 'R oedd y dref, yn ôl y *Gohebydd*, yn ferw drwyddi ar y dydd Llun. "Erbyn deg bore Mawrth," meddai'r *Brython*, " 'r oedd y dref yn orlawn o bobl, i'w rhifo nid wrth y cannoedd ond wrth y miloedd."

Yn *Bye Gones* am Ebrill 25, 1888, rhydd un a eilw ei hun yn "Guarantor" beth o'i atgofion yn cerdded o gyrrion Sir Faesyfed, drwy Llanfyllin a Llansilin a thros y Berwyn: "As we were nearing Llangollen, we were met with the bad news that the town was crammed and that beds were a guinea a night." Bu, fodd bynnag, yn fwy ffodus nag y disgwyliai—sicrhaodd ef a'i gymdeithion Hebog a Chaswallon lety, "at an ordinary fare and not the exorbitant charges predicted."

Rhoddodd y gŵr adnabyddus hwnnw Evan Jones, Caernarfon, wrth lywyddu yn Eisteddfod 1908, beth o'i atgofion am 1858. Dywedodd iddo deithio gyda chwmni mewn cerbyd o Dywyn trwy Ddolgellau, Bala a Chorwen i Langollen: "When we reached Llangollen the whole town came out to meet us."

Edrydd *Andronicus* (John W. Jones, brodor o'r Bala, a dreuliodd y rhan helaethaf o'i oes yng Nghaernarfon), ffeith-

[38] *Y Faner*—fel y cofnodwyd yng *Nghofiant y Gohebydd*.

iau diddorol amdano'i hun ag yntau'n llanc yn ymweld â Llangollen i'r Eisteddfod:[39]

> "Yr oedd peth ofnadsen o bobl yno . . . Y tro cyntaf i mi fynd oddicartref yn 17 oed, a phan ddudes i wrth yr hen bobl, y gwarchod pawb dyna hi'n dywydd mawr. 'Ddylies i erioed y cawn fyw i weld y dydd y byddai fy unanedig fab yn meddwl am fynd i le mor halogedig a 'steddfod—Fase'n well gen i dy weled di yn yr hen fynwent yna."

Wedi crefu'n hir, trwy ddylanwad y fam, cydsyniodd ei dad iddo gael mynd i Langollen:

> "Wel dos—a chymer ofal beidio yfed cwrrw Llangollen. Mae arian y fuwch wine yn hosan dy fam yn yr hen gwpwrdd pres yn y siambar."

Ofnai'r hen wraig i'w mab lwgu yn Llangollen, a rhoddodd dorth haidd, bara ceirch, darn o gosyn bychan, a phwys o fenyn ffres a llun dafad arno, yn ei becyn. Bychan iawn, felly, oedd ei fil o ddydd Llun hyd fore Sadwrn.

Addurnwyd y dref â fflagiau dirifedi. Yn ôl y *Brython*:

> Yr oedd yr holl ddyffryn hoffuswiw, a'i thref ddeniadol wedi ymroddi megis i wneuthur popeth yn y modd mwyaf cymeradwy i'r Eisteddfod—Ni welwyd gwell darpariadau mewn un man o'r Dywysogaeth. Baneri yn chwifio o ffenestri y tai, o frigau'r coed, ac o ben y clochdy.

"Yr oedd fflag ymhob ffenast ac ar ben bob coedyn," meddai *Andronicus*. Gellid yn hawdd ddyfynnu tystiolaeth ar ôl tystiolaeth, ond digon dweud gyda'r *Brython*: "Yr oedd natur a chelfyddid, y lle a'r adeg, yr hin a'r cwbl yn cydfynd i groesawu yr ymgynulliadau."

Daeth rhai cannoedd ynghyd i'r babell nos Lun i wrando ar ganu, adrodd ac annerch, fel rhyw arbrawf ar yr "acoustics", ond gyda'r Orsedd fore Mawrth y cychwynodd yr Eisteddfod.

YR ORSEDD

Cysylltwyd yr Orsedd cyn hyn â'r Eisteddfod ond nid i'r fath raddau ag y gwnaethpwyd yn Llangollen yn 1858.

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[39] *Adgofion Andronicus.*

Dyma gychwyn yr Orsedd a'r miloedd yn tyrru iddi. Rhoddwyd sylw mawr iddi, ac hysbysrwydd o'i chyfarfodydd, oddi ar lwyfan yr Eisteddfod. Soniwyd amdani gan wŷr fel Ab Ithel a Myfyr Môn ac hyd yn oed gan G. H. Whalley,[40] Plas Madoc, yr Aelod Seneddol, a urddwyd wrth yr enw barddol *Madog*. Edrychai ef ar yr Orsedd fel rhyw fath o Senedd i Gymru, ac yr oedd yn barod i godi neuadd fawr newydd mewn canolfan yn gartref iddi.

Yn Eisteddfod 1858 bwriedid cynnal Gorsedd bob bore o'r wythnos, ond ni chaniataodd y tywydd ei chynnal ond ar foreau Mawrth a Gwener. Ffurfiwyd yr orymdaith o gae'r Eisteddfod ar faes y Ponsonby, yna dros y Bont, trwy Bridge Street a Chapel Street, heibio i Collen Terrace, ac yn ôl trwy High Street, Church Street a thros y bont i gae y Ddôl, y llecyn ar briffordd Rhuthun allan o Langollen lle heddiw y saif y *Goods Yard* a wagenni glo y rheilffordd. Wrth drafod llwybr yr orymdaith trwy'r dref, dylesid cofnodi nad oedd prif heol Llangollen heddiw[41] wedi ei hadeiladu ganrif yn ôl nac ychwaith y mân strydoedd sy'n ymestyn i gyfeiriad y Berwyn a Chorwen.

O fewn deg niwrnod (Medi 11) i'r Eisteddfod, nid oedd y pwyllgor lleol wedi dechrau codi cerrig yr Orsedd ar y Ddôl, ac mewn llythyr at Ab Ithel ymholai Yr Estyn: "Am I to see the Stones are set up somewhere. Give me full instructions how to act if they will not."[42]

Parthed yr Orymdaith—yr oedd y dyrfa yn ddirifedi—"The line of March was densely crowded" yw tystiolaeth y *Cambrian Journal*. Rhaid oedd sicrhau cymorth Mr Denham y Prif Gwnstabl i agor llwybr trwy'r dyrfa i'r gorymdeithwyr gyrraedd y Ddôl. Diddorol fydd dyfynnu peth o ddisgrifiad "A Guarantor" yn y *Bye Gones* o'r orymdaith:

> Entering the town by the Grapes Hill the sight to my young eisteddfodic mind was most facinating. They seemed to be forming a procession headed by two of the most grotesque persons

[40]'R oedd a fynno Whalley (Aelod Seneddol dros Peterborough) â phob mudiad o bwys yn Nyffryn Llangollen.
[41]Gwerthwyd y tir i adeiladu 'Castle St.' yn niwedd 1858.
[42]Llythyrau Ap Ynyr.

I have ever seen. Dr Price Pontypridd and his daughter. The young lady rode a cream coloured charger, and on her head she wore a cap of foxskin, the brush at the top of the head falling down her back. The Doctor, wore the same, with a peculiar green trousers, scolloped at the bottom, a scarlet waistcoat and a round green jacket.

Trefnwyd yr orymdaith yn ofalus gan roddi eu lleoedd priodol, i'r beirdd, yr ofyddion, a'r derwyddon, i'w baneri glas, gwyrdd a gwyn, ac i'r bandiau. Ni fanylwn ar seremoni'r Orsedd. Digon yw dweud mai Ab Ithel weithredai fel Archdderwydd, ac iddo draethu'n hir oddi ar y Maen Llog ar Hanes yr Eisteddfod a Chenedl y Cymry. Canwyd Gweddi'r Orsedd gan Môr Meirion, a therfynwyd y cyfan gyda phawb yn cyd-ganu

I Dad y trugareddau'i gyd
Rhown foliant holl drigolion byd . . .

Gwisgai y Beirdd, yr Ofyddion a'r Derwyddon eu gwisgoedd arbennig am y tro cyntaf. Cyn hyn gwisgent fand neu ysnoden gwyn, glas neu wyrdd am eu breichiau. Anfonodd Ab Ithel gyfarwyddiadau i'r Wasg pa fodd y dylai aelodau'r Orsedd wisgo yn Llangollen. Yn ôl *Brython* 1858:

Dylai'r gwisgoedd fod o liain neu sidan, glas gwan i Fardd, gwyn i Dderwydd a gwyrdd i Ofydd. Tebig i gasoc offeiriad a gwregys am y canol, llewys hirion, a thros y cwbl mantell rydd. Yn lle gadael i'r llewys llawnion ddisgyn dros y breichiau, bydded iddynt gael eu tycio i fyny at yr ystlys. Dylai'r wisg hon ymlabedu y naill ochr dros y llall, ac nid cyfarfod yn y ffront. Dylai'r holl wisg fod drwyddi yn unlliw. Yn y llaw dylai fod ffon gwrhyd o hyd, yr un lliw a'r wisg—ffon fel eiddo'r cymdeithasau cyfeillgar. Fe gyst y wisg sidan tua dwy bunt, ond bydd yr un lliain yn lled rhatach."

Diddorol yw deall fod Gwisg Orseddol Ab Ithel ar gael mewn tŷ yn Llangollen hyd at yn gymharol ddiweddar.

Bu cryn feirniadu ym mhapurau'r wlad ar Orsedd 1858—yr hon a gynhaliwyd "with all pomp and ceremony and flourish of trumpets." Dywaid Giraldus yn yr *Haul* 1858 mai gŵyl baganaidd gafwyd yn Llangollen: "Siarad am Merry Andrews pen ffair—nid yw y rhai hynny ddim i'w cymharu

a'r ffyliaid fu'n actio yn Llangollen." Atebodd Ab Ithel hyn trwy ddweud yn yr *Herald Cymraeg*:

> Ymffrostia milwyr yn eu hunifforms, graddolion Rhydychen yn eu gwnau a'u cwcyllau, y Free Masons yn eu ffedogau. Pam gan hynny nad ymffrostia bardd, derwydd, ac ofydd yn eu gwisgoedd unlliw a nodweddiadol.

Cymaint oedd atgasedd Eisteddfodwyr Dinbych tuag at y siou a welwyd yn Llangollen, fel nad oedd dim gwisgoedd na medalau i fod yno o gwbl yn 1860. Defnyddiasent hyd yn oed Tair Pluen Tywysog Cymru, yn hytrach na Nôd Cyfrin yr Orsedd (/I\) fel arwydd nod eu heisteddfod.[43]

SEIAT YR EISTEDDFOD

Ymffrostia eisteddfodwyr modern yn y Babell Lên ar faes yr Eisteddfod Genedlaethol. Nid peth newydd yw hyn, canys yr oedd pabell gyffelyb ar lawnt y Cambrian yn Llangollen gan' mlynedd yn ôl, a galwyd ei chyfarfodydd yn Seiat y Beirdd. Fe gofir am yr anhawster a gafodd Andronicus, ag ef yn ifanc, i sicrhau caniatâd ei rieni i ddod i'r Eisteddfod. Yr hyn a barodd iddynt yn y diwedd ganiatau iddo oedd fod Seiat yno. Ni wyddent mai beirdd ac nid saint oedd aelodau'r Seiat yn y Llan. I'r capel Methodus yr aeth Andronicus ar y cychwyn i chwilio amdani—nes iddo gyfarfod rhyw Annibynnwr ar y Bont ac i hwnnw ei gyfarwyddo i'r lle priodol.[44] Seiat yn dechrau am saith gan ddibennu cyn hanner nos. Cyfarfu fwy nag unwaith yn ystod yr wythnos, fel yn ôl y *Brython*: "Y byddo i'r frawdoliaeth farddol gael ymgyfeillachu a'i gilydd ac ymdrafod â pïethau perthynol i'w hurddas farddonol."

Pwy oedd y beirdd, tua trigain ohonynt, a fynychai'r seiat hon? I enwi dim ond ychydig ohonynt—Gwalchmai (Llywydd y Seiat), Gweirydd ap Rhys, Ceiriog, Creuddynfab, Glan Alun, Cynddelw, Mathetes, Glas Ynys, Dr Price, Thomas Stephens o Ferthyr, Taliesin o Eifion, Rhisiart Ddu

[43] *Cofiant y Gohebydd.*
[44] *Adgofion Andronicus.*

o Wynedd, Tegai, Myfyr Morganwg, William Roberts y Blaenau, a'r Gohebydd.

Beth oedd y materion a drafodwyd?

1. Orgraff y Gymraeg. Yr angen am reol bendant mewn geirfa, a chytunwyd i bwyso ar gyhoeddwyr ac argraffwyr i gadw at y rheolau hyn.
2. Ad-drefnu'r Eisteddfod. Sicrhau pwyllgor gwir genedlaethol i fod yn gyfrifol am yr Eisteddfod—rhyw fath o *Board* chwedl y Gohebydd. Dewisiwyd dau, sef Creuddynfab a Glan Alun i baratoi cynllun i'w ystyried yn Ninbych yn 1860.[45]
3. Egwyddorion Barddas gyda Myfyr Morganwg yn agor y drafodaeth. Trafodaeth boeth iawn, a hawdd y gellid credu hynny, a chofio i Stephens, Gweirydd a Chreuddynfab gymryd rhan ynddi.

Y CYSTADLU A'R CYNGHERDDAU

Buasai'n hawdd iawn manylu llawer ar hanes y cystadlu a'r cyngherddau yn yr Eisteddfod. Bodlonir ar ddethol ychydig o'r prif gystadleuaethau a chrynhoi wrth enwi y gweddill.[45a]

Eben Fardd a enillodd y gadair ar y testun "Maes Bosworth". Gwobr £30 a medal. Dau o'r tri beirniaid, sef Gwilym Hiraethog a Nicander a ffafriai gyfansoddiad Eben. Rhoddai y trydydd beirniad, sef Caledfryn, eiddo Ellis Wyn o Wyrfai yn gyntaf gydag Eben yn drydydd. Gweler y feirniadaeth yn y cylchgrawn *Taliesin*, gyda llythyr Nicander yn canmol Eben, a'i lythyr yntau yn ateb beirniadaeth Caledfryn o'i awdl. Nid oedd Eben yn bresennol i'w gadeirio, na'r un o'r tri beirniaid i draethu'r feirniadaeth. Bu hyn yn destun gwawd gan laweroedd. Dylesid cofio bod y Bardd o Glynnog mewn profedigaeth lem ar y pryd, wedi colli ei annwyl ferch, a bod Gwilym Hiraethog a Chaledfryn yn wael, a gwyddom eisoes bod Nicander yn ofni dangos ei hun yn rhy gyfeillgar gydag Ab Ithel a'i gyfeillion clerigol.

[45] *Cofiant y Gohebydd.*

[45a] Cafwyd amryw gystadleuaethau rhyfedd nad oes ofod i'w trafod yn yr erthygl hon.

Nid oedd hyn, fodd bynnag, yn ddigon i'w rwystro rhag anfon ei bryddest ar "Gwymp Rhufain" i'r Eisteddfod, ac ennill ohono £20 a medalion arian o'r Eryr Rhufeinig. Gwelir y bryddest hir hon yn *Taliesin*, Awst 1859, gyda beirniadaeth Creuddynfab yn rhifyn Tachwedd.

O'r cystadlu barddonol, yr un sydd o ddiddordeb arbennig heddiw yw cystadleuaeth y rhïangerdd ar "Myfanwy Fychan", dan feirniadaeth Cowlyd, Tegai a Gwalchmai. Allan o chwech a ymgeisiodd, aeth y gystadleuaeth yn dynn iawn cydrhwng *Myfennydd* a *Thudur Trefor*. "'R oedd mwy o gelfyddid yng nghyfansoddiad Myfennydd, a mwy o natur yng ngwaith Tudur Trefor." Ceiriog oedd *Tudur Trefor*, ac ef gipiodd y wobr, gyda Glas Ynys—sef *Myfennydd*—yn ail.

Cafwyd hefyd nifer o draethodau arbennig, un ar y manteision i Sais o ddysgu'r Gymraeg, ac un arall ar "Farddas" gan Ab Ithel, ond y traethawd y bu sôn fwyaf amdano oedd eiddo Thomas Stephens o Ferthyr ar "Madog yn darganfod America". Profodd ef tu-hwnt i amheuaeth mai celwydd oedd chwedl Madog. Cyhoeddwyd o'r llwyfan mai y traethawd hwn oedd y gorau ond nad oedd ef yn dod i fyny ag amodau y gystadleuaeth, sef profi bod Madog wedi darganfod y Cyfandir Newydd. Aeth berw mawr drwy'r babell, a chododd Stephens ac eraill mewn protest. Archwyd o'r llwyfan i'r band, a oedd yn ymyl, i ganu, ac yn sŵn un o alawon Cymru boddwyd lleisiau'r protestwyr. Bu cryn ysgrifennu i'r wasg am fisoedd lawer wedi hyn. Anfonodd Stephens lythyr twrnai at Ab Ithel yn hawlio'r wobr. Cymerodd yntau hyn yn ysgafn gan atgoffa Stephens o reolau'r Eisteddfod: "The promoters claim to themselves the right of deciding on all subjects of controversy that may arise and their decision is final."

Yn yr *Herald*, Nadolig 1858, dywedodd Silvan Evans, un o'r beirniaid: (1) Fod traethawd Stephens yn union ar y testun; (2) Ei fod o lawer y traethawd gorau; (3) Fod yr awdur yn gwbl haeddiannol o'r wobr. Ceisiai Myfyr Morganwg gan Ab Ithel i rannu'r wobr. Ymddiswyddodd Llallawg—y trydydd beirniad—pan ddeallodd am ddaliadau Ab Ithel.

EISTEDDFOD 1858 A CHERDDORIAETH

Nid eisteddfod lenyddol a barddonol oedd Eisteddfod 1858 i gyd. Cafwyd ynddi gystadleuaeth bandiau pres, dau o'r gogledd ac un o'r de. Yr oedd i gerdd dant le anrhydeddus ynddi. Mwynhawyd y canu pen pastwn: "Several young men competed, accompanying themselves with clubs which they beat against the stage." "The singing was in character and produced much merriment." Arall yw barn Golygydd yr *Herald*: "Canu di-chwaeth nes oedd merched ifanc yn gwrido."

Ar ochr gerddorol yr Eisteddfod, y digwyddiad pwysicaf oedd y gystadleuaeth gorawl—un o'r pethau newydd yn eisteddfodau'r cyfnod. Dyma gyfnod dechreuad y Tonic Sol-ffa. Yn 1854 y ffurfiwyd y gymdeithas gorawl gyntaf yng Nghymru, a hynny yn Aber-dâr. Yn Aber-dâr, hefyd, y cynhaliwyd y Gymanfa Ganu gyntaf yng Nghymru yn 1859. Yn Llangollen yn 1858, peth newydd, felly, oedd canu corawl. Y darnau i'w canu oedd: (1) "Yr Hen Ganfed", (2) "Hanover", (3) "Cân Dafydd Broffwyd". Nid oedd llai nag ugain i fod yn y côr a'r wobr oedd £10. Cymharer hyn â £30 am draethawd a £30 am awdl yn yr un eisteddfod.

Bu cryn anhawster ynglŷn â "Chân Dafydd Broffwyd". Ysgrifennodd llawer i'r wasg i holi amdani a gwelais rai ymholiadau cyffelyb mewn llythyrau at Ab Ithel.[46] 'R oedd copi ohoni yn y *Bardic Museum* gan Edward Jones, Bardd y Brenin yn 1802. Ymddengys hefyd bod copi o'r geiriau yn y *Caniedydd Cymreig*. Gofidiai Ab Ithel na allai gyhoeddi'r miwsig yn y wasg, gan nad oedd gan gysodwyr y newyddiaduron nodau ar gyfer hynny. I gyfarfod â'r anhawster, awgrymai fod y rhai hynny a oedd a'u bryd ar gystadlu yn anfon am gopïau o'r tri darn at Owain Alaw, Professor of Music, Chester, gan ofalu amgau deuddeg stamp ceiniog. 'R oedd y Parch. J. D. Edwards, The Parsonage, Rhosymedre, yn barod i roddi bob hysbysrwydd angenrheidiol.

Apeliodd Ab Ithel mewn llythyr yn y papurau: "A fydd rhai o'ch gohebwyr cystal a throi y dair neu pedair adnod

[46]Llythyrau Mr D. Ffoulkes Jones.

gyntaf o Salm 104 'Fy enaid bendithia yr Arglwydd', etc., ar fesur 'Hanover' fel y gellir ei chanu yn briodol yn yr Eisteddfod." Wele'r pennill cyntaf mewn ateb i gais Ab Ithel, gan un yn dwyn yr enw *Airian*:

> Dadganaf dy glod—O Arglwydd fy Nuw
> Dy wyrthiau a'th nerth sydd hynod eu rhyw,
> D'ogoniant a'th harddwch, a welir drwy'r byd
> A phob peth a greaist sy'n rhyfedd i gyd.

Er yr hysbysebu a'r ymholi mynych, dau gôr yn unig a ddaeth i'r gystadleuaeth gorawl yn Llangollen. "Wesleyan Choir, Llangollen," oedd y naill, 38 mewn rhif, yn cael ei arwain gan John Pugh, a "Glan yr Afon Choir", Llangollen, oedd y llall, 30 mewn rhif, gyda John Jones yn ei arwain. Côr y Wesleaid a orfu, ond fel mewn cystadleuaethau, caiff y rhai sy'n colli gam. Felly yn y gystadleuaeth gorawl hon yn Llangollen. Yn ei atgofion, dywaid Rhuddenfab eiriau cas am y beirniaid, gan ychwanegu bod mwyafrif y gwrandawyr yn credu mai datganiad Côr Glan yr Afon oedd y gorau.

Awgryma D. H. Lewis yn ei Gofiant i J. T. Rees: "Mai nid amherthnasol a'r adfywiad mewn canu corawl . . . fu yr Eisteddfod Genedlaethol gynhaliwyd yn Llangollen yn 1858 . . . a hwylusodd yn sylweddol ganu corawl yn hanner olaf y ganrif." Dengys hyn bod 1858 yn ris bwysig yn natblygiad canu corawl yr Eisteddfod yng Nghymru.

Ni fyddai unrhyw draethawd ar gyfraniad cerddorol yr Eisteddfod yn gyflawn heb grybwyll y ddau lawysgrif o alawon, heb eu cyhoeddi, a anfonwyd iddi—y naill yn eiddo "Llewelyn Alaw" o Aber-dâr, a'r llall yn eiddo "Orpheus". 'R oedd un alaw, sef "Glanrhondda" yn y ddau law-ysgrif hyn ac fe'i canwyd mewn dau gyngerdd yn ystod wythnos yr Eisteddfod. Gŵyr pawb mai yr alaw hon yw anthem genedlaethol Cymru heddiw—sef "Hen Wlad fy Nhadau". Cysylltir y casgliadau hyn o alawon â'r diddordeb yng Nghymru gyfoes mewn canu gwerin, ac â ffurfio Cymdeithas Alawon Gwerin Cymru yn Llangollen yn 1908.

BEIRNIADU'R EISTEDDFOD

Nid peth dieithr oedd yr holl feirniadu ar yr Eisteddfod hon—"Nid oes yr un eisteddfod yn mynd heibio," meddai *Haul* 1858, "heb gnoi a thraflyncu ynglŷn â hi, ac y mae'n dra thebig na fydd Eisteddfod Llangollen, yr hon sy'n gwneyd gymaint o swn yn y byd yn ddiweddar—yn eithriad i'r rheol."

Ychwanega Cynddelw yn y *Seren*—"Y mae mwy o dwrrw ar yr Eisteddfod hon nag a fu ar ôl yr un o'i blaen."

Sylwasom eisoes ar rai o'i gwendidau yn ôl y beirniadu a fu arni, megis mai llwyfan gul, offeiriadol oedd iddi, a bod ei seremoniau yn baganaidd ac yn groes i "ysbryd yr oes". Dywedir mai Eisteddfod un dyn oedd hi, a bod ei holl weithrediadau yn troi o gwmpas hwnnw. Honnir gan rai mai cyfle oedd hi i Ab Ithel elwa ar y defnyddiau a gasglodd yn llawysgrifau llyfrgell Llanofer. Y mae'n wir i'w deulu gipio llawer o'r gwobrau. Awgryma rhai papurau fod atal gwobrau mewn cyd-ddealltwriaeth cydrhwng Ab Ithel a'r Beirniaid, er mwyn chwyddo cyllid yr Eisteddfod. Nid yw golygydd yr *Herald Cymraeg* yn fodlon derbyn y feirniadaeth annheg hon, gwell ganddo ef oedd credu mai diffyg safon oedd y rheswm dros eu hatal.

Parthed y feirniadaeth am ei deulu, ac yntau gyda hwynt, yn derbyn gwobrau, dywaid Ab Ithel yn yr *Herald*, Hydref 9, 1858, mai:

(1) Ef oedd yr unig ymgeisydd yn y gystadleuaeth ar "Farddas". Nid oedd ffafriaeth felly.

(2) Ei fab oedd yr unig ymgeisydd am fap o Gymru yng nghyfnod Llewelyn.

(3) Fod gwaith ei ferch, Eiluned, mewn casglu diarhebion yn rhagori llawer ar weddill y cystadleuwyr.

> Yr wyf yn meddwl fod gan fy nheulu gymaint o hawl i drio ag oedd gan y brawd Estyn, neu Mathetes a Thaliesin ac aelodau ereill o'r pwyllgor lleol.

Derbyniodd Mathetes feirniadaeth gyffelyb, iddo ef awgrymu y testun daearegol yr enillodd arno, gan fod ganddo draethawd yn barod ar y testun.

Eisteddfod un dyn, sef Ab Ithel, oedd Eisteddfod Llangollen. "Os felly," meddai Tegai yn y *Geninen*:

> Eisteddfod Thomas Gee oedd Eisteddfod Dinbych yn 1860, ac Eisteddfod Alaw Goch oedd Eisteddfod Aberdar yn 1861. Alaw yn bersonnol ddewisodd y beirniaid yn Aberdar, er i'r pwyllgor ddewis ereill.

Diffyg arall yn Llangollen oedd Seisnigrwydd yr ŵyl. "Ffug-Gymreigaidd" oedd hi yn ôl *Cymro* Treffynnon:

> ". . . Er gwaethaf llais cyffredinol y dorf, mynnai llywyddion yr Eisteddfod lefaru neu gyfarch yn Saesneg. Y beirniaid yn datgan eu barn yn Saesneg ar gyfansoddiadau Cymraeg, pryd y gŵyr pawb sy'n adnabyddus a rhai o'r beirniaid, nad ydynt ond trwsgl yn yr iaith honno. Chwarae teg i Ab Ithel, ymdrechodd ei orau i gyfarch y dorf yn Gymraeg, ond gwan oedd ei lais ef."

Brysia'r awdur i ddweud nad trigolion Llangollen oedd yn gyfrifol am hyn, canys

> Nid oes cysgod adfeiliad yr iaith yn eu plith, na lloches i Dic Sion Dafyddion a'i deulu yn Llangollen.

Beirniadaeth arall arni yw na chafwyd unrhyw adroddiad ariannol boddhaol ar y gweithrediadau, na thalu peth o'r dyledion. Dywaid "A Lover of Fair Play" yn *Wrexham Advertiser*, Hydref 1858: "An account should be given of everything, and a balance sheet produced like that at the Rhuddlan Eisteddfod." "Ogof Lladron" a "Benefit Eisteddfod" y gelwid hi gan rai o'r beirniaid. Cawn Ab Ithel yn derbyn llythyrau o dde Cymru a Chaer yn erfyn arno dalu yr hyn a oedd yn ddyledus. Anfonodd H. M. Williams, Stamp House, Caergybi, at yr ysgrifenyddion lleol am ei wobr ar bryddest i'r "Gwanwyn". Hwythau yn ei gyfarwyddo i ysgrifennu at Ab Ithel, gan mai ef oedd y "distributor of prizes". Derbyniodd hefyd lythyr twrnai oddi wrth Nicander yn hawlio ei dâl fel beirniad.

Yn *Taliesin*, Mai 1859—naw mis wedi'r Eisteddfod—ceir yr eglurhad canlynol gan Ab Ithel:

> Y buasai yn hoffi gallu rhoddi rhyw gydnabyddiaeth i'r Beirniaid a'r pwyllgor lleol, a thalu rhywfaint o draul y beirdd tlodion ac ereill, ond yn hyn o beth rhaid cymryd ewyllys am y weithred, os na wel y wlad yn dda ddod ymlaen i gynorthwyo.

Nid beirniadu fu'r hanes i gyd. Dywaid awdur yr ysgrif yn y *Bye Gones*:

> "I have never witnessed a better attempt at carrying out the Eisteddfod on its proper national basis."

Er ei holl feirniadaeth gâs ar brydiau yn y *Faner*, cydnabu John Griffiths y *Gohebydd*:

> Ni welwyd erioed fwy o arwyddion bywyd mewn unrhyw sefydliad nag oedd yng ngwedd yr Eisteddfod y dyddiau o'r blaen yn Llangollen. Can' diolch i Ab Ithel, meddaf fi, am gymeryd piti ar ein heisteddfod genedlaethol.

Meddai'r *Herald Cymraeg*:

> Yr oedd rhestr testunau Llangollen yn tra rhagori ar destunau y tair eisteddfod bwysig arall, Aberffraw 1849, Rhuddlan 1850 a Thremadog 1851.

"'R oedd hufen y genedl yma yn Llangollen yn '58," meddai Llewelyn Williams, oddi ar lwyfan 1908.

Mewn blynyddoedd wedyn yn *Llenor* 1895 dywaid Owen Edwards:

> Eisteddfod Llangollen, oedd y gyntaf o eisteddfodau y prif nod hwn, ac eisteddfod ardderchog ydoedd, er i rai wawdio y pedwar offeiriad am eu defodaeth a'u derwyddiaeth . . . Y mae'n hyfryd meddwl fod arweinwyr presennol yr Eisteddfod yn amcanu efelychu Eisteddfod Llangollen yn 1858.

I grynhoi; beth yw lle a chyfraniad Llangollen yn 1858 i hanes yr Eisteddfod yng Nghymru? I bob pwrpas dyma gychwyn yr eisteddfod fawr fodern; dyma, a defnyddio gair G. J. Williams, droi yr Orsedd yn "basiantri",[47] fel y gwelir heddiw; dyma ddarganfod Ceiriog, bardd y rhiangerdd; dyma sicrhau Anthem Genedlaethol, creu diddordeb arbennig yn yr alaw werin, a chychwyn yr eisteddfod gorawl. Rhaid, felly, cytuno'n llwyr ag Owen Edwards pan awgryma, o ddilyn hanes datblygiad yr Eisteddfod, mai Ab Ithel a orfu ac nid ei feirniaid yn 1858. I ddyfynnu y *Gohebydd* eto: "Can' diolch i Ab Ithel am gymryd piti ar ein heisteddfod Genedlaethol."[48]

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[47] *Trafodion*, Cyf. 7.
[48] *Cofiant y Gohebydd.*

Howell's School, Denbigh

By MOLLIE K. STONE

THE School is known as Howell's School because the endowment is derived from the Will of Thomas Howell, a Welshman and a Merchant Draper of the City of London.

A few facts are known about Thomas Howell. His house was in London in Tower Street and his name appears on the Livery of the Drapers' Company in 1521, and on the list of those who consented to subscribe towards the cost of Cabot's proposed voyage. From 1517 he was frequently abroad, chiefly at Seville, where he conducted a large business and where he died about 1540. The Company still possess his ledger and he was one of the first to use a system of double entry for his accounts.

His chief exports from England were cloth of various kinds, both dyed and undyed, which were bought for the most part from Clothiers of the East and Southern Counties; from places such as Bilston in Suffolk, Neyland in Suffolk or Norfolk, Boxford in Berkshire, Colchester, Denham in Essex, Ipswich, Hadley in Middlesex. These were mostly sent to be sold in Spain and Portugal but one consignment was despatched to Calais and one to San Domingo in the West Indies.

His imports consisted more especially of Alum, Wood, Oil, Iron, Raisons, Soap, Grain Powder, Satin, Damask and Wine of Rochelle. These he sold in England, often paying in part for the cloth he bought in Alum, Wood and Soap.

From his ledger something can be learnt of his personal expenses. He pays to his maiden servant for 5 years, £5. 15. 0d. and gives her 10/- for a gown; to his maid servant for 6 years, £7. 4. 0d.; to his peruker, 8d.; to one in the Stocks, 7d. The account of a runaway servant is given:

> John Smith my servant ought to give for that he oweth me as it appeareth by his Bills.
>
> For certain costs the Mistress paid in seeking for you when you ran away. 12s.

For riding after you to Westchester, Beaumaris, and so to Holyhead with a guide and horse 14 days. 25s.
And to Plymouth from London and back 15 days. 25s.
For expenses of John Huse, servant of Master Badcock, and others at Bilboa to send you home, which they could not get you home, but by force of justes (justice); amounte to 15 duckets by your own confession—otherwise I knoweth it not.

Total cost of recovering Smith amounted to £6. 9. 6d.

(This at first seems a goodly sum compared with the £10 which Henry VII gave to John Cabot in 1497 for his discovery of New Foundland, but Henry VIII had debased the coinage by the time Thomas Howell paid for the recovery of his servant.)

During the later years of Henry VIII's reign, many benefactions and legacies were left in trust with the Drapers' Company. Of all the trusts which they undertook at this date, there is none that caused so much worry and expense as that founded by Thomas Howell.

In the ledger were his first Wills.

After leaving his soul to God and to our Blessed Lady Mary and to all the Company of Heaven, and directing that his body be buried where it pleaseth God, he bequeaths to his Parish Church of St Benet Fyncke 20/- for his "privy tithes that is forgotton" and to the High Altar for his obligation, and wills that the parish priest sing for him for 20 years at 10 marks a year. Further he leaves to his brother, James Ap Morgan, in Usk, 100 Marks towards his preferment, for a stock to begin the World withal.

In the event of his wife dying before him, he leaves the house, which Windsor Herald of Arms holds of him, to be added to in homely but substantial fashion, and used as a charitable institution. All his other property is to be sold and invested in land to carry out the purposes of his Will. The house is to be kept by an honest Draper and his wife, with three women servants at a wage of 40/- a year. They shall hold it rent free with a salary of £100 a year, on condition that they receive poor orphan or illegitimate boys and girls, 30 boys and 10 girls, and "rather boys than girls", so that they be English or Welsh. The children are to wear bills in

front and on their backs with the word Howell inscribed in great letters, and are forever after to bear the name of Howell.

His third Will, written in the Castillian tongue, revoked the former. The clause relevant to the history of the School reads in translation: —

> "Item, I commaunde myne executours that I leve in Syvell, that incontynent, after my deathe, they doo send to the citie of London, 12,000 duckats of gold, by billes of cambio, for to delyver to the House called Drapers' Hall—to delyver theyme to the Wardeynes thereof; and the said Wardeynes so sone as they have receyved the same 12,000 duckats to buy therewith 400 duckats of rent yearly for evermore—in possession for evermore. And it is my will, that the said 400 duckats be disposed of unto four maydens, being orphanes—next of my kynne and of bludde—to their marriage—if they can be founde—every one of them to have 100 duckats—and if they cannot be founde of my lynnage, then to be given to other foure maydens, though they be not of my lynnage, so that they be orphanes honnest of good fame, and every of them 100 duckats—and so, every yere, for to marry foure maydens for ever. And if the said 12,000 duckats will bye more lands then the said 12,000 duckats to be spente to the marriage of maydens, being orphanes, increasing the foure maydens aforesaide as shall seme by the discretion aforesaide of the Master and Wardeynes of the saide House of Drapers' Hall; and that this memoria to remain in writing in the Booke of Memoryes in the saide House in suche mannere as it shall at no time be undone for ever."

The difficulties arising out of this bequest began at once. The Company approached the Spanish Ambassadors offering them a good reward "so it passe not £100", if they would obtain the legacy for the House. Their attempt to obtain the favour of the Ambassadors did not succeed. Then the Master and Wardens gave authority, first, to three of their own members, and then to two Florentine Merchants who had commercial dealings with Spain, to proceed to legal measures if necessary. In 1541, £520 was received in cash as well as a consignment of oil and wine, which was sold to the young men of the Company. There still remained a balance of £2,130 to be recovered, and the services of the Bishop of

London were enlisted. The Bishop did his best. He even invited the Master and Wardens to dine with him. This was not very expensive for him, as they took a good dish of meat with them. In the end, a balance of some £700 remained unpaid. At Drapers' Hall there is still an ancient coffer in which, by tradition, the money was brought to London.

The money was invested in freehold property in the City of London, a favourite form of investment by prudent persons in those days, and long afterwards. The income was about £100.

The most interesting of the purchases made was that of Thomas Cromwell's old house which, after his execution, became the property of the King. The fact of the purchase being an investment of monies to promote maids' marriages was, without doubt, put forward to induce the acceptance of a reduced price, and it is said to have swayed the King in that direction. Later the Company bought the property from the Trust and it is now the site of their Hall. The property was destroyed in the fire of London.

It was, usually, hard to find orphan maidens of Howell's kin, and the Master and Wardens were unwilling to bestow marriage portions on other maidens until they were sure that there were none available of the blood of the Founder. They used to get the Mayor of Bristol to advertise on market days; they prepared elaborate genealogies of Howell's family, and lawsuits were not infrequent. And so it went on, until the increase in value of the endowment and the desire to make a more substantial use of the money, combined to lay the foundations of the present educational work.

In the year 1853, more than 300 years after the death of Thomas Howell, an Act of Parliament was passed, empowering the Court of Chancery to extend the Trust to the establishment of Girls Schools in Wales, and the Court of Chancery made a scheme providing for the establishment of two girls schools, one at Denbigh, and the other at Llandaff. These schools were built in 1858, and in 1859, Howell's Orphan Girls School opened.

The scheme provided for twenty-five orphan maidens and the Governors were at liberty to admit additional Boarders to the benefit of the School, up to a maximum number of thirty—they were to receive no benefit from the Charity except their education, and to pay in advance the expense of their board, washing and maintenance. Day Scholars were to be admissable on payment of an entrance fee not exceeding 10/- and not less than 2d. or more than 6d. per week in advance.

The early minutes of the Governors' Meeting are interesting. When children behave badly they are called before th Governors for admonishment. Unfortunately, there is no record of the words used. Beer was supplied for many years and 18 gallons cost 15/-. The girls were not allowed to swing on Sunday. Mr. Joyce looked after the clocks. In 1870 when an estimate was made of the cost to maintain ten orphans if additional numbers could be accepted, £500 a year was considered ample. This would include £40 a year for an extra Governess.

The long corridors were found to be draughty and swing doors were installed to improve this. The long dormitories also, were cold and the children were equipped with night caps.

By 1874 the numbers were: Orphan Inmates 25, Pay Boarders 29, Day Scholars 30. For many years a notable feature of the minutes was the Drawing Master's Report. He gave in elaborate detail the full number of each kind of drawing executed even when the total ran into hundreds. No other subject was recorded in such detail. In 1876 an interesting criticism was made of the Art: "The water colour specimens presented hues in intensity and combination such as Nature never produced and Art therefore should never represent." The query comes, was Howell's a pioneer in Child Art?

In 1875 the first mention of an entrance examination is made. No child was to be admitted to the School unless she could at least say the Lord's Prayer, read an easy verse in

the New Testament, form letters on a slate and say the first half of the multiplication table.

At the time of the Coronation of Edward VII, the Headmistress, Miss Beloe, arranged to take the whole school to London to stay at Westfield College and see the procession from a flat roof which she hired. Great must have been the disappointment at Howell's when the King's illness caused the postponement of the Coronation.

The School developed slowly in size, numbers growing as more buildings were bought or erected. The big expansion came in 1929 and 1930 when Miss C. E. Robinson was Headmistress. The Drapers' Company lent a large sum of money, free of interest, to build the three hostels; the dining hall and the Great Hall and later the new wing and the Sanatorium.

Thus through the first Century of its life, the School has grown and spread. It was planned for 55 boarders and 50 day girls; now there are 390 boarders and 45 day girls. Yet the original purpose of Thomas Howell's bequest has not been lost. The School still has a number of orphan maidens who receive a dowry of £100 on marriage. These Foundationers are our link with the Tudor Merchant who left his money for dowries, little dreaming how his gift would develop. His bequest has caused much worry, anxiety and work in administration but, surely, he would feel proud of his Memorial in the Schools which bear his name.

Excursion

LLANGERNYW

By J. E. ETHALL

"I SAW in the centre of the village a laden donkey standing patiently, if not meditatingly in front of the shop; a contented sheepdog; an empty red painted cart; a mud bespattered pig, too stubborn to move for anybody; two or three hens seeking food; a fat duck flapping her wings and craning her neck, quacking for all she was worth, to protest as I thought, against my arrival. In addition, two comely housewives were standing at their doorsteps, knitting unceasingly and staring at me curiously. When I returned at night, the place was as lonely, as dark and as quiet as the churchyard."

So wrote a visitor to Llangernyw many years ago. By to-day a change has taken place. This year, for example, Llangernyw has been awarded a plaque for being the tidiest village in Denbighshire. In early summer the visitor sees laburnums in bloom on either side of the road running through the village and those interested in flowering shrubs and trees can behold a wide variety in the district, which were planted to commemorate the coronation of King George VI.

Llangernyw is situated on the main road ten miles from Abergele and seven miles from Llanrwst. It takes its name from Cystenyn Gorneu, a saint of the fifth century. The name occurs in the Book of Llan Dâf as Lann Cerniu. Borlase in his Antiquities of Cornwall states that the words Corneu (Cornish) and Cernyw (Welsh) seem to indicate some early affinity with Cornwall before that county was separated from Wales. The Celts called promontories *Cyrn* (horns), the natives, *Kerneu* (Latin *Cornubia*), and the Welsh residing there, *Cornu-Wallia* and that they had a pre-Roman deity to that effect—a cow with four horns.

The parish church of Llangernyw was founded by Digain, the son of Cystenin Gorneu. In the churchyard are two rough, undressed stones with crosses on them. The author of *Old Stone Crosses of the Vale of Clwyd* suggests that they may have originally been the supporters of a cromlech. After an interval of centuries, perhaps, the rude crosses were cut upon them to indicate that a Christian was buried near by. The crosses on these stones would, therefore, date from early Christian times, probably from the time when the Romans held sway in Britain. It is very likely that the Church was built near them designedly. Not very far away in Coed Digain fields is the Saint's well.

To the east of the village on the other side of the River Elwy is Moel Pentre Wern, on the summit of which is a circular earthern enclosure. This was probably a watch post. Local tradition has it that at one time it was used as a cockpit. Not far away, in one of the fields at Hendre Ddu was a tumulus in which were discovered a number of tombs, cistfeini, sepulchral urns and fragments of Roman pottery. There is also a mound at Hendre Isa farm which was known as 'Y Domen'. In *Prehistoric and Roman Remains of Denbighshire,* the Rev. Ellis Davies states that nothing is known of its history except that it was not a burial mound but a small castle mound, of a date subsequent to the Norman Conquest. Perhaps there was such a structure there when Henry II visited Llangernyw in 1182.

It is also believed by some people that the Roman road from Chester to Caerhun ran in the direction of Denbigh and thence past Llangernyw in the direction of the River Conway. This road is said to have gone past Crel farm and towards Ffrith Ifan.

In the Welsh Wars of Edward I, the king and the Earl of Lincoln made Llangernyw their headquarters in September and October, 1282. They had seized the countryside between the Clwyd and the Conwy with the result that Denbigh fell in the middle of October and from that time on was securely garrisoned.

Llangernyw is also mentioned during the rebellion of Owain Glyn Dŵr in 1400, when that national hero is rumoured to have found a hiding place in the grounds of Hafodunos. Years ago there was a painting of Glyn Dŵr at Hafodunos. Robert Griffith wrote about it to the owner and received the following reply: "Dear Sir, I have a picture of Owen Glyn Dŵr. It hangs over the chimney piece in the entrance hall. The description of it is in Shakespear's King Henry IV. Act iii. Scene I. It was painted by Fuseli about the year 1800. Come and see it if you like. Yours truly, Henry S. Sandbach."

Hafodunos looms prominently in the history of the locality. It is reported that it was once a religious house, but Lewis in his Topographical Dictionary says that he could find no vestiges there. Nevertheless, it is said that in the year 1160 there was at Hafodunos a fine parchment copy of the Gospel of St John, beautifully written and this was 122 years prior to the copy of the Gospels found at St Asaph in 1282.

The ancient family of the Lloyds of Hafodunos traced their ancestry from Hedd Molwynog, the founder of the ninth of the fifteen tribes of North Wales. He lived at Henllys and was steward to Prince Dafydd ab Owain. His lands and lordships were Llanfairtalhaearn, Dyffryn Elwy and Nanhaled. Iolo Goch (c.1320-c.1398), Owain Glyn Dŵr's celebrated household bard, was descended from him. His family tree in *Peniarth* 127 is given as *iolo goch ap ithel goch ap kyn ap ier ap kyn ap y dewis herod ap cowryt ap pervarch ap iarddur ap lln ap mertur vwr ap hedd ap molvnoc.* In *Pen.* 122 a

manuscript copied by Ieuan Fardd and Wm. Wyn it reads—*achau Iolo Goch (o Lechryd yn Llan Nefydd) ap Jthel Goch ap Cynwrig ap Jerwerth ap Cynwrig ddewis herod ap Cowryd ap Perfarch ap Jarddur ap Llewelyn ap Meilir Fawr ap Hedd Molwynog ap Greddf ap Tymyr ap Llawfrodedd farfog ap Alan ap Alser ap Tudwal Gloff ap Rhodri Mawr Tywysog Holl Gymru.* Tudur Aled (fl.1480-1526) born at Llansannan was a member of this family too, being of the branch of the Llwydiaid of Chwibren.

The founder of the Lloyds of Hafodunos was Bleddyn Llwyd ap Bleddyn Fychan. Edward Jones (*Bardd y Brenin*), 1752-1824, referring to the melody "Sian Fwyn Sian" said that the original Sian was the wife of Harri ab Ifan Llwyd Hafodunos and that she was also the Sian in "Hob y Deri Dando". Both Harri and Sian are named as defendants in one of the proceedings of the Star Chamber in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. The context of the case was—assaults at Llangernyw, attempted murder of a bride upon her way to marriage at Eglwysbach and misdemeanour of Sian's husband as J.P.

The East Window in St Digain's Church depicting the Last Judgment with 'Works of Mercy' in the side lights is dedicated to the memory of Howel Lloyd (d.1783) and Dorothea his wife (d.1801). Their son, John Lloyd (1749-1815) was known as 'The Philosopher'. He inherited Hafodunos in 1803. He was interested in the arts and the sciences and was one of the antiquarians present when the tomb of Edward I was opened at Westminster Abbey on 3rd November, 1774. It is said that he spat in that dead king's face because that monarch had given a command to slay all Welsh poets. John Lloyd met and kept correspondence with the great personages of his day, men like Sir William Herschel, Sir John Rennie and Thomas Pennant. He was a member of the Hon. Society of Cymmrodorion, was made a barrister of the Middle Temple in 1781 and a D.C.L. of Oxford in 1793. He wrote a treatise on an earthquake that was felt at Hafodunos on 29th August, 1780. This happened at '8 hours 37 minutes 30 secs' and it lasted from 15 to 20 seconds. John Lloyd was M.P. for Flintshire for two years but applied for the Chiltern Hundreds in 1799. In 1816 his extensive library of over 10,000 items was auctioned and the sale lasted a fortnight. Amongst the books sold were rare copies printed by Wynkyn de Worde and William Caxton and some Welsh MSS of John Jones, Gellilyfdy. The catalogue of the sale numbered over a hundred pages! With his death disappeared a number of old Welsh customs in Llangernyw, such as *nosweithiau llawen*, keeping a harpist and the acting of anterliwtiau. Twm o'r Nant was always welcome at Hafodunos. 'The Philosopher' lies buried in Llangernyw.

Another person who could trace his lineage from this family was the celebrated preacher, John Jones, Talysarn. His great, great grandfather was William Lloyd of Rhos y Mawn. When John Jones was a

young man he left his home at Dolwyddelan and worked for a while at Cemaes, Llangernyw, where his sister lived. He also helped with farm work at Hendre Ddu.

The old mansion of Hafodunos was demolished and a new house built in 1864 by Mr S. Sandbach, who bought the estate from the Cloughs of Denbigh who were connected with the Lloyds. The new mansion was designed by Sir Gilbert Scott. The bay of the drawing room is modelled after that at Haddon Hall. A tablet from the old house with the inscription

A Stag
H LL
ANNO
1674

was fixed in the hall of the new building.

Great improvements in land drainage and agriculture were introduced by the new owner. It was he who, at his own cost, had the new road constructed between Llanrwst and Abergele. John Gibson, R.A., the renowned sculptor, was a friend of this family and some of his works, such as "The Hunter and His Dog", "Aurore" and "Christ blessing the Children" were at one time at Hafodunos.

There is in the vicinity a farm called Tyddyn Dolben. It could have belonged at one time to David Dolben (1581-1633). He was Vicar of Llangernyw in 1621. Two years previously he was Vicar of Hackney. He was consecrated Bishop of Bangor in 1632 but died a year later and was buried at Hackney Church where there is a tablet to his memory. Bishop Dolben left money with which to purchase 300 Hebrew books for his old college, St John's, Cambridge. His niece married Sir William Williams, Speaker of the House of Commons in the reign of Charles II.

During the Civil War a skirmish took place at Llangernyw. This was in the year 1645, when the Cavaliers retreated from the battle of Denbigh Green, towards Llanrwst. It has been said that a number of them lie buried outside the East Window of Llangernyw Church. Examination of the gravestones there, however, has shown that this is not so. It was during the siege of Denbigh that Richard Pigott, Vicar of Denbigh, 'Was slayne at Llansannan'. He was Vicar of Llangernyw from 1605 to 1609. One or two stone cannon balls used in the fighting were to be seen at one time outside the doorway of Bryn Barcut. This house was long ago the home of a branch of the Salusbury family. Some of their tombstones can be seen inside Llangernyw Church. A few years back an old sword was discovered in Bryn Barcut, when alterations were being made.

John Williams (*Glanmor*) who was at one time schoolmaster at Llangernyw, narrates in his *Ancient and Modern Denbigh* that for three years the route of the mail coach to London ran between Con-

way and Denbigh through Llansannan. "One of the oldest inhabitants says that when he was a boy, he once had, in a narrow part of the road near Llangernyw, to mount the hedge bank in order to allow the mail coach to pass on its way from Denbigh to Conway and take off his hat by way of homage and return of compliment to the Viceroy of Ireland when 'his good Majesty' bowed to him through the mail window, and how he had often heard the coachman and guard say of the stage between that posting village and Denbigh, that the ascent from the bottom of the valley of the Elwy to the top of Garnedd Hill was, on a sunny summer day, the hottest drive from Holyhead to London. "In 1789 the route was changed to run through Abergele, St Asaph and Holywell.

Five fairs were held annually at Llangernyw in olden times and these, as in other places, took place at the Church gate and in the Churchyard. Ropes, saddles, bridles and collars were sold and butchers disposed of meat. People from neighbouring districts brought baskets of apples and plums in their season. A report of 1749 states that along with these items, earthenware and wooden ware were exposed for sale in the Churchyard and pedlars had their stalls there. At harvest time farm labourers from Llansannan, Gwytherin, Llanfairtalhaearn and Eglwysbach met at Llangernyw to be engaged for work. These meetings usually took place on Sundays with the result that the innkeeper did a brisk trade. The Nonconformists appealed to them to change their day to Monday and in this they succeeded. Robert Jones of Penybryn and his fellow Churchwarden also prevailed upon the sellers of fruit, etc., to take their produce away. By means of these efforts the Gwylmabsant was eventually extinguished.

Nonconformity reached the district around 1780. No chapel had then been built and preaching began at a farm called Ffrith Bach. Edward Parry, Bryn Bugad, came to preach at Petryal and was there threatened by a mob. He raised the Bible in front of him and warned them that the Holy Book contained the Laws of God and the Laws of the King of England and whoever broke them would be punished and put in jail. After a while the place of meetings was moved to Ty'n y Pistyll and later the Chapel of Cefn Coch was built.

The circulating schools of Griffith Jones, Llanddowror, came to Denbighshire in 1749 and visited Llangernyw a number of times.

It is said that the first school building here was sited about twenty yards west of the present school. The master, at one time, by the name of Harri Wiliam, was regarded as a character. He had a gift of ventriloquism and many of the inhabitants firmly believed that he was able to summon demons. Such was his nature that he did not attempt to enlighten them. One summer day he met a young farm servant leading a horse and cart loaded with hay. All of a sudden a boy's cries could be heard under the load. Harri berated the young man for smothering the child. It was in vain that he pleaded his

innocence and to prove it, he began to unload the cart as the dominie went away chuckling to himself. Another time he and a friend had been invited to a ball at Hafodunos. As it was in the early hours of the morning when the dancing came to an end, the two men were persuaded to stay the night and they were led upstairs to the spare bedroom. This was purported to be the haunted room. Llangernyw besides having the spirit of Angelystor who appeared in Church at midnight on All Hallows' Eve, had also a ghost at Hafodunos. The schoolmaster's friend affected disbelief in the story but when they retired to bed, Harri started on his tricks, with the result that his bedmate got up, dressed himself and made for home as quickly as he could. In the old days they used to search for lead in Nant Cemaes not very far from the village. One afternoon two men were at the bottom of a shaft which they had sunk. The schoolmaster heard of it and made his way there. Suddenly the workmen heard a voice speaking to them from the bowels of the earth. Without any more ado they made for the surface but by that time the ventriloquist had disappeared. The climax, however, was to come. There was a funeral in the village and Harri Wiliam was present. When the coffin was lowered the dead began to speak. Our friend had to seek a post elsewhere.

The existing school building has a tablet in the main classroom with the inscription "This school is dedicated to the memory of Margaret Sandbach in remembrance of her pious and unwearied labour to promote the moral and spiritual culture as well as the social advancement of her neighbours. She died at Hafodunos while the building was in progress on the xxiii rd. June 1852. Revelations ch.xiv. v.xiii.

It is pleasantly situated on the banks of the Gerwyn stream which flows into the Elwy about three hundred yards away. There is an excellent playground and during the last two years great improvements have been made to the buildings. The oldest book in school measures 19 inches by 15 inches. It is the school register of 1839-1842 and commences on 1st April of that year. It contains the names of the pupils, their ages, their parents' names and trade and the sum received from each child. Amongst the pupils there is one aged 21, one aged 17 and another aged 16. Under the heading Trade, one comes across Glazier, Publican, Preacher, Taxgatherer, Tailor, Farmeress, Warehouseman, Stone Cutter, Butcher, Mason, Shopkeeper, Miller, Clerk, Slater, Keeper, Sawyer, Shoemaker, Maltster, 'Kiln', Wheelwright, Carpenter, even Fisherman, all of which show how self-contained a village was in those days. In the year 1841 the school was closed from 15th September to 5th October for the 'Harvest Holydays'. On the last page of the book, written in pencil are the words 'This school was enlarged in June 1843 by means of the following subscriptions' and there follows a list of persons whose donations amounted to a

total of £54.14.0. Seven pounds were also contributed towards furnishing and at the bottom of the page 'David Hughes, Blacksmith, a grate'.

The oldest log book dates from February 6th, 1862. Many of the entries deal with school attendance and conduct. Very often one reads "Everything going on as usual". The schoolmaster continually has to 'caution children coming late and untidy to school.' Boys are warned to have their hair cut. On February 10th, 1863, there was a 'Holyday on occasion of the P. of Wales' marriage. Schoolchildren and some poor women partook of tea, etc., in the schoolroom.' In *Old Memories*, Sir Henry Jones mentions that at this function he was singled out to recite. On 7th April, 1863, the monitor is reproved for playing with his class. The attendance often suffers owing to children having to work in the fields and whenever there is a fair held at Llanrwst. On Dec. 12th of the same year 'in consequence of the Hariers being in the neighbourhood in the afternoon a great number of the children were absent.'

Thomas Redfern took the duty of monitor in the place of Rowland Hughes who gave up the situation on 6th April, 1868. He was to become Canon Redfern of Denbigh. Thomas Redfern was a great friend of Sir Henry Jones and had come to Llangernyw from Halkyn as a pupil teacher. Sir Henry relates in his autobiography how both of them, returning home late at night from a visit to a menagerie at Llanrwst, made a vow that one day they would become graduates of a university. One report declares that the boys were taught needlework but their efforts in this direction were so unsatisfactory that no grant could be recommended. On Nov. 15th, 1898, the master had to write to the sporting tenant requesting him not to engage boys who were below the age of exemption to beat the covers. There is an entry on June 20th, 1910, stating that no school was kept because the Vale of Cernyw Friendly Society were holding their annual parade and athletic sports in the village.

In the guide books Llangernyw is described as an upland village, noteworthy as the birthplace of Sir Henry Jones. There is no need here to write of his life and work as it is so well known to the people of Denbighshire, but a visit to his boyhood home at Cwm, which is now a museum, would prove interesting. Outside is a memorial stone bearing the words—*Cwm, Cartref Syr Henry Jones, C.H. Crydd, Athro, Dinesydd Da.* Here one can see the small workshop with its shoemaker's bench and the tools and the little window on which the local policeman used to tap at one o'clock in the morning to awaken the young Henry Jones so that he could carry on with his studies. In the adjoining room are articles of furniture and photographs. In a glass case upstairs can be seen various documents, hoods of degrees, etc., as well as the court dress which he wore on ceremonial occasions. There is a tale told that when he came to Llangernyw after receiving

the accolade, he visited an old friend who addressed him as "Sir Henry". He replied: "Tut, tut! I am always known here as Harry. The old horse is just the same except that now he has a ribbon tied to his tail." Dr Hetherington, who wrote the biography of Sir Henry Jones, said of him: "He was the greatest teacher of Philosophy of his generation and above and beyond his philosophy and power as a teacher, he was first and foremost a great citizen."

About half a mile farther away along the road towards Llanrwst is the whitewashed cottage of Tan y Ffos, where the Rev Dr H. Cernyw Williams was born. A tablet has been placed on its frontage to denote that fact. In 1932 he was awarded the honorary degree of D.D. by the University of Wales. He was the author of a number of books, hymns and pamphlets, and was President of the Baptist Union of England and Wales in 1892. He died in 1937 and was buried at Corwen.

Another son of Llangernyw was Robert Griffith, who was born at Glog Ddu, in 1847. He was the author of *Llyfr Cerdd Dannau*. In 1870 he went to Manchester and there played a prominent part in founding the Manchester Welsh Society.

One must also mention Robert Roberts (*Y Sgolor Mawr*) who was born at Hafod Bach in 1834, and was related to Sir Henry Jones. For a while he was a student at Bala and later went to the Teachers' Training College at Caernarvon. He taught at various schools before taking Holy Orders. After a number of vicissitudes he emigrated to Australia but returned home in twelve years' time. He devoted much study to the compilation of a Welsh dictionary and advantage was taken of his labour by another scholar. It was he who wrote *The Life and Opinions of Robert Roberts*. He lies buried in an unknown grave in Llangernyw Churchyard, but a tablet has been erected to his memory outside the East window and on it the inscription,

ROBERT ROBERTS
Y Sgolor Mawr
1834-1885
Byrr fu ysplander y bore
Diweddwyd y dydd mewn cymylau;
Hyn gan ryw estron galonnau
Er cof am y gwynfyd a'r cur.

Summary of Receipts and Payments for the Year 1958

RECEIPTS

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Balance in hand 31/12/57		34 1 2
Subscriptions received:		
7 Life Members £5	35 0 0	
1 at 42/-	2 2 0	
1 at 40/-	2 0 0	
1 at 25/-	1 5 0	
6 at 21/-	6 6 0	
4 at 20/-	4 0 0	
1 at 15/-	0 15 0	
10 at 10/6	5 5 0	
91 at 10/-	45 10 0	
22 at 7/6	8 5 0	
2 at 7/-	0 14 0	
2 at 6/6	0 13 0	
2 at 6/-	0 12 0	
2 at 5/6	0 11 0	
2 at 5/3	0 10 6	
531 at 5/-	132 15 0	
686		246 9 0
Grant from Denbighshire C.C. (Welsh Church Fund)		150 0 0
Proceeds: Sales	4 4 6	
Teas:	5 18 6	
		10 3 0
Balance overdrawn 31/12/58 ...		14 8 8
		£455 1 10

PAYMENTS

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Messrs. Gee and Son:		
(a) Printing 750 Transactions		302 8 0
(b) Blocks, Postages, etc.		55 3 2
Stationery and Receipt Books		20 5 11
Officers' Expenses:		
Hon. Secretary	30 11 11	
Hon. Treasurer	8 17 10	
Hon. Editor	8 3 0	
		47 12 9
Lecturers' Fees and Hiring charges for Meetings		29 7 0
Cheque Book		0 5 0
		£455 1 10

Audited and found correct,—WILLIAM BURD,
Hon. Auditor. 17/2/59.
D. B. JONES, Hon. Treasurer.

MEMBERSHIP 31:12:58.

As per list shown	686
Life Members	12
Unpaid for 1958	10
	708

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